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3/6/78

Submitted 3/7/78

**THIS COPY IS NOT
FOR RELEASE.**

De Varona, Manuel Antonio

Volume 1 of the Varona file covers from 15 Oct 1948 to Sept 30, 1949. And ~~consists~~ primarily consists of third agency material.

Volume 2 covers the period from Jan 1956 to April 1960. This file includes a biographical information form, dated 8/8/1957. Varona's DOB is 11/25/1908. POB is Camaguey, Cuba. Carlos Prio Socarras is listed as a friend of Varona's. His wife is Emilina Ruiz Sanchez de Varona, and his children are Carlos Manuel de Varona, and Segura Bustamente nee de Varona. He has one brother whose name was not given. Varona has been active in the political affairs for the Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC-Autentico) since 1934.

Chronologically:

- a) 1940-44 = member of House of Representatives (Cuba)
- b) 1944-48 = member of Cuban Senate
- c) 1948-50 = Prime minister and Senator in Prio gov't
- d) 1950-52 = President of Cuban Senate

On Aug 8, 1957 a cable from Havana stated that the PRG part 1 is attached and part two is coming. On January 27, 1958 Varona was given a 201 number and assigned a cryptonym. On Jan 20, 1958 Varona was ~~gr~~ granted operational approval. (requested 22 Aug 1957).

180-10144-10407

On August 27, 1959, a request was submitted to amend Varona's operational approval to permit his use as a "willing political action agent" in the ~~operation~~ Project.

On March 10, 1960, ~~Varona~~ a cable indicates Varona desired to speak to "accredited" U.S. Gov't person re "his position and plans." The Havana station recommended that [] "who knows Varona be authorized pass invitation to Varona for stateside conference with appropriate persons or have ~~Varona~~ return soonest for cold turkey talks with Varona."

In ~~on~~ March 17, 1960, ^{cable} Jorge Alonso Pujol told [] on March 15 that Varona is "ready to join the active opposition to Castro. Pujol was Varona's partner in the insurance business."

In a cable dated March 25, 1960, headquarters listed ~~its~~ response to requests made by Varona in the March 10th cable. Stated that ^{U.S. Gov't} ~~operation~~ would guarantee the entry of key ~~persons~~ ^{leaders} and followers; economic assistance will be forthcoming; working as a long wave radio station, and the establishment of a unified command will be discussed at meeting ~~in~~ in the U.S. with ^{? media assets?} ~~operation~~, Justo Carrillo, Hernandez and Rubio Padillo.

In a dispatch from the Chief of Station, ~~the~~, Havana, dated April 1, 1960 it is reported that Santiago Babun called at the U.S. Embassy to see [] On March 23, 1960 Babun introduced Orlando Accosta and Eugenio Rolando Martinez to [] Babun said he, Accosta and

Martinez were in close contact with Varona. Babun asked Gordyne if he knew Carlos Casaus who resides in the Fosca building and claims to be a special investigator for ^{U.S. Govt} ~~Casaus~~. [] said he did not know Casaus. On March 25, 1960 [] met with Babun, ~~Acosta~~, Martinez and Lomberto Diaz Rodriguez. The dispatch states that Varona probably authorized ~~the~~ Diaz to meet Gordyne in order to cross-check and determine knowledge of Varona's activities are known to the state Dept and ^{U.S. Gov't} ~~Casaus~~ support.

On April 13, 1960 Varona met with [] and wanted ~~to discuss~~ when he arrived in U.S., ~~to discuss with~~ to discuss his views on the Cuban situation with someone who could speak for the U.S. Gov't. Varona agreed ^{on April 16} to meet Carrillo in Caracas, ~~on April 16~~ to proceed to San Jose in case Figueres is not in Caracas, to hold conversations with Arango in Caracas. Varona commented that he is close to Figueres and Betancourt.

A cable dated April 18, 1960 from Droller ~~its~~ reports a meeting with Butari. Butari was eager to introduce Droller to Varona and for Droller to arrange a "Varona / Mr. John" meeting. Butari reported his son was leaving Cuba and could bring with him 8 students who would be briefed by Bender group and sent to hemisphere countries as agitprop types. Droller comments that such a scheme was in line with "our/Phillips thinking."

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An April 28, 1960 cable from the Director to [] states that Varona ~~the~~ should be informed that ^{U.S. Govt} ~~Col. []~~ official, [] is prepared to meet him upon his arrival in N.Y.C.

Gerald Droller and Hunt met with Varona on Dec 20, 1960 at "Joe Stonecrab Restaurant at Miami Beach. ~~The~~ memo of contact report states that Varona's scouts had found an isolated piece of land on Andros Island. Varona discarded the idea of using it as a training site for \approx 100 people. Droller makes the comment that: "I would bet even money that he will pursue this aspect unilaterally."

On Nov 29, 1960 there is a ~~report from the~~ memo of conversation between Varona and [], [] and Frank Devine of the Department of State. Varona had originally requested to see the Asst Secretary, Mr. Mann. Varona requested funds. He stated that Florida law enforcement was getting stricter. Varona was impatient.

Volume 3 of the Varona file covers the dates from May 3, 1960 to June 24, 1960

Varona was to be in NYC on May 4, 1960 and would stay at the St. Moritz if he could get reservations.

Varona planned on leaving NY for Miami on May 6.

On May 5 Varona met with [redacted] Varona stated he planned on returning to N.Y.C. on May 8 or 9 for a meeting with other Cuban leaders, including Justo Carrillo, Pasco and others. Varona planned on using Amalio Fiallo as

agit-prop type. [redacted] stated that they did not

discuss paramilitary subject because it was activity

which "could best be handled in conjunction with

private groups, i.e. the Carr-Bender group." [redacted] stated

that he followed a format which he and Droller had

prepared during the political part of the discussion.

[redacted] told Varona "that certain activities were not within

my province but there was a group that I was aware of,

headed by [redacted] (whose name incidentally Varona had

mentioned to me first), that the group was completely

reliable and well-intentioned and did have the proper contacts

with our government and that he should have no

reservations about working with this group." [redacted] used name Robert Rogers with Varona.

A cable from [redacted] dated May 6, 1960 reports

that ~~Walter~~ Eduardo Alfredo Espinosa ~~at Los Monteres de Pulella~~ and Betancourt were successful in

settling differences between Arango and Varona.

"Pres. Betancourt told ~~Walter~~ Espinosa ^{US Govt} that ~~Walter~~ now wants

to take measures against Trujillo. ^{Espinoza} ~~Wanted~~ - willing to forget nicaraguan problem for present time in order to apply his full efforts against Trujillo. ^{Espinoza} ~~He~~ asks in what way he may cooperate. "Lengthy ~~talks~~ ^{talks} were ~~held~~ ^{held} at the ~~State~~ ^{near} Institute of Labor Relations ~~with~~ ^{Espinoza} ~~the~~ ^{with} ~~the~~ ^{with} scheduled for may 9.

varona's nephew is Abel de Varona Juarez.

A memorandum for the record, dated May 19, 1960, states that Serafino Romualdi met with Eusebio Mujal on May 13. The memo states that Figueras and Betancourt urged Arango and Varona to join in a united front. Mujal stated he and Rafael Otero had a lengthy meeting with Varona last week (in NYC). It was decided to form the Frente Sindical Revolucionario as an independent entity from FRD but with representation on the FRD. A good candidate was Rafael Otero Borlaff who is described as a confidant of both Varona and Arango. ^{Romualdi} ~~He~~ said that Mujal had recently seen again. told Mujal that he intended to arrange a Dulles/Mujal contact. ^{Romualdi} ~~He~~ requested \$300/month for Otero.

In a cable from the Dir to ^{station} ~~the Dir~~ ^{Bay of Pigs}, dated May 5, 1960, it was reported that ~~the~~ ^{the} organization was the subject of a lengthy conference today with

 It was also reported that ~~the~~ ^{the} is ready to go to Mexico and arrange commo and PM training sites, but won't leave until "your return with

conference decisions. Artime still anxious invade target.

Goudie ~~Agrees~~ agrees our views re P.M. planning. Have vague report from assessment site that quote twenty five of thirty candidates look good end quote."

A May 26, 1960 cable from Miami reports on miscellaneous FRD matters. Varona is to go to Caracas on May 27 to issue public statement explaining break with Castro. ~~Garcia~~ Carrillo will go to Mexico June 3 or 4. In Mexico and Venezuela, Carrillo and Varona will look for suitable real estate for training commo operators.

Artime and ~~Ricardo Luis de la Llorie Bals~~ are eager to move to destroy sugar fields.

"nobody seems like our approach at moment." Suggested

Varona prepare a paper and they would discuss at a

Varona meeting. might bring his "military expert" to mtg." Varona and Carrillo

again made point re need for immediate action against Trujillo.

Droller would not give word that Licari and Droller favored Trujillo offer "without much more deliberation."

Varona, Carrillo, and Rasco jointly asked whether FRD could mount anti-Trujillo activities in collaboration certain unnamed Dominicans. Droller said advice would be forthcoming. Varona accepted first monthly payment, \$700 honorarium, from Droller plus \$200 for chauffeur.

The file contains a newspaper article by Hal Hendrix entitled "Fidel called Red Tool, Says Cuba foe." Contains statement by Varona. Dated 5/29/60 - Miami News.

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A May 31, 1960 cable to Havana states that "deposit of \$15,000 to Varona account being handled through Grupo Bender." (conversion of pesos to dollars)

A June 2, 1960 cable ^{from Caracas} states that at a 31 May meeting Varona had with Manolo Alcala Incala, who works for Decor International of Miami and is apparently Varona's right hand man. Employee

A June 3, 1960 cable states that Corbuston ^{from MASH} called and met Varona June 3. Asked Varona not to inform Barker of Corbuston contact. Varona agreed to arrange an executive committee meeting for June 8.

A cable - July 2, 1960, from Mexico City reports that on June 23 interviewed Varona.

There is evidence that Varona is under technical surveillance. "Recommend FRD leaders be warned avoid overt U.S. govt contact."

A cable from Droller reports that at the executive committee ~~has~~ meeting, Varona and Carrillo advised that Vargas Gomez had a long session with William Pawley in which Pawley said that VEEP, RUBOTTOM, Admiral Burke and Cardinal Spellman were backing Rubio group and could not agree on policies of the FRD. Thus 20-25 signatures from prominent Americans are being collected for letter depicting FRD members as promoting Fidelista policies without Fidel Communism. Letter to be transmitted State Dept. via Cardinal Spellman.

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On June 13, 1960 a meeting occurred between Cmdr Pons and [] Pons said he had been attempting to recruit crew members for maritime operations.

It was common knowledge in Miami that Varona had the backing of the CIA (according to Pons). It is known that Diaz Tamayo has substantial backing from Americans. FNU Gutierrez, who works for Varona, offered to obtain a number of LST's for Pons and is also trying to recruit Navy types. Pons met with Varona who asked Pons to join his group. Pons said he would like to meet with Mr. Abbott (Dave Phillips) on June 14.
from Havana

A June 20, 1960 cable reports that on June 17 that Edward D. Knapman was introduced to Capt. Eduardo Ferrer. Ferrer arranged for Knapman to meet Ramon Ruiz Sanchez Piedad, Varona's brother-in-law. [] met Ruissanchez when Varona's wife left Cuba. Station discouraged future relationship with Ruiz Sanchez, unless hqs. has view to contrary. Sanchez may become victim of Castro provocation.

A June 23, 1960 cable to Mexico City reports that a conference suite ~~has~~ has been reserved at the Commodore for June 28 thru July 5. Droller would like a meeting with Varona before July 3.

On June 27, 1960 there was a meeting of ~~Gutierrez~~ ^{Romualdi}, [] ^{Romualdi} ~~Mujal~~ told ~~Mujal~~ that he had been told by FBI contacts not to allow his supporters to undertake assassination 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 assured by ^{Romauld;} ~~[redacted]~~ that he could not be deported without court action and advised to tell the FBI to mind its own business."

Volume four of the Varona file covers the period from July 1, 1960 to Sept 30, 1960.

~~At 10:30, 1960, cable reports that~~

A memo for the Chief of the WHD, dated July 1, 1960 reports that Droller had a 2 hr. meeting with Varona in NYC. Droller told Varona that [redacted] "had no place in our operation." Hedges was trying to raise funds from United Fruit Co; Kuhn Loeb, Rhodes & Co; Standard Oil of N.J. & Am. Power & Light Co. memo suggest that companies be instructed "to bar their doors to Hedges."

A July 14, 1960 [redacted] cable reports that Arttime & Varona have submitted a list of 20 people for candidacy second phase training.

A July 20, 1960 cable from Havana states that on July 19 Dr. Mario del Canal Ferrer, who described himself as principal representative & coordinator for Varona, contacted pol. officer John Topping and wanted discreet contacts with the Embassy as contacts already established through Jesto Exposito Lorenzo & Juan Menendez Tellez were not sufficient.

When Varona left Cuba he introduced ~~Wolfe~~ to Jesto Exposito Lorenzo as his "personal representative" and

"only person who authorized to act as channel between station and Varona." The station is disturbed that indiscreet approach made to Embassy revealing that covert channel existed to Varona.

A memo dated July 26, 1960 reports a telephone call from [] to [] reported that Varona had asked Mr. Lowell Tash to visit Andros Island in order to lease 3 or 4 acres of land. Tash will be instructed to go to Andros and report back to [] Tash was the former manager of an Am. ranch in Cuba.

A July 28, 1960 cable from [] reports that Mario del Canal is "head man and general coordinator in Cuba" for Varona's Rescue. Code name = Patricio Menendez Tellez put Varona in touch with []

A August 4, 1960 [] cable reports Varona will be in D.C. for ~~Aug~~ Aug 5 meeting with People to People Committee. Will be in N.Y. Aug 6 and will call Droller. Returning Miami Aug 6.

An Aug 10, 1960 [] cable reports that after Droller / ~~reke Exec. Com'n.~~ meeting Varona stated FRD is not flexible enough, Droller is too stingy. Droller told Varona, that Droller group favors Varona as leader. Droller believes it is time to start funding FRD out of agreed \$131,000/month. "Beginning Sept. all funding to be handled via Mexi (Note: Pls be sure Hunt has cash and Swiss account available upon his arrival Mexi).

Varona arrived Miami [] on August 18, 1960

An Aug 19, 1960 ~~report~~ [] cable reports that Mexican official has declined to grant Varona re-enter permit following proposed trip to Los Angeles for "press conference." Hunt feels the Los Angeles trip is a further example of ^{FRD exec. comm.} Varona's ~~predilection~~ ^{FRD. exec. Comm.} to substitute U.S. travel for ~~organizational~~ activity in []

A Aug 25, 1960 cable from Director to [] [] reports that "during Varona's recent visit to U.S. he reportedly solicited funds Las Vegas gamblers. Suggest at your discretion you probe report."

A letter from Varona to Droller, dated Aug 26, 1960 requesting ³ U.S. residence permits for Mr. & Mrs. Jose J. Garcia, Mr. & Mrs. Roberto Solis, and Mr. & Mrs. Carlos Rosello, who live in Sparks, Nevada and are ~~the~~ "our representative over there and in Calif."

A Sept 10, 1960 cable from Hunt reports that Hunt presented Varona with new organizational plan which Varona accepted. Hunt will work on Rasco to accept plan. Rapport is better than ever.

A Sept 15, 1960 memo reports that Varona arrived in NYC during the early P.M. on September 14 and was planning on staying in N.Y.C. for a period of two days. ^{Sept} On ~~the~~ 17 subject was planning to proceed to 115 Venetian Way, San Marin, Florida.

A ~~Sept~~ Sept 16, 1960 cable from [] reports that Sosa told Droller & [] of Varona's strong desire to return to Cuba soon. Droller felt it would be an excellent step.

contact

A Sept 22, 1960 report by Droller reports a meeting of Varona, Witner, and Droller in Coral Gables on Sept 22. Varona discussed the possibility of his return to Cuba. Droller thought it was a good idea for Varona to return to Cuba. Requested a detailed statement from Varona. Varona said he was going to N.Y. on ~~Sept~~ the evening of the 18th.

A Sept 27, 1960 cable from [] reports that Jerry W. Erler ~~has~~ Pres. of Sears Roebuck in Cuba, has been approached by Manuel Rodriguez to serve as an alternate courier for FRD. Rodriguez said he is the intermediary between FRD & recuperacion in Cuba for mutual support coordination both groups. He travels Havana-Miami 3 times/month and meets Frank Zayas and/or Tony Varona to give & receive plans & instructions.

A Sept 29, 1960 cable reports that on Sept 27, Varona was appointed general coordinator of FRD.

A Sept 30, 1960 memo by Droller reports on a Sept 27 meeting with Varona at the La moderne motel, Coral Gables. Witner & Droller met & Varona brought Droller up to date on events which had taken place after his return ^{with} Carrillo from meeting with Hunt & Droller in Washington. Varona reported that a high-level ^{official} American had recently come through Miami and had spoken to William Pawley. An agreement was reached between this Am. & Pawley that the ^{Exe. Comm} ~~Exe. Comm~~ would be replaced by Rubio Padillo & Co.

Vol Five of the Varona file covers the period from Oct 1, 1960 to Dec 30, 1960.

An Oct 3, 1960 memo reports a meeting with Varona, [redacted] & Droller on Sept 28. Varona stated that Gaudie & Elena felt bad about [redacted] dealing over their heads. Droller 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."

An Oct 5, 1960 from [redacted] reports meeting of Hunt & Varona. Agreed that Hunt will maintain normal contact with Varona and other ^{FRD exec comm.} ~~FRD exec comm.~~ members plus Sosa and ~~Paula~~ Paula. Also has right to discuss ops with departmental chiefs. [redacted] and ~~[redacted]~~ will confine contacts to departmental chiefs plus Sosa. Also, no ~~us~~ American should make commitments to any Cuban without consultation with Varona. "Believe above reasonable. ... However in practical terms none of above intended curtail current production or relationships."

An Oct 6, 1960 cable reports that Varona stated that 2 Cuban pilots and navigator who fly Castro on International flights are ready to defect & ^{FYI} FYI: If pilots really fly Castro this opens other opnl possibilities."

An Oct 8, 1960 cable reports that Hunt, via [redacted], is becoming familiar with working level of FRD matters

and performance."

An Oct 8, 1960 [] cable reports that Hunt should remind Varona of agreement reached with Bender whereby Witner retains control and funding of FRO affiliates."

An Oct 8, 1960 mesh cable (Action, Mr. Phillips) states that Varona is interested in mounting P.M. ops as political favor for contacts with non-FRO supporters who are desirous utilize Varona's access to arms source. Sosa has made 2 approaches to ~~Fravel S. Brown~~ ^{Fravel S. Brown}. Varona want to use Alberto Fernandez Echevarria and Nino Diaz. Sosa claimed that Varona is in contact with an unnamed individual who owns a small plane which has made two flights from Florida in last 2 wks to make arms delivery to Duque group in Escambray.

"Basic element of interest above is Varona's willingness break own FRO administrative channels."

An Oct 12, 1960 cable reports from [] reports that the DRE has selected students for first propaganda team: Ramon Barquin Canterio, Carlos de Varona, Miguel A. Garcia Arnengo, Manuel Salvat Roque, Alberto Muller y Quintana.

Alberto Roque may use alias Tue Castell.

A contact report by Droller dated Oct 17, 1960 reports a meeting with ~~Romauldi~~ ^{Romauldi} on Oct 12. ~~Romauldi~~ ^{Romauldi} said he is to have a meeting with Varona and hoped ~~an~~ M.E.R.'s entry into FRO would be accomplished soon. Requested assistance to infiltrate one of his men, FNU CRESPI.

An Oct 17, 1963 contact report by Droller of a meeting with Martinez Fraga on Oct 13 reports that Fraga was to go to Paris on Oct 14 to persuade Alonso Pujal "to return to the U.S. in order to begin and carry out the important work of a "behind-the-scenes" collaborator with FRO. Droller approved, as did Varona.

An Oct 18, 1960 contact report by Droller reports a meeting with Varona. Varona requested arms be supplied and that we not inquire into the details of how he would dispose of them. Made other requests. No commitment given.

An Oct 19~~8~~, 1960 cable reports that Varona has been rebuked for Oct 17th raid and on Oct 18 Hunt told Varona that material still unaccounted for. Varona began taking steps to recover. "No reason to believe any key materials purposely withheld..."

An Oct 20, 1960 cable from [] reports that [] said that Pawley had called him and told him to contact Varona who was to contact his CIA contact. Pawley said his instructions came from "JAKE."

and Oct 23

On Oct 20, 1960 Varona was in New York.

(Director)

An Oct 25, 1960 cable reports that the State Dept man who Varona was in contact with was really a representative of the Senate Investigation Committee in touch with Varona thru Senator Smathers - according to Lem Jones.

On Oct 31, 1960 cable reports that subjects picked up safely by coast guard cutter 2 hrs off key west. [redacted] officers brought subjects to [redacted] safe house. "Planned operation PAT discussed. Main points were recognition signals and selection rendezvous points."

Varona is to have a press conference in N.Y.C on Nov 4.

On ~~Nov~~ Oct 25, 1960 a meeting of Droller, Hunt, and Varona was held in Hunt's apt. Varona is planning to discharge Lem Jones.

A Nov 3, 1960 cable reports discussions with Rogelio Gonzalez y Carzo and Jim Pekich. Feels Varona has subverted the cause.

An Oct 28, 1960 dispatch from [redacted] reports that Jesus Rodriguez y moreno appeared at the INS office and requested a passport. He indicated he was returning to Cuba on a special mission for Varona and is to coordinate counter revolutionzry activities in the Pinar del Rio to Havana area. A Nov 4, 1960 cable requests that Varona be told that above arbitrary action could prove counterproductive.

A Nov 9, 1960 cable reports that Varona has hired Adeeb, Osborne and McLaney, 100 Biscayne Ave, Miami as his public relations firm.

A Nov 14, 1960 [redacted] cable reports that Varona is to arrive in D.C. on Nov 15 for consultation with Guatemalan Ambassador to U.S and OAS.

MRR reported to successful drops to Duque forces on Nov 3 and 11 by Varona using Cessna aircraft. Each drop consisted of 60 submachine guns.

A Nov 21, 1960 contact report by Droller of a meeting with Raul Chibas and Juan Estevez Ramiras on Nov 16 lists the current organization of the MRRP in exile. Mr. Ray wanted Droller to be reassured of MRRP's friendship for U.S. Droller gave Chibas a \$400 check.

A Nov 21, 1960 cable states Manolo Ray has phoned Varona and arranged to see Varona in Miami.

A Nov 22, 1960 contact report by Droller of a meeting with ~~Man~~^{Tea} (Hamilton) and Varona states that Varona was told he might be a good idea to visit P.C. during week of Nov 21 to pay a courtesy call on someone in the office of Secretary Mann.

A Nov 24, 1960 cable from [] to Director [] (1841) reports that "Pedro Diaz Lanz has joined PRD, bringing into it the following pilots: Abel Hera Corton, Frank Fiorini, Francisco Llano, Evangelista Mursuli, Ramon P. Fuentes, Nestor Alvarez, Fernando Carcia and Carlos Diaz Lanz.

"Shortly after joining PRD, Diaz suggested to Varona the establishment of a special mission group comprising the above personnel, all of whom, according to Diaz Lanz are qualified as A/C mechanics. The group would drop ~~from~~ PRD leaflets on cities, small towns and cooperatives and could fly Cargo missions when required.

"To prepare themselves for standby readiness Diaz has requested Varona (and Varona has queried Hunt) for funds to: (A) rehabilitate the personally-owned B-25 A/C of Diaz at a cost of approx \$2500 (B) provide pilots with link trainer time (8 pilots at 10 hrs monthly, at cost of \$8/hr) and (C) consider purchase of float-equipped Cessna 180 and or 210 for ~~ext~~ infil/exfil ops."

"While realize present policy precludes US-based flights, desire at minimum maintain flight proficiency this integrated group whose current and future activities could be monitored and directed by the newly-established joint Cuban/American operations section of the mil. commission...."

"Temporary solution has been to assign Diaz group to transport commission, which now functions under mil. commission, but funds are not currently budgeted for link trainer time."

"Request has approve initial link trainer refresher of \$960, 15 hrs each pilot, then monthly cost of \$640. Not likely training to extend beyond three months."

A Nov 29, 1960 letter to Dave from unidentified person (maybe Lem Jones) states that Varona has decided to hire a new public relations outfit in N.Y - Connally Associates headed by

Joe Connally, Jr, who has been a N.Y. Correspondent for Adee, Osborne, and McLaney. Osborne pretends to know nothing about what is going on. Joe wants no part of it.

A Dec 9, 1960 WAVE cable reports Varona is absent Miami until Dec 13.

A Dec 10, 1960 cable from Mexico reports that [redacted] ^{Stanley Moos} plans to take ~~Stanley Moos~~ employee to Washington on Dec 12, 1960. Will travel Houston via ~~Stanley Moos~~ Moos's house.

Possible new lead on Dec 9, 1960 when one Johnson FNU, speaking Texas English, phoned the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City saying had "very very important" info to give them. Said info about Dr. Varona and Florencio of N.Y. A Dec 12, 1960 Mexico cable reports that subjects true name is [redacted].

A Dec 13, 1960 cable reports that [redacted] (employee) met Gustavo Mustelier, Cuban lawyer now in exile in Miami) on Dec 11 and 12. Manson attended ^{2d} meeting using name Robert Vincent.

General discussion re Cuban exile unity or lack thereof.

A Dec 16, 1960 dispatch from TMWAVE includes a list of personnel of the Rescate group.

A Dec 16, 1960 cable reports a meeting with Hunt/Varona. Varona was negative about use of Mujal and his assets. Hunt told Varona that he should not object if Bender group explores use of Mujal independently of FRD.

A Dec 19, 1960 WAVE cable reports that per [] (employee) verbal query at WAVE, Rafael ("Macho") Genor working with FRD. Varona approves visa for wife.

A Dec 19, 1960 cable from Havana reports lengthy meetings with ^{Ramon Augusto Ruiz, Sanchez} ~~[]~~. Disillusioned with FRD and Varona.

A Dec 19, 1960 dispatch reports that Jose Joaquin SanJenis Perdona reports that Gisela Garcia de Solis, who resides at 314 L St, Sparks, Nevada is the wife of Roberto Solis who works at the Hotel Riverside in Reno, Nevada. She is working for FRD in Nevada, LA, San Francisco, Reno, and Las Vegas. Recommended for job by Varona and Pujol.

Vol 6 of the Varona file covers the dates from January 61 to May 31, 1961.

A Jan 5, 1961 ~~report~~ WAVE cable reports that Nino Diaz spoke with Varona and Martin Elena. Agreed that Nino would join FRD and enter training.

Nino says that ^{Romauldi} ~~[]~~ claims [] providing \$5,000/month for group support and asks that support be stopped since ^{Romauldi} ~~[]~~ brother is treasurer, and uses funds for political control. On Jan 3 ^{MRR} ~~anyum~~ ^{exec.com} ~~[]~~ ^{Romauldi} dissident group voted to drop ~~[]~~ from Committee.

since he is not willing to join the FRD or go to training.

A memo for the record dated Jan 6, 1961 from [redacted] reports that Mr. Lee Grills, Pres of Consolidated Production Co., Ft. Lauderdale, is engaged in the production of explosives and he now has a new type he wishes to make known to the U.S. govt. Currently engaged in filling a large order for Cubans. Gave names: Varona, Frederick Gaudie, Florentine Blanca, Aguelera. Grills is in business with Lewis O'Connor and Joseph O'Connor.

A January 13, 1961 memo for the record reports a conversation between [redacted] and Varona concerning the Cuban exile group's visit to Washington. Varona said there were plans to thank Eisenhower for the million dollars for Cuban exile relief, to visit Peruvian Amb. to U.S., and to speak to reps of the OAS. This is a follow-up of approach by Manuel Brana to a Mr. White and Mr. Hopkins who are associated with the White House. Varona's rep in N.Y. is Eduardo Gonzalez.

An undated page headed with "Director: CIA" states that It is 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 available indicating substantial contributions by gambling interests in

A January 21, 1961 cable from WAVE reports that on Jan 17 Varona told Barker that he had been informed that Pawley was beginning legal action against FRD through Wash attorney Marshall Diggs on a complaint initiated by FNU Perez Abreu, a Cuban lawyer. Basis of complaint is said to be mismanagement of funds. Varona said Justin Gleichauf is supposed to know details.

A memo for the record, dated Jan 23, 1961, by [] reports that "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 President on Saturday. He was promised that once a beachhead was established in Cuba, a provisional govt should be set up constituted by Rulo Lopez Fresquet, Mico, and Varona. Pres allegedly promised ^{that U.S. would} to recognize govt."

Varona was to participate in a radio/TV public events show in NYC on Jan. 29. On Feb 1 he was to address a women's group in Washington D.C.

A Jan 30, 1961 cable reports that Hunt has authorized Varona approach broad list of exiled figures with view of incorporation into FRD.

A Feb 1, 1961 dispatch states that a tape received from Pawley, which records a conversation between Fabio Freyre, Rubio Padillo, Cuervo Rubio, and Varona is attached. The conversation took place

on Jan 30, 1961. (US GA-765) (The tape is not in the file)

A contact report by Droller dated Feb 2, 1961 reports that Pujol questioned Droller if he would continue in view of the change in administration. Droller said he would and that "As a private American citizen, changes in the administration would not affect me in any case, but there is no indication that even under the new administration there would be any change in our work."

~~ADMEP~~ and ~~Pedro Diaz Lanz~~

A Feb 2, 1961 cable from reports that ~~Conte Aguerre~~ and Pedro Diaz Lanz are returning to Miami on Feb 4. "As result inability obtain ^{one} visa with permission for plane, tour to be with ^{one} or both via commercial flights." Alleged offer of Varona to Diaz Lanz to make him replacement for Manuel Villafana Martinez.

A Feb 11, 1961 WAVE cable reports that WASP is scheduled to leave Marathon and will exfiltrate Emilio Gonzalez Castellanos, Benito Medina Garcia, Gilberto Sadenas, Alberto Gonzalez Ricio, and Carmel Gottarne. WASP is a 26' yacht.

A Feb 12, 1961 cable reports that Hunt is returning to Miami on Feb 13 and will act as an escort for Varona, Artime, & Maceo on flight to training area. Consensus that Juan Arace Paula y Baez

trip should be delayed until after departure above persons from area order not imply Paula part of pol. structure.

A Feb 13, 1961 cable from [] reports that Jose Joaquin Sangenis Perdomo has reported that he has been unable to determine whether or not Varona is in contact with Cellini, firm of McLeary, Adeeb, and Osburne, public relations firm Las Vegas, Nevada, or Edward K. Moss of Chase/Moss Intern'l. Barker will be asked to ask Varona. Sangenis has no record of Julia Cellini or any other members of the Cellini family.

A Feb 13, 1961 a WAVE cable reports that Varona and [] met, with [] interpreting, on Feb 11. Discussed military matters.

A Feb 17, 1961 WAVE cable reports a meeting on Feb 16 with Varona, Artima, Hunt. Hunt taped ~~part~~ "substantial" part of mtg. Discussed military problems.

On Feb 17, 1961, Hunt, Varona, ^{Javier} Alvarez and Maceo went to Guatemala.

A Feb 18, 1961 WAVE cable reports that ^{Juventino} Umberto Figueres Gonzalez disclosed that Baez, former Cuban pilot and head Britannia plot, is reluctant to take 18 Feb trip to N.Y and make pitch to Cuban crew until he able assure them they can count on some financial assistance following plot. WAVE plans on offering each of 6 participants in flight flat \$1,000 payment upon arrival plane in Guatemala.

A ~~mem~~ memo to the FBI, dated Feb 24, 1961 (attn: S.J. Papich) reports that info CIA had on Cellini, and requested info on Bernard Nucilli.

A Feb 28, 1961 ~~re~~ memo by Droller states that Droller and [] met with Varona on Feb 17. On the same day they had a meeting with both Varona and Ray. Droller presented a list of 29 names from which they were to choose 10 for the provisional govt. Ray became upset. Also gave them a 7 point program as discussed with the Chief of the Western Hemisphere Division. It was agreed that Varona ^{& Ray} would ^{go} ~~return~~ to ~~NY~~ NY on Feb 26 to meet with Artime, Carrillo, Hibas & Pazos and decide on names. They would return to D.C. in March 1. Droller makes the comment "we believe 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 what he comes up with. In any case it is our view that we should not rush matters unduly if there is real State Dept interest having Mr. Ray and company play a role in the provisional government. Should the decision be made to write Ray off, we believe the Assembly could be convened without too much ado, substituting Miro Cardona for Ray." Conversation was taped.

A memo for the record dated March 7, 1961, by Droller, reports a March 6 meeting ~~a~~ of Varona, Ray, & Mr. [] on March 6 in the Shoreham. The meeting

was taped. The presence of Mr. [] was explained. "He would preserve the continuity of the Bender group whose 'senior partner' he had been ~~was~~ from the inception of the project; he would also be a newface in as much as he has not been very active in the project for the last four to five months." He was therefore asked by WITD Chief to assume role of primary negotiator in the establishment of a revolutionary council. He agreed & was fully briefed by [] & Droller.

A March 21, 1961 dispatch reports that Miro Cardona had given the following info

"It was unequivocal in criticizing Varona for recruiting notorious political gangsters, such as Gonzalez Cartas and ~~His~~ Humberto Rodriguez Diaz (known assassins and labor racketeers) as body guards."

A March 24, 1961 [] cable reports that "numerous FBI reports indicate Jesus Gonzalez Cartas alias El Extranio as gangster murderer smuggler and drug addict who identical with Trainee 4882. . . ~~Reported~~ Subj; not rpt not to be used. reported also he is one of Varona's two bodyguards. The other is equally bad."

April 10, 1961 cable reports that Varona will be in NYC all this week.

April 15, 1961 cable reports that Droller, [], and ~~Office of Security~~ rep will escort Cardona from NYC to

Opa Locka on April 16. All members will make flight but Varona who is now in Miami area. Upon arrival

Contacting Cardona will go into seclusion.

A April 28, 1961 memo by Droller reports that Varona called him on April 27 and requested 100 recruits now in U.S. be sent to Guatemala. Miro also called. Miro complained that while he had promised the pilots in Nicaragua \$30 hardship pay an American named "Joe" had made payments of \$250.

A May 15, 1961 dispatch reports that 2 cans of exposed 35mm film taken from files confiscated from Varona's Radar are being sent. Requests develop film.

A May 19, 1961 dispatch reports a May 16 meeting of [redacted] with ^{Alberto de Jesus Alberty} ~~Alberto de Jesus Alberty~~ to discuss latest events and status of new pilots organization and the new Naval organization. At a May 16 meeting the pilots (those previously in the training camps and others in the Miami area who agreed to attend, including Pedro Diaz Lanza ^{Alberto de Jesus Alberty} ~~Alberto de Jesus Alberty~~ elected ~~Alberto de Jesus Alberty~~ to be chief of the new Cuban Air Force in exile.

A May 27, 1961 dispatch reports that Antonio Fernandez Gomez aka Antonio Fergo is a close friend of Varona's and represents firm Publicidad Fergo-Arrego S.A.

Vol 8 of the Varona file covers the period from June 8, 1961 to Sept. 1970.

A memo by Droller, dated June 9, 1961 reports a luncheon meeting with Cardona and Ernesto Aragon at the Mayflower Hotel. Miro reported re meeting of Miro, Varona, and Aragon with Goodwin and Mr. [redacted], who professed confidence in Miro. Miro gave

[] proposed budget for CRC.

A June 12, 1961 dispatch reports a rumor in Miami that Varona has over \$300,000 deposited in an unidentified bank in Miami. The source of funds is unknown.

A June 14, 1961 cable reports that [] is setting up 5 rendezvous points about 5 miles outside Havana Hababar for exfil/infil ops.

A July 7, 1961 memo by Droller reports on payments made to Varona. Varona is being paid \$900/month. Varona was promised by [] that he would receive support for operational plans and personal needs. May 20, 1960 - payments were discussed at Hdq. 200 was to go to chauffeur - Francisco Zayas. Paid by [] check - June 1, 1960 - Nov 1960. From Nov 1960 to March 1961 - paid directly in cash by Hunt. April & May 1961 paid by Bender check from Hdq. Payments were in addition to salary from F.R.D. "As of July 3, 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 amt as nothing cements friendships better than money." Routing Slip contains remark that we should hold off. Varona is one of most bitter critics. "I don't ~~prop~~ propose to buy him off."

On July 7, 1961 Varona called the CIA [redacted] has been designated as replacement for Jerry Droller in [redacted] matters with Cardona.

[redacted]

A July 7, 1961 memo for record by [redacted] reports a contact with Varona. Varona is in D.C. staying at the Roosevelt Hotel. He will be in D.C. for three or four days. [redacted] used name of [redacted] Varona asked several questions re state of affairs, but received no answers. Asked how to get in touch with Gen. Taylor and was told to go through [redacted]

On July 11, 1961 Varona requested money for 3 prisoners who were stranded at the Marriott. Answer: NO.

On July 26, 1961 a meeting of FRD members was held. They tried tooust Varona and fight started. Police came and arrested several people. Alfonso L. Tarabochia, deputy sheriff in Miami, ^{Vincent Rafael Zorrilla} told ~~that~~ that no charges would be pressed. Police only took action against people criticizing Varona. Tarabochia held over 2 hr. conversation with Varona. Report from Miami.

A Sept 9, 1961 cable from Miami reports the CRC and the FRD will merge around Sept 15. Miro will be head and Varona second.

A CRC meeting was held on Oct 9, 1961 in NYC & Varona was present. Varona visited San Jose on Aug 17, 1962. On Aug 15, 1962 Varona visited President Roberto Chiari of Panama and requested a meeting of central American chiefs of state on Cuban issue. Rumor in Miami that efforts are being made to convince President Chiari to permit the establishment in Panama of Cuban gov't in exile. On Aug 24 Varona returned to Miami. On Oct 31, 1962 Varona had a meeting with Hurwitsch in Washington. On Dec 2, 1962, Varona met with Pres Morales of Honduras and several other leaders of Cuban group. Varona made a lengthy statement that the CIA was responsible for the current lack of activity and that the CIA was working behind back of Kennedy. On Jan 11, 1963, Varona departed for San Jose. An information report, dated Jan 17, 1963 states that while Varona was in Costa Rica, an unnamed large landowner in Costa Rica went to the Rescate Miami Hdq. to discuss the leasing of some of his coastal land in Costa Rica to Varona. Varona was irritated to learn this man had called in his absence.

On Sept 16, 1963 [redacted] met with Varona & Luis Botifol in Chicago. [redacted] informed Varona & Botifol were discussing the possibility 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 & parts to Castro in 59 and 60.

Told [] they were broke and frustrated. Varona told

[] he ran into Paulino Sierra in Nicaragua

who had a role of \$10,000. He told Varona he was being backed by big business in Chicago and was in a position to get millions for an anti-Castro revolution.

Feb 27, 1964 cross-reference sheet states that Varona's right-hand man is Mario del Canal Ferrer.

On June 7, 1965 Varona moved from Miami to NY and became auto salesman.

A 1970 cable (Sept) reports that Varona, Carlos M. Torres and Enrique H. de Franco are supporting march to D.C. on behalf of Cuban revolutionary party in Northern U.S. True purpose is to picket White House with slogans "Freedom of the Seas and freedom for Bosch."

April 24, 1961 report by [] re custody of Revolutionary Council 19-20 April 1961, describes meetings with JFK after Bay of Pigs.

Vol 7 of Varona's file is a Biographic file.

It contains answers to questions 36 thru 58 on Varona's PRQ II. Varona was first introduced to Falinger in May 1957. [] - Varona's case officer.

Varona was classified as an "indigenous field agent."

On ~~at~~ Aug 28, 1959 operational approval was amended for use of Varona as a PP agent in Project []

~~27-28-59~~

On April 23, 1963 a meeting was held with Varona to advise him of liquidation of CRC.

A document cross ref. re Miami visit of Emile Henneval, dated April 29, 1963. States that Varona was very pro-American and when asked about Kennedy's Administration "Tony was amzzing." "Father knows best."