180-10143-10182

Leslie Wizelman
Box 28
Folder 31
ITEM #4

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De Varona, Manuel Antonio — Political Action Files

201-196435 Vol I -

Conclusive Dates 15 Oct 48 - 30 Sept. 49 — LAD/DIJO

Deletions - ① FBI report dated 4 Feb 59 (File: Miami 97-130) re Luis Ortega, aka Luis Ortega y Sierra
② 1948 thru Dec 1955 Third Agency Documents

Speech by Carlos Prio - 3-11-52 - Translation - unclassified - during insurrection - went to Autentico house in ~~mat~~ ~~mata~~ matanzas and "established contact with the Maceo Regiment (note -- in Santiago)."

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Vol II - Jan 1956 - April 1960 (- From Beginning of file)
Third Agency material - (

1- Contact Report - ① Verona by Gerald Droller -
met Verona Dec 27, 1960 at "Joe Stonecrab" rest - Miami Beach - Droller was with Hunt. Varona had found an isolated ~~island~~ piece of land on Andros Island - Bahamas - which could be used as a training site for one hundred people.
"Verona discarded the idea. (COMMENT: I would bet even money that he will pursue this aspect unilaterally.)"

2- memorandum of conversation, dated 11-29-60 - re "Activities Against Castro Regime in Cuba". Participants: Varona (FRD); Edwin E. Vallon, ARA/CMA; Robert A. Stevenson, ARA/CMA; Robert A. Hurwitch, ARA/CMA; Frank J. Devine, ARA/CMA.
Verona ① requested additional funds
② stated that Florida lawenforcement "was much more strict & severe than in the days when Castro forces were operating out of the area against Batista."
③ expressed impatience.

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Listed other members of forces working against castro:

1- Aureliano Sanches Arango - Varona doesn't get along with him

2- Luis Conte ~~Agüero~~ - Aguero - radio announcer & commentator in Cuba. Alianza

3- Pedro Luis Diaz Lanz.

4- Manolo Ray

5- Andres Vargas Gomez - "young man of good family & personal reputation" - represents no one within Cuba. Very small following.

6- A.R.E.C. - rich Cuban businessmen & property owners.

Varona recommends military action within next 2 months.
" 's belief - that U.S. military intervention - inevitable.

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3 - Blank Page @ "Anti Fidel Castro Activities Nov 15, 1960 #105-107"

4 - message To Director From WAVE, 14 Dec 60, ~~Rep~~ "Reports have been requested of [AMDIP."] End "CS Comment:* "Queried ~~when~~ wether it feasible for AMCIGAR [AMRASP] begin prepare for Bender GP monthly progress or status reports its activities Miami and other Branch offices."

5- message to Director from Havana 29 Apr 1960 - re waiver of visa ineligibility for house servant of Tony Varona - strongly recommended 00025 consulate.
~~(Inquire Sanches Arango)~~

6- blank page - April 27, 1960 - No. Krom? 2995

7- Orig. Gerald Droller message To [redacted] From Director 28 April 1960
- Advise [AMHAWK] that [ODYOKE] official [redacted] prepared to see him New York - on April 30 or may 1.
(no mention of Varona by name)

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8- To Director From [ ] 22 April 60 - ~~To Prity Dir info~~

"On 21 April [Amhawk] called, "he contacted and passed 1000 Dollars per plan." Staying ~~at~~ Hotel El Conde"

AMHAWK Depart Cara[redacted] 27 or 28 April → N.Y → Miami.

" will contact Castelon on 25-26 April depending return Maracay Congress. Sanchez Arangos has not applied visa.

9- 21 April 1960 re waiver for house servant of Tony VARONA

malas name - Caridad Obdulia Merino, Claro

DOB Sept 5, 1924 Filed 1919102

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Vol II - starting from the back (Chronologically)

1- Blanke Page Foreign Service Dispatch 7-11-56 #22
Joint weeka No. 28 for State, Army & Air Depts.

2- " Oct 3, 1956 #200 Joint weeka no 40.

3- " Oct 17, 1956 #232 " " No 42
4 " Oct 17, 1956 "232 " " " 42
5- " 1-3-57 #389 " " No 1
6 " 4-10-57 #671 from [redacted] → No 14
from [redacted]

Dated 8/8/57
7- Biographical Info form on Varona 6 pp.
DOB 11-25-08 Place: Camaguey, Cuba
Friend-: ~~Che~~ Carlos Prio Socarras
wife: ~~Emelian~~ Emiliana RUISANCHEZ de Varona
children: Carlos Manuel de Varona
Segura Bustamante nee de Veronz
one brother (no name given) 1110053
1940-44 - member - House of Reps
44-48 " Cuban Senate
48-50 - Prime minister & senator of Prio gov't
50-52 - Pres of Cuban Senate
Active in political affairs for Cuban Revolutionary Party (Autentico) PRC
since 1934.
→ ☆ cable from Havana to Chief ~~of Station~~ WHD, 8 Aug 1957 - subj - operational [ACUTUBE] specific - V. Attached in Triplicate PRQ Part 1. PRQ Part 2 incoming
8- request for search for info on Varona regarding pro-Communist, leftist, anti-US activity - result negative. Originating officer: —
[ ] WH/3/Cuba.
9- Personality (201) File Request - from WH/III/Carib - (H.O.
[ ], 1-27-58 Varona given #196435 and
assigned [AMHAWK.]

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? 5- Document transfer & cross-reference -
under pertinent info - states -
"There is a restricted CI/OA folder on the subject of this 201 held under C# 64244."

6- [Grant of operational Approval No C-64244, ~~(requested on~~] dated Jan 20, 1958

☆ 7- memo of conversation 1-30-58 - "Cuban Political Scene"

☆ 8- Dept. of State - memo of conversation 5-21-58
"Cuban Political Developments and Uruguayan Support for Cuban Opposition Resolution. Concerning Batista."

9- ~~Aug~~ "Agent and/or Project Status Sheet" [AMHAWK]
Green-listed 12(0?17) Aug 1957 # 76732 Operational Approval Requested 22 Aug 1957
CI/OA File # C-64244.
"DATE agent became activated as member of project (name): NONE"

10- memo for record, 20 July 1959 - Miscellaneous Cuban matters re Volman seeing documents in possession of Tony Santiago proving Nunez collaborated @ Batista. Nunez's ass't, Sosa, held a job in Batista gov't. memo from T. J. Flores - WH/III/AO

11- Request for operational approval of Varona to permit him being used as a "political action agent in the [AMPATROL] Project. From [redacted] Chief WH/III 1110051

12 TDCS Information report, 31 Dec 1959, relates conversation @ Varona. - Varona worried about invasion by General Jose Eleutario Pedraza Cabrera
- Varona recommends an attempt ~~to~~ publicity to discret popular image of Castro.

13- message - from J. D. Esterline C/WH/4 to Havana - ~~Varona~~
3-9-60 - Varona considered as member of 4-man group to sign Cuban bond issue to be floated in Miami

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14- message - from Havana - 3-10-60 Haug 3708
[AMCLATTER-5] station has learned [AMHAWK] wants to talk to accredited [PBPRIMER] about position & plans -
V wrote memo → A-5 → case officer [AMKA] ↳
V wrote memo for delivery to [A-5's] [ODACID] contact

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14(continued)

outlines Varona's political platform

Station has opinion that V ~~wants~~ 's anxiety comes from belief Rubio & co. already have channel to [ODYOKE] & V doesn't want to be left out.

John Topping - political officer } Varona wanted to talk with them. ~~St~~
Braddock -

Station felt direct local embassy contact @ V - dangerous. recommend Olien pass invitation to V to have cont. in U.S. or have Peter N. Licari go to Havana.

15- 3-17-60 - from Havana Cite: HAVA 3782

Jorge Alonso Pujul - V's partner in Cuba - advised [Olien] that V ready to leave Cuba. Station suggests Licari return to Cuba "in representation of the 'group'" and discuss plans like [LANGTRY] did @ [AMWAIL] and [AMCHIP]

16- 28 mar 1960 message from Havana

re meeting of [AMPALMS, AMWAIL, AMHAWK] RUBIO PADILLO - re formation of gov't in exile.

requests of [AMHAWK] in Para 3 of Hava 3708 (#14 in my notes)

[OYOKE] guarantees entry of key persons, followers & support. [some details included]

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17 -

18- 30 march 1960 - [AMHAWK] set 15 April as date for departure - discusses means of getting V out. [AMHAWK] contacted by [Olien]

19-

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21- 31 march 1960 - cable. re departure of [AMHAWK] - CIA want's exile gov't set up in L.A. country

22- ~~[illegible]~~ Dispatch from COS - Havana, 1 April 1960, re "Operational"

Santiago Babun - 23 march 1960 Babun called [ODACID] to see Gerald L. Gardyne - Introduced Orlando ACOSTA & Eugenio ~~[illegible]~~ Rolando Martinez to Gardyne. ~~The~~ Babun said that the 3 of them were in close contact with V.

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Babun asked Gardyne if he kew Carlos Casaus, resides at Fosca building
" said Casaus was attempted to contact anti-Castro elements
and claims to be a special investigator for [ODYOKE.]
meeting - 24 mar 1960 - Gardyne told Babun he didn't know Casaus.
Babun said Lombarto Diaz Rodriquez and Varona were leaving
Cuba soon.
meeting 25 march 1960 - @ 3 + Diaz

23- Hava 4025 4-6-60 [Olien] contacted V April 15 re departure from Cuba.

24

25 -

26 memo - 11 April 1960 re Varona's entry into US,

27 April 12, 1960 - [Olien] contacted V re departure (HAVA 4152)

28- April 14, 1960 - From Havana - [Olien] met V April 13
V wanted to discuss in [PBPRIME] @ someone who could speak for [ODYOKE] his views on Cuban situation. After this he would meet with [AMWAIL]
[Olien] told V he had already received agreement in principle & meeting @ [AMWAIL] was only to obtain support of Figueres for eventual establishment of locale for junta.
[(AMHAWK] was pretty upset & [Olien] told him to settle down) f.w.

29 - from Havana Hava 4221 - 4-18-60 V agreea to meet (AMWAIL in Caracas;) to proceed to San Jose @ [AMWAIL] in case Figueres not in CARA.
If [AMWAIL] agrees conversations will be held at [CARA] with ARANGO. Not necessary for [Licari] to go either [CARA or SANJ.]
V said he was not on best terms @ Arango, but he is close to Figueras & Betancourt

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30 Hava 4224 - 18 April 1960 - [Olien] questioned V. re Rubiera
discussed who should be labor spokesman. V supplied names:
manuel "Manulo" Fernandez "(see Hava 3274) "in 32676 -
Rodriquez Lominchar — Jesus Artigas
Reinol Gonzalez Gonzalez — Angel Cofino
Jesus Plana — Ignacio Gonzalez Tellechea.

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31 From [Miami] 030 - to Dir - Ap. 18, 1960 From PARLETT
~~Buttari~~ Buttari meeting - wants to meet V
Buttari complained re disorganization anti-Castro effort.
stated his son was leaving Cuba with Students &
he (Buttari) wanted them briefed by Bender Group.
("Basically, such scheme in line our/Phillips thinking.")
(LW - sounds like a E.H. Hunt message)

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VOL III 3 may 60- 29 June 1960 LAD/DOO

[1-AMHAWK] will be in N.Y may 4 - staying at St. Moritz, if he can get reservations

2-

3- Arango left N.Y may 4. V leaving N.Y for Miami May 6, 1960

4-

5- meeting with V on 5 may- N.Y.C. 4:30 - 7:15 P.M- memo for record - 6 May 1960 - by R. Reynolds DC/WH/4
Varona stayed at the St. Moritz. Varona told Reynolds he planned to go to Miami on May 6 and return to NYC on May 8 or 9, for a meeting @ other Cuban leaders, including Justo Carrillo, Rasco, & others.
Varona plans to use Amalio Fiallo - as agit-prop type
PARAMILITARY
"We did not discuss this subject." ~~but~~ because it is an area best be had led "in conjunction with private groups, i.e. the Carr-Bender Group."
Reynolds used the name "Robert Rogers" with Varona.
promised Varona radio-transmitters.

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6- "The Drama of Cuba in the Americas!" by V - may 1960 - 26 pp.
Political Statement

7- Article - "Fidel Red Tool, Says Cuba Foe

8- 12 point program by V.

9- Same memo as 4

10- message to Havana - 6 may 1960 - re testimony of Ugalde Carrillo, Diaz Balart before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

11- From [redacted] - 5-6-60 [redacted] 3716 (IN 35250) COS-meeting with [HUMAIL] 4 may who said he and Betancourt settled differences tween Arango & Varona. "Pres Betancourt told [HUMAIL] that [ODYOKE] now wants to take measures against Trujillo."

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14- nephew - Abel de Varona Juarez

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15- ~~SP~~ outline of Varona's policies by Ruiz Sanchez (FDU) - brother-in-law (in Spanish) & english translation
Sanchez gave policies to [AMCLATTER-5] (probably Alberto Alberti Garcia) to pass on to [AMHAWK.]

16-

17- memo for record - contact report - meeting with Serafino Romualdi by [redacted] dated 11 may 1960 -
Romualdi met @ Sanchez Arango on 6 may. for 3 hrs. stated that opposition to Castro growing & young element of the Autentico Party under Varona is particularly strong in Camaguey and Oriente provinces

HAVA 4572

18- V's wife ~~to~~, daughter arriving miami may 12, 1960

19- memo for record - meeting @ Guimers, 16 may 1960 memo by [Sherwood N. Gebien]
Guimers reported on meeting with Eussbio (sp?) mujal of 13 may 1960. Jose Figueras & Betancourt urged Sanchez Arango & Verona to join in a united front. "Varona, with whom mujal (with Rafael Otero) had had a lengthy meeting last week in New York, told mujal" that an attempt will be made to issue a "manifesto" in June announcing united front. Decided to form Frente Radical Revolucionario - as an indep. entity @ representation of the FDR. candidate to be rep → Rafael Otero Berlaff. - confidant of Verona & Arango.
Guimers indicated mujal had recently seen Spruillo Braden again Braden said he intended to contact Allen Dulles to arrange for Dulles/mujal contact - impression that contact would be in writing. Seeking funds to finance activities inside Cuba.
Guimers requested $300/month for Otero. Guimers requested some means of communication from Cuba to Guimers. Arango wanted it.
Guimers requested that ~~some~~ "one of our people in Cuba make the contact by using his (Guimers') name. This would ~~assure~~ assure Sanchez Arango that he had a direct channel to Guimers and through Guimers to the U.S. Labor movement."

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20- cable TO[JMRAND] From Dir. Dated May 27, 1960 cite DIR 32008
TO[Galbond and Ponchay]
On 26 May meeting of V, Vargas Gomez, and Rubio Padillo.
V and Vargas reported that meeting was failure. Reported to[Parlett.] Rubio took position that except for[AMHAWK] he would have nothing to do with FRD people. V and Vargas felt any further dealings @ Rubio = waste of time.
[-JMARC]organization subject of conference - May 27, 1960 @
[Foster Collins and [redacted]]
[-AMWAIL 5]ready to go to Mexico and arrange Commo and PM training sites. "Have vague report from assessment site that quote 25 or 30 candidates look good."

21- Cable - 26 May 1960 From[Miami] to Dir. cite Miam 115
re FRD info-
1- V going to Cara May 27 to issue statement - reasons for breaking @ Castro.
2- During Bender/exec committee meeting Cubans wanted Sanchez to come to States to participate in FRD org. Do not want Sanchez in comm. but want behind the scenes role.
3-[AMWAIL]going to Mexico in next 3 or 4 weeks to announce break @ Castro.
" will look for place to train ~~26-HA~~ commo operators.
V will do same in Venezuela.
4- Amalio Fiallo, returning to Cuba, to be undercover FRD coordinator. Will return 30 days.
"7"- "Considerable disagreement among our Cubans re P.M activities[AMBIDDY/QD/COVE] eager to move ~~in~~ at once and use planes destroy sugar fields. [AMHAWK] in favor "invasion" on fairly large scale from third country. Nobody seems like our approach at moment[Parlett] temporized and suggested[AMHAWK]prepare paper this matter for discussion next week between[Licari]Bender[AMHAWK] only. Bender might bring his "military expert" to mtg. Suggestion accepted and waters calmed."
8- V [AMWAIL] want immediate action against Trujillo
9- FRD will use Rafael Otero Borlaff, formerly @ ORIT as contact with Hemisphere labor. At Bender/V meeting he accepted 1st monthly $700 "honorarium" from Bender for his chauffeur.

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(22) - blank p. only — "29 May 1960"

(23) - newspaper article "Fidel called Red Tool, Says Cuba Foe" by "Hal Hendrix" - statement of Varona. 5-29-60 Miami news.

(24) - [redacted] saar - V arrived Cara 27 May Gave speech May 28.
(25) letter to Varona - Spanish - + translation. - from "Battalion No. 1 "Comandante Moreno Bravo." - probably Cuban Army captain Patrocinio Estanislao Bravo y Moreno. undated.

(26) MASH 0013
(27) Cable - Havana from Dir 5-31-60 - re conversion of Dir. 32294 V's pesos. states it's being done + hru Grupo Bender - Adjust books accordingly.

(28) -
(29) -

(30) - TO Dir - From [redacted] Castelon] June 1, 1960 [[redacted] 5230]
V contacted 31 May - said he was 2 June for Mexico.
V wants Castelon to meet Arango and Salvador Romani - who is to lead Cara group. Romani - main aset of [CIRAKE-1.]

(31) - TO Dir From [[redacted]] 6-2-60 - [[redacted] 5232]
at May 31, meeting V had @ him manolo Alcalde Incala - works for Decor Intern'l of Miami - "apparently V's right hand man."

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(32) cable - TO Dir from MASH 6-3-60 MASH 28]
"Corbuston phoned and met Varona 3 June."
Brought up following points:
① Bender hopes it isn't true that Varona intends give Hendrix details of a June immigration troubles for Publication. - V agreed.
② Varona should arrange exec. comm. meeting - Wed 8 June. (agreed)
③ Ask Varona not inform Barker of Corbuston contact. - agreed

Cite Dir 33142.
(33) June 6, 1960 cable - To [redacted], J MASH ; From Director. - Bender will talk with [AMHAWK] soon re V's activities in Caracas.

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34- 9 June 1960 cable To JMASH From Dir - Cite Dir 33940 Roberto Alejos arriving [JMNET] miami 11 June. Karnley's office making reservations. V to tak @ him - should tell Alejos that if Alejos agrees, FRD will send special rep to Guat shortly to work out details. Alejos agreed.

35- The Drama of Cuba — in Spanish

36- To Dir From [Mexico City -] 7-2-60 - [Cite Mexi 5820]
June 23 Ray Leddy & 1st sec Joe Montillar interviewed V.
- had evidence [AMHAWK] under technical surveillance & probably physical surveillance. "Recommend FRD leaders be warned avoid overt U.S. govt contact."

37 - MASH 41 [JMNET] from [Parlett] re June 8, 1960 meeting of FRD exe. committee.

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40- June 13, 1960 - Cable to JMASH from Dir. #34580
learned ~~that~~ thru B.B ACTRESS that Eusebio Mujal organizing Frente Sindical & [AMHAWK] involved. [AMHAWK] denies knowledge. San Jose advised Alberto Alvarez had participated in formation of the group when in U.S. in May. Maxwell Raab reps. org. legally. Dina DellaLe - treasurer. [AMHAWK] was said to be present during N.Y. talks. Requestion [AMHAWK] by [michael m. maney] WH/4/PROP

41- 14 June 1960 - memo for record - subj: meeting @ Cmdr. Pons on Turell. Pons had been attempting to recruit crew members for maritime operations " said that it was common knowledge that Varona was CIA V is an old friend of his and V asked Pons to join his group. V asked Pons if he would care to meet an American who was "a friend of a friend of his." Pons declined. Admiral Rodrigues Hernandez is Pons contact in mami "Pons added that he felt the above information should be brought immediately to the attention of Mr. Abbott (Dave Phillips) and would like to meet with Mr. Abbott on 14 June."

42 Cable 6-20-60 - To Dir From Hava HAVA 4998 -
re meeting with Ruiz Sanchez - On June 17 [AMANTHEM] introduced Edward D Knapman to Cubana Capt. Eduardo Ferrer (no relation former far inspector general mentioned ref). Ferrer arranged meeting.

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44- To mexico from Dir 23 June 1960- reservations being made for conference suite commodore 28 June - July 5.
Bender wants meeting @ V and Carr before 3 July.

45- memo for record 23 June 1960 re Romauldi & Mujal -
to the extent possible CIA assets would be used to negate Mujal's activities.

46- Blank Page June 25, 1960 state Telegram - #3319 Re Emb. 6-247, June 24.

47- memo for record of meeting between Guimers, Sothern, & Gebien, 27 June 1960 - memo by Gebien.
Mujal told Guimers that he had been told by FBI contacts not to allow his supporters to undertake assass plots against the Castros, Che Guevara, etc. Mujal feels this puts him on the spot "because if an attempt of this type is made, the FBI might hold him responsible and take action to deport him. He then was ~~then~~ assured by Guimers that he could not be deported without court action and advised to tell the FBI to mind its own business."

48- From [mex city] to Dir June 29, 1960 - [mex i] 5804 re meeting arrangements - flights to New York - for V, [AMPALM-5] [AMBIDDY 1]
Lawrence R. Charron notified of [AMHAWK] arrangements.

49 To director from [Mexico City] (blank)
date 6-29-60

50- ~~Blo~~

51- Blank Page - "U.S. Dept of Justice FBI investigation #105-86020 CLIP June 29, 1960."

52- Cable - Director from MASH June 30, 1960 # 130
[Karnley] met @ Rudy Fernandez in D.C. June 27.
and @ Fer. and Cajigas on June 28

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36- cable 29 Oct 1960 From Havana to Director.- 27 Oct Enrique Trueba Campa was introduced to Knapman by [Odoath] att. Trueba is office in Regil Coffee, an old classmate of Fidel Castro.- issue immediate POA for use [JMWET] Intel/P.M asset and assign No. 214-6. Trueba and brother, Pedro, supporting Capt. Osvaldo Ramirez who is unit condr anti-Castro force under Mejor Evalio Duque.

37- Cable - Oct 29, 1960 - [AMJUE-2] requested station assistance to obtain visa for Roberto ~~[illegible]~~ Rodriguez Hevia and family. Hevia told [AMJUTE-1] that he had been asked to go to Miami by Rafael De J. Gonzalez who sent message through ex-capt Enrique Dominguez Perez- Hevia claims to have been in contact with reps of FRD and cooperating with Antonio Varona, Martin-Elena, Tomas Cabanas.

38- Cable Oct 29, 1960 - [AMHAWK] interview published Diario de Las Americas 28 October. - covered unity of Anti-Castro groups [AMRASP] open for admission new anti-Castro groups [AMRASP] not constitutes provisional gov't.

39- Cable Oct 31, 1960 - To Director from MASH cite Massh 335 "Subjects ret. picked up safely by Coast Guard cutter 2 hours off Key West morning 29 Oct. Cutter towed launch to point off Boca Chica Key where MASH so and co met to take custody bodies. Laulth temporarily held Coast Guard Station Key West. main officers brought subjects Mash safe house and held until Imigration-94 documents ready morning Oct 30. mash remaining in close touch with subjects who presently Room 319 University Court motel. Began making local contacts Afternoon 30 Oct with [AMBIDDY 1, AMHAW, AMWAIL-5,] martin Elena, etc.

[AMRUNG-2] stated intended remain MASH 3 days or "until confusions and misunderstanding resolved" with ref to Radio Commo, Sea Delivery, and Air Drop problems."

Planned operation PAT discussed. Main points were recognition signals and selection rendevous points. This type op will be discussed further with JOBES present so that any future misunderstanding can be prevented.

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40-[AMHAWK] to have NYC press conference on Nov 4.

41- Blank Page - DBF-62236 dated November 2, 1960

42- meeting @ Tony Varona at Twicker's Apt, Miam, Florida, 25 Oct 1960. Memo for Record dated 2 Nov 1960. written by Gerard Droller -

meeting - V, Droller, Hunt - wanted V to make statement which indicated he did not consider himself as future president of Cuba nor was the FRD to be considered the future gov't of that country. "Varona readily agreed to make this statement which was dictated to him by Twicker and which he, Varona, gave over the telephone to Sosa for implementation."

other info - ① V's public relations consultant - N.Y - ~~use~~ is Lem Jones - V. doesn't like him & will discharge him.

② Sanchez Arango - making rounds in Miami, "showing that he he had enough influence to remove Bender from the scene."

③ "It would not be difficult if it were not for Artime who resists any ~~detail~~ dealings with Lorie to incorporate the alliance with FRD."

43- Nov 2, 1960 cable - ~~reg~~ re Enrique Llaca / Orbiz

44- Nov 3, 1960 cable from Mash - re Discussions [AMRUNG-1,] cite mash 1404

Mr. [redacted] mash case officers. "Did not discuss Pinar del Rio or Escambray DZ's with ANYONE? mash. Only person fully witting besides self and [AMYUM-1] is [AMYUM] Cartographer in Havana who trusted implicitely by [A-1] individuals at DZ's obviously knowledgeable. In this connection [A-1] turned over to Hava case officer complete plans sea landing zones DZ and other related information for passing Headquarters re implementing preliminary phase operation." . . . .

["A-1] feels [AMHAWK] has subverted cause. When asked if he received 2 covert shipments arms sent by [AMHAWK] boats he stated no. Upon confronting [AMHAWK] he ascertained arms cached [A-1] with reluctant agreement [AMHAWK] will now be given arms cached.

[A-1] ~~tent~~ stated " sent representative to Hava to kill ~~him~~ [A-1] but could not. [AMHAWK] stated his people not assassins but loyal Cubans who want country free."

"landing 2 boats supply missions with [A-1] who will return Cuba in mash boat sometime after period of no moon [A-1] wants ~~to~~ take W/T operator now HQS with him."

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DDO Files

De Varona, Manuel Antonio- 201-196435 8 files

Volume 1. 15 Oct 48 to 30 Sept. 49 mostly 3rd Agency material
Volume;2. January 1956- April 1960

A. Biographical Information on Varona- dated 8/8/57 6pp
DOB: 11/25/08 Place: Camaguey =Cuba
Lists as friend: Carlos Prio Socarras
Wife: Emilina Ruis Sanchez de Varona
Children: Carlos Manuel de Varona
Segura Bustamente nee de Verona
One brother: no name given

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1940-44 Member House of Representatives- Cuba
1944-48 Member Cuban Senate
1948-50 Prime Minister and Senator of Prio govt
1950-52 President of Cuban Senate.
Active in political affairs for cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC- Autentico) since 1934.
B.8 Aug 1957 - Cable from Havana attaching PRQ part 1 and states PRQ II is coming.
C. 1/27/58 Varona given 201 number and assigned crypt
D. 1/20/58 Varona granted operation approval
E. Operational approval requested 22 Aug 1957
F. 9 March 60 Varona considered as a member of 4 man group to sign Cuban bond issue to be floated in Miami
G. 10 March 60- Varona wants to speak to accredit United States person about position and plans.
H. 17 March 60 Jorje Alonso Pujul, Varona's partner in Cuba, advised that Varona is ready to leave Cuba. Station suggests that Licari go to Cuba and discuss plans.
I. 28 March 60- re meeting in Havana re formation of governemt in exile Varona makes requests. Listed. United States guarantees entry of key persons, followeres and support.
J.30 March 1960 -Varona sets April 16 as date of departure.
K. Dispatch from COS, Havan, 1 April 1960. Santiago Babun called the American Embassy on March 23, 1960 and wanted to see Gerald L. Gardyne. Babun introduced Gardyne to Orlando Acosta and Eugenio Rolando Martinez. Babun said that the three of them were in close contact with Varona. Babun asked Gardyne if he knew Carlos Casaus who resides in the Fosca Building. Babun said Casaus was attempting to contact anti-Castro elements and claims to be a special investigator for the U.S. At a meeting onf 24 march 1960, Gardyne told Babun he did not know Casaus. Babun said that Lombarto Diaz Rodriquez and Varona were leaving Cuba soon. Another meeting of Babun andAcosta and Rolando on March 25.
L. Varona met with case officer in Havana on April 13 and wanted to disucss in U.S. with someone who could speak for U.S. govt, his views on Cuban situation.
M. Varona agrees to meet AMWAIL in Caracas and proceed to San Jose with AMWAIL in case Figueres not in Caracas. Varona said he was not on best terms with Arango , but he is close to Figueras and Betancourt.
N. Varona was questioned re Rubiera. Discussed who should be labor leader or spokesman : Varona supplied names: Manuel "Manulo" Fernandez Rodriquez Lominchar; Reinol Gonzalez Gonzalez; Jesus Plana; Jesus Artigas; Aggel Cofino; Ignacio Gonzalez Tellechea. Meeting on 18 April 1960
O. April 18, 1960 cable from Parlett- Miami- . Reports meeting with Buttari who wants to meet Varona. Buttari complained about lack of organization. Stated his son is leaving Cuba with students and he wanted them briefed by Bender group.

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P. Contact Report- by Gerald Droller- dated Dec 27, 1960. Met with Varona in Miami with Hunt. Varona reported he had found an isolated piece of land on Andros Island, Bahamas which could be used as a training site for 100 men. "Varona discarded the idea.(Comment: I would bet even money that he will pursue this aspect unilaterally.)"
Q. Memo of conversation, 11/29/60 Varona had meeting with Edwin E. Vallon, Robert A. Stevenson, Robert a. Hurwitch, and Frank J. Devine. Requested funds, stated that Florida law enforcement was geting stricter, impatient. Listed other members of forces working aginst Castor. Aureliano Sanchez Arango; Luis Conte Aguero, radio cannouncer and commentator in Cuba; Pedro Duiz Diaz Lanz Manolo Ray, Andres Vargas Gomez; AREC- rich Cuban businessmen and property owners
R. Cable to Caracas from Director. Orig. is Gerald Droller. Caracas told to advise V. that U.S. government official, Robert Palmer, is prepared to see him in NY on April 30 or May 1. Cable dated April 28, 1960
#.

Volume 3, 3 # May 1960 to 29 June 1960

A. V. is to be in NY on May 4 and will stay at the St. Moritz if he can get reservations. V. is leaving NY for Miami on May6
B. Meeting with V. on May 5. memo for record dated 6 May by R. Reynolds V. told Reynolds he planned to go to Miami on May 6 and return to NYC on May 8 or 9, for a meeting with other Cuban leaders, including Justo Carrillo, Rasco, and others. Varona plans to use Amalio Fiallo as agit-prop type. Reynolds #### states that they did not discuss paramilitary subject because "it is an area best be handled 'in conjunction with private groups, i.e. the Carr-Bender group." Reynolds used the name Robert Rogers with Varona.
B. From [redacted] 5/6/60, [redacted]3716 #### Meeting with HUMAIL 4 May who# said he and Betancourt settled differences between Arango and Varona. "Pres. Betancourt told HUMAIL that ODYOKE now wants to take measures against Trujillo."
C. V's nephew= Abel de Varona Juarez
D. Memo for record. Meeting with Guymers, 16 May 1960 Memo by Sherwood N. Gebien. Guymers reported on meeting with Mujal of 13 May. Figueras and Betancourt urged Arrango and V to join in a united front. "Varona, with whom Mujal (with Rafael Otero) had had a lengthy meeting last week in New York, todd Mujal that an attempt will be made to issue a manifesto in June.". A candidate to representative on Frente was Rafael Otero Berlaff- described as a confidant of V and Arrango. Guimers indicated Mujal had recently seen Spruillo Braden again. Braden said he intended to contact Allen Dulles to arrange for Dulles/#### Mujal contact. Impression was given that contact would be in writing. Guimers requested 300/month for Otero.
E. Cable to JMRANB form Dir dated 5 May. To Galbond and Ponchay. JMARC organization subject of conference on May 27, 1960 with Foster Collins and [redacted] AMWAIL%5 is ready to go to Mexico and arrange Commo and PM training sites.

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F. Cable dated 26 May 1960 from Miami to Dir. Cite Miam 115. V going to Caracas on May 27 to issue statement containing reasons for break with Cuba. AMWAIL going to Mexico in next 3 or 4 weeks to announce break with Castro. He will look for place to rain 20-40 commo operators. V. will do thesame in Venezuela. Amalio Fiallo will be returning to Cuba to be an undercover FRD coordinator. "considerable disagreement among our Cubans re PM activities. AMBIDDY/ QD/COVE eager to move at once and use planes destroy sugar fields. V in favor 'invasion' on fairly large scale from third country. Nobody seems like our approach at moment. Parlett temporized and suggested V prepare paper this matter for discussion next week between Licari/Bender/ V. only. Bender might bring his 'military expert' to mtg. Suggestion accepted and waters calmed." V. and AMWAIL want immedicate action against Trujillo. FRD will use Rafael Otero Borlaff, formerly with ORIT as contact with Hemisphere labor. At Bender-kVarona meeting, V accepted first monthly 700 honorarium from Bender and 200 for his chauffeur.

G. Newspaper article "Fidel called Red Tool, Says Cuba foe" article is by Hal Hendrix. Contains statement made by Varona. DAte 5/29/60- Maimi news.

H. To dir from [redacted] June 1, 1960 [redacted] 5230- V. contacted Castelon on 31 May. V. wants Castelon to meet Arango and Slavador Romani who is to lead th Cara group. Romani is the main asset of CIRAKE-1.

I. To dir from [redacted] dated June 2, 1960 [redacted] 5232- At May 30 meeting, Varona had with him Manolo Alcalde ##### Incala who works for Decor International in Miami- "apparently V's right hand man."

J. Cable to Dir from MASH dated 6/3/60 MASH28 "Corbuston phoned and met with Varona 3 June." Brought up the following points: Bender hopes it isn't true that Varona intends give Hendrix details of 2 June immigration trouble ## for Publication. Varona agreed. Varona should arrange exec. Committee meeting for Wed June 8. Asked that Varona not inform Barker of orbuston contact.

K. To Dir from Mexico City dated July 2, 1960 Cite Mexi 5820. June 23 Ray Leddy and fist sec. Joe Montillar interviewed Varona. There is evidence that V. is under technical survellance and probably physical surveillance. "recommend FRD leaders probably be warned avoid overt U.S. govt contact."

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L. Cable to JMASH from Director dated 6/13/60 #34580 learned thru # International Organization Division(IOD) that Mujal organizing Frente Sindical and V. is involved. V. denies knowledge. San Jose advised that Alberto Alvarez had participated in formation of the group.Maxwell Raab represents organization legally. Dina Dellale-##### treasurer. V. was said to be present during NY talks.

M. Memo for record dated june 14, 1960 by Michael M.Maney. Subj: meeting with Comm. Pons on June 11. Pons had been attempting to recruit crew members for maritime operations. Pons said that it was common knowledge that V was CIA. Varona is an old friend of his and V asked Pons to join his group. V asked pons if he would care to meet and American who was "a friend of a friend of his." pons declined. Admiral Rodriques Hernandez is Pons contact in Miami. "Pons added that he felt the above information should be brought immediately to the attention of Mr. Abbott (Dave Phillips) and would like to meet with Mr. Abbott on 14 June.

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N. Cable dated 6-20-60 To dir from Hava. On June 17 AMANTHEM introduced Edward D. Knapman to Cubana Capt. Eduardo Ferrer.

O. To Mexico from Dir, 23 June 60. Reservations being made for conferecne suite Commodore 28 June-5 July. Bender wants meeting with V and #Carr before 3 July.

P. Memo for record of meeting between Guimers, Sothern, and Gebien. June 27 Mujul told Guimers that he had been told by FBI contacts not to allow his supporters to undertake assassination plots against the Castros, Che Guevara, etc. Mujul feels this puts him on the spot "because if an attempt of this type is made, the FBI might hold him responsible and take action to deport him. He then was assured by Guimers that he could not be deported without court action and advised to tell the FBI to mind its own business."

~~# Volume 4- 1 July 1960 to 30 Sept 1960~~
~~A. Memo for Chief WHD from Esterline. Subj: Burke Hedges. Dated 1 July 1960.~~
~~Droller met with Varona in NYC for 2 Hour~~

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Volume 4, 1 July 1960 to 30 sept 1960

1. Memo for Chief WHD Subj: Burke Hedges from Esterline C/WH/ 4; 1 July 1960. Mr. Droll Droller met with V. in N.Y.C. for 2 hour Droller met laid down firm line that Hedges had no place in the operation. V. objected cos Hedges was an old friend.

2. 5July 60 cable from Jmash to Havana. attached is letter for "Ralp "Ralph" Messages were not read.

3. Routing slip stating message opened by TSS and copies forwarded Hava and Mash In UFGW 19

4. To Jmash from Dir. 7-11-60; Obtain passport picture of V. Need for special documentation he knows about.

5. To JMASH from Dir. 7-11-60 FBI reported Mrs. Catherine Taafe said on 16 June V contacted her and wanted to seeher. Requests Corbuston warn V about Taaffe

6. Memo to Director from J.E. Hoover dated June 29, 1960 re CLIP relates Taaffe story of V. call.

7. V. said 12 July he does not know and has never heard of Taaffe

8. July 14, 1960 cable from MASH to Dir. #0206 V and AmBIDDY 1 have submitted names of 70 people now residing MASH for candidacy second phase training. recruitment can produce 100 by 1 Aug.

9. JUly 24, 60 cable from Havana to Dir. States Ref B. (HAVA 4174 In 26983) identifies AMHAWK-2. Ref C contained POA his use as AM HAWK cutout with station. Ref C is DIR 30207 OUT 76577)

10. To dir. From Havana July 20, 29= 1960 - On 19 July Dr. mario Del Canal Ferrer who described himself as principal rep and coordina tor for AMHAWK contacted pol. officer John Topping and indicated he would like discreet contacts with the Embassy since contacts now established through AMHAWK-2 (Ralph) and Juan Menendez Tellez were not sufficient. Station disturbed that indiscret approch made to Embassy revealling that covert channel existed to AMHAWK. Asks if AMHAWK 2 is to be eliminated.

11. Letters in Spanish to Francisco Jose from Dr. Bashlines; to Patricia from Eugenio and from Eugenio to Ralph.

12. Indicates messages in 11 were from V.

13. July 25 60 AMHAWK 2 is Jesus Exposito Lorenzo

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14. Memo for Record re Telephone Call from Jack Malone from Robert Reynolds 26 Jly 60 Malone reported that V had asked Mr. Lowell Tash, former manager of an American ranch in Cuba to visit Andros Island on behalf of V in order to Lease 3¼ or 4 acres of aland. Malone will instruct Tash to go to Andros and let Malone know what comes of trip.

15
16July 28, 60 to Dir from MASH. AMHAWK claims Fernandez has worked with him. Said name Vargas Gomez probably given by Fernandez since felt Vargas in U.S. and couldn't be touched by Fidel.
17. july 28, 60 V. said Amhawk 2 is his contact with Olien . Mario del Canal is head man and general coordinator in cuba for amhawk's group. code aname Patricio. v. Menendez tellez is man who put amhawk in touch with Olien.
18.
19.Amhawk says hell be in D.C. for 5 Aug meeting with People to People committee. Be in N.Y. 6 Aug and will call Bender. Will be in Maimi aug 6.
20. Correspondence from Havana, Ralph, to V. Aug 6, 1960. In Spanish.
21. To Dir from MASH Aug 10, 1960 V. stated that AMRASP is not flexible enough in its personnel policies.; needs a leader; Bender is too stingy. Bender group wants AMHAWK as Chairman It common talk Miam that FAD hard up. Parlett believes that time ripe begin funding Miam FRD activities out of agreed $131,000 per month. Beginning sept all funding to be handled via Mexico. Pleas be sure HUNT has cash and Swiss acoount availa ble upon his arrival Mexi.
22. V arrived in Maimi from Mexi Aug 18.
23 Message from Mex. to Director, Aug 19, 1960 V plans on trip to L.A. for press conference Aug 19.
24. V arrived Miami on 18 August with a 2 day visitor visa and intended to visit hi wife in L.A. and return to mexico
25. To mexico from Director Payment mailed to AMHAWK Aug 19
26. Spanish letters to AmHAWK from Cuba.
27. 25 Aug. AMHAWK tleephoned from Mexi to Alonzo Pujol in NY to ask him get in touch Licari to check on Aug report. Agency does not want V to uses Licari's name on such matters- serious security implications.
28. From Director to Mexico JMASH, Aug 25, 60. Cite Dir 47292- "FYI: During AMHAWK recent visit PBPRIME he reportedly solicited funds LAS VEGAS gamblers. Suggest at your discretion you probe report."
29. Letter from V to Bender requesting secure residence permomit in U. S. for Mr. and Mrs. Jose J. Garcia , Mr. and Mrs Carlos Rosello, and MR. and Mrs Roberto Solis. Will be representatives from WEst. Live in Spark, Nevada. dated Aug 26, 2960

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30. [redacted] V. planning to return to M[redacted] becaise pf problems in Mex
Date Aug 31.
31. SEpt 1, 60 [redacted] recalls NYC meeting when Parlett raised issue of independent party with amhawk to latters embarrassment.
Presume [redacted] this same group referred to. Amhawk radio program Rescate would support this.

32. Re AMHAWK unilateral radio activity. Want it to cease.
33. Memo for the record from Paul J. Marson, [redacted] Subject is "VIews of AMWAIL3 on Current Cuban Exile Situation." Dated SEpt. 6. Feels V. should be chosen as chairman of AMCIGAR.

34. /Blank page "U.S. Dept of Justice FBI Investigation, Sept 12, 1969 Cuban Political Activities Internal Security-Cuba."

35.Varona arrived [redacted] from Mexico by aircraft during the early P.M. on 14 [redacted] Sept. 1960; Subject was planning to remain in New York for 2 days. 17 [redacted] 1960 subject planning to proceed to 115 Venetian Way, San Marina, Florida. (Memo to Droller dated Sept 15) Memo from Joseph F. Langan.
36. Cable Sept 16, 1960 To Dir from Mash #0727 "SOSA told Bender Gupton of AMHAWK's strongest desire return Cuba sonnest. Wondered whether Bender would furnish AMHAWK necessary support once inside. Bender replied emphatically in affirmative, pointing out that this would be excellent step not only for AMHAWK's own political ambitions but also for AMRASP prestige as whole. ..."
37. [redacted] Contact Reprt, dated Sept 22, 1960 - Meeting with Tony Varona, Pine Cottage, Coral Gables on Sept.17, 1960 . Memo re written by Droeler. "1. GUPTOMinterpreted this meeting for the undersigned." Verona wanted to see Droller because of his possible withdrawal from the EXCOM and his early return to Cuba. Droeler thinks its a good idea for Varona to return to Cuba. Suggests to him that he submit to me a most detailed statement as to the support he thought he needed from Bender and that after this planning phase this matter could be discussed more intelligently, more concretely, and in more definitive terms.. Varona advised he was going to N.Y. on evening of the 18th and he would call and arrange another meeting.
Sept 27, 1960- Cable to Dir from Mash. MASH # 0830-Jerry W. Erler, Pres. Sears Roebuck, Cuba advised had been approached by Manuel Rodriquez to serve as alternate courier FRD CUBA and FRD Miami. Rodriquez said he is intermediary between FRD and recuperation in Cuba for mutual support coordination both groups. He travels Havana-Miami about three times per month and meets Frank Zayas and or Tony Varona to give and receive' plans and intructions.
39. Contact Report 30 Sept 1960- Meeting with the Executive Committe 27 Sept. 1960 in La Moderne Motel, Coral Gables. Gupton and I met withCommittee minus Sanchez Arango, Informed that Varona had been appointed as General Coordinator of the Frente.

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40- Meeting with Tony Varona, 27 Sept. 1960, Coral Gables. Contact Report written by Droller. "Gupton and Bender met with Varona at the latter's request in private. Varona brought me up to date on events which had taken place after his and Carrillo's meeting with Hunt and me in Washington (see Hunt's memorandum for the record in Contact Report file)."

41. Blank Pate "U.S. Dept of Justice FBI investigation July 13, 1960 Re: Gederico Fernandez Casas

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Volume 5- Tony Varona.
1 Oct 1960 to 30 Dec 1960

1.
2. Meeting with Tony Varona, La Moderne Motel, Coral Gables, 28 Sept 1960. Contact Report, dated 3 Oct 1960. Written by Gerald ~~Fd~~ Droller.
States that Gupton and I met with Varana. "I told Varona that we would send in the future certain equipment into Cuba. If everything went well, I would inform him and the FRD could take the credit. If something went wrong, the FRD, however, would have to take the blame."

3. Cable from Dir to JMASH dated 3 Oct. 1960 with instructions that ~~AMHAWK~~ V be reminded that affiliates of AMRASP FRD are to be run by Gupton ~~via~~ via Sosa.

4. Memo for record, dated 4 Oct 1960, Subj. Report of Contact with Alberto Roque. By Bernard N. Reikhardt. Roque lists dangers of appointing Varona General Coordinator of FRD. Roque is interested in MDC, and promoting Rasco.

5. Cable dated Oct 4, 1960 To Director from Havana Ref: MASH 0863 (In 20346) States that AMHAWK is pleased with Ref operation. Boat returned Hava without difficulties. V. now ready to exfiltrate following as soon as possible. List includes ~~Jose;~~ Jose Orimuela Torra- nephew of Miro Cardona. , Lt. Armando Gerra Iglesias, and Lt. Nicolas R. Vaan. Who have info on sovient technicians stationed San Antonio de Los Banos and Mangua.

6. Cable from JMMASH to Dir dated Oct 5, 1960. MASH 0936. States that first Twicker/Amhawk meeting since V. assumed post of general coordinator. Agreed that Twicker will maintain normal contacts with V and other AMCIGAR members plus Sosa and Paula. Also has right discuss opinions with departmental Chiefs. Gupton and Enzel will confine contacts to Departmental Chiefs with Whom they have been working plus Sosa. Also, no PBPRIMER should make specific commitments to any Cuban without prior consultation with Amhawk. Comment: believe above is reasonable "However in practical temms none of above intended curtail ~~current~~ production or relationships."

7. 7 Oct 1960 cable to director from Havana. Cite Hava 6439 Report of Gordon M. Biniaris from AMCALL 1 reports that Arango has withdrawn from the FRD. Justo Carillo and Felipe Pazos ~~Pablo Carrillo and Felipe Pazos~~ will be integrated ino Manuel lRay's MRP. Varona espressed desire to join MRP but Ray insists Varona return to Cuba before being accepted.
8. Memo ~~re~~ for record, dated 6 Oct. by Droller (C/WH/4/PA) re ~~tl~~ phone call from Ricardo Lorie.
9. Cable from MASH to Director dated Oct 6, 1960. AMHAWK considering Bogata as AMRASP hemisphere propaganda distribution point. Twicker indicated tacit acquiesence, but Meigs feels this would provide undesirable echelon between AMRSP HQS and its national branches.

10. To Director from JMASH dated 6 Oct. Cite 0957 MASH AMHAWK alleges two cubana pilots and navigator who fly Castro on International flights ready defect and desires offer them equal pay as inducement. "4. FBI: If Pilots really fly Castro this opens other opnl possibilities."

11. Blank page- FBI Memo dated October 3, 1960- Subject: Frente REvolucionario Democratico. Internal Security Cuba.

12. Cable Oct 8, 1960 from MASH to / Director. Hunt believes V will repeat will do his utmost in new post and suggests that in this difficult initial period we assume attitude of watchful waiting and see whether V can produce, without nagging and otherwise diverting him from current critical problems. Via Amclatter 1 Twicker (Hunt) becoming familiar working level matters AMRASP and this will provide check on V activity and performance

13. To director from MASH Cable- dated Oct 8, 1960. AMHWK apparently interested mounting PM ops as political favor his contacts Cuban exile community who not willing affiliate AMRSP but desirous utilize AMHAWK claims access arms source with tacit acquiescence ODYOKE. On Oct 4 Sosa asked Gupton arrante meeting with Enzel at which Sosa stated AMHAWK desires Enzel mount Oriente operation utilizeing Alberto Fernandez Exhevarria and AMNORM- Nino DIAZ. Oct 6, Sosa made direct pitch for Enzel hand over small amount arms. Claimed AMHAWK in contact with unnamed individual who owns small plane which has made two flights from Florida in last two weeks to make arms delivery cmdte Duque group in Escambray. Enzel tactifully refused this request on grounds complete ops detail must b3 forthcoming prior to arms trun over. Basic element of interest above is AMHAWK willingness break own AMRASP admin channels.

14. Cable from JMMASH to Director , dated Oct 12, 1960. DRE has selected following students for first prop team: Ramon Barquin Canterio, DOB Aug 8 1942; Carlos de Varona y Segura, DOB 29 Une 1941 (son of Tony); Miguel A. Garcia R Armengo, born 1 Nov 1938.; Manuel Salvat Roque. Alberto Muller y Quintana.

15. Memo for Record, Report of contact with Alberto Roque, Oct 13, 1960. by B.E. Reichhardt

16. Cable from [redacted] to Director dated Oct 15, 1960. Arango has left FRD and joining with Diaz Lanz groups. Persons representing FRD: Dr. Rolando de Rojas Gonzales, representing Varona, Dr. Frank Marinez Piedra, representing RC, Dr. Jose F. Caragol, representing Artime, Dr. Julian Arias, representing Sanchez, Dr. Diaz. Also states William Morgan is reported to be have taken to Escambray hills. (Handwritten after this statement "JAIL")

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17. Cable dated Oct 15. Luis Morales Ortega granted tourist visa, U.S. V's chaffeur.
18. Estevez del pino is V's rep in Venezuela.
19. Cable Oct 17 from Director to JMASH. Twicker urged exert strongest pressure on V to deliver all material his possession immedicately. Twicker to inform V ODYOKE demands from Twicker immedicate turnover. WH comment :Reported certain' materical being hand-carried Washington.
20. Contact report dated Oct 17 . Subj. meeting with QDCOVE, Columbus, Hotel, Florida on Oct 12. By Wallace A. Parlett. QDCOVE showed him a telgram he had received from Rojas for transmittal to V. Whicker should ascertain, without involving the source, what AMHAWK is up to in connection with British-owned real estate. QDCOVE asked whether we could be of assistance to inflitrate one of his men, FNU, CRESPI.
21. Contact Report- Oct 17- by Wallace A. Parlett. Subject: meeting with ANSLAW-1, Columbus Hotel, Florida. AMSLAW-1 was to leave for Paris the evening of 14 Oct where he wanted to persuade AMECRU-1 to return to the U.S. in order to begin and carry out the important work of a "behind the scenes collaborator" with AMRASP. Is that alright with Parlett? It is alright with AMHAWK with whom this matter had been cleared. I answered in the affirmative.
22. FRD delegate in BOgota is Marino Sorondo Quintana
23. Cable Oct 18- from JMMASH to Director. FRD budget proposal included large sum for work inside Cuba which Bender group eliminated and counterproposed that FRD collect peso funds from Cuban sources and use them inside Cuba. V. reports increasing diffiuculties in collecting pesos inside Cuba and states that pesos, a large portion, were going to Manuel Ray. V requests budget increase by 25,000 $ monthly
24. Contact Report- Oct 18, 1960- Subj. Meeting with AMHAWK 13 Oct. 1960 in a very hot car near the Miami airport. By Wallace A. Parlett. V. requested that we supply him with arms and not inquire into the details of how he would dispose of these arms. He said he had a plane at his disposal. He could deliver the material inside Cuba. As he had confidence in us,' we should have confidence in him. A revolution can not be wone through bureaucratic means. Nothing ventured, nothing gained. No commitment was given. Told him that he would Hear from Hunt about it.
25. Cable Oct 19. From JMASH to Dir. "Having rebuked V on 17 Oct for raid;s endangering lives of Americans in Cuba, Twicker on 18 Oct told V that material still not accounted for. V. at once began taking steps recover same. FBI: V understands material essential and manifested no resistnace to delivering any balance locatable. On basis Twicker interview no reason believe any key materials purposely withheld, although "sourenirs" may have been retained by members raiding party.

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26. Cable Oct 19- from Havana to Dir. Gerardo Rafael Alvarez claims close connections with 300 man resistance group in Matanza who ready to fight but need arms and ammo. Group connected with Jorge and Rafael Fundora. Sampedro close friends with William Erler. Also claims to known V.
27. Dispatch to Chief of WH Division re Anti Castro Groups and JMARC Reports a meeting with Carlos Hevia and Lowell H. Lunger on 1 Dec. 1960. Hevia reiterated his personal desires not to become closely involved with a member of any Cuban exile group but intended solely to use his influence and contacts to determine just what is being done or not done amongst anti-Castro organizations. Known V. for many years.
28. Oct20, 1960 cable. Indicates V is in New York.
29. Oct 20 , 1960 Cable From Havana to Dir. AMHAWK 2 request that V be personally notified that Lomberto La Caridad Diaz Rodriquez will arrive Marathon, Florida 21 Oct aboard the "See Bee" Purpose is consultation with V. Mash requested arrange arrival and departure boat so as to leave no record and avoid all apublicity.
30. Cable Mash to Director- Oct 21, 1960 V agreed to make statement ofor the cause to press on Oct 23 at a meeting with Labor leaders in NYC.
31. Oct 21, 1960 Oct 20 meeting with V. and Miro Cardona. Cable. Miro accepted post of secretary general for pR. of AMRASP and will receive his funds on that basis.
32. Oct 22, 1960 Cable- From MASH re History of FRD labor affiliate. Sosa took initial steps organize labor affiliate in Miaimi. Another group formed in NY. Both merged to form Frente Obrero Revolucionario Democratico (FORD). Under original Bender AMHAWK agreement where MASH was to direct and fund all affiliates including FORD, MASH wokked thru SOSA get labor show on road. But Amhawk repudiated original agreement becasue of alleged interference with internal affairs of FRD for dealing directly with affiliates.
33. Oct 24 Cable From MASH to Dir. Twicker phoned V at Hotel Buckingham NYC and queried V re statement to press noting that Hunt had not seen it published. V said that his speech 23 Oct at Hotel Empire to crowd of 600 had included the statement but he did not yet know extent press coverage. Added he now editing a press handout, presumably with Lem Jones, which would contain the statment plus other points. FYI: American voice answered phone in AMHQWK room. When identity queried V said only that person was "a friend." Could have been Lem Jones man or even the alleged State Dept (in quotes) contact who purpottedly advised V against making the statement.
34. Oct 25 Cable from Dir to JMASH- Jones said State Department man was really rep of Senate Investigation Committee in touch AMHAWK thru Senator Smathers.

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35. Cable from Dir to JMASH and JMHOPE, dated 26 Oct.
" Two independent sources report AMHAWK boat is rebroadcasting HOpe programs. Specifically mentioned was "Prensa Libre" Show. Doublechecked. Both Monitors insist report valid. Unauthorized clandestine rebroadcasting hope programs jeopardizes tremendous CIA investment. V action will not be tolerated. Twicker will emphatically direct v. stop forthwith. Advise HQS soonest V compliance above instruction For Corbuston: Is Carbo providing V with Dubplicate tapes of Prensa Libre Program? If so prohibit immediately." Cit dir 08219
36. Cable Oct 28, 1960. Meeting of Bender and arango Sanchez. Sanchez is to submit specifics for help to his org to Jim Smith and to remain in contact with Bender. Parlett believes above leaves door open to either work with Sanchez or neutralize him.

36. Cable from Havana to Dir dated 29 Oct 1960. On 27 Oct Enrique Trueba Campa was introduced to Knapman by odoath att. Trueba is officer in Regil Coffiee, an old classmate of Fidel Castro- issue imediate POA for use JMNET Intel/PM asset and assign No. 214-G. Trueba and brother, Pedro, supportin Capt. Osvaldo Ramirez who is unit comdr. anti-Castro force under Major Evalio Duque.
37. Cable Oct 29, 1960- AMJUE-1 requested assistance to obtain visa for Roberto Rodriquez Hevia and family. Hevia told AMJUTE-1 that he had been asked to go to Miami by Rafael De J. Gonzalez who ss nt message through ex-capt Enrique Dominguez Perez- Hevia claims to have been in contact with reps of FRD, and ### in contact with Varona, Marin-Elena, Tomas Cabanas.
38. Cable Oct 31, 1960 To Dir from MASH cite MASH 335 ? "Subjects ref. picked up safely by Coast Guard cutter 2 hours off Key west morning 29 Oct. Cutter towed launch to point off Boca Chica Key where MASH ~~80~~ and CO met to take custody bodies. Launch temporarily held Coast Guard Sation Key ## West. Maim officers brought subjects MASH safe house and held until Imigration-94 documents ready morning Oct 30. MASH remaining in Close contact with subjects who presently Room 319 University Court Motel. Began making local contacts Afternoon 30 Oct with AMBIDDY-1, AMHAW, AMWAIL-5 ,#Martin-Elena, etc. AMRUNG-1 stated he intended remain MASH 3 days or "until confusions and misunderstanding resolved" with ref to Radio Commo, Sea Delivery, and Air drop porblems. Planned operation PAT discussed. Main points were recognition signals and selection rendevous points. This type op will be discussed futther with JOBES present so that any futhre misunderstanding can be prevented.
39. V to have NYC press conference on Nov 4.
40. Meeting with Varona at Hunts's apt, Miami, 25 Oct 1960. Memo forrecord dated 2Nov. #### by Droller. Meeting of V. Droller, Hunt. They wanted V to make statement which indicated he did not consider himself as futhre pres. of Cuba nor was the FRD to be considered the futhre govt. Hunt dictated the statement to Varona. V. gave it over the phone to Sosa for implementation. V's public relations consultant in NY is Lem Jones. V doesn't like hims and will discharge him.
41. Cable dated Nov 3 from MASH re discussions with AMRUNG-1. Mr [redacted] MASH Case officers. " Did not discuss Pinar del Rio or Escambrey DZ's with NYONE(?) MASH. Only person fully witting besides self and AMYUM-1 is AMYUM cartographer in Havana who trusted implicitly by A-1.individuals at DZ's obviosuuly knowledgeable. In this connection A-1 turned over to HAva case officer complete plans sea landing zones DZ and other related inforamtion for passing Headquarters re implementing preliminary phase operation

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A-1 feels Varona has subverted cause. When asked if he received 2 covert shipments arms sent by ## Varona boats he stated no. Upon confronting V. he ascertained arms cached. A-1 with reluctant agreement V will now be given arms cached. A-1 stated V. sent representative to Hava to kill A-1 but could not. V. stated his people not assassins but loyal Cubans who want Country free."... "Landing 2 boats supply missions with A-1 who will return Cuba in MASH boat sometime after period of no moon. A-1 wants to take W/T operator now HQS with him"

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45. Dispatch Oct 28, 1860 from Charles D or B Wiesinger to Chief of Western Hemispher Division from Chief of Base JMASH. Oon 3 Oct 1960 Jesus Rodriquez ~~and~~ y Moreno (A-11-877-276) appeared at ODURGE office and requested passport, Indicated he was returning to Cuba on a special mission for Tony Varona. Returning to coordinate counter revoluationary activities in the Pinar del Rio to Havana area. ~~UG~~ UFGA 228.
46. 4 Nov 1960 Cable requesting that JMASH urge AMHAWK that arbitrary action in No 45 (above) could prove counter productive. Instruct him that all future plans this type will be coordinated prior implementation.
47. Cable to Dir from MASH dated 4 Nov 60 Lists salary scales for Mexi delegates who are Rolando Rojas, Jose Caragol, Roberto de Varona, Amaro Alvarez, Julian Arias Lazaro Diaz, Rodriquez ~~L~~+ Fleitas. AMRASP not paying salaries. Assume ORRISON making payments.
48. Cable dated Nov 5, 1960 from MASH stating ~~I~~ on Nov 3 V had told Hunt that V had received info that Manolo Ray wanted to leave Cuba and was to be exfiltrated by Bender group.
49. Cable dated Nov 5, 1960 to Dir from Havana. Humberto Conrado Rodriquez Saborit will replace Jose Amado Chavez ~~Ger~~+ Guerra. Saborit is Chief Action/ Sabotage element in AMHWWK group and sought by DIER. Piscis departing Nov 6.
50. Cable to Dir from Mash dated Nov 7. On Nov 5 AMPALM-5 gave+~~W~~++ Twicker memo of conversation recently sustained in SANJ with Jose FIgueres. Figueres old friend of Arango Sanchez. Equal freindship or esteem for V. Figueres said if he could bring about Arango's reintegation in FRD, he would try to do so.
51. Cable from Mash to Dir, Dated Nov 7. At Hunt's request Amadeo Barletta Jr. arranged staged interview 6 Nov with V. As result V issued unequivocal statement disavowing any connection between his current post and that of provisional presidency.
52. Cable from Mash to Dir dated Nov 9, 1960. V hired Adeeb, Osborne and McClaney public relations firm, 100 Biscayne Ave, Miami. " Firms assistance accepted by V without compromise of any kind."
53. Cable Nov 9 Hunt told V that Corbuston would assume full responsibility for payment of slaries, maintencace, travel, rents, etc for FRD afiliated.
54. Cable MASH to Dir. Nov 9 Answere to request of V verification in ordering counter revolutionary activities in Cuba via several individuals directly. V cannot verify as does not know subject nor alleged operation. Handwritten from ref- Rodriquez y Moreno Jesus. Note on ~~bto~~ bottom of page ~~Hoey~~+ Juey ?- From what I have read lately it looks like the Hawk is acting independently. Was this discussed with him? It's probably to Jerry Droller.

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55. Cable dated Nov 9 to Dir. V did not attend NYC meeting slleged ly heald by Miro, Aguero, Mestre, Ameer, etc. (to Mash's knowledge)
56. Cable to Director from Havana dated Nov 10, 1960 Clark C. Wyatt, former pres of Burrus Flour Mills introduced Olien to Ubaldo Mario Pascual Alvarez, usually known as Mario Pascual Alvarez, also ario Alvarez, argentine citizen. Alvarez is coordinator for Union Nacional Democratica based in Miami whose principal leaders are Pepe de la Torriente, Luis Penelas, Andres Vargas Gomez, and Commandante Jorge Diaz. Alvarez has been trying to bring about amalgamation of opposition groups, specifically Accion Cuban, MAR and Rescate group who follow kV.
57. Cable, dated Nov 10. To Havana from Dir. Manuel Ray in conversation with Bender claims Padilla his asset. Ray had planned time defection of one Isle of Pines Garrison to conincide liberation Matos. Ray thought Isel of Pines could become significant base mrp mil ops. "For number reasons which primarily political and to be reported by separate message, our relations with Ray group strained. For Mash: To free Huber Matos via AMHAWK (AMRASP) and attmepts stir Matos into Amrasp camp of course of much significance to JMARC objectives g enerally and AMRASP prestige specifically.
58. Cable Nov 14. To Dir from JMASH- Amhawk to arrive D.C. Nov 15 for consulatation with Guatemalen kAmbassador to USA and OAS with whom he in telephonic contact. Hopes secure collective OAS action against Cuba and failing that discuss GUAT declaration war aginst Cuba. V feels Guat should decl are war aginat Cuba then request USA military aid. At this point V would send Cuban volunteers to Guat from foll countries: USA 300, Costa Rica 50, Panama 100; Honduras, 25-50; and from Venezuela and NYC an undetermined number. Would unite with FRD trainees now in Guat camps and with Guat or USA assistance be transported to Cuba to open a combat front.
59. Cable Nov 15. AMYUMS reported two sucessful drops to Evelio DUque Forces on Nov 3 and 11 by V using Cessna aircraft. Drop consisted of 60 machine guns.
60. Nov 16 cable from MASH to dir stating response the request for Twicker exploration re planning PM activities outside AMRASP. No Known independent AMHAWK PM activities.
61. Hunt counseled AMBIDDY1 and AMPAIM 1 on Nov 15 to lend fullest support to V
62. Blank page- DBF 62658 dated 16 Nov 1960
63. Map of locations in Mexico - hand drawn. with a report by Roberto de Varona Loredo, executive member of AMRASP Mexico City Delegation. (Dispatch) Map indicates locations for various staging areas in Mexico. for military training camps.
64. Cable to JMASH fro Dir dated Nov 10 ? Jose Manuel Brana Duran claims affiliation 100 man GW force in C maguey commanded by Capt Orlando Orozco. Claimed group apolitical and had blessing of V.
65. Blank pate- Letter from Frank J. Devine, Special assistant, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, dated Nov 18, 1960
66. Cable from Mash to Director, 18 Nov. "Growth of MRP strenth, Miami arrival Manuel Ray, firm establishment AMRASP as serious albeit somewhat controversial unit, Bender group concentration on selected number of Cuban complexes, are factors which about to result clearer emergence leading contenders for carrying brunt anti castro fight. We can perhaps devote now fuller attention to AMRASP, MRP, and MRRD without undue distraction by other much less important groups. However we should realize that these latter groups may be very vocal in their attacks on the "big Three" Also there is no unity witin exile community and even a man of Miro Cardonas stature threw in towel this regard (See below). Further more it quite conceivable that younger element s within

AMRASP and even perhaps AMWAIL may switch to MRP sooner or later. This ig might be so because Bender, I.E. PBPRIME, readiness Render some support to MRP no dark secret and MRP perhaps more appealing to you new direction. AMWAIL was always close to MRP but had no place to go until just now."...
" During 16 Nov Bender Miro meeting latter was much dejected. He cannot bring about unity: Those in touch with PBPRIMERS are smug and feel no need to amake even a minimum of compromise: those not in touch are waiting to see which of groups will gain upper hand and then will try to join it at last possible moment...."
"Bender then sprung suggestion, and suggestion only, which he had tried out on Manuel Ray the previous month night: Perhaps one could form a consejo revolutionario democratico, chaired by an elder statesman without pary affiliation.(Comment: Parlett was thinking of MIRO.) C ouncil would have 3 members: Varona, Ray, Lorie. Under council would be affilated orgs such as AMRASP, MRP, AMYUM dissidents and any other group that wnated to join. ....Miro felt such solution possible especially if prprimers would let it be known it desire.d. "
67. Blank page- FBI MEmorandum dated 18 Nov 1960; Subject Anti-Fidel Castro Activities. File No. 109-584
68. Contact Report by Wallace Parlett with Raul Chibas and Juan Estevez Ramires on nov 16, 1960. Informed of curr organization of MRP. Manolo Ray wanted that I be reassured and that I understood fully the MRP's great freindship for the U.S. I gave Chibas a $400 check made out to his name.
69. Cable dated nov 21, 1960 Ray has phoned V from NYC and arranged to see AMHAWK in Miami. According V brief conversation was cordial.
70. Cable re+ Dated Nov 21 reporteing 17 Nov conversation with Parlett, V said he very disturbed over Parlett proposal establish Miro as "Super coordinator" and supercede AMBIDDY1 with Lorie. Said this would lead necessarily to his resignation as all work to date would have to be done anew. Hunt calmed him with assurances that Americans sometimes think out loud and that no serious proposal was being made to effect such a radical move."
71. Cable to Director from MAsh, Nov 21. Subject of Provisional govt discussed with V. If we agree on single Provisional president V thinks Miro Cardona probably best suited. For discussion purposes V will provide list of suggested cabinet appointees for caretaker period.
72. Document transfer and cross reference. for Varona. Lists two 201's 201-078056 and 201-289552 (Roberto's)
73. Cable from JMMASH- dated Nov 21. Miro Cardona may accept position as AMRASP roving ambassador in Latin America. Hunt authorized V offer any reasonable salary plus expenses to Miro.
74. Contact report dated 22 Nov. Subject: meeting with Tony Varona 14 Nov 1960 at Ted Hamilton's apt, Coral Cables, Florida. Report written by Wallace A. Parlett. V informed them of plans to to to NY to see Majore, Venezuelan Minister of Treasury whom he wants to ask for aid. After this, V would go to D.C. to see the OAS Secretary General and will give position paper to press. We suggested to V that it might be a good idea to visit Washington during the week of Nov 21 and to pay a courtesy call on someone in the office of Assistnat SEcretary Mann.

75. Cable dated Nov 24. 1960 from JMASH to Director Pedro Diaz Lanz has joined AMRASP, bringing into it the following pilots: Abel Hera Corton, Frank Fiorini, Francisco Llano, Evangelista Mrsuli, Ramon P. Fuentes, Nester Alvarez, and Fernando Garcia. (Marcos Diaz Lanz, his brother also joined.) Shortly after joinging AMRASP, Diaz suggested to AMHAWK the establishment of a special mission group comprising the above personnel, all of whom, according to Diaz are qualified as A/C mechanics. The group could drop AMRASP leaflets on cities, small towns and cooperatives and could fly cargo missions when required. To prepare themselves for standby readiness Diaz has requested V (and V has queried Twicker) for funds to
A- Rehabilitate the personaly owned B-25 A/C of Diaz at a cost of approx $5000. B- Provide pilots with link trainer time (8 pilots at ten hours monthly, at cost of $8 per hour) and C consider purchase of Float-equipped Cessna 180 or 210 for infil/exfil Ops.
Twicker believes Diaz highly motivated and recognizes AMRASP as mainstream anti-Castro org. Temp. solution has been to assign Diaz group to transport Commission, which now functions under mil commission. sRequestes HQS approve initial link trainer refresher of DLS 960, 15 hrs per pilot, then monthly cost of 640$/ month. (no author given)
76. Blank Page- Outgoing Cable from Dept of State dated Nov 25, 1960
77. Cable dated nov 26. from JMASH to Director Ref 1820. AMHAWK has been pressuring for commitment ref proposal, but when he mentioned that "Cesar" is his principal underground leader, and proponent of ref plan wanted to make quick trip to Miami Hunt replied that opportunity ideal give Cesar thorough debriefing. Twicker agreed that CESAR would be compartmented from Goudie and Martin Elena, and could tell his story directly to Keator.
78. Blank Page- FBI Memo dated 28 Nov 1960 Subject : Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (MRP) File No 105-3107
79. Letter to Dave from unidentified source- may be Lem Jones. dated Nov 29, 1960. Indicates that Varona decided he wanted a nw public relations outfit in NY Outfit selected was Connolly Associates, headed by Joe Connolly Jr.He has been NY correspondent for Adeeb, Osborne and Mc Claney. Osborne pretends to know nothing about what is going on. Joe Connolly says Osborne personally called him about project. Joe wants no part of it.
80. Blank Page- Memo of Conversation dated Nov 29, 1960 Subject: Activities against the Castro Regime in Cuba.
81. Blank p. FBI memo dayed DEC 7, 1960 - Subject: Revolutionary Movement by the People (MRP)
82. Cable- From WAVE to Dir dated Dec 8, 1960- re review with Hamilton possible bases for provisional govt with AMLOON 1 . AMLOON excluded himself from any participation, stating that he desired only to return to his finca, his law office and presidency of colonos.
83. From WAVE to Dir, dated Dec 9. states that V absent Miami until 13 Dec.
84. Newspaper article which indicates V in Chicago on Dec 9.
85. FBI Memorandum dated Dec 14, 1960 Subject: Democratic Revolutionary Front. Internal Security- Cuba. (Blank Page)
85. Cable from Mexico Dated Dec 10, 1960 states debriefing Pachuke continuing Longan plans take PACHUKE wash for LCFLUTTER on 12 Dec. Will travel via Houston secuirty sheck PACHUKE"S house. On DEC 9 Johnson, FNU, speaking Texas English phoned Mexico City Cuban Embassy from Nogales Mexico saying had 'very very important' info to give them. Said info about Varona and Florencio of NY. Cable from Mexico City states on 29 Nov subject registered as Carl Johnson of 3452 Jo Dunn St., Memphis, Tennessee, photographer

86. Cable from Mexi City to Dir dated Dec 12. According to FBI Johnson's true name is Thomas Howard Griggs born 2 Sept 25, wanted in Chicago on warrant for abduction.
87. Cable from WAVE dated Dec 13, Ponchay met Gustavo Mustelier, Cuban' lawyer on 11 and 12 kDEC. Manson attended meeting under name of Robert Vincent. General discussion re Cuban exile unity or lack thereof.
88. Cable form Caracas to Dir dated Dec 15. Estevez appointed FRD coordinator CARA. CIRAKE-3 quit supporting V.
89. List of claimed personnel of Rescate. Transmittal of Varona's OB. (What is OB) Dated Dec 16. In spanish.
90. Cable to Dir from Wave dated Dec 19. "Per Scorgory verbal query at WAVE, Rafael Genor ("Macho") working with AMIRON. AMDIP approves visa for wife."
91. Dispatch- dated Dec 21. To Chief WH Division- JMWAVE from Chief AMOT/2 reports that Gisela Garcia de Solis who resides 314 L. Street, Sparks, Nevada is working for AMIRON in Nevada, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Reno and Las Vegas. She was recommende for the job by k-V. and Jorge Alonso PUJOL. Requests traces.
92. Blank page- Information Report from Office of Naval Intelligence dated 22 December 1960 Subject: Cuba: Statements of Cuban refugee recently arrived in Madrid Spain.
92. Biographical profile on Dr. Manuel A. de Varona dated 22 Dec 1960
93. Memorandum from FBI dated December 22, 1960 re Anti-Fidel Castro Cactivities.
94. Blank Page- Memorandum dated December 20, 1960 on Cuban opposition groups.

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Volume ~~7~~ 6 Varona 201 From 1 January 1961 to 30 May 1961 1110117

1. Cable dated 5 Jan 1961 re AMNORM. Refers to Bender meeting on January 5, NYC.
2. Cable DAted Jan 5 indicates V wants to visit troops in Guat.
3 Cable dated Jan 6 lists AMDIP's suggestions for provisional govt officials.
4. ~~Cable Dated~~ Memo for ~~f~~ record dated Jan 9, 1961 re Consolidated Production Company. Mr Lee Grills is pres of Company of Ft Lauderdale Florida Firm is engaged in production of explosives and he now has a new y type which he wishes to make known to the U.S. govt. Currently engaged in filling large order for Cubans give name of V., Fredrick Goudie, Florentine Blanco. Grills is in business with Lewis O'ConnorJr and Joseph O'Connor.
5. FBI Memo dated Jan 9, 1961 re Frente Revolucionario Democratico- Blank page.
6. Memo for record by L. Napoli dated 13 Jan. Subj. Conversation with AMCLATTER1 and Varona concerning the Cuban exile group's visit to Washington. AMCLATTER1 was told by V that there were plans for large delegation of Cubans to go to Washington from Miami and New York. Purposes: Thank Pres Eisenhower for million dollars set aside for Cuban relief, pay a tank -you call to Peruvian Ambassador and speack to reps of OAS.
~~7. FBI Arrest Record for Dino Cellini FBI #2198122~~
7. Blank page- Memo for the Record dated 10 Jan 1961
8. Page headed with Dir of CIA- Cellini was formely employed in the gambling casino at the Tropicana night club in Havana. It is also requested that we be advised whether your Agency is in a position to know of any extensive financial backing of Varona and Frente and , if so, whether there is any other data avail able indicating substantial contributions by gambling intereste in the u.S.
9. Blank Page DBF 67223 dated 18 Jan 1961
10. CAble dated 20 Jan from WAVE to Dir. Orellana told AMDip that GOG disposed recognize a Cubn govt-in exile on Guat soil and declare war against Castro. Evehiclel to meet privately with V on 24 Jan.
11. Memo for record dated 23 Jan by Machael M. Maney re Alleged telecon between Rufo Lopez Fresquet and Pres. Kennedy. "In a telecon with Francisco Saralegui (Bohemia Libre) on this date, he confided to me that he had been told by LOPEZ Fresquet of a conversation which Lopez had had with the Pres. on Sat. He was promised that once a becachhead was established in Cuba, a provisional govt ~~wh~~ should be set up constituted by Fresquet, Miro and Varona. Pres alleged ly promised that U.S. would recognize govt. Lopez addad that after first ment ioning this to miguel Angel Quevedo and Saralegui he had been called by White House and reprimenaded for having divulged info passed to him in strictest confidence.
12. Cable Jan 26. V is to take part in a radio/TV public events show in NYC on Jan 29. On 1 Feb he will address a women's group on Was.
13. ~~Cable~~ Dispatch dated 31 Jan 1961 To Chief WHD From (blank) Action: Cheif of Base, JMWAVE INFO: MEmo prepared by Mr. William D. Pawley. Ref UFGA 747- " Attached is a thermofax copy of the memornadum mentioned in the reference. The original has apparently been retained in the files of the originator."
14. Dispatch dated 1 Feb Attached is a tape of conversation between Fabio Fre yre, Rubio Padillo, Cuervo Rubio and Toy Vanona. Conversation took place on 30 January. (No tape is in file)

SECRET

15. Contact Report with Guillermo Alonzo Pujo, 18 Jan Report dated Feb 2 by' Gerard Droller. Reports meeting with Pujol who asked if Bender would continue in view of the change in administrations. Bender answered Yes. Bender profeses to be a privte Am citizen. Pujol suggested proposals to change FRD.
16. Hogan is a US citizen, free-lance writer and part time sugar broker# Resided in Cuba since youth, has contacts with Cubans in sugar business. Lived in Havana 1959 working with Sugar Stabilizaiton Institute .
17. Blank Page- Memo of kConversation dated February 6, 1961
18. Blank Pge- Memo FBI dated FEB 7, 1961 re CLIP
19. New Executive Committee to be gomposed of V. , Justo Carillo, Miro Cardona, Tony Maceo, Carlos Hevia, Jesus Fernadaz, Sergio Carbo, Josa Alvarea Diaz, Rasco's Substitute, Goar Maestre. (Memo dated Feb 8, 1961)
20. Letter dated Feb 8, 1961 from Michael J.P. Malone.
21. Memorandum fof Conversation date Feb 9, 1961 re Views of Opposition Leader: dR. Antoinio Varona. Blank Page
22. Blank Page: DBF 68504 dated 10 Febrary 1961
23. Cable Feb 11, from Wave to Bell re opperation popcorn (kWASP; 76 ' yacht) ~~Infiltration~~++ Exfiltration operation- lists persons to be exfiltrated. Emilio Gonzalez Castellanos, Benito Medina Garcia, Gilberto Sadenas, Alberto Gonzalez Ricio , Carmel Gottarne.
24. Cable from Wave to Bell dated Feb 13 AMOT-2 reported that only info he has been able detemine re DINO V. CELLINI is that Subj worked at the Casinos Tropicana and Riviera in Cuba, then went Haiti. Subj now residing at 12450 Key Stone Rd. North Miami. A2 has been unable determine whether or not V is in contact with Cellini, firm of McLeary, Adeeb and Osborne, Pr firm LV, Nevada, or Edward K. Moss of ~~Gas~~ chase/Moss international Inc. Barker will ask V re above.
25 Letter or Memo to Director fof FBI, Attention MrS.J. Papich, from DDP dated 24 Feb 1961 re Cellini family. Related info obtained on Cellini, same as 24 above. Expect additional info shortly. Requests any additional info the FBI can provide on the Bernard Nucilli mentioned in the FBI report originating with NY office on 18 June 1957; Subject- Rouhi JAMIL, file No. 105-24466 (SM) Handwritten on Memo is see DBF-70566 8 March 1961.
26. Memorandum for the Record dated 28 February 1961 by Droller, Suj: Plans for the Establishment of the Cuban Provisional Governmetn. Droller and Napoli met with Varona on Feb 17. On same day they had a meeting with both Varona and Ray. Droller presented list of 29 names from which they were to chose 10 for provisional govt. Ray got mad. Algo gave them a 7 point program as discussed with the Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division.
Agreed that Varona, Ray, Artime, Carrillo, Chibas and Pazos would meet in NY on 26 Feb. in order to examine list of 29 names and make decision and Ray and Varona would retrun to Washington on or about 1 March with their findings. Droller's C omment: ...."We believe that Varona will play ball one way or another, but we are not convinced that Ray will accept our list. We have the impression that he might want to substitute his own list; of course, we must see whate he comes up with. In any case it is our view that we should not rush matters unduly if there is real State Department interest in hving Mr. Ray and company play a role in the provisional government. Should the decision be made to write Ray off, we believe t the Assembly could be convolked without too much ado, substituting Miro Cardona for Ray. It should be noted that the above is only the gist of a long ~~conversation~~ session which, by the way, was recorded and took place in the Shoreham hotel...."

27. Memo for record of Telephone conv. with Artime and Varona on 1 March 1961 dated 2 Mr, 1961 by Napoli. Varona reported on how meeting was going In NY re FrD program. Meeting was going badly. Could not reach agreement.
28. Memo for record by Napoli dated 3 Mar. 1961 re Phone conv with V on 2 March . Reported on meeting which had taken a turn in favor of FRD. Agreed that a group of Coubans would be appointed by these 6 and group would be augmented to include others. They would chose a provisional pres. Charter members of the six are Carrillo, V., Pazos, Emilio Menendez, Miro Cardona, and Carlos Hevia.
29. V and AMbang 1 retrnig WAVE night of 7 March. WEre not given indication whether or not ther proposal for R v Council which they advanced 6 March to Licari looked upon favorably.
30. Memo for record by Droller dated 7 March. Varona, Willard Carr and Ray met on Mrch 6 in Shoreham in D.C. Carr described as senior partner in Bender group. to assume role of primary negotiator in establishment of revolutionary council. Mr. Carr agreed and he came to Washington where he was fully briefed and brought up to date by Mr. Droller and Mr. Noel.
31. Cable dated March 24, 1961 To JMWAVE from Bell " Numerous FBI reports indicate Juesu Gonzalez Cartas alias El Extrano as gangster murderer smuggler and drug addict who identical with trainee 4882. Subj not rpt not to be used." in handwriting after - " reported also he is one of Varona's two bodyguards. The other is equally bad."
32. Memo fr Record by Droller dated March 27. Varona to go to Guat. on 27 March.
33 Contact report with Victor Piedra- dated 7 April 1961
34. LCAble dated April 10, 1961. From JMWAVE to BELL indicates V will be NYC all this week.
35. Dispatch dated April 13. from JMWAVE re publication by Orlando Bosch Avila.-coordinator general of the Movimiento Insurreccional de Recuperacion Revolucionaria. Blames Varona for deaths of may patriots in the Escambray and also blames Americans.
36. Memo by Droller dated April 24. V will fly to Nicaragua to see Somoza on 23 April.
37. Memo for record by Droller dated 28 April 1961 re phone conversation with Revolutionary Council. Varona called Droller on 27 April and requested recruits in NY be sent to Guat. Told to refer matter to Mr. Berle. Miro Cardona called and complained "that while he had promised the pilots in MMTIDE $30 "hardship pay" an American named "JOe" had made payments of $250. Miro said that now all returnees would have to get this large amount." Hevia also called and siad that the spy Duran Ache should be returned Guat to Venezuela. Told to let Varona handle this matter since he knows the Duran case best.
38/ Dispatch from JMWAVE to Chief. by Stanley R. Zamka dated 11 May
On 11 May 1961 AMOT-2 made the following report about his interview with ambud1 : " I was received very effectionately and, after an'abrazo' he assured me that I was his friend and that th e proof of this was that I was in his home, which was 'my home.'....He said that after the events of the week of 17 April and upon the request of V and AMJAG he had called a meeting of AMBUD, at which AMDIP1 had requested in an insolent manner and a loud voice that I be replaced in the work I have been doing. The reason given by AMDIP1 and upheld completely by AMJAG was that I had not told AMBUD the day, hour, and place of landing of the Army of Liberation, and therefore AMBUD should withdraw its confidence in me. AMBUD-1 explained to me that at this time of confusion, and thinking of what was best for Cuba, he thought that he ought to accede to the request of AMDIP-1 and AMJAG.

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Cable, dated May 22, 1961 from JMWAVE to BELL - AMCOOPcontacted and provided info: A-1 met with MRR undeground leader known only as "Rene" on March April 17. Rene told Al that all underground groups had been ordered remain quiet and not do anything until receiving further orders. Did not know where message g came from. In addition to Rene, whom he believed to be a pa former part time law proffessor at Villanueva University, Al said that the only other underground leader he had met was a man named Raul whome he described as the man in charge of the MRP organiaation following Manolo Ray's departure from Cuba. Al also admited knowning an MRP official named Godoy (FNU) and a rescate member named Juarez but that both men were only lower eschelon leaders in their respective organizations.
40. Dsipatch dated 27 May from JMWAVE- ref UFGW 418- AMOT2 advised that subject has never been amember of DIER. Subject therefore is not identical to the one Antonio Fernandez of paragraph 1a of reference. (Subject is Antonio Fernandez Gomez aka Antonio Fergo.) According to A2 Subject is a close friend of AMDIP1 and more or less follows the latter's political orientation. A2 said subject represented the firm Publicidad Fergo-Arrego.

kVol 7- Aug 57- April 61- Biographic file
1. PRQ 2- operational information. Answers to questions- 36 thur 58. States that V was first introduced to James R. Palinger and Wallace A. Growery by a contact of Palinger's in May 1957. Has been under development ever since. Hand written note on side indicates Varona was in contact with station for at least 2 years before this. thru Frau Masal (sp?) Also Varona had direct contact with Embassy almost continuous for many years. Varona is to supply info concerning polictiaal opposition plans including conspiratorial movements to overthrow the Government. Wallace A. Growery- Case Officer
2. Operational approval requested on Aug 15 , 1957
3. Request for Investigation and Approval. V is classified as an Indigenous ~~Filed~~ Field Agent.
4. Operational approval granted ~~2 Aug 1957~~ Jan 20, 1958
5. Operational approval amended for use of V as a PP agent in Project AMPATROL granted on ~~Aug 28, 1957~~ Aug 28, 1959
6. Memo from Jorge ? to Dave Phillips dated June 1960 re Varona.
7. Biographic Sketch of Varona by E.W. Londregan, Jr. dated 27 Oct 1960.
On march 28 V was invited to U. to set up an anti-kCastro movement. L960
Good summary of Varona's activities prior to 1960.
8. Background of Varona dated 22 Mrach 1962- No author given but to be filed under AMCONCERT1- very negative.
9. Memo for record No. 403. Dated 27 April 1963- Subject - Meeting with V to advise him of liquidation of CRC.
10. Document transfer and cross reference. Subject of Documentd- Miami visit of Emile Henceval dated 29 April 1963. UFGA 08675. Pertinent info:
"V. Very pro-American and when asked about Mr. Kennedy's administration, Tony was amazing. Father knows best. As a matter of fact whether it was planned or not he received a call while we were there and unless we had been deaf ewe couldn't help hearing him say: 'Naturally these raiders are always proud to say that they do not have any casualties but they do not realize the amount of casualities that they leave behind because the G2 then grabs those unfortunate people in the island."

88 24 SECRET

Volume # 8 June 61 to Sept 70.
1. Luncheon meeting with Cardona and Ernesto Aragon at Mayflower hotel. Memo written by Droller. Date. June 9, 1961. Miro reported on meeting of Miro, Varona, and Aragon with Goodwin and Mr. Schlesinger. who professed confidence in Miro. Miro gave Goodwin proposed budget for CRC
2. Dispatch from JMWAVE dated June 12, 1961 reported that a rumor in Miami that V has over $300,000 deposited in an unidentified bank in Miami. the source of funds is not known. Mario Barrera reported to be workingf for V in newspaper propaganda and is in charge of radio prop. Handwritten that Barrer is listed in April budget as receiving 225 $ salary . Barrera claims he gets $150 a month.
3. Cable dated June 14, 1961- V and AMDOBBY1 setting up five rendevous points about five miles outside Havana Harbor for infil/exfil ops. Bell states that "Due ## proposed area of ops and past experience AMDEPS HQS deems only feeasible support to extent areas/fuel and techical assist. Unable assume risk use of JMATE assets or PBPRIME personnel this op at this time.
4. Memo on Varona payments by Droller dated July 7, 1961--V being paid 900$/month . States that Varona was promised by Mr. Jim Noel in Havana that he would receive support for operational plans and personal needs. On or about 20 May 1960 payment was discussed at headquearters. Out of 900 Varona was to give 200 to chauffeur body guard- Francisco Zayas. Paid by "Bender check" from June 1, 1960 to Nov 19600 From Non 1960 to March 1961- Varona was paid directly in cash by Hunt. April and May 1961 paid by Bender check from Headquarters. Payments were in addition to salary received from the FRD.
"AS of 3 July 1961, I was of the opinion that we should not pay Varona anything more under the table, but in view of the Special Group decision, if I am correctly informed, of encouraging our dealings with numerous Cuban groups and personalities, it might be wise to keep in touch with Varona for some time and pay him some reasonable amount as nothing cements friendships better than money."
Routing slip datedd 10 July contains remark that we should hold off on any further payments until the air clears and until we get instructions. Right now Varona is one of our most bitter critics. I don't propose to buy him off. (Can't read initials)
5. Varona called CIA on July 7. [redacted] has been designated as replacement for Jerry Droller in liaison matters with Cardona.
6. Dispatch dated July 10, 1961 from JMWAVE Major Robert E. Van Horn USAF, Assistant air attache to Cuba assigned to the Miami area.- liason with Cuban pilots in Miami
7. Memo for record- by [redacted] dated 7 July 1961. Contact with Varona. Varona is in DC stating at Roosevelt hotel. Will be in DC 3 or 4 days. [redacted] gave mame of Raymond Clark. Varona asked several questions re state of affairs. Got no answers. Asked how to get in touch with General Taylor. Told to go through Mr. Goodwin.
8. Contact with Varona on July # 11 1961 and [redacted] Varona wanted money for three prisoners who are now stranded at Mariott. Note on side says no- quid pro quo clear on this.
9. Meeting ## of AMIRON members on 26 July. Trying to oust V. Attended by V and fight started. Police came and arrested several people. Alfonso L. Tarabochia, deputy sheriff in Miami sheriff's office told AMOT3 that no charges would be pressed. Took action during arrest only against people criticizing V. Tarabochia held over 2 hour conversation with V. 1111012

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10. Sept 9, 1961 Cable from JMWAVE Indicating Consejo Revolucionario Cubano and Frent Revolucionario Democratico will merge around 15 Sept. Miro Cardona will be head and V will be second. Will retain name of CRC.
11. CRC meeting NYC OCT 9, 1961- Varona was present.
12. Memo fro record dated 16 June 1962- Conversation with Varona. Memo #342. Report by PASSAVOY.
13. Varona visted San Jose on L 17 August 1962.
14. On august 15, 1962 Varona visited President Roberto Chiari of Panama and requested a meeting of Central American chiefs of State on Cuban issue. Comment in cable that rumors in Miami that efforts are being made to convince President Chiari to permit the establishment in Panama of Cuban Gov't in exile.
15. V. returnted Mimai on Aug 24.
L6. V now in Wash. Veeting with Hurwitch (Nov 2, 1962.) Meeting held on Oct 31.
17. Cable Dec 5, 1962- On dec 2 meeting with Honduran pres Morales and several other leaders of Cuban group V made lenghty statement that CIA was responsible for current lack of activity and that CIA was working behind back of Kennedy.
18. Varona departing Jan 11 for San Jose. 1963.'
19. Information report. dated Jan 17 1963 While Varona was in Costa Rica an unnamed large landowner of Costa Rica wnet to the Miami headquarters of Rescate to discuss the leasing of some of his coastal land in Costa Rica to Varona. When Varona returned to Miami, he was quite irritated to learn that the landowner had called hin his absence.
20. Memo . On 16 Sept 1963 Dr. Martin Pella met with Varona and Luis Botifol in Chicago. Pella informed V and Botifo were discussing the possibiltiy of setting up an export-import business for trade with Latin America with Hyman Berg, a chicago automotive parts man known to have sold jeeps and parts to Castro in 59 and 60. Told Pella they were broke and frustrated. V. told Pella that he ran into Pasolino Sierra in Nicaragua., who had a role of about $10,000. Told Varona he was being backed by big business in Chicago and was in a position to get millions for an anti-Castro revolution.
21. Cross reference that V's right hand man is Mario del Canal Ferrer.- 27 Feb 1964.
22, Report of June 7, 1965. States that after CRC fell into disrepair V moved from Miami to NY and became automobile salesman.
23. Letter to Olien - WOFACT from Varona dated 23 Dec. 1966. Return address 111 W. 42nd St, apt 302 NYC 10036. Woodrow C. Olien.
24. Cable 1970- Sept. Reports that Varona, Carlos M. Torres, and Enrique H. de Franco have given planed march to Vashington full support on behalf of executive board of Cuban revolutionary Party in northern U.S. March is under Cuban power control and true purpose is to picket White House with slogans Freedom of the Seas and Freedom for Basch.
25. 24 April 1961 report written by Robert F. Moroney- re custody of Revolutionary Council 19-20 April 1961 . Also describes little meetings with Kennedy after Bay of Pigs

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