SECRET

4 April 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Transcript of Recorded Summary of ANPAX Meetings

1. This memorandum summarizes discussions which have taken place from 27 March through 30 March between Mr. Edwards,1 Mr. Foster,2 Mr. Rivers,3 Mr. Thompson4 and Mr. Palmer.5 During this period, we have discussed a number of topics under the following headings: General; Political; Propaganda; Action and Immediate Plans.

General

2. It is agreed, first, that any possibility of reaching a peaceful agreement on the problem confronting us in Cuba is no longer present and that Fidel has passed the point of no return. Second, prompt action is desirable because the situation is growing worse every day, and the solution to the problem becomes more difficult as it is allowed to deteriorate. Third, this problem is not limited to Cuba alone but is international in scope.

Political

3. It has been agreed first that a name, a platform and a symbol should be chosen at the earliest opportunity. It has also been agreed that these gentlemen will meet in Jacksonville on the 3rd and 4th of April with representatives of other groups who have similar opinions of the situation and who wish to coordinate their actions. It will be at the Jacksonville meeting, and if necessary at later meetings in Havana, that decisions will be taken on the name, platform and symbol for the joint organization, which we will meanwhile refer to as the Junta.

It is agreed that the spirit of the Caracas Pact should be revived wherever possible in the official pronouncements of the Junta. Mr. Edwards, Mr. Foster and Mr. Rivers are preparing their own platform of political, social and economic measures which they will take with them to the meeting and which they will provide to us. At the forthcoming meeting, names of people to be clearly identified as representatives of the Junta will be decided. At the Jacksonville meeting these gentlemen will bear in mind the idea that they wish to make it possible for others who

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1 - Oscar SCHWARRZ SALVAT
2 - Ángel FERNANDEZ VARELA
3 - José Ignacio RASCO
4 - [Name Redacted]
5 - [Name Redacted]
cannot attend the meeting to express their adherence to the principles expressed there at a later date. Therefore, they will not attempt to impose a single narrow system of political, economic or social thought, but rather will emphasize the need for a return to constitutional government under which all parties have the right to express their own opinions and the people have a democratic choice.

Propaganda

5. We plan to employ press, radio, films, intrusion and other techniques to undermine and discredit the government and to prepare the people for later action. This phase will have as one of its objectives the dissemination of the truth to people who have been misled by the present regime. The names of specialists in radio work have been provided, and the decision will be made later as to which of these will be used in which place. Three men who have been selected for this radio work are Juan FALLA, Antonio ALONSO Avila, Miguel SUAREZ Fernandez and Angel Felix YERGO. Other names are on a list which has been provided.

6. Discussion was held concerning the technique of having some material prepared in Havana and sent outside for broadcasts back into the country. It was felt that this technique would permit timely exploitation of developments inside the country. Another suggestion involves staging incidents which would arouse Castro, filming his impassioned reaction on TV or in public appearances and then, by careful editing, to emphasize his gestures and facial expressions to produce a good satirical film. This film might also employ a musical background carefully synchronized with Castro's movements as a way of heaping on additional ridicule.

7. We also discussed ways of printing material outside of Cuba for later distribution inside the country or in other target areas. One specific example was a pamphlet on the denial of human rights in Cuba today, which it is hoped can be prepared in time for distribution at the forthcoming conference on Freedom and Democracy in Caracas. Another technique involves the use of small pocket recorders. These would be carried on the persons of representatives of the group for surreptitious recordings of casual conversations which, after editing, could be replayed over the air to give whatever impression which we wish to create. Still another technique involves the use of indestructible recorder-speaker equipment which can be left in public places with pre-recorded messages. Another uses tape recorders and loud speakers placed in hotels overlooking public assembly areas where, after an appropriate period of blank tape, a message can be broadcast, to sow confusion and consternation among the authorities. Another propaganda technique which might be employed would be wall posters with pictures of Fidel tearing the beard made of some substance which dissolves readily in the rain and which would leave a rather ridiculous-looking, beardless figure following a rain.

Action

6. After a lengthy discussion of this question, it was decided that precise means of action should be determined following meetings with other leaders and
meetings with experts in this field. It was also agreed that, meanwhile, training of qualified people should proceed. In this connection, it was agreed that an assessment program based on the Miami area would be the first step. For this a team of three or four people headed by Manuel Artime has been designated. It is expected that on the 31st of March these gentlemen will meet with him in New York and will explain to him his duties which will be the following:

a. He will be instructed to make contact with certain selected people who are already in the country. He will base his contacts on clearances which are received through a representative of Mr. Frank Bender, who attended several of the meetings.

b. After Artime has made his initial assessment of these candidates and has obtained their agreement to participate, he will send them to areas where they will undergo medical, intelligence and psychiatric examination. A list of candidates who are ready at the moment and most of whom are already available in this country has been submitted. It is expected that an additional number, bringing the total to somewhere between 30 and 100, can be located following the return of these gentlemen to their homes. It has also been agreed that a list of 20 members of the old army who are now in the Miami area, will be carefully screened and checked by these gentlemen on their return and that those on whom no derogatory information is available will be the subjects of Artime's reassessment.

9. The initial cadre of instructors will emerge from the group of 20 and the group of 16. Those who are chosen later will be instructed in turn by the initial cadre at a location to be chosen outside of this country. The question of specialists was also taken up. In the field of physicians, including psychiatrists, there are a probable ten or more who can be recruited and brought out at such time as the need for them arises. There are eight or more specialists in small boat operations who would be of value in exfiltration operations. There are approximately five qualified pilots. There are two or more radio communikers. This will be the subject of a later comment. The group also has access to several boats capable of travelling out as far as the territorial limits of three or twelve miles, and probably even further. There are four or more such boats available.

In this connection the question of radio beacons and their use in exfiltration operations was also discussed. It was pointed out that equipment may soon be available which can be carried by small craft and which will make a rendezvous at sea more simple and more secure.

Immediate Plans

10. A schedule was drawn up to show the movements of Mr. Edwards, Mr. Rivers and Mr. Foster during the week or so. Following are the activities which each expects:

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a. On 31 March, Mr. Foster will go to New York where he will meet with the others and Manuel Artima who is expected to return from Mexico on the same date. The meeting will be held at the Statler Hotel. On the first and second of April, Mr. Foster will be in New York. On the third, he will proceed to Jacksonville, on the fourth he will meet there with representatives of other groups. On the fifth, he will return to Havana and there he will talk to Hermann Laza concerning the possibility of the latter coming to this country for approximately four weeks of specialized training in communications. It is contemplated that if Hermann Laza is available for this, then he on his return to Havana will be in a position to pass his training along to a group of other people. This would be extremely important in the event that relations were to be broken. Another assignment of Mr. Foster will be to carry with him to certain people in Havana the decisions reached at the Jacksonville meeting. This is assuming that certain members whose presence is desired will be unable to attend the Jacksonville meetings and will therefore have to be contacted by Mr. Foster on his return. Another task which has been given to him is to check out the list of twenty names of candidates in the Miami area which came from another source.

b. Mr. Rivers will accompany the other members of the group to New York on the 31st. He will go with them to Jacksonville on the third, he will go to Tampa and Miami on the 5th and 7th and will probably return to Havana on the eighth.

c. Mr. Edwards will go to New York on the 31st with the other two. He will meet there with Artima on the 31st and on the first. On the second, he will go to Boston to speak with Mr. [Rodriguez Bezo] concerning possible training of the latter in communications work. Mr. Charles Barker will meet him there and will speak directly to Mr. [Rodriguez Bezo] if the possibility looks good. Mr. Edwards will proceed then to Jacksonville on the third for talks there and will return to Havana at some later date.

d. Concerning Mr. Artima, his instructions will be to return to Miami after the New York meetings and await contact from a representative of Mr. Carl Bender. He will be instructed in more detail there on how to proceed with the reception and assessment of people chosen for the action phase. These detailed instructions will come from the representative of Mr. Bender. Before he leaves New York or in the early afternoon of the 31st of March, Mr. Artima will also make contact with Mr. Alberto Roque at the Commodore Hotel to discuss collaboration of Roque with the group. Mr. Artima has been chosen for this work since he will not be returning to Havana and the question of exposure is not critical here.

[Signature]
Robert Reynolds
DC/M/A