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Rita M. Cauce

Florida International University, caucer@fiu.edu

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Operation Pedro Pan: 50 Years Later
Rita M. Cauce

To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Operation Pedro Pan, the Green Library at Florida International University (FIU) hosted an exhibition in early Fall 2011 (*Exhibition of Material from the Collections of Operation Pedro Pan Group, Inc. and Barry University Archives and Special Collections*). Operation Pedro Pan was the name given to the airlift of over 14,000 children to the United States from Castro's Cuba between December 1960 and October 1962. FIU was one of many institutions, including the Smithsonian Institute's National Museum of American History, University of Miami, Barry University, Miami Dade College, and Pedro Pan groups nationwide, highlighting this momentous anniversary. Operation Pedro Pan Group, Inc. hosted the most comprehensive event in November 2011: a three-day week-end, with its kick-off conference "Operation Pedro Pan: A 50 Year Perspective" featuring notable scholars and other Pedro Pan speakers. Many Pedro Pans, as they refer to themselves, now mostly in their fifties and sixties, are recognizing the need to tell their stories. For the first 30 years most of the Pedro Pans themselves were not aware of the magnitude of this exodus, or that they were a part of this operation. The children tried to fit into American culture as much as possible and it was not until their adult years that they began to seriously investigate their history. During the November conference, Yale professor Carlos Eire, a Pedro Pan, made a compelling appeal to all Pedro Pans to come forward and tell their stories. He stressed the importance of leaving their personal accounts as testimony of the exodus:

"The largest exodus of children in the history of the Americas, one of the largest in the history of the civilized world and human history, went largely unnoticed ... Hardly anyone knows of Pedro Pan still, except for Cubans ... the silence that surrounds our history is deafening. ... As a historian, one of my greatest duties is to make sure that the past is uncovered correctly. ... Records are so important, and there's no record better than first person accounts. ... a testimony, especially to something that is denied by others or an event the history of which gets twisted. ... It's important that we all leave behind our history for others to read."¹

The FIU exhibition's opening reception was attended by close to 100 Pedro Pans, family and friends. Barry University Archives, keepers of the Operation Pedro Pan / Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Collection, contributed photographs, posters and important papers documenting the operation. Many personal belongings were contributed by Pedro Pans, varying from a statue of the Immaculate Conception, rescued from the militia intervention of a Catholic school, to a simple laundry bag received at a Miami camp where some children were housed temporarily on their arrival, all preciously kept for fifty years.

The memorabilia also included children's original visa waiver application forms and passports used to leave the island nation. Once the children were in the U.S. they could request visa waivers for their parents back in Cuba. Some of these children's handwritten letters were displayed, along with the U.S. Department of State letters granting these visa waivers. Other personal items included photographs, notebooks, identification cards and dairies kept from their stays at South Florida shelters, stays which could range from days to years. This was the first time most of these personal belongings were exhibited, and having the Pedro Pans share their anecdotes made the exhibition come to life for those attending.

Operation Pedro Pan Collection and Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh

Barry University Archives is the official repository, and holds the largest collection of, Operation Pedro Pan material. Monsignor Walsh, founder of Operation Pedro Pan along with James Baker, had a close relationship with Barry University. In response to the community's demand for trained social workers in 1966, Walsh was involved in founding the School of Social Work at Barry University (then Barry College), establishing the first social work program in South Florida. In the 1970's he served as adjunct professor for the School. In 1995, preparing for his retirement, Walsh entered into an agreement with Barry University whereby the university was designated the repository of the records and papers of Catholic Charities, including those of the Cuban Children's Program. At the time Monsignor Walsh was the Executive Director of Catholic Charities, which operated under the name Catholic Welfare Bureau in the early 1960's. Walsh was very interested in preserving these historical papers, especially those relating to the Cuban Children's Program, which provided care for the children of Operation Pedro Pan. During academic year 2004-2005, half of the approximately 250 visitors to the Barry Archives were interested in this collection. At the time only 207 linear ft. of the approximately 650 cubic ft. of material had been processed. The material spans from the mid 1950's when Walsh was appointed Assistant Director of Catholic Charities in the Archdiocese of Miami, Florida, through his death in 2001. More than half of the records in this collection relate to the Cuban Children's Program and Operation Pedro Pan.

In 2005, Barry University Archives submitted a successful grant proposal to the Florida State Historical Records Advisory Board to hire two consultants to assess the Operation Pedro Pan / Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Collection. The grant's purpose was two-fold: 1) to evaluate the collection for its research value, and 2) to make appropriate recommendations for the preservation of, and improve access to, the collection. The consultants who reviewed the papers as a result of the grant both emphasized the importance of the collection for research, not only for the current interest in Operation Pedro Pan, but

also for the historical importance of Walsh's papers. These include a wide variety of documents recording the history of social welfare, the development of immigrant and refugee policies, and the development of child welfare services in Florida beginning in the mid 1950's. In his grant report, Walter Pierce, Ph.D. professor of Social Work at Barry University, noted: "Monsignor Walsh organized and was overseer of many of the ground-breaking activities through Catholic Service Bureau in the field of adoptions, foster care and group care. He worked cooperatively with many child welfare pioneers at the state level to fashion and influence legislation. ... (H)e was also active in immigration activities with Haitian and Central American refugee populations."² An interesting area of research which was identified by Dr. Pierce in a preliminary report is "the history and policy process of one of the first examples of federal intervention in the provision of child welfare services to immigrant and refugee children."³

Consultant María R. Estorino made recommendations on processing and gaining access to the collection, advocating for a comprehensive approach to understand the collection. This would facilitate the identification and processing of the non-restricted material to hasten access to the collection. Per her recommendations, Monsignor Walsh's personal papers have now been mostly processed, respecting the confidentiality required of certain records: "Throughout the Operation Pedro Pan / Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Collection are case files and personal information about the persons receiving care through the Cuban Children's Program ... The confidentiality of such records is governed by the terms of the loan agreement, state and federal laws. The Archives have restricted these kinds of records until 2050 and should make no exceptions to this restriction unless set forth by law, e.g. providing access to the records to the individual who received services."⁴

Bryan O. Walsh (1930-2001) was born in Portarlinton, Ireland and came to the Diocese of St. Augustine in Florida when he was ordained in 1954. He was appointed as Assistant Director of Catholic Charities for the Archdiocese of Miami, Florida in 1955, and Director in 1958. At the time, this office was responsible for most of the southern half of the state of Florida. During his tenure, Catholic Charities developed a wide range of social services and programs, including nursing homes and other services for the elderly, child care services, a hospice program, a residence for homeless AIDS patients, to mention a few. He was a prominent figure in South Florida and an active leader in the community. Among many other services and appointments in local groups, he was a founding and long-serving member of the Community Relations Board of Miami-Dade County. He received much recognition for his work,

including the NCCJ Silver Medallion and the American Red Cross Humanitarian Award in 1996.⁵

According to Dorothy Jehle, OP, Director of Barry University Archives from 1991 till her retirement in 2011, Monsignor knew the importance of his work and of keeping complete and careful records.

“Monsignor Bryan kept the papers related to Operation Pedro Pan, the flight of 14,000 unaccompanied Cuban children to Miami in 1960-1962, because he believed historians, social workers, and the children themselves would want an accurate account of what happened.”⁶ Monsignor had decided he would write the chronicle of Operation Pedro Pan and Jehle describes how in 1999 he began coming to the Barry University Archives a couple of mornings a week to start organizing materials he wanted to use for his book. In the Fall of 2001 he began to arrange the papers in piles on top of his desk. “He left them there for a few days, to go to an out-of-state meeting on some social issue, and planned to start writing soon. He wanted an accurate, readable report. He died a week later of a congenital heart defect and was buried on Christmas Eve, 2001.”⁷

1960 Events leading to Operation Pedro Pan

When a scared and hungry fifteen-year-old Pedro walked into then “Father” Walsh’s Catholic Welfare Bureau in Miami in November 1960, Walsh realized that this could be just the beginning of many more “Pedros”. His sister agency, the Centro Hispano Católico, was already facing an insurmountable number of exiles needing assistance and Walsh knew unaccompanied minors were usually found among refugee migrations. Pedro’s parents had sent him to relatives in Miami, but the relatives were experiencing such critical needs themselves that they could not care for him. Pedro’s uncle came to Father Walsh for help in finding care for Pedro. Pedro’s parents were one of thousands to make the tough decision of sending their unaccompanied children to a foreign country, “in order to escape Communist indoctrination – in some cases to avoid being sent to Russia or one of the Soviet satellite countries for such indoctrination.”⁸ Castro’s own son and the children of other Cuban leaders had been sent to the communist block for their education and the word was that large numbers of youths would follow. The fact that Castro saw the role of the Cuban youth as crucial for a successful revolution was clear with the formation of youth organizations such as the Rebel Pioneers for children six to thirteen years old, and the Association of Youth Rebels for those between fourteen and twenty-one. “Some organizations trained the youths to operate rapid fire automatic guns, supposedly to defend the country from enemy attack. Youths were expected to spy and report on their parents.”⁹ The main purpose of these groups was political indoctrination of Castro’s revolutionary values, as well as the disintegration of family values. For example, these groups would march up and down the streets chanting Fidel was their hero

and Fidel was their god.¹⁰ Parents who did not support their child's membership in these groups were considered anti-revolutionary and could face severe sentencing.

Castro's promised humanistic revolution in 1959 soon transformed Cuba into a Communist nation. He accomplished this very early on by mass manipulation, deceit, and ruthless elimination of any possible opposition. Anyone not agreeing with his plan was considered anti-revolutionary, the worst possible crime. His promised elections never took place. During his first year in power hundreds were executed.¹¹ Anyone not loyal to the revolution, regardless of age, race or class could be sent to *el paredón* (the execution wall) and these executions were often broadcasted on national television. Castro also established the Comité de Defensa de la Revolución (Committees in Defense of the Revolution), neighborhood spy groups to watch and report on their neighbors as far as what they did, who they associated with, and any counterrevolutionary activities. Through the enactments of the Agrarian Reform in early 1960, and the Urban Reform Law later that year, foreign owned oil refineries and U.S. sugar mills were confiscated, as were large national companies. But perhaps one of the most decisive government actions that forced parents to consider sending their children out of the country was when 1961 became the Year of Education. The Cuban Minister of Education announced that no divergence from the revolutionary doctrine in education would be tolerated.¹² Private and Catholic schools were being confiscated, often with militia storming schools in session and destroying Catholic images. In April 1961, sixth through twelfth grade schools were closed for eight and half months and some parents were appalled as children were sent out to the country side to work for the revolution. 100,000 uniformed youngsters, previously trained in Communist doctrine, were sent out to teach illiterate peasants to read and write. The training manuals for the field literacy campaign instructed "A is for Agrarian reform," "F is for Fidel."¹³ During this time, the entire Cuban educational system and its curriculum were revamped to meet revolutionary ideology. Revolutionary propagandism was ubiquitous. Castro's educational indoctrination would now quickly span across the whole island. Private and Catholic schools would not reopen and state-run school attendance was compulsory. Even though it was just a rumor that Castro would abolish *Patria Potestad*, the legal rights of parents over their children, in some sense, it was already happening. In making the decision to send their children to the United States, the parents saw the separation only as temporary and that the children would be able to return to Cuba soon. No one imagined a Communist nation could exist 90 miles off U.S. shores.

In November 1960, President Eisenhower sent a personal representative, Tracy S. Voorhees, to assess the Cuban refugee situation in Miami. This was the first time the United States became a country of first asylum for such a large number of political refugees.¹⁴ Clark, professor, sociologist, and expert on the Cuban exile community, estimates 64,000 Cubans had left the island by the end of 1959, the first year of Castro's regime.¹⁵ (This number would go up to 248,070 by the end of Operation Pedro Pan in 1962.) As Sicius points out in his Tequesta article *The Miami Diocese and the Cuban Refugee Crisis of 1960-1961*, "Few cities could have been less prepared for such a human catastrophe than Miami. The state of Florida rivaled Mississippi as the state spending the least in welfare."¹⁶ The arriving exiles were basically destitute due to the limitations on what they could take with them when leaving the country. The only agency available to help them in Miami was the Centro Hispano Católico, located at 130 N.E. Second Street. The Latinos were one of Walsh's first priorities on arriving to Miami and the Centro was founded in 1959, mainly targeting Puerto Ricans. Community leaders, realizing the magnitude of the problem Miami was facing, had appealed to the federal government for help. Walsh wanted at all cost to avoid what had happened in previous handling of large number of unaccompanied minors, such as occurred with the 1956 Hungarian revolution when children were placed in homes with just a phone call in response to a newspaper article.¹⁷ He insisted that the unaccompanied minors had to be managed by licensed child welfare agencies. Walsh called a meeting of all public and private child welfare agencies in the county where he expressed his main concerns. First, that the care of unaccompanied minors be handled by licensed child welfare agencies, and secondly that the religious heritage of the child be safeguarded. It was agreed that they would request Mr. Voorhees make recommendations for funding a special care program for these children under the auspices of the Miami child welfare agencies.¹⁸ Voorhees' report to the President resulted in some much needed aid: "In December 1960 the Cuban Refugee Center was established in Miami with an initial allocation of \$1 million from the President's Contingency Fund under the Mutual Security Act of 1954."¹⁹ Voorhees recommended funds could be used to assist Cuban refugee children "if it should prove necessary beyond what private charity can do."²⁰ As Executive Director of Catholic Welfare Bureau, Walsh launched the Cuban Children's Program to administer the care for unaccompanied Cuban children.

Operation Pedro Pan is conceived

At the same time that Father Walsh was seeking support for the care of Cuban children in Miami, James Baker in Havana was looking for ways to help some Cuban parents send their children to the United States. Baker, headmaster of Ruston Academy, an American school in Havana, was approached by a

Cuban father seeking help in securing a scholarship for his 17 year-old son. He and other parents involved in activities against the Castro regime were concerned about their children's safety and wanted to send them to the United States to study.²¹ On December 12, 1960, Baker travelled to Miami and met with Father Walsh, along with former members of the American Chamber of Commerce in Havana who were living in Miami. These businessmen had agreed to help their friends in Cuba by financing a boarding school in the U.S. where they could send their children. Walsh recognized a boarding school could not fulfill the complete needs of the child. Parental protection and care would still be needed for tuition, doctor consultations, a home for the holidays, etc. This basic support would not be available in the case of these Cuban children. However, Walsh, who had already met with Voorhees and was working on education and shelter for unaccompanied minors, could provide this care through the Cuban Children's Program. They quickly drew up a plan. Baker would assist the parents of the students with getting the student visas in Cuba, and Walsh would provide the required documentation for a student visa, i.e. proof of enrollment in an American school and guarantee of an individual or agency to assume responsibility for the child. The list of interested students would be gathered by Baker in Cuba and sent to Walsh in Miami. Walsh obtained the required enrollment forms from Coral Gables High School and issued letters accepting full responsibility for these minors.²² Two hundred children had been identified to leave through this plan.

In January 1961, during the first month of his administration, President Kennedy assigned Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to visit Miami and take on the work started by the previous administration regarding the Cuban refugee program.²³ In February 1961 President Kennedy directed Ribocoff to undertake a comprehensive nine-point Cuban refugee program, allocating an additional \$4 million from the Contingency Fund to extend through the end of the fiscal year in June 1961.²⁴ The funds were to be used for services and aids, such as employment opportunities, health, education, and resettlement to other areas. The eighth point covered the care for unaccompanied children:

8. Providing financial aid for the care and protection of unaccompanied children – the most defenseless and troubled group among the refugee population.²⁵

This financial assistance was administered under the general supervision of the Florida State Department of Public Welfare, acting as an agent of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and

Welfare. Four voluntary agencies were contracted to provide foster care and the relocation of the minors outside the Miami area. The Catholic Welfare Bureau of Miami and The Children's Service Bureau of Dade County were responsible respectively for the Catholic and Protestant children. The Jewish Family and Children's Service of Miami and the United HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) Service in New York were responsible for the care of Jewish Cuban children.

But Operation Pedro Pan was soon complicated when United States broke diplomatic relations with Cuba January 3, 1961. With the American Embassy closed, student visas could not be issued. Walsh and Baker thought this was the end of their plan. Walsh would be attending a conference in Washington, D.C. the following week and called Frank Auerbach of the Visa Section in the U.S. State Department. Mr. Auerbach was Walsh's contact when arranging the student visas. On January 9, 1961 Walsh received the news that would allow Operation Pedro Pan to continue: the U.S. State Department granted the Catholic Welfare Bureau authority to issue visa waivers. Visa waivers, in this case letters issued by Walsh, waived standard visa requirements and allowed the airlines to board the children holding these letters. "This was blanket authority to issue visa waivers to all children between the ages of six and 16. For children between 16 and 18 years of age, we would have to submit their names and birthdates to Washington for prior security clearances."²⁶

To avoid any possible Cuban government intervention, all delivering of documents, including visa waivers, between Miami and Havana was done through diplomatic pouch by those sympathetic to the cause. These individuals, who included the British Attaché and wives of ambassadors, were not subject to search on entering or leaving Cuba.²⁷ Walsh sent thousands of visa waivers signed by him to Cuba and these were eventually copied and widely distributed by an underground network. Baker left Cuba when the diplomatic relations with the U.S. were severed but he had already set-up a small covert committee to process the students' papers and visas in Cuba. At the lead was Penny Powers, a British nurse who had worked with Baker at Ruston Academy. Powers had worked with another exodus of unaccompanied children known as the Kindertransport. In this operation she helped evacuate approximately 10,000 Jewish children from Nazi Germany to Great Britain during World War II.²⁸ The dangerous plan the committee led by Ms. Powers in Cuba had to implement included clandestine meetings with the parents, processing and delivering papers and passports, and distributing visa waivers. The original core of five, enlisted other members to create an underground network that spread across all provinces in Cuba. Those involved knew they were risking their lives by participating. Many involved in this project were arrested and served long prison terms.

This was the beginning of what was to be called Operation Pedro Pan.

“News reporters, sworn to secrecy, would christen it Operation Pedro Pan. Before it ended it would involve thousands of families, Cuban and American, several foreign governments, numerous officials of federal and state government, well over 100 child welfare agencies, and the three major faiths in a unique effort of cooperation to help the children, the innocent victims of power politics and clashing ideologies. Even though Operation Pedro Pan itself would only last less than two years, the Cuban Children’s Program would go on for many years and would have a very real influence on the development of cooperative programs between government and voluntary child welfare agencies in the United States.”²⁹

While the Cuban Children’s Program’s goal was to provide care for the accompanied Cuban children in the United States, Operation Pedro Pan provided the means for some Cuban parents to get their children out of Cuba.

What was originally seen as possibly 200 students flying out of Cuba, soon turned into the largest exodus of unaccompanied children in the Western Hemisphere. The small trickle of three to four children arriving daily during the first week of Operation Pedro Pan became a flood after the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961. No one knew how many children would be arriving on any given date or when the flood gates would close. It is estimated a total of 14,048 children arrived in the United States through Operation Pedro Pan (December 1960- October 1962). Approximately half of these children had family or friends in the United States who took them in. The rest were cared for by the voluntary agencies depending on their religious heritage. The Catholic Welfare Bureau housed and resettled just over 7,000 Catholic children and the Children’s Service Bureau is estimated to have cared for several hundred children of Protestant and other denominations.³⁰ The number of Jewish children cared for by the Jewish Family and Children’s Services and HIAS, many of who were children of Holocaust survivors, are estimated at 396.³¹ Various shelters were set up in Miami, some as temporary transit centers until the child could be resettled. These varied from personal residences, like the house in the downtown Roads area of Miami owned by the Ferré family and loaned to Walsh to house teenage boys, to a summer camp located on S.W. 120th Street housing 400 boys, Camp Matecumbe. The largest facility was called the Florida City Camp which was actually a block of apartment buildings housing girls up to 18 years old and boys under 12. The local child welfare agencies reached out to their counterparts nationwide to help find homes for the children. Eventually 100 cities and 35 states provided foster care for these children.³² Operation Pedro Pan came to a halt on October 22, 1962 when the Cuban Missile

Crisis ended commercial flights between Havana and Miami. Direct flights between Havana and Miami were re-started in December 1965 as a result of negotiations by the Swiss Embassy in Havana. These flights, commonly known as the Freedom Flights, gave priority to parents and immediate family of Cuban children in the U.S. under the age of 21.³³

Many Pedro Pans were reunited with their parents and the number of children under care went from approximately 5,000 to 500 in six months.³⁴ However, many of the children continued in foster care for many years later. The Cuban Children's Program continued to care for children who arrived from Cuba after Operation Pedro Pan until 1982.

The Pedro Pan children today

Now, fifty years later, there is a well-established Pedro Pan Group, Inc. with various smaller affiliates throughout the country. The Operation Pedro Pan Group, Inc (OPPGI) was founded in 1991 as a charitable organization by former Pedro Pan children to "honor the sacrifice of our parents and this noble nation that welcomed us, and the person that made it all possible, Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh."³⁵ Their mission is 1) to help children in need, 2) to document the history of their exodus for future generations, and 3) to locate and reunite individuals who were a part of the unaccompanied Cuban Children's Program. They are very active in the community supporting the child welfare programs of Catholic Charities, contributing to the Pedro Pan Archives at Barry University, organizing conferences and presentations, and serving underprivileged children by sponsoring summer programs, conducting book drives, and distributing toys - to mention just a few. Over 2,000 Pedro Pans are in touch through the OPPGI's regular email newsletter and some have travelled from China, Spain, Columbia, Mexico and Panama, as well as from across the U.S. to attend their reunions. Through OPPGI's work, the site of their Florida City temporary shelter has been declared a Florida Historical Landmark by the Florida Department of State Division of Historical Resources.

In Albuquerque, the Office of the Mayor proclaimed May 18th 2012 as "Pedro Pan Day", recognizing the State of New Mexico as second to the State of Florida in number of Cuban refugee children received during this exodus. In the Executive Order, the Mayor states 374 Cuban refugee children arrived in New Mexico as Pedro Pan and many have stayed and "are contributing to the economic and social life of the State of New Mexico..." There is now an Operation Pedro Pan online network hosted by the Miami Herald which includes a searchable database with the name, age, date of entry, and where the child went upon arrival. The network is also a place where Pedro Pans can connect and share their stories.³⁶ Many adult Pedro Pans worldwide are coming forward to tell their personal history. At the OPPGI's

November 2011 conference in Miami Beach, Dr. Eire ended his presentation encouraging the Pedro Pans to not only tell their stories, but also to collect the stories of the parents, who may soon not be available to tell their side of the story and the challenges they faced. He also mentioned the thousands of children left behind holding student visa waivers when the flood gates closed in 1962, some of which were present at the conference. This group is referred to as the “Pedro sin Pan”, Pedro without bread, due to the hardship they faced staying in Cuba. “We all have our internal history, each and every one of us in this room ... We know what our history is, we know what we went through ... but every one of us has run into a very different narrative at some point about the history of Operation Pedro Pan. ... We have a calling and our calling is to tell that story as often and as fully as we can.”³⁷

Endnotes

- 1 Carlos Eire, "Overview," podcast, *OPPG Historic Committee Conference, Operation Pedro Pan: A 50 Year Perspective, November 18, 2011*, http://www.pedropan.org/events/111118-OPP_A50YearPerspective.html.
- 2 Walter Pierce, "Report of Consultant: Barry University Archives Operation Pedro Pan/Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Collection," 1 June 2006, Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Papers, Barry University Archives and Special Collections, Miami Shores, Florida (hereafter cited as BOW, Barry Archives), Florida Local Historical Records Grant file.
- 3 Walter Pierce, "Operation Pedro Pan/Bryan O. Walsh Papers," n.d., BOW, Barry Archives, Florida Local Historical Records Grant file.
- 4 María R. Estorino, "Consultant's Report: Barry University Archives Operation Pedro Pan/Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Collection," 1 June 2006, BOW, Barry Archives, Florida Local Historical Records Grant file.
- 5 Ximena Valdivia, "Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Papers," *Barry University Archives and Special Collections*, <http://eguides.barry.edu/content.php?pid=285451&sid=2349363>, 25 July 2012.
- 6 Dorothy M. Jehle, "What Monsignor Walsh Wanted to Do with the Operation Pedro Pan/Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Papers," 19 May 2006, BOW, Barry Archives, Florida Local Historical Records Grant file.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 John F. Thomas, "Cuban Refugee Program," *Welfare in Review* 1, no. 3 (1963): 7. Oettinger also makes reference to this indoctrination in her 1962 article (see note 23 below) as the reason the Cuban parents made the difficult decision to send their children to the United States. Conde (see note 13 below), also makes reference to 1,000 Cuban students being sent to the USSR in her book p. 36.
- 9 Eloísa Echázabal, "Operation Pedro Pan 1960-1962: The Largest Unaccompanied Children Exodus in the Western Hemisphere," YouTube, . <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-C3hnF9Hx4>, 16 September 2012.
- 10 James D. Baker, "The Beginning of the Pedro Pan Program in Cuba," 25 May 1998: 4, BOW, Barry Archives, Box 23. More details on the youth movements can be found in Triay's book (see note 22 below).
- 11 Juan Clark, *Why? The Cuban Exodus: Background, Evolution and Impact in U.S.A* (Miami: Union of Cubans in Exile, 1977), 7.
- 12 R. Hart Phillips, "Cuba Opens Drive for Cane Cutters," *New York Times (1923-Current File)*: 30 January 1961, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008), <http://ezproxy.fiu.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/115299045?accountid=10901>.

- 13 Yvonne M. Conde, *Operation Pedro Pan : The Untold Exodus of 14,048 Cuban Children* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 31.
- 14 William L. Mitchell, "The Cuban Refugee Program," *Social Security Bulletin* 25, no. 3 (March 1962): 3.; Thomas, *Welfare in Review* 1 (1963): 2.
- 15 Clark, *Why? The Cuban Exodus*, 15; Juan M. Clark, "The Exodus from Revolutionary Cuba, 1959-1974: a Sociological Analysis," (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1975), 74.
- 16 Francis J. Sicius, "The Miami Diocese and the Cuban Refugee Crisis of 1960-1961," *Tequesta* 61, (2001): 41.
- 17 Bryan O. Walsh, "Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh: Personal Interviews," interviewed by Miguel González Pando, VHS, Florida International University Cuban Living History Project, 1997, Florida International University Libraries Special Collections, Miami, Florida.
- 18 Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh, "Cuban Refugee Children," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 13, no. 3/4 (Jul.-Oct. 1971): 388.
- 19 Thomas, *Welfare in Review* 1 (1963): 1. More information on the Federal funding amounts can be found in Mirchell's article, note 14 above, and the United States Children's Bureau chapter, note 30 below.
- 20 Walsh, *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 13 (1971): 389.
- 21 Baker, "The Beginning of the Pedro Pan Program in Cuba," 25 May 1998, p.1; Walsh, "Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh: Personal Interviews," (1997).
- 22 Victor Andres Triay, *Fleeing Castro: Operation Pedro Pan and the Cuban Children's Program* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 18; Walsh, "Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh: Personal Interviews," (1997).
- 23 Katherine Brownell Oettinger, "Services to Unaccompanied Cuban Refugee Children in the United State," *Social Service Review* 36, no. 4 (December 1962): 379; Mitchell, *Social Security Bulletin* 25 (1962): 3.
- 24 Thomas, *Welfare in Review* 1 (1963): 2.
- 25 Ibid.; Triay, *Fleeing Castro*, 45.
- 26 Walsh, *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 13 (1971): 402.
- 27 Walsh, "Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh: Personal Interviews," (1997). Much detail on the actions of the underground movement in Cuba to distribute the necessary children's exit documents can also be found in Triay's book (see note 22 above).
- 28 María de los Angeles Torres, *The Lost Apple: Operation Pedro Pan, Cuban Children in the U.S., and the Promise of a Better Future* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003), 71; Triay, *Fleeing Castro*, 38.

- 29 Walsh, *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 13 (1971): 379.
- 30 United States Children's Bureau, "Cuba's Children in Exile," in *Cuban Refugee Programs*, edited by Carlos E. Cortés (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 6.
- 31 Ibid.; Daniel Roth Shoer, "Secret Exodus, a New Life. Jewish children part of 1960s Pedro Pan exodus from Cuba," *Miami Herald*, 24 August 2008, A1. In "Cuba's Children in Exile" the United States Children's Bureau states 145 as the number of Cuban children cared for by the Jewish agencies as of April 1967, however Shoer's 2008 article cites the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society archives which establishes the number of Pedro Pan Jews at 396.
- 32 Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh, "The History of Operation Pedro Pan," 1 March 2001: 2, BOW, Barry Archives, Box 44.
- 33 United States Children's Bureau, "Cuba's Children in Exile": 5.
- 34 Walsh, "Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh: Personal Interviews," (1997).
- 35 Operation Pedro Pan Group, Inc., "History: the Cuban Children's Exodus," *Pedro Pan.org*, <http://www.pedropan.org/category/history>
- 36 *Miami Herald*, "The Network for Pedro Pan," <http://www.miamiherald.com/cgi-bin/pedropan/index>.
- 37 Eire, "Overview," (2011).