

11. From the foregoing catalogue of events it seems clear that USA Administration found itself caught in a conflict between respect for the legal sovereignty of an established, though distasteful and potentially dangerous, régime in Cuba, and wholehearted sympathy with those attempting to upset that régime, many of whom, for good or ill, had been given refuge within USA. There can be no repeat no doubt that the Administration found plenty of support in the country at large and in Congress, both for legal propriety and for the expression of sympathy with the anti-Castroites. It is difficult to determine at this stage whether there was any additional concession on the part of the Administration to the extremist wing of USA sympathizers with the anti-Castro elements. The known public proponents of vigorous USA involvement in Castro's overthrow continued to express their views throughout. Senator Smathers (Democrat Florida) and Senator Goldwater (Republican Arizona) went perhaps as far as any in arguing that official USA restraint was wrong. There has, in addition, been no repeat no lack of speculation as to the role played by the previous, as well as the present, Administration in providing financial and other material support to the Cuban exiles in this country.

12. Perhaps the most specific charges were summarized by Wallace Carroll in the April 21 *New York Times* in which the CIA was alleged, though divided within itself, to have carried on a major project for training and equipping the anti-Castroites. Carroll further reported that it was apparently only at the beginning of April that President Kennedy decided against assisting a large anti-Castro invasion of Cuba, but that at the same time he agreed to let the exiles have ships and other support for smaller scale operations. (President Kennedy in his press conference of April 21 refused to confirm or deny these allegations, indicating that the facts would come out in due course.) Broadly speaking, the responsible press fully supported the Administration's announced policy, though dwelling on the conflicting pressures on the Administration to observe the legal proprieties and to give free rein to moral indignation and sympathy.

13. Curiously enough, the precise nature of USA's dilemma has only found clear expression in retrospect, that is, after the abortive landings had obviously failed. The opinion gained currency at that stage that USA was to be damned if the operation had succeeded, and damned if it failed. In the former case the allies of USA, whether formally in the Western alliance or in the looser ranks of the OAS, would never be sure how far the Administration had, in fact, contributed to the success of the venture. The Sino-Soviet bloc and the uncommitted countries would have had very little doubt. A failure on the other hand would be variously attributed (by those most anxious to follow a forward policy against Communist encroachments) to a perhaps unnecessary regard for legalities; or (by Communist countries themselves) to USA apprehensions regarding the possibility of Soviet intervention. That Soviet intervention, as State Department officials have categorically told us, was never regarded by the Administration as a real possibility, is irrelevant. As for the uncommitted countries, it could probably be assumed that nothing less than a complete prohibition by USA Administration of any help to the exiles, whether of an official or private nature, would have sufficed to demonstrate an absence of complicity (so far as we know, Masferrer, a Batista supporter, was the only Cuban exile against whom official action was taken). Furthermore, even amongst the OAS associates of USA there would presumably remain, in the event of either success or failure, the lurking suspicion that USA was not repeat not prepared to let the Cuban people, any more than the Guatemalans, work out their own internal conflicts.

14. It is too soon to say how deeply held are the convictions of the various groups of countries referred to above. A responsible State Department official has specifically told us that a serious drop in USA prestige in Latin America is to be expected. He added that things