

American Correspondent's Role As Intermediary for U.S., USSR In 1962 Cuban Crisis Is Disclosed

ABC Reporter Delivered Soviet Outline of Compromise in Missile Dispute to State Department

By MARGUERITE HIGGINS
A Special Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4. THE BEST-KEPT SECRET of the Cuban crisis is now coming to light. It is the story of how John Scali, a reporter for the American Broadcasting Co., was propelled into the role of messenger between the United States and the Soviet Union and was given the mission of delivering to the Department of State a Soviet outline of a compromise that may have meant the difference between peace and war in the missile crisis of October 1962.

This reporter has known the details of this story for nearly two years and has kept it secret on official request. The episode has now been cleared for publication soon in a national magazine.

The episode began on the morning of Friday, Oct. 26, when the showdown was about 48 hours away. President John F. Kennedy's speech announced the crisis caused by Soviet installation of offensive missiles in Cuba had taken place the previous Monday.

BY FRIDAY, as the Russians continued to rush the construction of their missile emplacements, the National Security Council had decided that, unless Moscow heeded Washington's warnings and desisted, the Russian missiles sites in Cuba would be destroyed by bombing and strafing. Soviet-chaired ships had been intercepted by the United States naval blockade of Cuba.

On Friday, Oct. 26, Scali, State Department reporter for ABC, received an urgent call from a ranking official at the Soviet embassy asking for a meeting at the earliest possible time.

Until then, all communications between Moscow and Washington had been through more or less formal channels—letters, telegrams or messages sent through Tass correspondents (who are considered to be Soviet officials).

Scali, who had met the Russian official previously, felt that something unusual was taking place. He was right. The Soviet official, obviously acting on instructions from the Kremlin, produced the first glimmering of a way out of a head-on collision between the Soviet Union and the United States.

THE RUSSIAN suggested that, as a well-known reporter, Scali must have highly placed friends in the State Department and that it would be useful to find out whether the United States might consider a compromise.

His proposal was: First, the Soviet Union, under United Nations inspection, would remove the offensive missiles from Cuba. Second, the USSR would give its word publicly not to try to return offensive missiles to Cuba at a later date. In return, the United States would promise not to invade Cuba.

At the Department of State, Scali found that Roger Hilsman, then director of research and intelligence, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk took the offer seriously. Soviet experts in the State Department agreed with Rusk and Hilsman that no high-ranking Russian would dare make such a suggestion, even informally, without its being authorized by Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev.

The State Department officials were particularly impressed by two things about Scali's report that in their opinion gave it authenticity:

(1) Scali's Soviet contact suggested that if Adlai E. Stevenson, ambassador at the United Nations, were to pursue the proposal in discussions with Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Valerian A. Zorin, then chairman of the U. S. Security Council, he would find a "fertile ground for his ideas." This indicated to American officials that both the Soviet UN delegation and the Soviet embassy in Washington knew about the proposals.

(2) The Soviet embassy official did something unheard of among Russian diplomats. He gave Scali his home phone number with the injunction to call at any hour because of the urgency of the situation.

UNDER GUIDANCE given by Rusk, Scali in early evening dialed the home phone number of the Soviet official and asked him to meet him in 15 minutes at the Statler Hotel coffee shop—perhaps the most unlikely

The Invisible Government: CIA Sets Up Training Camps and Air Base for Invasion

U.S. Helps End Rebellion in Guatemalan Army

By DAVID WISE and THOMAS B. ROSS

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THIRD OF A SERIES

IT HAD BEGUN one day in April, 1960, when two visitors walked into the office of Roberto Alejos in the Edificio Townson in Guatemala City.

Alejos, a handsome, athletic businessman, was one of the wealthiest coffee-growers in Guatemala. His brother, Carlos, was Guatemala's Ambassador to Washington. But there were two other facts about Roberto Alejos that interested his visitors that day: He owned two huge fincas, plantations, in Guatemala, both in remote areas. And he was the closest friend, backer and adviser of Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, the highly individualistic and unpredictable President of that Central American Republic.

The visitors were Americans. One was Robert Randall Davis, a close friend of Alejos. Davis bore the title of First Secretary of the American Embassy in Guatemala City. A charming, Californian of forty-three, graying at the temples, he looked the part of a diplomat. But it was an open secret in sophisticated political and diplomatic circles in Guatemala City that Davis was the CIA station chief in Guatemala. The CIA agent who accompanied him was less well known; he had recently returned to Guatemala after a three-year absence.

DAVIS and his companion had no small reason for wanting to know if Alejos would help arrange secret training camps in Guatemala for Cuban anti-Castro exiles. They also wanted to know whether Alejos could fix it for them to talk to President Ydigoras.

The CIA had good reason to approach Ydigoras gingerly. They were aware that he felt the United States regarded him as politically erratic. His election two years before had been greeted by Washington with less



Cuban exiles studying a map at their training base just a few days before their unsuccessful invasion of Cuba in 1961.

than enthusiasm, and Ydigoras knew it.

Now the CIA was asking Ydigoras to risk his political career to help the United States to establish secret training camps in Guatemala. Nevertheless, when Alejos approached him, Ydigoras agreed to meet discreetly with Davis at the President's private residence, the Casa Crema, located on the grounds of a military school. As cover for the entire operation, the Guatemalan Army allowed Alejos to train 400 Guatemalan troops at the ranch. They doubled as armed guards to keep potential spoilers and the 1300 exile workers out of the Trax area. CIA instructors, as well as logistics and accounting officials from the army, were also housed at the base.

In addition to Helvetic, training took place at two other sites. Alejos owned a sugar plantation at San Jose Buena Vista, halfway between Retalhuleu and Guatemala City. The terrain proved excellent for parachute jump training and mass man-

euvers. Amphibious landings were practiced on the Pacific coast near Retalhuleu.

In July the CIA began construction of a secret airstrip at Retalhuleu. The existing strip there was inadequate for the C-46s, C-54s and B-26s that would be brought in. The airstrip contract was awarded to Thompson Cornwell, Inc., a big American construction firm with offices in the Chrysler Building in New York. The firm, already in operation in Guatemala, had the necessary heavy equipment available in the area.

Alejos fronted for CIA on all financial transactions in Guatemala, and it was he who signed the airstrip contract. The initial payment for paving was \$450,000. Before it was over, the airstrip and air-base facilities at Retalhuleu cost the CIA \$1,200,000.

IN AUGUST the crash job of constructing the airstrip was completed. Since there had to be some explanation for the existence of a modern airstrip in the middle of nowhere, foreign diplomats in Guatemala were told that the airstrip was for parachute jump training and mass man-

Johnson's 'Great Society' Idea More Than a Campaign Gimmick

Kennedy Arts Center Part of His Plan for U.S. Cultural Growth

By MARQUIS W. CHILDS

Chief Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4. THE CONVENTION, the vice-presidency, the campaign and the war in Viet Nam are the chief preoccupations that keep President Lyndon B. Johnson in motion for 12 to 14 hours a day. But he finds time nevertheless to consider details of his Great Society concept of America's future.

One of his earliest acts when he became President was to push the congressional appropriation of \$15,000,000, matching public funds to the suburbs, downtown theaters, contributions, to build the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington. He put Roger Stevens, theatrical producer and real estate developer, in charge of the center. This culture, in its relationship to government, is given to Stevens as his province.

No word in the American vocabulary is more treacherous than that word culture. But Stevens is wading in bravely with the hope of expanding the cultural horizon. One aim is to use arts resources that have fallen into neglect. The immediate goal is to persuade Congress to authorize the creation of an Arts Council. The council was to have been created by executive order. But with congressional approval, as the President realized, it would have broader authority.

STEVENS HAS BEEN developing a series of ideas for Mr. Johnson's consideration. He has pointed out that on government buildings constructed by government funds half of 1 per cent of the cost may under law be spent on the arts—sculpture, murals, fountains. If this were taken advantage of, the monstrous cubes currently being put up would look somewhat less like the beginning of an Orwellian city of 1984.

On the new \$100,000,000 Post Office building in New York City half of 1 per cent would be a substantial investment in the arts. Similarly, on Federal Housing Administration loans for apartments and other projects the law says that 1 per cent can be spent on art. Stevens believes that with some FHA prodding, builders would use this provision.

THE SLOW DEATH of the living theater has been one of Stevens' concerns. Except for New York and sporadically in a half dozen other cities, the theater has all but disappeared. As the urban population moves to the suburbs, downtown theaters molder in empty darkness and no banker in his right mind would lend a nickel to any builder who proposes putting up a theater for live actors.

As one way to try to bring back live theater, Stevens proposes FHA loans to build standardized sets so that costs could be pared and tickets could be offered for \$2 or \$3.50, which is in the range of current movie admissions. In suburban neighborhoods with free parking, the cost of a long trip to the center of the city would be eliminated.

Another Stevens idea is for the FHA to finance on a small beginning scale residences combined with studios for artists. Although the pad in a cold-water flat may be preferable as a way of life to some artists, others might accept the "square" label for the comfort and convenience.

STEVENS GIVES high priority to enhancing the role of the artist in American life and enlarging his function at every level. Too often government has simply ignored such considerations. United States postage stamps are an example. They continue on a dreary, uninspired level in contrast to countries with far fewer resources. The John F. Kennedy memorial stamp appalled philatelists by its blandness and lack of distinction.

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Horse Racing

Arlington Entries

FIRST RACE - 1:00 PM	
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Saratoga Results

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Box Scores

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BANK OFFERED GIFT, CONGRESSMAN SAYS

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4 (AP) — A member of the House Banking Committee, which passes on federal legislation on banking operations, said yesterday that he had been offered a gift of \$100,000 worth of stock in a home town bank.

Representative Henry B. Gonzalez (Dem., Texas), said the offer had been made to him a year ago by a "prominent man" who was affiliated with a bank in his home city of San Antonio.

Gonzalez declined to name the person or the bank on the ground that the offer "might have been merely a naive one—although I don't really think so."

The person who offered him the stock wanted also to make him chairman of the board of the bank, Gonzalez said.

Gonzalez said he had declined the offer, without inquiring into details, on the ground that he had a conflict of interest between his private interests and his congressional duties.

Gonzalez said that he felt the stock offer was chiefly related to local banking problems rather than to his position on the banking committee.

Gonzalez's interpretation of the intent of the offer was at variance with that of Representative Wright Patman of Texas, chairman of the banking committee. Patman revealed the stock offer in a speech in the House. A man would call on him in a half-hour and say he was a mutual friend and would meet Jones alone.

It was the beginning of a series of disclosures about the dealings between Jones and the CIA. Jones had a friend in the CIA. He decided to call him to him to see what he had gotten into. Jones had a friend in the CIA. He decided to call him to him to see what he had gotten into.

ST. LOUIS AREA News in Brief

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 4 (AP) — Violent George Liberace was said for divorce yesterday by his fourth wife, Joan.

Brother of the celebrated pianist, the former nurse in 1960. They have no children. She charged cruelty.

A GROUP of 142 indigent mothers and children left St. Louis today for a week's vacation at the Salvation Army's Camp Mithras in Bourbon, Mo. The outing is sponsored annually by the Rotary Club of St. Louis.

FIVE YOUTHS IN WAREHOUSE CAPTURED BY POLICE

Five youths were arrested at the P. N. Hirsch & Co. warehouse, Eighteenth and Columbia, after police observed three figures in a fire escape at the seventh floor of the building at 2 a.m. today.

The youths, who descended from the fire escape, identified themselves as Reginald Moore, 17, 2000 S. 10th St., St. Louis; Leroy Jackson, 17, 1000 S. 10th St.; and Henry Phillips, 17, 1000 S. 10th St.

Two officers of the canine corps and their dogs later searched the building and arrested the youths from the mystifying scene. They were taken to the Jefferson Franklin, 17, of the 1900 block of Carr street. All were held suspected of burglary.

Wise and Ross FROM PAGE ONE

It had been built for exporting "fruit and frozen shrimp." President Ydigoras, his son and adviser, Miguel Ydigoras, and the foreign diplomatic corps journeyed to Retalhuleu to catch the ribbon.

The training of exiles also moved forward in the United States. In Miami the CIA instructed them in weapons handling and guerrilla tactics. The training took place in the Everglades and even in Miami hotels.

Once the airstrip had been completed at Retalhuleu, the airlift of trainees from Florida to Guatemala could begin in earnest. The routine was always the same: A Cuban would contact the CIA through the CIA's Miami office. If he passed preliminary screening, he would be picked up, brought to a CIA "safe house" at night, and from there, with elaborate impersonation, flown from the mystifying scene. They were taken to the Jefferson Franklin, 17, of the 1900 block of Carr street. All were held suspected of burglary.

CRISIS

THE AMERICANS who called on Roberto Ydigoras in the Edificio Totonca that day in April, 1960, were acting on the authority of the President of the United States. The interview was a direct result of an order given by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on March 17, 1960. On that day, Eisenhower authorized the secret training and arming of the Cuban rebels.

The President turned over the job of arming and training the Cuban exiles to CIA Director Allen Dulles. Dulles in turn placed the project in the hands of Bill (Richard M. Bissell Jr.), deputy director of CIA.

The CIA's original plan, as it evolved under Bissell's direction, was to build up the underground with Cuban exiles through a slow, steady infiltration by exiles trained in Guatemala.

The CIA designated one of its most energetic agents, the cover name of Frank Bender, to be the top agency representative in dealing with the fragmented Cuban exile groups. Bender, whose real identity was carefully protected, became an almost mythical figure to the Cuban refugees.

Most of the exiles believed Bender was a European who had fought with the French Maquis during World War II. Another account had Bender as an assistant to top Allied planners during the North African invasion in 1942.

Those who met him described the CIA chief as a man in his fifties, perhaps 185 pounds, of medium build. He smoked a pipe, wore glasses, was well mannered and displayed a good knowledge of history. Bender established headquarters in New York, which with Washington, Miami and Retalhuleu became the four key centers of operation.

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Scatches

AT ARLINGTON

1-1000, 1100, 1200, 1300, 1400, 1500, 1600, 1700, 1800, 1900, 2000, 2100, 2200, 2300, 2400, 2500, 2600, 2700, 2800, 2900, 3000, 3100, 3200, 3300, 3400, 3500, 3600, 3700, 3800, 3900, 4000, 4100, 4200, 4300, 4400, 4500, 4600, 4700, 4800, 4900, 5000, 5100, 5200, 5300, 5400, 5500, 5600, 5700, 5800, 5900, 6000, 6100, 6200, 6300, 6400, 6500, 6600, 6700, 6800, 6900, 7000, 7100, 7200, 7300, 7400, 7500, 7600, 7700, 7800, 7900, 8000, 8100, 8200, 8300, 8400, 8500, 8600, 8700, 8800, 8900, 9000, 9100, 9200, 9300, 9400, 9500, 9600, 9700, 9800, 9900, 10000.

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Fairmount Selections

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Fairmount Selections

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1190	Don't Forget
1200	Don't Forget
1210	Don't Forget
1220	Don't Forget
1230	Don't Forget
1240	Don't Forget
1250	Don't Forget
1260	Don't Forget
1270	Don't Forget
1280	Don't Forget
1290	Don't Forget
1300	Don't Forget
1310	Don't Forget
1320	Don't Forget
1330	Don't Forget
1340	Don't Forget
1350	Don't Forget
1360	Don't Forget
1370	Don't Forget
1380	Don't Forget
1390	Don't Forget
1400	Don't Forget
1410	Don't Forget
1420	Don't Forget
1430	Don't Forget
1440	Don't Forget
1450	Don't Forget
1460	Don't Forget
1470	Don't Forget
1480	Don't Forget
1490	Don't Forget
1500	Don't Forget

CRISIS

THE AMERICANS who called on Roberto Ydigoras in the Edificio Totonca that day in April, 1960, were acting on the authority of the President of the United States. The interview was a direct result of an order given by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on March 17, 1960. On that day, Eisenhower authorized the secret training and arming of the Cuban rebels.

The President turned over the job of arming and training the Cuban exiles to CIA Director Allen Dulles. Dulles in turn placed the project in the hands of Bill (Richard M. Bissell Jr.), deputy director of CIA.

The CIA's original plan, as it evolved under Bissell's direction, was to build up the underground with Cuban exiles through a slow, steady infiltration by exiles trained in Guatemala.

The CIA designated one of its most energetic agents, the cover name of Frank Bender, to be the top agency representative in dealing with the fragmented Cuban exile groups. Bender, whose real identity was carefully protected, became an almost mythical figure to the Cuban refugees.

Most of the exiles believed Bender was a European who had fought with the French Maquis during World War II. Another account had Bender as an assistant to top Allied planners during the North African invasion in 1942.

Those who met him described the CIA chief as a man in his fifties, perhaps 185 pounds, of medium build. He smoked a pipe, wore glasses, was well mannered and displayed a good knowledge of history. Bender established headquarters in New York, which with Washington, Miami and Retalhuleu became the four key centers of operation.

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