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CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM**

ANTI-CASTRO ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

(Summary)

15 January 1960

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I. ANTI-CASTRO ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Efforts of Cuban exiles based in the United States since the fall of Batista and the assumption of power by the Castro regime on 1 January 1959 have been characterized by continually shifting alliances aimed at securing for their leaders a paramount position in any successor government in their homeland. Programs have been enunciated by individual leaders, organization lists drawn up, and funds solicited. Considerable propaganda has been published, and leaflets attacking Castro have been dropped over Cuba periodically. Some military and paramilitary training has been undertaken, particularly in the Dominican Republic where a force ranging from a claimed 80 men to several thousand has been training for the past nine months. Some exiles claim to have armed followers in Cuba as well as a larger number of sympathizers. There has been one abortive invasion attempt.

These efforts have been weakened, however, by rivalries between the more prominent exiles for leadership of any formal anti-Castro movement established, and their failure to agree on any program. Their activities also have been affected by the fact that most of the exiles were connected either actively or passively with the Batista regime. They recognize, although they do not always admit this, that Batista's rule is still too unpopular with the mass of Cubans for them to engage in a successful effort to overthrow Castro unless they are supported by a force far larger than any can command at present.

These rivalries plus Castro's followers' long training in revolutionary methods appear to have enabled Castro to learn the plans of most of the alliances formed thus far well before they are put into action.

Nevertheless there has been, and continues to be, a general recognition by most of the more prominent exiles that they must unite if they are to succeed in removing the present regime. The most important potential leaders of any such movement to emerge so far are listed below under separate headings.

A. General Jose Eleuterio PEDRAZA y Cabrera

When mention is made of military measures to eliminate the Castro regime attention inevitably focuses on General Jose Eleuterio PEDRAZA y Cabrera. While opinions differ as to his suitability for the role of leader of a military attack on the Castro forces, he is regarded by the most prominent and most active exile leaders in the United States as the only military leader in a position to take effective action in the field against Castro.

The forces at his disposal in the Dominican Republic, the loyalties he can command within Cuba, and the help he can get from exiles in the United States have been variously estimated from a mere handful to several thousand. He, himself, has stated in a memorandum to a prominent American businessman that he hoped he could count on a force of 2,000, led by 100 former Officers and Non-Commissioned officers of Cuban origin. The remainder of his force would be made up of Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Germans, and perhaps a few Dominicans. (1) PEDRAZA has expressed his willingness to work with General Martin DIAZ Tamayo and Colonel Ramon BARQUIN and would welcome their cooperation but he has never hinted that he would turn over leadership of his forces to either.

Former Castro supporter Francisco RODRIGUEZ Couceiro, who claims to have been one of the prime organizers of two anti-Castro groupings The Anti-Communist Crusade (CRAC) and The Christian Democratic Action (ADC) has backed PEDRAZA as the military leader of any expedition which should be launched against Fidel Castro. (2) Rodriguez claims to have visited the General late in October 1959 and to have reached an agreement whereby Pedraza committed himself to clean up his force of men in the Dominican Republic and put them under the direction and control of the ADC. Rodriguez asserts that the agreement provides for the elimination of all but Cuban nationals from the forces in the Dominican Republic under Pedraza.

Fabio FREYRE, a wealthy young Cuban--who also claims to be the founder of the ADC--has made known his connections with Pedraza and claims to have drawn up points of agreement with him. (3) Freyre has stated that General PEDRAZA is the

only Cuban general whom the constitutional army would follow. He adds that Pedraza was not closely identified with Batista's coming to power but when the Dictator needed help Pedraza was made head of the army. FREYRE believes that the Cubans do not have confidence in Martin DIAZ Tamayo nor in Ramon BARQUIN. (4)

Dr. Emilio NUNEZ Portuondo^o, now resident in Washington, D.C., and one of the more prominent anti-Castro exiles, has consistently tried to align the various anti-Castro elements in the United States, Mexico, and Cuba behind General Pedraza. (5) Carlos MARQUEZ Sterling, who at the moment appears to be Pedraza's choice for provisional president, if efforts to unseat Castro succeed has supported the military role of the General. (6)

General Pedraza's service under Fulgencio Batista has left a bad taste in the mouths of many Cubans who hated the Batista dictatorship as vehemently as they now detest the Castro regime. There seems to be reasonable doubt that Dr. CUERVO-RUBIO, whom RODRIGUEZ Couceiro has claimed CRAC supports as a presidential candidate, would support Pedraza. CUERVO-Rubio is reported to have stated that responsible opposition to Castro inside Cuba would be reluctant to associate with Pedraza and might join in the fight against him should he attempt an invasion. Some of these people have repeatedly expressed the fear that Castro might use such an invasion as a pretext to suppress all opposition. (7) Prominent Orthodox Party leader Antonio VARONA also is reported to be worried about the possibility of an invasion of Cuba by Pedraza, to whom he is bitterly opposed and has sworn that he and his followers would join with the Castro brothers in repelling any invasion led by Pedraza. (8) It is considered a distinct possibility that a Pedraza led invasion would play into Castro's hands, leaving internal opposition no alternative but to join Castro in a national effort to repel a Bastistiano invasion. (7)

It is known that FREYRE's ADC which supports Pedraza for military leader would welcome the assistance and the support of the former Chief of the Revolutionary Air Force Major Pedro Luis DIAZ-Lanz. However, DIAZ-Lanz has made it very evident that he wants no part in military affairs run by General Pedraza whom he categorizes as an enemy of

Cuba along with Castro, Batista, Masferrer.⁽⁹⁾ Recent evidence, however, indicates that there is a possibility that the former Chief of the Revolutionary Air Force may be reconsidering his previously inflexible attitude towards Pedraza.

B. Emilio NUNEZ Portuondo

NUNEZ Portuondo^o, now residing in Washington, D.C., was one of the first to declare his candidacy for the leadership of an anti-Castro movement. A former politician, lawyer and diplomat Nunez was Cuba's delegate to the United Nations from 1952 until 1958. During this period he cooperated with the US delegation and was outspokenly critical of the USSR. Most Cubans in the United States, and in those Latin American countries where he and his followers have solicited support for their anti-Castro activities are under the impression that he has some type of commitment with the US Government. Although he continues to be mentioned, along with Carlos MARQUEZ Sterling, as the most likely candidate for provisional president of a successor government to Castro, some sources have alleged that he would not make an effective president.⁽¹⁾

Nunez' announced aim is the overthrow of the Castro regime and its replacement by a civil government friendly to the US and excluding individuals associated with Batista. To this end he and his immediate followers have published a newsletter and periodically dropped leaflets over Cuba attacking Castro. They also have directed the paramilitary training of a small number of Cubans in Miami, some of whom subsequently participated in an abortive invasion of Cuba in August.⁽²⁾ In addition Nunez and his followers have been in close contact with other leading exiles in the US. During the fall of 1959 he and his adherents travelled to Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, Argentina and Peru to solicit support for an anti-Castro movement. They also have attempted to organize units in Venezuela.⁽³⁾

There is no firm evidence that these efforts have succeeded. However, Santiago REY's group in Mexico has supported Nunez for provisional president if the efforts to overthrow Castro are successful.⁽⁴⁾ General Pedraza, in the Dominican Republic, has supported Nunez for president and Nunez in turn

has promoted Pedraza as military leader since the spring of 1959. Nunez as recently as 14 December 1959 still claimed to be the leader of Pedraza's group but the General had previously asserted that he was disposed to work with both Nunez and Carlos MARQUEZ Sterling but he preferred the latter as interim president. (5)

Another possible adherent of Nunez is Pedro DIAZ-Lanz, who is reported to have declared that he, and other with whom he is working, would consider Nunez acceptable if he should divorce himself from Trujillo. A step in this direction was taken by Nunez at the end of December when, irritated by Trujillo's reluctance to permit a Pedraza invasion of Cuba from the Dominican Republic, he told Trujillo that he would take matters in his own hands if the action they had planned was not taken by 7 January. (6)

C. Carlos MARQUEZ Sterling

Carlos MARQUEZ Sterling comes from a family with a distinguished record in Cuban History. He was born in 1899 in Camaguay and received his education in Cuba, graduating from the University of Havana with a law degree in 1920. Three years later he became a professor at the University. It was from the same University that he was removed in 1959 by Castro forces. MARQUEZ Sterling told American officials that Fidel Castro had been one of his students at the University of Havana 1945-1947, and that Fidel had been reared in an atmosphere of hatred for the United States.

His political career began while he was still in his teens and he was arrested and imprisoned for his activities in the revolution of 1917. During the thirties he lived in Washington while his father was Ambassador. Later he re-entered politics and became Speaker of the House of Representatives. He had a hand in the establishment of the Ortodoxo Party in 1946. Previously Marquez had presided over the drafting of the Constitution of 1940. A former Presidential candidate and a leader of the Partido del Pueblo Libre (PPL) which he established in July 1957, Marquez Sterling appears to enjoy the respect, if not necessarily the full confidence, of many leading Cuban exiles in the United States. (1)

CRAC leaders asked him to accept the position of President of the government-in-exile but he was reluctant to do so because he feared for the safety of his son, still in Cuba. (2) Marquez has been in contact with most of the Cuban exile leaders in the United States and has had some discussions with NUNEZ Portuondo, his chief rival for the presidency. Some sources maintain that Pedraza prefers him over Nunez. (3) It is believed that Marquez still has the support of the Ortodoxo Party in Cuba. (4)

D. Pedro Luis DIAZ-Lanz

Major DIAZ-Lanz has gained considerable publicity for his break with Castro, his appearance before the Eastland Committee and his spectacular leaflet dropping over Havana on 21 October 1959. His brother Marcos, who was Inspector General of the Revolutionary Air Force (FAR) joined him in Miami in July and the two were until December closely associated with Ricardo LORIE Valls, a former underground leader of the 26 July Movement. These three and a few other associates have professed to have vigorous plans to overthrow Castro but aside from the leaflet drop have not performed any particular actions of special importance. (1) The Diaz-Lanz brothers broke with Lorie, who appeared to have been the most mature member of the group, for reasons which are not all clear. (2)

The small group about Diaz-Lanz in conversation with U.S. officials and private citizens has steadfastly refused to have anything to do with former Batista officials while they have stated their intention to take any measures to insure the downfall of Castro. (3)

In July 1959 Pedro DIAZ-Lanz stated that there is no connection whatsoever between the anti-Castro forces in Cuba and those in the United States. He regarded the followers of MASFERRER, Justo Luis POZO, former Mayor of Havana, Jose Luis PUJOL, NUNEZ Portuondo and others as remnants of former dictatorships which would not be acceptable to the Counter-Revolution in Cuba. (6) At the end of the year, however, Pedro DIAZ-Lanz was reported as being willing to support Nunez Portuondo if the latter would break with Trujillo. At the same time Diaz-Lanz is reported to have attempted to obtain \$50,000 from agents of Pedraza in Miami. (5) If this attempt actually was made, it seems to indicate at least a willingness on the part of Diaz-Lanz to work with Pedraza, something he has hitherto steadfastly refused to consider.

E. Fabio FREYRE

Fabio FREYRE, a wealthy Cuban now residing in Miami, claims that he has organized the Accion Democratica Cubana (ADC), which has selected General Jose Pedraza as its military leader. (1) Freyre says the ADC and Pedraza have drawn up the principal points of an agreement for the liberation of Cuba, which include the organization of commandos, seizing of the Isle of Pines to be used as an operational base for the invading forces, sabotage and various psychological warfare techniques. Freyre's following in the U.S. is estimated at some 200, while those based in Cuba, under the leadership of Juan Antonio RUBIO Padilla, number about 350, including commandos, army pilots and young officers. Freyre claims that the Cuban people have no confidence in General Martin DIAZ Tamayo or Colonel BARQUIN. (2) Hence, it is assumed that they are not among FREYRE's supporters.

F. Dr. Francisco RODRIGUEZ Couceiro

Dr. Francisco RODRIGUEZ Couceiro claims to be the founder and leader of another ADC, former prior to Freyre's organization. (3) He has similar plans for the reconquest of Cuba but has for the most part different following. (4) Among his principal supporters are Orlando PIEDRA, Rolando MASFERRER, and Julio LAURENT, all of whom were Batistianes. (5) Rodriguez claims he asked Trujillo and General Pedraza for arms to defend the Isle of Pines once he had taken it but they turned him down. (6) Recently, however, Rodriguez stated that General Pedraza had signed an agreement putting his men in the Dominican Republic and the Dominican anti-Castro radio under the ADC. (7) Rodriguez also claims he has the promise of support in Guatemala. (8)

G. Orlando Eleno PIEDRA Negueruela

PIEDRA enjoys the distinction of being considered by the Castro regime as one of the principal war criminals in the United States. He served for 18 years in police work in Cuba and attained the position of Chief of the Department of Investigations until the fall of Batista. In the United States he has openly avowed his former connections with and his loyalty to Batista. (1) He has been associated for a time

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with ex-Senator Rolando MASFERRER and Eduardo HERNANDEZ, former Cuban Consul General in Miami in the Anti-Communist League, which has made two attempts to fly arms to Pinar del Rio, Cuba. In each case men connected with the actual flying of arms were arrested by U.S. officials.

Some time ago Piedra incurred the wrath of Trujillo and he is not at all happy about the location of Pedraza's efforts. He considers Pedraza a prisoner of Trujillo. (2) Late in September 1959 Jose SUAREZ Nunez, a Cuban exile arrived in Miami to deliver instructions from Batista to Piedra to attempt to immediately consolidate the anti-Castro forces into a viable movement to overthrow the Castro government. Batista reminded Piedra that there should be no involvement with the Dominican Government and advised him that to the greatest extent possible groups should be cultivated which are now or might be expected to be looked upon with favor by the U.S. Government. (3) Enrique FERNANDEZ Parajon, former Chief of the Secret Police under Batista was reported in January 1960 as endeavoring to merge a group under the leadership of Orlando PIEDRA with the ADC. He added that the PIEDRA group has three planes which they would like to use during the next 60 days to set fire to sugar cane fields by dropping incendiaries. However, FERNANDEZ bemoaned the fact that tight United States controls in Florida were hampering their activities. Fernandez said that he is in contact with Guatemalans and Nicaraguans and that he and Piedra are responsible for military operations. It was his opinion that Pedraza has only 80 men in the Dominican Republic. (4)

H. Brigadier General Martin DIAZ Tamayo

General DIAZ Tamayo is a controversial figure, disliked by many Cubans because he represents top military leadership which in general was unpopular among civilians and lower military echelons, (1) yet respected by his peers. (2) He is held in contempt by Chomat, former legal counsel of CRAC, (3) but General Pedraza has indicated that he would be willing to work with DIAZ Tamayo. (4) DIAZ has a moderate following of Cuban ex-military men in Miami, where he now lives. He has discussed with Nunez Portuondo and Marquez Sterling the possibility of forming a coalition in support of them. (5)

I. Rolando MASFERRER Rojas

Rolando MASFERRER Rojas, former Senator during the Batista regime has played an active but not significant role among the exiles in the United States or in Mexico. His spectacular activities, unreliability and obvious opportunism have discredited him with the leadership and rank and file of exiles as well as anti-Castro elements in Cuba. He is anathema to Nunez Portuondo, General Pedraza and Santiago Rey, in particular. (1)

MASFERRER was accused by the Castro regime of having committed 70 murders and of having absconded with 17 million dollars. (2) He is remembered unfavorably by many Cubans as having been a member of the Communist Party from 1939-1944; later he did an about-face and became an ardent and "professional" anti-Communist. He also is unpopular because of the activities indulged in by his own terrorist "army," known as the "Tigers" during the Batista regime. (3) He has been described as a Jacobin, a demagogue, a tyrant and an extremist. For several years Senator MASFERRER enjoyed reviling the United States, its people and its policies. When anti-Communism became popular about 1950-51 and MASFERRER realized that this was a means of increasing his prestige with Americans he became a friend of the US. (4)

J. Penetration of the Anti-Castro Movement

Castro has bragged that his capture in Cuba last August of an arms-laden plane containing a group of anti-Castro militants was due to his having planted a spy in their midst. (1) Earlier the Chief Investigator of Cuban Army Intelligence (Departamento de Investigaciones del Rjeroito Revolucionario - DIER) had admitted to the FBI that the Castro regime had sent a man to Miami with the express purpose of reporting on the activities of anti-Castro exiles. (2) During the summer one of the more active anti-Castro exiles in the Miami area was enticed back to Cuba where he was immediately thrown in jail by agents of Castro's Police Intelligence (Departamento Teoniso de Investigaciones - DTI). (3) The Cuban Revolutionary Air Force also is alleged to have had between 40 and 50 paid informants in Miami. (4) There have been numerous indications that Castro probably has been able to plant agents among the followers of most of the more prominent anti-Castro exiles in this country. (5)

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PEDRAZA

1. Memorandum for Record: Robert Reynolds, WHD, and William Pauley, 9 Dec. 1959. Secret
2. DBF 36434, Nov. 4, 1959, Confidential
3. UMWA-24, Sept. 24, 1959. Secret
also WHD Memorandum
4. Memorandum for Record. Conversation of Mr. Toomay, WHD with Pauley and Freyre, Nov. 30, 1959. Secret
5. DBF 39015, December 8, 1959. Confidential
6. Memorandum for Record. Conversation between Robert Reynolds, WHD, and Wm. Pauley, 9 December 1959. Secret
7. COS Navana Tel. 3041 Dec. 16, 1959, IN-19840. Secret
8. TDCS 3/423,188, 31 December 1959
9. FBI, Miami, November 6, 1959, File 201-259120

Emilio NUNEZ Portuondo

1. 201-45667
2. DBF-33000, 31 Aug 59
DBF-36517, 10 Nov 59, C
3. Ibid
BUEN-5110, 30 Oct 59, S
HEPA-9838, 10 Nov 59, S
4. DBF-39015, 8 Dec 59
5. DBF-39016, 15 Dec 59
Memo for Record. Desk file - 19-9-8
6. UMWA-65, 31 Dec 59

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Carlos MARQUEZ Sterling

1. DBF 34945, Oct. 8, 1959. Conf.
2. DBF 35722, Oct. 29, 1959. Conf.
3. Memorandum for Record, Dec. 9, 1959
Conv. Robert Reynolds and Wm. Pauley. Secret
4. Memorandum of Conversation between two representatives
of CIA and CARCIO, 16 Oct. 1959. Secret
5. CS 3/411,429. 9 Sept. 59. Secret

Pedro DIAZ-LANZ

1. DBF 33664, Sept. 30, 1959. Conf.
2. UMWA-53, 9 Dec. 1959. Secret
3. UMWA-11, 10 Aug 1959. Secret
4. DBF-28290, July 8, 1959. Confidential
5. UMWA-65, 31 Dec. 1959. Secret

PIEDRA

1. DBF 34752, 30 Sept. 1959. Conf.
2. Memorandum for Record by US Air Attache, Havana,
26 Oct. 1959. Secret
3. CS 3/415,258, 15 Oct. 1959. Secret
4. NAVA-3141, 5 January 1960. Secret
See also OO-B 3,138,850 re testimony by former
attorney for Batista who states Trujillo bled
Batista white and treated him like a dog.

ADC

1. Memo, 1 Dec. 59
2. Memo - Toomay, Pauley, Freyre Conv. 29 Nov. 59

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ADC (Cont.)

3. DBF-35528, 21 Oct. 59
4. DBF-38863, 16 Dec. 59
5. DBF-35528, 21 Oct. 59
6. DBF-35528, 21 Oct. 59
7. DBF-37600, 30 Nov. 59
8. DBF-35528, 21 Oct. 59

MASFERRER

1. US Army Attache, Mexico, R-248-59, Aug. 7, 1959, Secret
2. DBF-24112-in 201/42669.
3. DBF-04112, 22 July 1959. Conf.
4. HEGA-589 from COS Ciudad Trujillo, 26 Aug. 1959. Secret

DIAZ TAMAYO

1. Toomay memo for record. 1 Dec. 59
2. DBF-35722, 12 Oct. 59
3. UMWA-65, 31 Dec. 59
4. Memorandum of conversation, Reynolds-Pauley, 9 Dec. 59
5. 201-22162

Penetration

1. Havana, Radio Progreso, 15 Aug. 59, FBIS, Unclas.
2. FBI Report, unnumbered, 21 Apr. 59, Desk File 19-5-1

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Penetration (Cont.)

3. NKHA-5666, 27 Nov. 59, S
DBF-32667, 17 Sep. 59
4. DBF-23997, 18 May 59
5. Castro penetration file (ours)