

SECRET

Review

7 March 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Plans for the Establishment of the Cuban Provisional Government

REFERENCE: Memorandum for the Record by C/WH/s/PA, dated 28 February 1961, Same Subject

1. As indicated in paragraph 5 of the referenced memorandum, Varona and Bay--according to the understanding reached during the 24 February 1961 Washington meeting--were to proceed to New York on or about 26 February. There they met with Artins, Carrillo, Chibas, and Pazos and returned to Washington the afternoon of 5 March. A meeting between Varona, Bay, and Mr. Willard Carr took place on 6 March in the Shoreham Hotel (this meeting was taped).

2. For the record, the presence of Mr. Carr should be explained here: For the longest time it has been felt that--at the beginning of a new mechanism such as a revolutionary council--it would be wise to introduce a new face which was not committed through past associations to any given political or organizational course. In looking for a suitable individual, it was felt that Mr. Carr would fill this bill: He would preserve the continuity of the Sender Group, whose "senior partner" he had been from the inception of the project; he would also be a new face in as much as he has not been very active in the project for the last four to five months. Thus, Mr. Carr was asked by Chief, WH, during the weekend of 26 February to assume the role of primary negotiator in the establishment of a revolutionary council. Mr. Carr agreed; he came to Washington where he was fully briefed and brought up to date by Mr. Droller and Mr. [redacted] 03

3. On 6 February Droller and Carr met with Varona and Bay; Droller introduced Carr to Bay as the Sender Group senior partner whose long experience in Latin America affairs and fluency in Spanish would greatly facilitate the negotiations. After this introduction, Carr and Droller brought to the attention of the Cubans the 5 March 1961 "Baltimore Sun" story, which gave a fairly accurate report of the current negotiations. The Cubans were advised in rather strong terms to obtain utmost security in the future.

4. At this point of the meeting, Droller excused himself by saying that he had other important business to attend and withdrew from the meeting.

5. The results of Carr's discussions with the Cubans are summarized in attachment "A". A translation of a tentative Cuban agreed program is attachment "B".

GERARD DROLLER
C/WH/s/PA

- cc: A/WH/PA
- WH
- C/WH/D
- C/WH/A
- WH/A/ Mr. [redacted] 03
- WH/s/PA - 201 File
- WH/A/PA - Contacts Report
- WH/s/PA - Chrono

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SECRET

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(ATT.)

6 March 1961

MEMORANDUM

1. At the meeting this morning between Carr, VARONA and RAY, the latter two outlined the proposal or formula reached by the "committee of six" during the New York deliberations for the selection of a Provisional President and the setting of a revolutionary council. The following are the highlights of this formula as explained to Druller, Napoli and [redacted] by Mr. Carr.

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- A. The "committee" rejected the suggestion of a broad-based assembly of 17, 30, or any other number of delegates.
- B. In lieu thereof, the "committee" would (perhaps already has) draw up a list of six candidates for the presidency. Exactly how agreement on this would be achieved was not made clear.
- C. The list of names would be sent to Cuba to be approved by the directors of each "sector" and would also be submitted to exile groups for approval.
- D. After all or most of the "sectors" have indicated their agreement with the list of six candidates, each one of the original Committee of Six (RAY, FAZOS, CHEBAS, ARTIME, CASSELLLO and VARONA) would receive a "ballot" with the six names of the candidates appearing thereon and would indicate his preference in order of preference. Although Carr did not say so, presumably some sort of point system would be used for determining the victor. At any rate the election of the Provisional President would be accomplished by the Committee of Six.
- E. Carr was told that provided agreement is reached on the procedure, the matter of selecting a Provisional President can be accomplished within ten days. That is, the lists will be sent to the "sectors" in Cuba and elsewhere and be returned to the Committee (in Miami) within the ten-day period. (This seems very optimistic).
- F. The President will then elect freely the members of his council. About one-third will be selected at once, and the other two-thirds will be selected once the Provisional Government is set up in Cuba and CASTRO is overthrown.
- G. THE COUNCIL: There would be two distinct parts to the "council":
 - Part A. A Legislative Cabinet composed of 13 to 14 ministers "with portfolios" who will be freely selected by the President. These would apparently have both executive and legislative functions.

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Part B. A technical cabinet composed of from 6 to 10 members "without portfolios" who will be elected by the various "sectors" and approved by the President. These members would draw up projected laws, etc. for submission to the "Legislative Cabinet" for approval.

- H. MINISTER OF DEFENSE. A Minister of Defense will be selected freely by the President prior to going into Cuba.
- I. MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS. A Minister of Foreign Relations will also be selected freely by the President prior to going into Cuba.

2. PROGRAM OR PLATFORM

A four-page Program or Platform which VARONA and RAY said should only be considered "a rough draft" was given to Carr for his information. A summary is attached.

Items of the program as a whole, on which agreement as yet has not been reached are the following:

- A. Nationalization of Public Utilities. Not agreed as yet as to whether telephone and electric companies should be nationalized. General agreement on need to nationalize "obras publicas" - transportation and communications facilities.
- B. "Cubanization" of the Banks. VARONA is against requiring all deposit banks to be Cuban. RAY is in favor. RAY, however, not opposed to foreign banks having agencies in the country with all the rights and privileges, except the right to accept deposits.
- C. Agrarian Reform. Almost complete agreement except for matter of "limitation of land" - a phrase which Carr was unable to explain further, except that he supposes they meant there must be some maximum limitations on land that can be held by any one person or firm.
- D. Public Servants. RAY wants to purge all CASTRO people from the list of civil servants. VARONA does not think a "plank" on civil servants needs be included in a platform of principles and program.

3. MILITARY MATTERS

RAY and VARONA, according to Carr, were united in their thinking on the military aspects of the operation against CASTRO:

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- 2 -
- A. Both feel we have sent "undesirable" people to the camps and that this cannot further be tolerated. Recruiting must be done by Cubans under Frente personnel designated by the Frente. "Jimie" must stop recruiting, although he is free to indicate what the needs are. (Tony said will quit if recruiting not controlled by FFD.)
 - B. Both insist that Col. Manuel VARELA Castro be named as head of the camp and that Juan CONSUEGRA be given work in a military capacity. These two, plus the present camp commanders, should make up the "General Staff."
 - C. RAY complained that "nothing" is being done to supply the fighters in the Escambrays.
 - D. A "public statement" must be made that no Batistianos will be taken in.
 - E. Certain recruiting personnel (~~names~~) should be removed from their positions.
JAGOSCARO OJAS
ANTONIO LLANAS
 4. RAY made an "impassioned" plea for positive help from the United States for his group. Mentioned need of boat and an increase (by his group) in psychological warfare activities.
 5. RAY told Carr he wants to get away on 7 March for Miami. He said he will give us 48 to 72 hours to put this matter "on a level of final decision or resolution."

*Program
Havana
1954*

*FDD
Translation*

ATT. B

I. Fundamental Objectives

1. To overthrow the Communist tyranny which is oppressing the people of Cuba and to reestablish moral peace and harmony among all the Cuban people.
2. To propose to the Cuban people the ideal of national reconstruction as a common task to all — governing and governed — directed to suit the bases of the New Republic and to direct the course of the Nation toward a high and definite historical destiny.

II. State of Law — Reestablishment of

1. To guarantee the immediate establishment of a State of Law which prevents excesses of those who pretended to introduce social change with the pretext of carrying out justice according to individual or group criteria.
2. To establish the Constitution of 1940 with the exception of the following precepts:
 - a. those relative to its organic part whose fulfillment fights with the same kind as the provisional government.
 - b. the one relative to the payment in cash of expropriations referred to in application of the Agrarian Reform, just as it remains formulated on those bases of which indemnifications can be made in bonds.
 - c. Those relative in the millionth to the teachers and the bringing of the State to the University of Habana because it has been demonstrated in practice that it is impossible to accomplish. Law will guarantee an adequate remuneration to the teachers and a proper contribution to the Universities.

d. Those relative to the Comptroller General for the purpose of obtaining a greater efficiency in the control of public finances; and

e. Those relative to the system of congressional elections, territorial which could be carried out by circumscriptions if the law so determines.

3. To hold general elections within an undelayable period of 18 months after the downfall of the Communist tyranny. The Provisional President of the Republic will not be able to become a candidate for any elective office in said elections.

III. Policy of Reconstruction and Economic Development

1. To promote an active policy of reconstruction of our economy and for the development of industry, agriculture, mining, and tourism which increases our national income, of work for the unemployed and raises the standard of living of the population.

2. To stimulate investments of private, national, and foreign capital and to guarantee the free initiative and private ownership in its broad concept of social function, to the ends exposed in the previous article.

3. To revise the ^{tax} system forced by the tyranny, returning to the general system of the Law of Indebtedness Reform of 1950, with the suitable adaptations to the present conditions of the national economy and the requirements of the reconstruction.

4. To promulgate the Labor Code to regulate relations among the factors of production and to create the Labor Courts.

5. To repeal the so-called Law of ^{Urban} ~~Apartment~~ Reform, freeing rents effective 1 October 1960 and granting broad opportunities for the construction of economic and popular housing.

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IV. Agrarian System

1. To establish an agrarian system which gives an adequate solution to the situations in fact created by the Communist Government and which facilitate to the occupants of lots of less than five caballerias the acquisition of full ownership of same, paying to the previous owner a fair price in duly guaranteed bonds which will be liquidated before their expiration in order to finance industrial projects of national interest.

2. To proscribe land division. The publication of the bases for developing this disposition of the constitution remains pending for further consideration.

3. To announce dispositions which offer the peasant adequate allowance, long-term credits, and low interest, technical advice, transportation facilities, storage, and effective means of guaranteeing a minimum price for his crops, as well as markets for the products of the land.

4. To precipitate and stimulate the creation of peasant cooperatives based on the free decision of their members, offering them the technical assistance and resources the state has available for the most effective functioning of same.

5. To adopt measures which assure the peasantry a high level of income, education, health, and living conditions.

6. To initiate a broad plan of construction of rural dwellings.

V. Labor System

1. To restore to the working class the social rights recognized and acquired in the protection of the Constitution of 1940.

2. To repeal the laws which have annulled trade-union freedom and to suppress the so-called voluntary contributions.

3. To abolish the state control of work established through the Bureau of employment of the Ministry of this Branch.

4. To incline toward the participation of the workers in the profits of the enterprises.

5. To adopt measures to guarantee equal opportunities for study, apprenticeship, and employment to youth.

6. To revise and approve the organizations of social security, adjusting the functioning of the Bank of Social Security to practical actuarial practices.

VI. Return of Legitimate Property

1. To restore to their legitimate owners the goods and rights ^{seized} intervened, confiscated, occupied, or affected by the Communist system, except those which for reasons of public utility or social interest the state considers expropriable in the form provided for in the Constitution and the laws. Not objects of this restoration will be the property ^{dishonest} confiscated ~~justly~~ in just and exemplary approval of the accomplices and businessmen who became rich under the criminal dictatorship of Batista.

A period of 60 days will be opened for people who consider their property unduly confiscated to be able to establish recourse before the Civil Office of the Supreme Court, against the corresponding confiscatory resolutions.

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VII. Education and Culture

1. To carry out a true Educational Reform directed to prepare the citizenry for its responsibilities in a democratic society, to produce the technicians required by the economic development of the nation, to increase the culture of our people and to extend education to all the country, using effectively the resources which are invested.

2. To reestablish the freedom of education promoting the ~~freedom~~ moral training of children and youth.

3. To suppress all militarization and totalitarian indoctrination of children and youth.

4. To give ~~public~~ university education its necessary autonomy, the modern organic bases, and the necessary economic means to realize ^{to} the fullest the high social responsibilities which fall to those higher centers of education and investigation (learning and research).

VIII. Public Health

1. To develop effective plans which permit every Cuban, regardless of economic resources, to have the most complete attention for health.

IX. Armed Forces

1. To ratify the positions of all members of the Rebel Army, Navy and ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~armed~~ ^{armed} ~~forces~~ ^{forces} who contribute to the downfall of the Communist tyranny and to promote those who deserve it for heroism in battle.

2. To organize the Technical Armed Forces in the service of the Republic to which can belong both members of the old army and those of the Rebel Army who are not responsible for criminal deeds.

3. To initiate the process of establishment of an obligatory military service for the Armed Forces.

4. To dissolve the militias

X. Freedom of Prisoners and Revision of Trials

1. To announce immediate freedom of all prisoners for acts of resistance to the Communist dictatorship, through nullification of the corresponding trials and to review the cases heard by the so-called Revolutionary Tribunals in order to correct cases of injustice.

XI. Radication of Communism and All Anti-Democratic Activity

1. To proscribe the Communist Party and every organization contrary to the democratic representative system or which makes attempts against the national sovereignty in accordance with the dispositions of article 37 of our Constitution.

XII. International Relations

1. Denunciation of the international compromises and treaties which undermine the national sovereignty and place the peace and security of the hemisphere in danger.

2. Immediate resumption of the traditional relations with the democratic countries of the world and the fulfillment of legitimate international pacts (agreements).