Furthermore, although we had detailed knowledge of the Cuban order of battle and of the types and quantities of modern arms Castro had received from the Bloc,* and therefore knew full well that the operation would not succeed without a major uprising within the island, the Secretary of State nevertheless immediately issued a statement that "there is not and will not be any intervention there (Cuba) by United States forces."** Later the President himself reiterated this decision by publicly saying that U. S. armed forces would not assist "in any way."*** In all, the announcement that U. S. armed forces would not be used was reiterated twice by the President and four times by Mr. Rusk.

How better could we have killed any possibility of a spontaneous revolt within a nation which has been organized into a tightly-controlled police state during more than two years of Castro's rule?

If we had only opened our eyes and recognized what the rest of the world already knew -- that the U. S. was clearly identified with the operation -- we would have realized that the prestige of the United States was committed and come what may, we could not allow the Cuban patriots to fail.

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*On April 3, 1961, the Department of State issued its White Paper on Cuba containing the following data:

> "Since the middle of 1960, more than 30,000 tons of arms with an estimated value of $50 million have poured from beyond the Iron Curtain into Cuba in an ever-rising flood. The 8-hour military parade through Havana and the military maneuvers in January, 1961, displayed Soviet JS-2 51-ton tanks, Soviet SU-100 assault guns, Soviet T-34 35-ton tanks, Soviet 76mm. field guns, Soviet 85mm. field guns, Soviet 122mm. field guns. Except for motorized equipment the Cuban armed forces have been re-equipped by the Soviet Bloc and are now dependent on the bloc for the maintenance of their armed power. Soviet and Czech military advisers and technicians have accompanied the flow of arms. And the Castro regime has sent Cubans to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for training as jet pilots, ground maintenance crews and artillerymen.
>
> "As a consequence of Soviet military aid, Cuba has today, except for the United States, the largest ground forces in the hemisphere -- at least ten times as large as the military forces maintained by previous Cuban Governments, including that of Batista. Estimates of the size of the Cuban military establishment range from 250,000 to 400,000. On the basis of the lower figure, one out of every 30 Cubans is today in the armed forces as against one out of every 50 in the Soviet Union and one out of 60 in the United States.

**Statement issued by Dean Rusk on the day of the initial landings, as published in the Washington Post and Times Herald, April 18, 1961.

***See Appendix.

Apparently the problem was never examined in this light. Reports state that on about April 7, 1961, the National Security Council participated in the decision to allow the operation to proceed.* If this is correct, it supports the disturbing hypothesis that our policy makers are lost in a never-never land of wishful thinking. It indicates that they are hoping to win tactical victories against the tough, experienced international Communist movement by gimmicks or by tricks with mirrors, thereby avoiding any direct commitment of our national power. This just cannot be done. The battle against communism is not a spectator sport. We cannot expect to sit in the grandstand munching our hot dog and sipping our beer while our friends on the home team fight and die in the jungles of Southeast Asia, in the high Tibetan passes, or on Cuban beaches.

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*Article by Chalmers M. Roberts, Washington Post & Times Herald, April 22, 1961.