

Declaration of
Alan L. Fitzgibbon

1. Last March 25 I asked the Department of State to release twenty documents from 1955 and 1956 under the Freedom of Information Act. After the institution of this action the department found nineteen of the twenty documents and eventually released all of its own information in the nineteen, for which I thank it. My dispute in this matter now lies not with the State Department but with the Central Intelligence Agency, which wants to suppress one of the nineteen documents entirely and another partially because they contain CIA information. The two documents are, respectively, Embassy Ciudad Trujillo telegram 141 (CT T141) of September 29, 1956, and Embassy Ciudad Trujillo telegram 256 (CT T256) of December 13, 1956.

2. Although to save space I did not say so in my initial

request, all twenty documents deal with Dominican-Cuban relations in the mid-1950s. I requested the documents on the basis of references to them in around 125 documents about the same subject which the State Department released to me in the late 1970s, also under the FOIA.

3. I did say in my March request that the documents pertain to the Galindez case. By implication, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John R. Burke asked how in his letter to me of October 15. So also by implication did the CIA--much more insistently--in its October 23 declaration. Therein it misrepresented my request by saying that it saw no relationship between the documents and Jesus de Galindez himself, not the Galindez case. To provide historical context for the Court and the two executive agencies, I explain the relationship between the Galindez case and Dominican-Cuban relations in the mid-1950s below.

CIA attempts to define
the Galindez case narrowly

4. I wish to note in passing, as I have on several occasions in Fitzgibbon v. Central Intelligence Agency, DDC Civ 79-0956, which is still before this Court, that Galindez himself was only one among many actors in the historical case to which he posthumously gave his name. It is thus only natural that a historian of the case should inquire into its

many aspects other than Galindez' kidnapping and destruction or Gerald L. Murphy's disappearance and murder.

5. In its fervor of recent years to scuttle the FOIA, at least insofar as that statute applies to itself, the CIA has found it expedient to ignore these considerations and pretend that the Galindez case consisted of no more than the dramatic finales of two of its principals.

6. One might plead in the CIA's behalf that it cannot know or comprehend the case because all its personnel who were familiar with the Trujillo regime and the case itself have long since retired or died. Cadit quaestio. The CIA once deemed the case important enough in its own history to compile a large and informative special file about it, as L. James Kronfeld, one of its own attorneys, told me in December 1975 (see paragraph 7, page 3, in my affidavit of June 19, 1979, and paragraph 1.12, page 7, in my affidavit of December 20, 1979, both in Fitzgibbon v. Central Intelligence Agency, DDC Civ 79-0956). The CIA as an institution has never admitted the existence of this special historical file. Further, at least one book, many book chapters, hundreds if not thousands of news articles, and several broadcast media presentations have elucidated its various aspects. Had the CIA wanted to understand the case's scope, it could easily have consulted this material.

The Galindez case and
Dominican-Cuban relations

7. I now turn to the relationship between the Galindez case and Dominican-Cuban relations.

8. From the 1930s until they moved to Caracas after Fulgencio Batista's overthrow in Cuba at the beginning of 1959, the leaders of the main and often only Dominican political party opposing Trujillo from exile, the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, lived in Havana, as did other prominent Dominican exiles not affiliated with the PRD. Galindez was friendly with and drew on the knowledge of the Havana Dominicans for his scholarly research on the Trujillo regime. The Dominican dictator, in contrast, undermined them in every way he could, and two of the murders he ordered abroad which later came to be recognized as precursors of Galindez' own abduction were committed in the Cuban capital: Mauricio Baez in 1950 and Manuel de Jesus Hernandez Santana in 1955.

9. Partly as a result of Hernandez Santana's murder, relations between the two Caribbean countries deteriorated from mid-1955 to February 1956 and from then until the end of the latter year were openly hostile. This environment shaped some of the actions of several of the principals in the Galindez case.

10. Trujillo sent Francisco Jesus Martinez Jara, a Spanish criminal of many aliases, to spy on the exiles in Havana; a few

months later Martinez Jara visited and among other things discussed Dominican-Cuban relations with Galindez; and after Galindez vanished, Martinez Jara was at once implicated in his disappearance. At Trujillo's behest, Arturo Espaillat, his intelligence chief, covertly delivered a large arms shipment to Batista's opponents in Cuba's Oriente Province. All of the clandestine missions Gerald Murphy carried out abroad for Trujillo in 1956 were predicated on the Dominican dictator's enmity toward Batista: a trip to Mexico City to contact a Batista enemy who some later speculated was Fidel Castro; secret visits to Cuba to deliver a large amount of cash to a Batista opponent at the University of Havana and to reconnoiter a possible airborne arms landing site; and a never conducted aerial bombing of Batista's palace.

11. True or not, Rafael Soler Puig, whom Castro executed in 1961 for his many past crimes after he was captured at the Bay of Pigs, testified at a judicial hearing on Hernandez Santana's murder that the notorious Trujillo henchman Felix W. Bernardino, later to figure in the Galindez case, had indirectly tried to recruit him to kill Galindez during a visit the latter was to pay to Havana. And in 1957-58 Morris L. Ernst, the eminent New York attorney whom Trujillo retained to "investigate" the Galindez case, rested much of his defense of the dictator on his not so fortuitous discovery in the files of

Batista's police of evidence that Murphy had secretly flown a load of arms to Cuba on March 13, 1956, and so could not have transported Galindez to the Dominican Republic on that date. The Federal Bureau of Investigation later established that Trujillo agents had planted forgeries in the police files for Ernst to find.

12. Without a reasonably thorough knowledge of Dominican-Cuban relations in the 1950's, then, the historian cannot hope to understand many vital aspects of the Galindez case.

13. Toward that end I have compiled a research note on the topic, a copy of which I submit herewith for the Court's background information (Attachment 1). Some of the Martinez Jara entries and all of the Murphy entries are summaries of sourced and far more detailed entries in my notes on those two figures.

14. As will be seen from the embedded sourcing, the note is based largely on easily available published sources such as the New York Times, the now defunct Hispanic-American Review (HAR), and Hugh Thomas's Cuba, The Pursuit of Freedom, as well as the approximately 125 communications the State Department released to me in the late 1970s and several reports from the FBI's legal attache in Havana also released under the FOIA. Though indexed, the note cannot yet pretend to be reasonably

exhaustive: it does not include information from the State Department's recent releases, open Foreign Broadcast Information Service reports, contemporary accounts in the newspapers and magazines of Cuba and other Caribbean countries, scholarly monographs and articles, and interviews.

Earlier State Department releases containing CIA information

15. It is interesting that among the documents the State Department released to me many years ago and which I used in compiling the note are several containing CIA information. I also submit herewith copies of three that appear to bear directly on the CIA's current withholdings: Embassy Ciudad Trujillo dispatch 309 (CT D309) of December 11, 1956 (Attachment 2); Ciudad Trujillo dispatch 326 (CT D326) of December 19, 1956 (Attachment 3); and Ciudad Trujillo telegram 268 (CT T268) of December 20, 1956 (Attachment 4).

16. The Court will note that the State Department apparently cleared the release of at least two of the three documents with the CIA, for at the top of the first page of CT D326 is the notation "Check CIA" and at the top of CT T268 is the notation "ARA/[illegible] OK, Check CIA." (Years ago, "ARA" stood for the State Department's division of American republic affairs, and from tradition it is today the department's designator for its bureau of inter-American

affairs.) My recollection of the CIA's response to the FOIA in the 1970s is that, though creatively obstructive, it occasionally allowed stray and harmless bits of history to escape its clutches; in its present perfervid absolutism it purports to believe the skies would fall should such fugitives wander abroad.

17. The Court may also observe that CT D309 contains no excisions, while those in CT D326 and CT T268 are minor with the exception of a paragraph on pages 2 and 3 of CT D326.

18. "CAS," or "controlled American source," appears unscathed in CT D309 but is everywhere deleted in CT D326 and CT T268. For the sake of the hallowed principle of frequent changes in ciphers and cryptonyms to preserve cryptographic security, one might hope that this tired and bedraggled euphemism for a CIA station or station chief was long ago changed to something else. (It may be noted that "CAS" is used by agencies other than the CIA, which prefers "COS," or "chief of station.") The CAS in these three documents was Homer C. Brett, Jr., who as a result of his inquiries in the Galindez case suffered a nervous breakdown and so was recalled from Ciudad Trujillo in May 1957. He died at the Bethesda naval hospital on November 6, 1985 (Washington Post, November 9, 1985, D8).

19. "Gen. [Manuel] de Moya" was Brett's (excised) source

in paragraph 5 in CT D326, as well probably as for most of the CIA information in all three documents. As I have noted in Fitzgibbon v. Central Intelligence Agency, DDC Civ 79-0956, de Moya died at Santo Domingo on August 27, 1982.

New information about
Trujillo's anti-Batista plot

20. The nature of Trujillo's covert action against Batista is set out in the November 1956 section of my Dominican-Cuban relations note, though two of the State Department's recent releases indicate that the Dominican dictator's plotting with and military training of dissident Cubans began in mid- rather than late 1956. Embassy Ciudad Trujillo telegram 93 of August 24, 1956, says in part:

Embassy has obtained very confidentially circumstantial evidence certain Cubans, possibly those mentioned [Embassy] Habana's 87 to Department, paragraph (3), may have arrived here clandestinely.

Embassy endeavoring confirm arrival these persons. Contractor of house nearing completion allegedly rented by Trujillo was ordered August 15 to have three bedrooms ready by 17th for Cubans who are taking house. Contractor also ordered cut gate through wall to adjoining house owned by Ramfis [Trujillo, the dictator's older son] and rented to a Cuban. Both houses somewhat isolated northwest section city. Policarpo Soler reported here since May. Is there connection Herrera Soler? See NA (repeat NA) 7-S-56.

"NA" stands for Embassy Ciudad Trujillo's naval attache, Cmdr. Ralph C. McCoy, and "7-S-56" for his Secret seventh report of

U.S. fiscal year 1956. Those facts, combined with the State Department's original excision but later restoration of these two paragraphs, indicate that the information just quoted was McCoy's rather than Brett's and was cleared for release by the Defense Intelligence Agency and not the CIA.

21. Page 2 of Embassy Ciudad Trujillo's dispatch 111 of August 28, 1956, contains additional bits of information about Trujillo's plot:

... Three suspected plotters, Jesus GONZALES Cartas ("El Extranero"), Raul Osman HERRERA Soler and MacDowell O'Reilly SHERWOOD, who recently sought entry to the United States and were refused after a reported rendezvous with a Dominican vessel failed, are known to have arrived in the Dominican Republic on August 12 and probably are holed up under the Generalissimo's protection. The nature of the expedition which originally brought them to Florida is not known to the Embassy. It could have been either a plot or an intelligence collecting mission which failed.

22. It thus appears that the long, two-part Embassy Ciudad Trujillo cable of September 29 (CT T141) which the CIA wishes to suppress entirely contains Brett's preliminary findings about the organization and personnel of Trujillo's anti-Batista plot, while that embassy's much shorter cable of December 13 (CT T256), in which the CIA wants to suppress a few lines, forms part of the December 1956 series of documents from the embassy containing CIA information that the State Department released with the CIA's approval many years ago.

CIA assertions about the
two documents now in dispute

23. With the information above as background, we may now examine various of the CIA's assertions as expressed in its formulaic declaration of October 23.

24. I was surprised at the outset that the CIA cited the FOIA's first exemption (national security) as a ground on which to suppress these two documents since, despite judicial prodding, it abandoned that claim in Sims, on which it now sets so much stake. It presumably did not claim (b)(1) in that case because to do so would have been untenable. That exemption is untenable a fortiori in this case, and it is noticeable that the CIA makes relatively little mention of it in its declaration (paragraphs 5-7, pages 3-5).

25. The first exemption's underlying principle is harm to American security. One may "reasonably" ask how information, gossip, and rumor fed to a now dead CIA operative by the now dead lieutenant of a long dead dictator about the three-decade-old conspiracy of that dictator's long vanished regime against another long dead dictator and his long vanished regime involving long dead plotters "could be expected to cause serious damage to the national security" of the United States today. The answer is elementary: it could not.

26. Most of the CIA's following and much longer assertions justifying the (b)(3) suppression of its information in the two

cables are quite irrelevant to the relationship Manuel de Moya had with Homer Brett. De Moya was a human source and not "technical, organizational and otherwise"; he is not a "present" or a "potential" source; he did not talk to Brett "usually without the knowledge of his government"; and since he is dead he can scarcely fear "the consequences of public identification as a CIA 'agent' [which] are often dramatic--ranging from economic reprisals to possible harassment, imprisonment, or even death."

27. De Moya, one of Trujillo's most intimate subordinates, was Brett's official contact in the Trujillo regime and Brett regularly dropped by de Moya's office for lengthy tete-a-tetes. Although the CIA's assumed ignorance of the Galindez case would seem to negate the possibility, it has occurred to me that it might be eager to prevent de Moya's revelation as Brett's principal and often only source from fear of embarrassment that Trujillo, through his lieutenant, was spoon-feeding Brett most of the information he gathered about the dictator's regime.


28. The CIA's further assertion that

In the case of a foreign organizational entity cooperating with the CIA, such as a group or intelligence service, public disclosure assures the termination of such cooperation. No country will stand still in the face of a public admission that its entities are cooperating with the CIA.

is equally beside the point since the Trujillo regime collapsed with the dictator's assassination in May 1961 and the forced exile of the remnants of his family remaining in the Dominican Republic the following November. All Dominican governments since then have repudiated Trujillo and all his works.

29. In the end, risibly, the CIA invokes its jack-in-the-box bogeyman, the "adversary [who] might well concentrate its resources to prevent CIA utilization of that particular source." But to be fair, perhaps the CIA truly believes that the KGB or Cuba's Direccion General de Inteligencia has set moles to burrowing relentlessly in this graveyard of moldering Caribbean secrets.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed on November 13, 1986.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William L. Fitzgerald". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the text of the declaration.

Dominican-Cuban Relations,
1954-57

Thursday, July 8, 1954

Posing as "German MARTINEZ PARDO" and using a forged Panamanian passport allegedly issued at Santiago, Chile, on February 17, 1954, which includes a photograph of him wearing a mustache and toupee as well as his unnamed wife and two children, Francisco Jesus MARTINEZ JARA^a and his family arrive at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, from Nassau, Bahamas, aboard MV Allan's Cay. He apparently refuses to pay the boat's captain for the voyage, and he and his family may check into the Olafson Hotel. (Kaylos/PAA/Miami 051756 (HV267.29-30, Davis/MM 062756, J8169-70))

The boat captain complains to the Haitian police, and soon they arrest MARTINEZ JARA on charges of failing to pay the captain and entering the country on a forged passport. They also discover that he has another forged Panamanian passport in the name of "Guillermo CERVANTES MALDONADO." MARTINEZ JARA and his family are jailed in the Port-au-Prince prison and the police photograph him. (Kaylos/PAA/Miami 051756 (HV267.29-30, Davis/MM 062756, J8169-70); Martinez Jara to Galindez ("Rojas") 112955 (HV15.5-7, Crawford/NY 031956, J7223-5; JG687.10-3, Crawford/NY 022357, J131-4); Ultimas Noticias (Mexico City) 082354, cited in HV93.2, FBI-DOS/CIA 050956, J7687, and HV29.3, SJ let 051056, J7705)

The family remains in the Haitian prison.

^aMARTINEZ JARA appears to have been the true name of this Spaniard, who was probably born at Valencia in April 1908. He served in the Republican army during the Spanish Civil War, fled to the Dominican Republic at its close, and shortly thereafter moved to Cuba where he lived until 1948. Jailed there two or three times for robbery and swindling, he escaped to Central America and from 1948 until his arrival in Haiti in July 1954 traveled incessantly in northern South America, Central America, Mexico, and parts of the Caribbean as a con man using dozens of different aliases. A petty criminal of great deviousness and above-average intelligence, he gained a prominence he would not otherwise have achieved because of his involvement in the GALINDEZ case.

Because of that involvement, TRUJILLO caused him and his family to disappear permanently after he returned to the Dominican Republic in spring 1956. He is captioned "Felix HERNANDEZ MARQUEZ" in the FBI's hundreds of communications about him. The equally voluminous press accounts of his activities usually referred to him by that alias and also called him "El Cojo" ("The Cripple") because of his lame leg.

October 1954

About this time MARTINEZ JARA writes Vicente CUBILLAS, the New York correspondent for the weekly magazine Bohemia, Cuba's equivalent of Life. He says he is an anti-FRANCO Spanish refugee who was jailed at Port-au-Prince because his papers were not in order, and he fears the Spanish ambassador is trying to have him returned to Spain. He wants to get his wife, son, and nine-year-old daughter out of the prison because his daughter is in contact with prostitutes, and he asks CUBILLAS to put him in touch with Spanish refugees in New York, especially a doctor (probably Felix MARTI IBANEZ,^a though CUBILLAS later forgot his name), who might help him obtain his release. CUBILLAS sends MARTINEZ JARA the address of the Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas (SHC) in New York, and during the next several weeks MARTINEZ JARA writes him two more letters about his plight.

CUBILLAS sends MARTINEZ JARA's letters to Miguel QUEVEDO Y DE LA LASTRA, Bohemia's editor, who publishes one of them on page 107 of the magazine's March 25, 1955, issue. Pierre L. RIGAUD, the Haitian ambassador to Cuba, reads it, contacts his government for information about MARTINEZ JARA, and then writes Bohemia that MARTINEZ JARA arrived at Port-au-Prince with a forged Panamanian passport and later claimed to be a Spanish national. The Spanish embassy at Port-au-Prince refused to issue him a passport because it could find no proof that he was a Spanish citizen, and since there is no place to which he can be deported he is being held in prison. RIGAUD calls MARTINEZ JARA an "international adventurer." Bohemia publishes his letter on page 107 of its May 8, 1955, issue. (Cubillas 051156 (HV136.1, Donahue/USIS/Havana-Anderson/HAV 051156, J7713; HV133, HAV cab 051156, J7716; HV225.5, Anderson/HAV 060756, J7953; HV329.8, NY lhm 082256, J8401); Cubillas-Bouza 090156 (DD5/154, Bouza 090556, N269-71))

^aDr. Felix MARTI IBANEZ, McAdams International, Inc., 11 East 62nd Street, New York, undersecretary for health in the Spanish Republican government in 1936-37, later secured some medicines for MARTINEZ JARA on behalf of the SHC. Whether the two men ever met is unknown. (Marti Ibanez 052956 (HV307.34, Skelley/NY 080256, J8325; HV329.19, NY lhm 082256, J8412))

February 1955

Rafael GRAFFE ANDUJAR, a Dominican who escaped from his homeland, is jailed in the Port-au-Prince prison. There he meets MARTINEZ JARA and his wife and children, five Dominicans who escaped from the Dominican Republic (Victor ORZATELLIS MATOS, Alfonso ESPINAL JAVIER, Andres Marcelino and Francisco RAMOS PEGUERO, and Manuel Leovigildo PINA ROMERO), and Ulises SANCHEZ HINOJOSA, a TRUJILLO secret agent sent to Haiti in the guise of a defector to spy on the five escapees. (Graffe Andujar 060556 (HV225.12-4, Anderson/HAV 060756, J7960-2); Martinez Jara memo nd (CT D655, Carr 051755, S_____); Hernandez (T1) 060456 (HV225.12, J7960))

Thursday, February 24, 1955

Fulgencio BATISTA, who seized control of Cuba from President Carlos PRIO SOCARRAS on March 10, 1952, and had himself elected president on November 1, 1954, is inaugurated in Havana. Cuba's 1940 constitution, which he suspended when he seized power in 1952, again goes into effect. Among the members of his new cabinet are Sen. Jorge GARCIA MONTES, premier; Sen. Carlos SALADRIGAS Y ZAYAS, minister of state (foreign minister), and Sen. Santiago REY PERNA, interior minister. (NYT 022455 7; NYT 022555 4)

April 1955

Luis LOGRONO COHEN, TRUJILLO's ambassador to Haiti, succeeds in getting MARTINEZ JARA and his family released from the Port-au-Prince prison and deported to the Dominican Republic on TRUJILLO's orders. In Ciudad Trujillo, MARTINEZ JARA becomes a TRUJILLO secret agent, buys a U.S. passport from Felix HERNANDEZ MARQUEZ, a Puerto Rican living in the city, and substitutes his own photograph in it. On May 28 he debarks from the Dominican coaster MV Dicayagua at Ponce, Puerto Rico, with orders from TRUJILLO to establish himself at San Juan and spy on anti-TRUJILLO Dominican exiles living in Puerto Rico. He is soon joined in San Juan by Gloria VIERA MARTE, his Dominican mistress and another TRUJILLO agent. His wife and children remain in the Dominican Republic.

Saturday, May 21, 1955

About this time the five Dominican escapees (Victor ORZATELLIS MATOS, Alfonso ESPINAL JAVIER, Andres Marcelino and Francisco RAMOS PEGUERO, and Manuel Leovigildo PINA ROMERO), Ulises SANCHEZ HINOJOSA (a TRUJILLO agent who posed as a defector in order to join the five), and Rafael GRAFFE ANDUJAR are released from the Port-au-Prince prison where they met MARTINEZ JARA.

The Cuban government learns that the Dominicans want to come to Cuba and

so informs the Dominican government. Not long afterward Julio VEGA BATLLE, the Dominican ambassador to Havana, delivers an aide-memoire to Cuban foreign minister Carlos SALADRIGAS Y ZAYAS at his home, where he is ill with cancer, declaring that the Dominicans in Haiti are not true political exiles but men convicted of common crimes in the Dominican Republic and, moreover, communist sympathizers in contact with revolutionaries. The aide-memoire mentions SANCHEZ HINOJOSA.

On this date the five escapees steal a sailboat and make a perilous voyage from Haiti to Oriente Province, Cuba. They may be accompanied by SANCHEZ HINOJOSA and GRAFFE ANDUJAR, who sometime after the landing move to Havana with 29-day tourist cards in lieu of visas.

Sometime after the exiles land in Oriente, VEGA BATLLE or his successor, Federico LLAVERIAS, protests their presence in Cuba in a diplomatic note. The Cuban foreign ministry replies that it cannot expel the exiles because Cuba subscribes to the right of asylum, adding that Cuba also adheres to the principle of nonintervention and so will make sure that the exiles do not cause trouble for the Dominican government. After SANCHEZ HINOJOSA and GRAFFE ANDUJAR, and perhaps the five escapees, reach Havana the Dominican ambassador again protests their presence in Cuba, calling them common criminals and communist sympathizers. (Pedro Bonilla Aybar 060356* to Lt. Heriberto Hernandez (T1), Cuban national police (HV225.11-2, Anderson/HAV 060756, J7959-60); Guell y Morales de los Rios 042356 and 042556 (Masferrer committee report 052656 21-5 (J28910-2) and 63-8 (J28931-3), translated in DA74.1-4, HAV let 110156, J28854-8))

Tuesday, June 14, 1955

As "Felix HERNANDEZ," calling himself a U.S. citizen, and posing as a tourist, MARTINEZ JARA flies Delta 402 from Ciudad Trujillo to Havana. Using the same name and calling himself an engineer, he checks into the Hotel 8 y 19 at the corner of Eighth and 19th Streets in Vedado, Havana, and pays a week's rent (\$65) in advance. (Delta ticket 53791 issued to "Hernandez" and Cuban tourist card issued to "Felix Hernandez Marquez" 061455 (documents found in Martinez Jara's possession 022956) (HV8.7-8, Davis/MM 032356, J7247-8); Hernandez (T1) 061156, T2 061356 (HV244, HAV lhm 061956, J8092))

Shortly after checking into the hotel he visits Pedro Julian and Rafael BONILLA AYBAR, anti-TRUJILLO Dominican brothers long in exile in Havana. He poses as a TRUJILLO opponent, says he wants to get his family out of the Dominican Republic, and asks to be put in touch with the Dominicans whom he had known in the Port-au-Prince prison and who sailed in a small boat from Haiti to Oriente Province, Cuba, on May 21. (Pedro Bonilla Aybar 060356* to Lt. Heriberto Hernandez (T1), Cuban national police (HV225.11-2, Anderson/HAV 060756, J7959-60); "Memorandum on Pedro Bonilla's Interview with the Presumed Perpetrator of the Kidnapping and Possible Murder of Dr. Jesus de Galindez,"

nd (HV69, NY at 042556, J7466-72; HV210.4-11, Skelley/NY 060656, J7907-14; M3.91-4))

MARTINEZ JARA meets the sailboat Dominicans, who are intensely suspicious of him as a result of their experiences in the Haitian prison and refuse to have anything to do with the various schemes he proposes. Later the Dominican exile leaders in Havana also become suspicious of MARTINEZ JARA and conclude that he is a TRUJILLO spy plotting the murder of various prominent Dominican exiles in Havana. After GALINDEZ' disappearance in March 1956 and subsequent publicity about GALINDEZ' meeting in New York with MARTINEZ JARA on November 22, 1955, they conclude on the basis of their contacts with him in Havana that he engineered GALINDEZ' murder and send their fellow Dominican exiles in New York a long report on MARTINEZ JARA's visit to Havana this month.

Saturday, June 18, 1955

MARTINEZ JARA checks out of the Hotel 8 y 19 in Havana and takes Delta 401 to San Juan using Delta ticket 063645-356824-112 without a passenger's name. (Ticket found in Martinez Jara's possession 022956 (HV8.7, Davis/MM 032356, J7247); Hernandez (T1) 061156, T2 061356 (HV244, HAV lhm 061956, J8092))

Monday, August 8, 1955

Hernandez Santana murder. In Havana, Manuel ("Pipi") de Jesus^a HERNANDEZ SANTANA has been in exile from his native Dominican Republic since the early 1950s, as have his brothers Amado Jacinto and Rafael Andres in San Juan. He has been married for 12 years to Dolores MENDEZ and belongs to Havana's Frente Unido Democratico Dominicano, though he is apparently not a leader in it. He works as a nighttime construction foreman or waiter at the Havana Hilton.

Sometime between 2000 and 2200 he walks to his job along Calle A in Havana's wealthy Vedado district. Two men grab him from behind and a third, who then approaches, stabs him repeatedly while a fourth watches. Two of his assailants screech away in a car waiting nearby, while the man with the knife and his companion run off. Two sailors who see the attack from several dozen yards away rush to HERNANDEZ SANTANA's aid. But he is dead. (El Pais (Havana) 080955 ____; Bohemia 082155 ____; Galindez, 292c, 438-9; FUDD/Havana statement 081555*, printed in Bohemia 082155*)

^aHERNANDEZ SANTANA's middle name is given as "Jose" in some early accounts of his murder.

Thursday, August 11, 1955

Former Cuban President Carlos PRIO SOCARRAS unexpectedly returns to Havana from his Florida exile, the first time he has been home since his ouster by BATISTA in March 1952. He is accompanied by his wife and various supporters. A large crowd gathers at Jose Marti International Airport to cheer him, though news of his imminent return spread only a few hours beforehand. He and his followers go the Hotel Nacional where they spend a few days before PRIO SOCARRAS returns to his country home, La Chata. BATISTA calls on PRIO SOCARRAS to declare that he does not support those followers whom the police arrested on August 6 (when PRIO SOCARRAS planned on returning) for conspiring to overthrow BATISTA and from whom they seized large arms supplies. At an evening press conference, PRIO SOCARRAS says he has returned to try to unite warring factions in the BATISTA opposition and to mobilize public opinion to force BATISTA's government to establish proper guarantees for elections and restore full freedoms. (NYT 081255 4)

Ulises SANCHEZ HINOJOSA travels from Havana to Ciudad Trujillo.

Friday, August 12, 1955

El Caribe publishes a very brief item saying that SANCHEZ HINOJOSA has returned to the Dominican Republic from an intelligence mission in Cuba and has rejoined the national police as a captain. (ELC 081255 1)

September 1955

Buenaventura SANCHEZ and other Dominican exiles tell the Cuban government that TRUJILLO engineered Manuel de Jesus HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murder, several other Dominican exiles have disappeared without a trace, and TRUJILLO agents are plotting with Cuban dissidents to have the army assassinate BATISTA, overthrow his regime, and murder still more Dominican exiles in Cuba. (NYT 022856 12; HAR 9:67 2-56)

Tensions begin to increase between the Dominican Republic and Cuba because of HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murder and the Dominican revelation of SANCHEZ HINOJOSA's intelligence mission. Contributing factors are: (1) the disdain of TRUJILLO, long a general, for BATISTA, a corporal before he first seized power in Cuba; (2) TRUJILLO's lingering resentment of Cuba for having allowed the Caribbean Legion to use the small Cuban island of Cayo Confites to mount an expedition against the Dominican Republic in mid-1947 when Ramon GRAU SAN MARTIN was Cuba's president, even though the intended invasion was aborted under U.S. pressure; (3) the continuing presence in Cuba of a small but influential colony of vociferously anti-TRUJILLO Dominican exiles, particularly the leaders of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano; (4) persistent attacks on TRUJILLO and his regime by a large portion of Cuba's

media, led by Bohemia and Sen. Rolando MASFERRER ROJAS' small, irresponsible, and violent daily, Tiempo en Cuba, which are sympathetic to the resident exiles (TRUJILLO can stifle the impact of Cuba's newspapers and magazines in the Dominican Republic by prohibiting their entry but cannot control their influence elsewhere or prevent Cuba's radio and television stations--there are 32 radio stations in Havana alone--from being heard in his country); and (5) the clash of the two countries over U.S. sugar quotas (Cuba has succeeded in defeating Dominican efforts to increase its quota significantly). (HAR 9:68-9 2-56)

In December 1956, one or more Dominican sources told Homer C. BRETT, Jr., the CIA's station chief in Ciudad Trujillo, that TRUJILLO starts agitating against Cuba because he thinks BATISTA twice double-crossed him. In 1953 and again in 1955, they said, BATISTA tried to make a deal with TRUJILLO, PEREZ JIMENEZ in Venezuela, and SOMOZA in Nicaragua to silence their countries' exiles in Cuba and quell the influence of his own country's leftists, presumably in exchange for their unspecified support. Opposition to this scheme among his own anti-TRUJILLO supporters, including MASFERRER ROJAS, was too strong and so he switched course, stopped bothering Cuba's exiles and leftists, and began attacking TRUJILLO instead. To show BATISTA that he cannot survive unless he cooperates fully with him, TRUJILLO then begins trying to undermine BATISTA and starts terrorizing Dominican exiles in Cuba, which includes having HERNANDEZ SANTANA murdered. (CT T268, 122056, S_____)

The Cuban view of the origin of the quarrel was told to Henry A. HOYT, the State Department's officer in charge of Caribbean affairs, by Joaquin MEYER, financial counselor at the Cuban embassy in Washington, on March 19, 1956:

... TRUJILLO is deliberately trying to foment trouble within Cuba in order to weaken Cuba, and he has even hired certain gangsters, including Policarpo SOLER [CRUZ], to assassinate BATISTA. This report claims that TRUJILLO had hoped that when BATISTA came to power [in March 1952] Cuba and certainly the BATISTA government would show a more friendly attitude toward TRUJILLO, and would stop the attacks in the Cuban press and radio against TRUJILLO. TRUJILLO in effect had hoped he would become persona grata in Cuba, and would even be able to exert a certain amount of influence in that country through his friend BATISTA. This has not proved to be the case, and TRUJILLO is now bent upon causing trouble within Cuba and realizes that, given the present political situation, the assassination of BATISTA would be the most effective way of creating political chaos. (Hoyt memcon 031956, S_____)

Thursday, October 13, 1955

Carlos SALADRIGAS Y ZAYAS, at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston receiving treatment for his cancer, resigns as Cuban foreign minister because

of his illness. It is understood that he intends to go to his home at Daytona Beach, Florida. (NYT 101455 3)

Friday, October 14, 1955

In Havana, Dominican exiles Juan RODRIGUEZ GARCIA, Alberto HENRIQUEZ VASQUEZ, Pedro Julian BONILLA AYBAR, and Gabriel FERNANDEZ meet with Examining Magistrate Waldo BACALLAO to discuss HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murder, a Havana newspaper (La Campana Cubana?) reports on October 15. Afterward the Dominicans tell reporters that the murder was engineered by MARTINEZ JARA, who visited Cuba using the passport of Felix HERNANDEZ AYBAR (sic). MARTINEZ JARA visited RODRIGUEZ GARCIA at home and said he was an exile from TRUJILLO, but when RODRIGUEZ GARCIA asked for credentials MARTINEZ JARA could not present any and left. RODRIGUEZ GARCIA warned HERNANDEZ SANTANA about MARTINEZ JARA, but HERNANDEZ SANTANA paid no attention. MARTINEZ JARA is now in Puerto Rico working on a yacht, the four Frente Unido Democratico Dominicano members tell the reporters. (La Campana Cubana 101555 (HV177, NY at 051456, J7718-21; HV307.50, Skelley/NY 080256, J8341))

Monday, November 14, 1955

Arrest of Hernandez Santana's murderers. Havana's police, who have been investigating Manuel de Jesus HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murder on August 8 (qv), finally track down Alejandro ("Ken") ROBINSON DONET, the illiterate and somewhat retarded 41-year-old who stabbed him to death. ROBINSON DONET in turn implicates chauffeur Adan CESPEDES CESPEDES as the man who recruited him to the plot, says that CESPEDES CESPEDES' coconspirators were Rafael Emilio SOLER PUIG and Felix Oscar GARCIA GUERRA, who also took part in the killing, and may tell the police that Arnaldo ("El Muneco") MARQUEZ MARTINEZ, a friend of and allegedly secretary to Policarpo Benito SOLER CRUZ, another well-known Cuban gangster, organized the slaying for TRUJILLO. CESPEDES CESPEDES, SOLER PUIG, and GARCIA GUERRA--the last a member of the Union Insurreccional Revolucionaria (UIR) politicocriminal faction who apparently had been detained previously in connection with the attempted assassination of Cuban communist leader Lazaro PENA--are arrested later in the day. MARQUEZ MARTINEZ may be arrested, but if so he is soon released on orders from on high to avoid embroiling the already worsening relations between BATISTA and TRUJILLO (see also May 22, 1956). (FLESH OUT FROM BACKGROUND MATERIALS) (HV165.2, HQ cab 052556, J7844; HV167.1, Belmont-Boardman 052656, J7848; NYP 052556 1 (HV163.2, NY tt 052556, J7837; HV163.1, HQ cab 052656, J7846; HV167.1, Belmont-Boardman 052656, J7848; RS3.2-3, Errion/MM 063061, J10624-5); T4 _____ (RS3.6, J10626); T1 040361 (RS3.2, J10624))

December 1955

On December 16, Cuba's acting foreign minister, Gonzalo GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS, tells U.S. Ambassador Arthur GARDNER that attacks on TRUJILLO by some elements of the Cuban press in connection with HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murder on August 8 (qv) have so worsened Dominican-Cuban relations that the Dominicans are talking of severing them. GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS says his government is doing everything it can to smooth matters out, including substantial participation in the Fair scheduled to open in Ciudad Trujillo on December 20. (Havana T180, 121655, S_____)

Sometime presumably toward the end of 1955, Arturo R. ESPAILLAT later wrote in his memoirs,

I made two nerve-wracking trips to Oriente [Province] aboard a frigate of the Dominican Navy [to foment a revolt against BATISTA]. I say nerve-wracking not because of the danger from the Cuban armed forces. On the contrary, we steamed right up to the coast itself in broad daylight and discharged our cargo. It was the cargo itself that bothered me. The frigate was a literal powder keg. The decks were practically awash from the weight of tons of dynamite, TNT and other explosives, some of them highly unstable. (Espaillat, Trujillo, The Last Caesar (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1963), 140)

January 1956

GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS, Cuba's acting foreign minister, visits GARDNER to discuss worsening Dominican-Cuban relations on January 10. He notes "continued irritating attacks" on TRUJILLO by Bohemia and other Cuban periodicals for allegedly belligerent Dominican statements resulting from earlier Cuban press attacks in connection with the murders of Mauricio BAEZ in 1950 and HERNANDEZ SANTANA in mid-1955. He says that at BATISTA's direction he sent the Dominican government a note setting out his government's views on the situation and received an ambiguous reply "followed by somewhat bombastic statement on part unidentified government official indicating that DR had means take care of its 'enemies.'" He concludes that he is worried lest an ill-considered Dominican action lead to a rupture. (Havana T211, 011156, S_____)

At 1145 on January 13, GARDNER telephones Assistant Secretary of State Henry F. HOLLAND in Washington to say that the Cubans are quite concerned about mounting Dominican-Cuban tensions, which are being fed by the more sensational and belligerent elements in the Cuban press. The ambassador says he has some ideas about how to patch things up, though the proud Cubans are loath to take suggestions from outsiders. (Holland memcon 011356, S_____)

Monday, February 13, 1956

Having arranged an appointment two days earlier, Orlando DAUMY AMAT, Cuban ambassador to the Dominican Republic, visits U.S. Ambassador William T. PHEIFFER to discuss Dominican-Cuban tensions. He reviews the SANCHEZ HINOJOSA affair and says that on a recent trip to Havana he heard a rumor that the Dominicans have "established a beachhead" in Cuba's armed forces, though that has been detected and frustrated. PHEIFFER and DCM William C. AFFELD, Jr., believe that the passive DAUMY AMAT has visited them on his government's instructions and not on his own initiative. (CT D328, Affeld 021456, S_____)

Tuesday, February 14, 1956

Hermida's charges. In Ciudad Trujillo, Brig. Gen. Felix HERMIDA, chief of staff of the Dominican army, tells the resident Associated Press and United Press stringers that his Cuban counterpart, Brig. Gen. Francisco TABERNILLA, has turned over large amounts of ammunition and machine guns reportedly stolen from a Cuban army depot a few days earlier to three Dominican revolutionaries--Juan RODRIGUEZ GARCIA, Jorge CLARK, and Julio GARCIA BARREL (the last two are later believed to be Cubans)--for anti-TRUJILLO purposes, and that Segundo BORGES, governor of Cuba's Las Villas Province, and Emilio NUNEZ BLANCO, son of Cuba's delegate to the United Nations, are aiding Dominican exiles.

HERMIDA's charges are published in the Cuban press, New York Times, La Prensa (New York), Miami Herald, Diario de las Americas (Miami), and El Mundo (San Juan) the following day or two but receive no publicity in the Dominican media. (NYT 021556 62; HAR 9:67 2-56; CT T131, 021856, S_____)

The BATISTA regime, which seems anxious to preserve good relations with TRUJILLO, at first reacts in low-key fashion because HERMIDA's charges appeared in the press outside the Dominican Republic and were not made officially. GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS tells Ruby Hart PHILLIPS, the New York Times' correspondent in Havana, that they are "absurd" and show "lack of responsibility." (NYT 021556 62) On February 16, on instructions from Havana, Miguel Angel CAMPA, Cuban ambassador to the U.S., visits HOLLAND and Cuban desk officer Terrance G. LEONHARDY to say that the charges are baseless, BATISTA is doing everything he can to avoid frictions with the Dominicans and is ready to give TRUJILLO any proof he wants that TABERNILLA did not arm the exiles, and the Cuban press may retaliate. Jose T. BARON, Cuba's alternate delegate to the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington, visits John C. DREIER, U.S. ambassador to the OAS, on the same day to convey the same thoughts. (HAR 9:67 2-56; Leonhardy memcon 021656, S_____; Dreier memcon 021656, S_____)

But as CAMPA predicts, Cuba's media launch violent attacks against TRUJILLO which continue until subsiding somewhat after Havana lodges a protest

with the OAS at the end of the month. MASFERRER ROJAS, a nominal BATISTA supporter, and the four-member Comision de Accion Democratica Independiente (CADI), consisting of Juan Amador RODRIGUEZ and labor leaders Conrado BECQUER, Conrado RODRIGUEZ, and Jorge CRUZ PEREZ, all members of the Cuban house of representatives, announce their intention to move for a break in diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic. BATISTA's numerous opponents pause in their campaign against him to blast TRUJILLO. (HAR 9:67 2-56; HAR 9:117 3-56; HAR 9:338 7-56; Havana D685.1, Zengotita 032156, S_____) Domestic imperatives force BATISTA's government to join the attack on TRUJILLO.

Friday, February 17, 1956

Federico LLAVERIAS, Dominican ambassador to Cuba, suddenly flies home. In the evening he appears at an Embassy Ciudad Trujillo reception for visiting Lt. Gen. William K. HARRISON, commander of the US army's Caribbean Command, and enters into an intense private conversation with TRUJILLO. A photograph of TRUJILLO and LLAVERIAS huddling is published in the next day's El Caribe. Embassy Ciudad Trujillo cables the State Department: "Have learned LLAVERIAS may have been accompanied here [by] unidentified Cuban attorney said be close BATISTA." (Havana T273, 021756, S_____; CT T131, 021856, S_____; CT D334.2, Affeld 022156, S_____; CT T141, 022356, S_____)

Monday, February 20, 1956

Cuban Ambassador Orlando DAUMY AMAT calls on PHEIFFER and AFFELD to say that "last week" Dominican Foreign Secretary Porfirio HERRERA BAEZ summoned him to repeat HERMIDA's charges officially, confide that the TRUJILLO regime employs several assassins including Cubans and express fears for his own safety, and say that his government has recalled him for consultation and he will turn his embassy over to someone whom he does not name. The two Americans think DAUMY AMAT says little new and conclude that he visits them to fish for information and opinion. (CT D334, Affeld 022156, S_____)

Wednesday, February 22, 1956

DAUMY AMAT delivers a note to the Dominican foreign secretariat about HERMIDA's charges. Later in the day, having turned his embassy over to either Rafael S. TOVAR, manager of Cuba's exhibit at the Fair, (CT T141, 022356, S_____) or the Panamanian ambassador, (Herrera Baez 060156 (CT D511.4, Pheiffer 060456, S_____)) he flies to Havana with his family, (CT T139, 022356, S_____) according to HERRERA BAEZ without first notifying the Dominicans. (Herrera Baez 060156 (CT D511.4, Pheiffer 060456, S_____))

Meanwhile, Dominican Ambassador Federico LLAVERIAS, having just received the orders of Trujillo and Cristobal Colon from TRUJILLO, returns to Havana

from Ciudad Trujillo. (CT T142, 022456, S_____) On his arrival he tells Cuban reporters that, though there is evidence to support HERMIDA's charges, in the interest of peace they should be considered nothing more than "simple conjectures subject to later verification." (HAR 9:67-8 2-56)

After conferring with BATISTA, GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS tells the press that BATISTA will not receive LLAVERIAS until the Dominican government submits "satisfactory answers" to Cuba's two diplomatic notes, the first delivered around the beginning of the year and dealing with the SANCHEZ HINOJOSA affair and the second delivered recently and about HERMIDA's charges. The Dominicans returned the first note without comment other than to suggest that its language be reworked, and it was finally delivered as an oral protest. (Havana T286, 022356, S_____)

Friday, February 24, 1956

DAUMY AMAT flies back to Ciudad Trujillo but does not advise the Dominican foreign secretariat of his return until many days later. His delay in doing so becomes so noticeable that on March 6 Joaquin E. SALAZAR CAMARENA, Dominican ambassador to the U.S., suggests to the State Department that it have Embassy Havana urge the Cuban foreign ministry to tell DAUMY AMAT to call on HERRERA BAEZ to say that he has returned. The State Department apparently does so. HERRERA BAEZ tells PHEIFFER in June: "[A]lthough the Dominican government was desirous of making a prompt reply to the Cuban notes, it was deprived of the diplomatic means of doing so." (DOS T347, Hoyt 030656, S_____; Herrera Baez 060156 (CT D511.4, Pheiffer 060456, S_____)) HERRERA BAEZ does not say why LLAVERIAS could not have delivered the Dominican reply in Havana.

Monday, February 27, 1956

IAPC. Using the hoary maneuver of national leaders to divert domestic unrest by creating a foreign menace and also to keep abreast of and perhaps lead the continuing campaign against TRUJILLO in the Cuban press and by his political supporters and opponents, BATISTA lodges a complaint against the Dominican government with the OAS's Inter-American Peace Committee (IAPC). Delivered in Washington by Cuban alternate delegate Jose T. BARON, it accuses the Dominican Republic of plotting aggression against Cuba, brings up the SANCHEZ HINOJOSA and HERMIDA affairs, and complains that the Dominican Republic has not replied to Cuba's two notes about those matters. Jose Manuel CORTINA, legal counsel to the Cuban foreign ministry, is appointed to present Cuba's position to the IAPC.

In Havana, GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS tells the press: "We have stated conclusively that these accusations [by HERMIDA against TABERNILLA] are false and, as the Dominican government claims to have proof and documents, we want

that proof and documents to be examined ... [to show] that neither President BATISTA nor General TABERNILLA nor the Cuban government has done anything of this sort." Cuba's 10-man delegation, including such prominents as Jose Manuel PEREZ CABRERA, secretary of the Cuban Academy of History, and Gaston BAQUERO, editor of Diario de la Marina, cancels its trip to Ciudad Trujillo to take part in the First International Congress of Catholic Culture, to open on February 28.

An American who is close to BATISTA tells Ambassador Arthur GARDNER that the Cuban leader has decided to go to the IAPC because he thinks himself in a strong position for a showdown with TRUJILLO over HERMIDA's charges and wants TRUJILLO to back down, and "[a]lso indicated situation heaven sent from domestic political point of view." (NYT 022856 12; HAR 9:68 2-56; Leonhardy memcon 022856, S_____)

Chaired by U.S. Ambassador John C. DREIER, the IAPC meets briefly on February 28 to consider Cuba's complaint and then adjourns until it receives the Dominican Republic's reply. (NYT 022956 11) The U.S. at this time is annoyed by Cuba's demarche "primarily because any action the OAS might take would probably extend into the period covered by the Ciudad Trujillo conference" on marine resources preservation to open on March 15. "It would be likely to cause increased animosity and we need the support of both the Cubans and Dominicans at Ciudad Trujillo." Thus, the State Department instructs Embassies Ciudad Trujillo and Havana to try to mediate. (Newbegin-Holland 022756, S_____)

Wednesday, March 7, 1956

IAPC. SALAZAR CAMARENA delivers the Dominican Republic's reply to Cuba's February 27 complaint to the IAPC. Among other things, it categorically denies that Ulises SANCHEZ HINOJOSA ever held or now holds an official position in the Dominican government. The IAPC meets briefly to consider the Dominican reply on March 8 and then adjourns to await Cuba's response. (NYT 030956 8; Hoyt memcon 030956 1, S_____; CT D511.3, Pfeiffer 060456, S_____)

In Havana, GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS issues a press release on March 12 refuting and condemning the Dominican reply. DCM Vinton CHAPIN sees him the following day and gets the impression he dislikes the statement he made and did so only on BATISTA's orders. (Havana D670, Zengotita 031556, S_____)

The U.S., meanwhile, presses for quick resolution of the dispute. On this date DREIER tells GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS that each government should state publicly that it has been unable to confirm the other's charges and so let matters rest. (Dreier memcon 030756, S_____) Two days later HOYT presses the same position on Cuban Ambassador Miguel Angel CAMPA, but,

The Ambassador said confidentially that this was a very

difficult position for BATISTA to accept not only because of his friendship for TABERNILLA, but because it is imperative from a political standpoint for BATISTA to maintain the support of the army. Any such attack on TABERNILLA, if not disavowed, would not only weaken TABERNILLA's prestige but would be severely criticized by the army circles. Ambassador CAMPA said that TRUJILLO should understand this, and should also understand that the BATISTA regime is by far the most friendly one which TRUJILLO could hope for in Cuba; that by helping to weaken BATISTA's position with these attacks on TABERNILLA, TRUJILLO was playing right into the hands of opposition forces who would be unfriendly to TRUJILLO should they gain power. (Hoyt memcon 030956, S_____)

Thursday, March 15, 1956

In Havana one of BATISTA's most vociferous opponents, Pelayo CUERVO NAVARRO, a onetime senator and cabinet member, prominent Ortodoxo, and controversial participant in the "Dialogo Civico," charges on television that Cuban army officers are accepting TRUJILLO support in plotting against the BATISTA regime. Cuba's SIM arrests him immediately after the broadcast when he refuses to reveal the officers' names, TABERNILLA sues him for slander, and at month's end he is still in custody despite loud protests from the media, Cuban bar association, and opposition politicians. (Hoyt-Lyon 032056, S_____; HAR 9:117-8 3-56)

The Inter-American Conference on Marine Resources Preservation (in the Caribbean) opens in Ciudad Trujillo and lasts until March 28. Assistant Secretary of State Henry F. HOLLAND and John C. DREIER, ambassador to the OAS, are among the Americans who attend.

Sunday, March 18, 1956

In Ciudad Trujillo, Brig. Gen. Felix HERMIDA repeats his February 14 charges against TABERNILLA to resident wire service stringers (they apparently are not published in the Dominican press) and adds--illogically in view of their known enmity--that TABERNILLA and former Cuban President Carlos PRIO SOCARRAS are plotting together against TRUJILLO. By saying he bases his charges on "new" intelligence reports, he implicitly admits that the Dominican Republic has intelligence operatives in Cuba. (Hoyt-Lyon 032056, S_____; Havana D685.1, Zengotita 032156, S_____; HAR 9:117 3-56)

Tuesday, March 20, 1956

The Cuban police arrest two dozen oppositionists on charges of conspiring to assassinate high-ranking Cuban civil and military authorities, including

BATISTA. Among those arrested is gangster Policarpo Benito SOLER CRUZ, who fled to the Dominican Republic after PRIO SOCARRAS' downfall in March 1952 but later returned to Cuba. A government spokesman charges that PRIO SOCARRAS was a leader of the conspiracy, but PRIO SOCARRAS denies the charge and is not arrested. Some observers feel the wholesale arrests are one way of insuring that there will be no uprising while BATISTA visits Daytona Beach from March 23-25. (Havana D____, _____ 032156, cited in HV167.2, Belmont-Boardman 052656, J7849; Hoyt-Lyon 032056, S____; HAR 9:118 3-56)

Later in the day, Brig. Gen. Eulogio CANTILLO Y PORRAS gives Embassy Havana two letters. One says that a reliable source has told Cuba's SIM that Dominican intelligence agents gave three Cuban gangsters--SOLER CRUZ, Eufemio FERNANDEZ ORTEGA, and Jesus ("El Extranero") Fermin GONZALEZ CARTAS--24 jeeps, 20 81mm mortars, 150 submachine guns, 600 M1 rifles, 1,000 other U.S.-made rifles, 16 walkie-talkies, and 3,000 pounds of dynamite. The other says that five planes painted with the Cuban or another flag are now on a private airfield on the Dominican-Haitian border (which Embassy Havana interprets to mean that, if true, TRUJILLO may try to down the plane on which BATISTA is to fly to Daytona Beach). (Havana T340, 032156, S____)

Wednesday, March 21, 1956

After hours of debate the previous day, the Cuban house of representatives at 0100 unanimously approves a resolution calling for a break in diplomatic relations with the Dominican government "when all the proper procedures are judged exhausted." Observers feel that BATISTA is unlikely to use this authority, especially while the IAPC is considering the Dominican-Cuban dispute. Embassy Havana comments: "The unanimous vote ... may be taken as an accurate and honest reflection of the almost uniform opinion among the Cuban public that the DR has gratuitously sought a quarrel with Cuba. Even before ... HERMIDA made his charges against ... TABERNILLA this impression had been growing in Cuba." (Havana D685, Zengotita 032156, S____; HAR 9:117 3-56) The Cuban senate passes a similar resolution on April 12. (HAR 9:174 4-56)

Thursday, March 22, 1956

IAPC. In Washington, Cuba apparently replies to the Dominican reply of March 7 to the Cuban protest of February 27 to the IAPC.

In Havana, GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS tells GARDNER that the time is ripe for the U.S. to pressure TRUJILLO into settling the Dominican-Cuban dispute since the Dominican dictator must realize that he is getting nowhere in pressing his charges against TABERNILLA, and he also "suggests some person be selected for this task who has influence with TRUJILLO." (Havana T344, Gardner 032356, S____) Henry A. HOYT cables GARDNER four days later:

Suggested retraction or admission error by HERMIDA highly impractical and fails take into account consistent Dominican refusal repudiate its chief of staff. Although Cubans took controversy to IAPC, BATISTA has not ... to date shown any disposition whatsoever settle or compromise matter. In fact, Dominicans so far have shown more flexibility than Cubans in consideration IAPC proposals. Therefore, Department sees no merit at this time in selecting some person to talk with TRUJILLO. Latest Cuban note to ... [IAPC] entirely unsatisfactory in that it simply reiterates original Cuban position and requests Dominicans take action which Cuba already knows TRUJILLO unwilling do." (DOS T403, Hoyt 032656, S_____)

In Ciudad Trujillo on March 27, HERRERA BAEZ tells DREIER, who with HOLLAND is attending the marine resources preservation conference, that the Dominican Republic would be happy to go along with the U.S. solution proposed on March 7 that Cuba tell the IAPC that it had determined HERMIDA's charges against TABERNILLA to be unfounded and gives the impression that the TRUJILLO regime is anxious to settle the dispute. (CT D386.12, Affeld 040256, S_____) On the same day GARDNER, vacationing at Palm Beach, telephones Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Cecil B. LYON in Washington to propose Dr. William A. MORGAN as the person to approach TRUJILLO to settle the dispute, in line with GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS' suggestion of a few days earlier. (Lyon memcon 032756, S_____) Since ARA is unresponsive, he does not bring up the MORGAN idea again.

Friday, March 23, 1956

BATISTA flies from Havana to Daytona Beach, where he has a mansion and lived while in exile, for a two-day visit, his first since he returned to Cuba around 1951. (NYT 032456 6)

Tuesday, April 3, 1956

IAPC. During a stopover in Havana on his way back to Washington from the marine resources preservation conference in Ciudad Trujillo, DREIER suggests to BATISTA in a 45-minute noon meeting that Cuba issue a "simple but explicit statement confirming previous indications HERMIDA charges unfounded," which he thinks the Dominicans would accept to liquidate their dispute before the IAPC with Cuba. BATISTA replies that such a course is now out of question for domestic political reasons. DREIER tells BATISTA that the IAPC, of which he is chairman, will dawdle in the hope that Cuban public opinion will calm down and a solution thus be facilitated. (Havana T355, 040356, S_____)

In the meantime, the TRUJILLO regime has issued no pronouncements and has kept the Dominican media silent about strained Dominican-Cuban relations.

Embassy Ciudad Trujillo reports to the State Department on April 9: " ... Cuba's continuing inflexibility ... has failed to advance a settlement perceptibly. In a private conversation with PHEIFFER, TRUJILLO ascribed his neighbors' attitude toward him as arising from jealousy of the great progress made here." (CT D396.1-2, Affeld 040956, S_____)

Back in Cuba, the army arrests about 30 army officers, including Col. Ramon BARQUIN LOPEZ, military attache in Washington, Lt. Col. Manuel VARELA CASTRO, commander of the armored regiment at Camp Columbia, and Maj. FNU RIOS MOREJON of La Cabana fortress across the bay from Havana, for plotting to overthrow the government. Maj. Gen. Francisco TABERNILLA, who announces the arrests, says that no civilians or politicians were involved in the conspiracy, which the government was aware of for some time. He continues that "certain parties" approached and convinced the arrested officers that they should act because BATISTA intended to resign his presidency and turn control of the country over to a military junta. TABERNILLA's announcement revives speculation in Havana about TRUJILLO's relations with anti-BATISTA plotters.

The arrested officers plead not guilty to the charges against them and are court-martialed at Camp Columbia on April 9. Thirteen are found guilty and given four-year prison terms. Oppositionists take up their cause but the government denies their appeals.

As a result of the conspiracy's thwarting, BATISTA begins a shakeup in the army. The vacillating Brig. Gen. Juan ROJAS Y GONZALEZ is shifted from command of the infantry division to the quartermaster generalcy while actually put under house arrest pending his forced retirement, Brig. Gen. Eulogio CANTILLO Y PORRAS is assigned to command the infantry division, and a dozen or so lower-ranking officers are dismissed or forced out of the army. (NYT 040456 9; NYT 040556 22; NYT 041056 13; NYT 043056 1; Havana D768, Zengotita 042456, S_____; HAR 9:172-3 4-56)

Saturday, April 7, 1956

Venezuelan mediation. On BATISTA's instructions, Cuban Interior Minister Santiago REY PERNA flies to Caracas this date and remains until April 13, ostensibly on vacation, to enlist the PEREZ JIMENEZ regime's mediation in the Dominican-Cuban dispute. He has long talks with Venezuela's foreign minister, Jose LORETO ARISMENDI, and his Venezuelan counterpart, Laureano VALLENILLA LANZ, a TRUJILLO friend. GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS claims that REY PERNA's trip to Caracas has nothing to do with the Dominican-Cuban dispute. (Havana T371, 041356, S_____; CT D472, Affeld 0515656, S_____)

As a result of REY PERNA's visit, VALLENILLA LANZ cables TRUJILLO on April 14 that he has "deduced" that BATISTA wants Venezuela to mediate the dispute. HERRERA BAEZ tells PHEIFFER on April 23 that TRUJILLO does not reply

immediately because he thinks it unwise to deal with REY PERNA's proposal while the dispute is still before the IAPC. (CT D421, Pfeiffer 042356, S_____)

Monday, April 9, 1956

Masferrer Rojas committee. On a motion by Sen. Rolando MASFERRER ROJAS, the Cuban senate votes 30-1 to create a special investigating committee to examine Dominican clandestine activities in Cuba and appoints MASFERRER ROJAS chairman. The committee is composed of six members from the majority (MASFERRER ROJAS, Anselmo ALLIEGRO MILA, Marino LOPEZ BLANCO, FNU RIVERO AGUERO, FNU PEREZ CARILLO, and Jose GONZALEZ PUENTE) and three from the minority (Humberto BECERRA CAMPA, FNU MIYARES TRUJILLO, and FNU TARAFIA CARDENAS). (DA74, HAV let 110156, J28852-3; HAR 9:174 4-56)

MASFERRER ROJAS appoints Bohemia correspondent Rogelio CAPARROS Y MARTINEZ the committee's investigator. As part of his work for the committee, CAPARROS Y MARTINEZ looks into Mauricio BAEZ' murder in 1950. (Caparros y Martinez 042556 (Masferrer Rojas committee report 35-6, J28917-8))

MASFERRER ROJAS announces shortly after the committee's creation that it will meet on April 20 to take testimony from the chiefs of SIM and the national police's department of investigation, and will hear Premier Jorge GARCIA MONTES as well as GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS on April 23, but the April 20 session is cancelled without explanation and neither of the first two prospective witnesses testifies. (Havana D768.4, Zengotita 042456, S_____)

The committee holds six mid-afternoon hearings at which seven witnesses testify: Foreign Minister GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS on April 23 and 25 about Dominican-Cuban relations; CAPARROS Y MARTINEZ on April 25 about Mauricio BAEZ' 1950 murder in Havana and the activities of Francisco Jesus MARTINEZ JARA; Bohemia editor Miguel Angel QUEVEDO Y DE LA LASTRA on April 30 about MARTINEZ JARA's attempts to plant an article in his magazine; Dominican exile Manuel Leovigildo PINA ROMERO on May 7 about his contacts with Ulises SANCHEZ HINOJOSA and MARTINEZ JARA and the Dominican secret service's use of freighters to infiltrate agents into Cuba; MASFERRER ROJAS on May 8 about the meeting he had with Dominican Ambassador Federico LLAVERIAS not long before March 15 at which LLAVERIAS tried to suborn him and which he secretly tape-recorded; Dominican exile Alberto HENRIQUEZ VASQUEZ on May 8 about Dominican-Cuban relations; and police reporter Manuel de Jesus HERNANDEZ on May 10 about the mid-November 1955 arrests of Manuel de Jesus HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murderers.

Although the committee's hearings are secret, MASFERRER ROJAS reports PINA ROMERO's testimony in his Tiempo en Cuba and also issues a press release about it, attracting considerable attention. (Havana D807, Zengotita 051056, S_____)

On May 26 the committee finishes and prints a 147-page report including 14 document appendices, half of which are transcripts of witness testimony, and submits it to the senate with a recommended resolution:

It is declared to be a patent and incontrovertible fact that the government of the Dominican Republic has been carrying out illegal actions against the national sovereignty.

It is declared that the Cuban senate energetically condemns such conduct ...

It is declared that the senate reaffirms its most decided support of the measures that the executive power has adopted and may resolve to adopt ..., including the severance of relations, if it should judge that necessary.

Whether the full senate adopts the resolution is unknown, but the report creates a considerable stir in Cuba and further angers TRUJILLO. (Masferrer Rojas committee report 052656 (DA74, HAV let 110156, J28899-973); Havana D868, Zengotita 053156, S_____)

Saturday, April 14, 1956

IAPC. About this time the IAPC suggests to the Dominican Republic and Cuba that they issue a joint statement about the SANCHEZ HINOJOSA and HERMIDA affairs or that it issue its own statement saying it is returning the dispute to the two governments for direct settlement. Representatives of the two countries in Washington tell the IAPC they favor the latter course. (DOS T255/442, Dreier 041656, S_____)

On April 16 the IAPC adopts a declaration reciting the steps it has taken in considering the Dominican-Cuban dispute and concluding: "Taking into account all aspects of this matter ..., the IAPC shares the hope that through normal diplomatic channels the two interested governments will be able shortly to reach an arrangement of their differences ... " The declaration is to be made public on the afternoon of April 18. (DOS T255/442, Dreier 041656, S_____)

The Dominican government tells the IAPC it is ready to support the declaration once it is made public if the Cuban government will do likewise. The Cubans do not respond and so, on the morning of April 18, the IAPC decides to delay giving the declaration to the press. (DOS T260/448, Dreier 041856, S_____) DREIER cables Embassy Havana:

Department concerned lest issuance statement by Peace Committee ... without expressions of support both governments might give rise

to politically inspired attacks on OAS and IAPC and place BATISTA in position where he might countenance some irresponsible action worsening situation. FYI, Peace Committee feels and Department shares this view that it has been unfairly placed in difficult position by Cuba's submitting this problem to it largely on basis of internal political problems, and by Cuban attitude thereafter which has shown no desire to compromise its original position despite fact that Peace Committee's only possible role is to promote compromise settlements as is well known. Therefore, Committee members other than U.S. are urging strongly that Committee divest itself of case as soon as possible, which U.S. reluctant to agree to until some indication received Cuban desire seek solution directly.

He asks GARDNER to press BATISTA to commit his support to the declaration. (DOS T449, Dreier 041856, S_____)

The Dominicans are irritated by the delay in releasing the declaration, (DOS T261/452, Dreier 041956, S_____) but agree to be patient a few days longer while BATISTA makes up his mind. (CT T228, Pheiffer 042056, S_____ ; CT D420, Pheiffer 042056, S_____)

Sunday, April 15, 1956

After a months-long illness, Carlos SALADRIGAS Y ZAYAS, 56, dies at his Miramar home of cancer and GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS becomes Cuba's acting foreign minister. (NYT 041656 27)

Thursday, April 19, 1956

In Cuba, students opposing BATISTA riot during the night in Havana and Santiago. The rioting continues on April 20, and several civilians and soldiers are killed and many wounded. The army takes control of Santiago and occupies its university. On April 21 it enters, searches, and causes much destruction at the University of Havana. Former President Carlos PRIO SOCARRAS is abruptly taken from his home and put aboard a plane to Miami and exile. On April 23 the University of Havana's council suspends classes indefinitely, and on April 29 the government suspends constitutional guarantees and imposes censorship for 45 days. (NYT 042156 6; HAR 9:173-4 4-56; HAR 9:285 6-56; Havana D768.1, Zengotita 042456, S_____)

Friday, April 20, 1956

IAPC. Apparently still not having received a Cuban statement of support, the IAPC makes public the declaration it adopted on April 16 returning the Dominican-Cuban dispute to the two governments for bilateral settlement. The

declaration contains no findings and no recommendations. (DOS T266/458, Dreier 042056, S_____; NYT 042156 6)

The Dominicans are happy with the declaration and, on April 21, HERRERA BAEZ issues his government's first public statement about the dispute. Published by El Caribe on April 22, its last paragraph says: "For the Dominican foreign secretariat, it is also a reason for satisfaction that the Inter-American Peace Committee has accepted in its opinion the conclusions regarding the allegation submitted to the Committee by the Dominican government." (CT D421.1, Pfeiffer 042356, S_____; CT D511.2-3, Pfeiffer 060456, S_____)

In Cuba, in contrast, the government issues no supporting statement, reports about the declaration are buried on the inside pages of Havana's newspapers on April 21 either at the government's request or because front pages are preempted by reports on the country's continuing disturbances, and the declaration attracts almost no editorial comment during the next several days. (Havana D768.4, Zengotita 042456, S_____)

Sunday, April 29, 1956

In the bloodiest insurrectionary incident in Cuba so far this year, a hundred young rebels in half a dozen trucks attack a rural guard post at Matanzas, 60 miles east of Havana, with rifles, machine guns, and hand grenades. Counterattacking army troops kill 10 of the rebels, wound several more, and after a three-hour battle force the surrender of the remainder, who have barricaded themselves in a house near the guard post.

The army takes control of Matanzas and begins roundups of dissidents there and in Havana. The police arrest former President Carlos PRIO SOCARRAS, whom for several weeks the government has accused of preparing an armed revolt against BATISTA and kept under round-the-clock surveillance. In the evening BATISTA signs a decree suspending constitutional guarantees for 45 days. (NYT 043056 1)

May 1956

Sometime between his move to Ciudad Trujillo in early April and his first acquaintance with Sally CAIRE in August 1956, CAIRE later told the FBI, MURPHY makes a secret trip for TRUJILLO to Mexico City to "locate a certain individual there." CAIRE later concludes without any evidence that the "certain individual" is Fidel CASTRO, at this time in exile in Mexico where he is training supporters for the invasion of Cuba he makes in early December. MURPHY may make the trip in late April or early May since on April 14 he told another girlfriend, Geri-Ann POWERS, that he was about to visit Mexico.

Wednesday, May 2, 1956

Venezuelan mediation. TRUJILLO, who has not acted on VALLENILLA LANZ's mid-April cable proposing Venezuelan mediation in the Dominican-Cuban dispute at Cuban Interior Minister Santiago REY PERNA's request, first because the IAPC was still considering the dispute and after April 20 because he wanted to see how the Cubans would react. He now decides to explore the Venezuelan approach after learning that the Cubans regard the last paragraph in HERRERA BAEZ' April 21 statement as a claim of Dominican victory and so have not voiced any support of the IAPC declaration or made any overtures for direct negotiations but instead have continued attacking the Dominican Republic.

On this date Federico LLAVERIAS, the Dominican ambassador to Cuba, flies to Caracas to explore Venezuela's mediation offer further. During meetings with PEREZ JIMENEZ, LORETO ARISMENDI, and other senior Venezuelan officials he works out a settlement formula to consist of a brief statement by the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Venezuela in which the first two countries declare that through the third's mediation they have solved and settled all their differences. PEREZ JIMENEZ is to send Pedro ESTRADA, his brutal and notorious intelligence chief, to discuss the formula with TRUJILLO in Ciudad Trujillo and Carlos TRAVIESO, a former president of Venezuela's congress, to discuss it with BATISTA in Havana. (CT D421, Pheiffer 042356, S_____; Caracas T394, 050256, S_____; CT D463, Pheiffer 051456, S_____; Caracas D806, Urruela 061356, S_____))

Wednesday, May 9, 1956

BATISTA has Carlos PRIO SOCARRAS brusquely taken from his Havana home, where he has been under house arrest since April 29, and put aboard a plane to Miami where he lived from the time BATISTA ousted him from the Cuban presidency in March 1952 until he returned to Cuba on August 11, 1955. Accompanied by Col. Rafael IZQUIERDO, his former military aide, he gets off the plane in Miami dressed in white cotton slacks and an open white shirt, carries only a briefcase, shaving kit, and another shirt on a hanger, and complains that he was "dragged" from his home without a chance to organize his family or pack. (NYT 081255 4; NYT 051056 1)

INS takes PRIO SOCARRAS, IZQUIERDO, and Carlos HEVIA, a former PRIO SOCARRAS cabinet member, and his wife into custody, and the following day announces that they have been "temporarily excluded" from the U.S., which means they have five days to show cause why they should not be deported. In PRIO SOCARRAS' case, this is because of his arrest in December 1953 for violating the Neutrality Act of 1939 by smuggling arms from the U.S. to Cuba, a charge on which he was later convicted and for which he was fined \$9,000. Former Cuban President Ramon GRAU SAN MARTIN and former Cuban senate president Antonio VARONA cable EISENHOWER, DULLES, BROWNELL, the United Nations, and the

OAS on May 16 asking that PRIO SOCARRAS be given asylum in the U.S. PRIO SOCARRAS files an appeal on the same day. INS's Richmond regional office confirms the deportation order against PRIO SOCARRAS and IZQUIERDO, now living in a Miami hotel, but grants the HEVIAS three-month residence permits on May 21. The following day a federal judge in Miami grants PRIO SOCARRAS a writ of habeas corpus and sets a hearing on the order. On June 4 the Justice Department decides to let PRIO SOCARRAS remain in the U.S. after he signs an agreement "not to engage in any activity which may be prejudicial to the public interest of this country or in violation of its laws."^a (NYT 051256 3; NYT 051756 12; NYT 052256 11; NYT 052356 12; NYT 060556 22; Hugh Thomas, Cuba, The Pursuit of Freedom (New York, Harper & Row, 1971), 852)

^aIn 1959 PRIO SOCARRAS supported CASTRO and returned to Cuba, but two years later went back into exile in Miami. He fired a round from a .38-caliber pistol into his chest in the garage of his Miami Beach home on the morning of April 5, 1977, and died on the operating table at Mount Sinai Hospital an hour later. (NYT 040677 A23)

Friday, May 11, 1956

Pedro ESTRADA flies from Caracas via Miami to Ciudad Trujillo.

Carlos Andres PEREZ, a leader of Venezuela's Accion Democratica living in exile at San Jose, Costa Rica, told a State Department officer in mid-June 1956 that one purpose of ESTRADA's visit to the Dominican Republic is to persuade TRUJILLO to abandon his efforts to subvert BATISTA by giving arms and money to Cuban dissidents and to convince him instead to join PEREZ JIMENEZ in plotting the assassinations of former Venezuelan President Romulo BETANCOURT, now in exile at San Juan, and Costa Rican President Jose ("Pepe") FIGUERES FERRER. (At the same time, PEREZ JIMENEZ seeks a rapprochement between TRUJILLO and SOMOZA, toward whom PEREZ said TRUJILLO has been quite hostile since the failure of the two dictators' attempt in January and February 1955 to overthrow FIGUERES FERRER, after which TRUJILLO accused SOMOZA of bungling and pocketing some of the funds he had given the Nicaraguan president to topple Costa Rica's president.)

As a result of ESTRADA's meeting with TRUJILLO, according to PEREZ, TRUJILLO's agents in Cuba later in May recruit four or five Cuban gunmen to go to the Dominican Republic to begin preparations for killing BETANCOURT, who is naturally higher on PEREZ JIMENEZ' hit list than FIGUERES FERRER. The Cuban gangsters are at first reluctant to go after BETANCOURT, but after TRUJILLO's agents offer them \$500,000 for a successful job they change their minds. PEREZ identified them as "Turquito" FALLAT (ESTRADA's onetime bodyguard), Policarpo Benito SOLER CRUZ, the LARA brothers, and perhaps Jesus ("El Extranero") Fermin GONZALEZ CARTAS. (Perez 061456 (Anonymous fm 061556,

S_____))

Venezuelan mediation. Another purpose of ESTRADA's visit to the Dominican Republic is to sell Venezuela's formula to settle the Dominican-Cuban dispute to TRUJILLO, and TRUJILLO readily agrees. But BATISTA, whom TRAVIESO sees around this time in Havana, does not, and on this date he tells a group of Cuban leaders that he has been receiving reports from DAUMY AMAT that the Dominicans have been crowing over their "IAPC victory" and he intends to reopen the entire matter before the IAPC. (Havana D807.1, Zengotita 051056, S_____; CT D463.2, Pfeiffer 051456, S_____; CT D472, Affeld 051656, S_____) "BATISTA's remark was not categorical and embassy believes he is at present merely considering idea," GARDNER cables the State Department on May 14. (Havana T420, Gardner 051456, S_____)

The State Department cables GARDNER back on May 15:

Since Dominican press comment not sound basis reapproach IAPC, Department considers BATISTA idea unproductive. Unless Cuban government shows willingness settle case, IAPC action would only lead additional recriminations and countercharges. Press attacks and claims by Dominicans as cited your telegram can be expected continue since it general knowledge Cubans' unwillingness make small concessions largely responsible for lack settlement in IAPC. Since Department and Embassy agree BATISTA continuing controversy mainly for domestic purposes, at your discretion you authorized personally inform BATISTA foregoing and express concern continued ill will ... (DOS T500, Hoyt 051556, S_____)

GARDNER replies on May 18:

Present temper President [BATISTA] such that any action along lines suggested ... would be unfruitful. I will take first propitious moment encourage BATISTA adopt less intransigent attitude and endeavor resolve matter through normal diplomatic channels. However, BATISTA feels strongly DR must in some manner acknowledge charges concerning TABERNILLA unfounded. (Havana T432, Gardner 051856, S_____)

Although Augustin BATISTA, economic adviser to the Cuban interior ministry, visits Caracas on June 2 on admittedly official business which Embassy Caracas suspects is connected with the mediation effort (BATISTA refuses to tell reporters what he is up to), Venezuela's mediation attempt comes to naught, as LORETO ARISMENDI admits to the embassy in mid-June. (Loreto Arismendi 061156 (Caracas D806, Urruela 061356, S_____)) Embassy Havana says in a July 23 postmortem:

All the indications which the Embassy has seen point to the fact that Cuban officials asked Venezuelan officials to mediate in the

affair, and that in response the Venezuelans did intervene, though to what extent is not clear. The Embassy can only surmise that the Cubans now deny such a request from them, or such intervention by the Venezuelans, from a fear that to acknowledge the appeal would somehow weaken their position. To justify such a denial the Cubans may be engaged in hair-splitting, since at least once it has been intimated to the embassy that Venezuelan officials were not asked to "intervene," but only to "explore the situation." (Havana D53.3, Topping 072356, S_____)

Monday, May 14, 1956

Without any warning to Ciudad Trujillo, Cuba declares Dominican Ambassador Federico LLAVERIAS persona non grata in the early afternoon. A couple of hours later the Dominican Republic retaliates by calling Cuban Ambassador Orlando DAUMY AMAT persona non grata. GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS announces in early evening that the Cuban move does not mean a break in diplomatic relations. LLAVERIAS, who is in Ciudad Trujillo, told friends at a party on the night of May 13 that he was "highly pleased" with his recent effort to enlist Venezuela's mediation in the Dominican-Cuban dispute. His staff carry on in Havana. DAUMY AMAT flies back to Havana as soon as he is declared unacceptable, leaving his deputy, Francisco LINARES BLASQUEZ, as charge d'affaires of the Cuban embassy.

Cuban's initial announcement does not say why LLAVERIAS has been declared persona non grata, but during the balance of the afternoon the Cuban foreign ministry leaks word that shortly before the Inter-American Conference on Marine Resources Preservation began in Ciudad Trujillo on March 15, the Dominican ambassador met with MASFERRER ROJAS and his lawyer friend Reinaldo LOPEZ LIMA at the latter's office and tried to suborn the former into agreeing to attend the conference as a Cuban delegate in order to confer with TRUJILLO. The purpose of such a meeting with the Dominican dictator would have been to plot moves to undermine BATISTA. MASFERRER ROJAS tape-recorded the meeting. Why he waited until May 8 to reveal it in secret session to his senate special investigating committee and until now to bring about LLAVERIAS' expulsion is unclear.

Embassy Havana at first doubts press accounts of the LLAVERIAS-MASFERRER ROJAS meeting, whose exact date is never revealed, but around May 20 BATISTA gives the embassy a full transcript of the tape recording. After translating it, the embassy accepts LLAVERIAS' indiscretion. (Havana T422, 051456, S_____; NYT 051556 16; Havana D822, Zengotita 051556, S_____; CT T246, Pheiffer 051556, S_____; CT D470, Affeld 051556, S_____; ELC 051556 ____; Havana T426, 051656, S_____; Havana D826, Chapin 051656, S_____; CT D472, Affeld 051656, S_____; Herrera Baez 060256 (CT D511.6, Pheiffer 060456, S_____); HAR 9:234 5-56)

Wednesday, May 16, 1956

Cuba's police seize an arms cache and arrest eight people at Calabazar, near Havana, and issue a list of 21 others including Eufemio FERNANDEZ ORTEGA being sought in connection with the cache. (NYT 051756 12)

Friday, May 18, 1956

About this date, according to Venezuelan exile Carlos Andres PEREZ, a Venezuelan plane lands at Ciudad Trujillo with 20 of Pedro ESTRADA's agents to help carry out BETANCOURT's assassination. The Venezuelan agents are still in the Dominican Republic in mid-June, he tells a State Department officer. (Perez 061456 (Anonymous fm 061556, S_____))

Tuesday, May 22, 1956

In Havana, Rafael Emilio SOLER PUIG, imprisoned for his part in the TRUJILLO-ordered August 8, 1955 (qv), murder of Manuel de Jesus HERNANDEZ SANTANA since the following November 14 (qv), is taken without handcuffs by a single armed guard aboard an ordinary city bus to the fourth section of the examining magistrates' court for interrogation about the killing by Examining Magistrate Waldo BACALLAO. Two members of the homicide squad in the Cuban national police's department of investigation who attend the session notice that he is lightly guarded. Afterward, fearing that he may try to escape, they return him to prison themselves, handcuffed and heavily guarded, apparently in a police vehicle (T9, T10 052956 (HV225.10-1, Anderson/HAV 060756, J7958-9); Miolan 080656 (DD5/?, Bouza 080656, N238))

No transcript of BACALLAO's interrogation is available and the only reports of what transpire are from the press and vary considerably. Whether reporters are allowed to attend the session or who briefs them afterward is unrecorded. BACALLAO is nowhere quoted directly, though he may have spoken to the press on background after questioning SOLER PUIG.

As to HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murder, SOLER PUIG apparently testifies that in February or March 1955 Caridad DIAZ, the wife of Policarpo Benito SOLER CRUZ, invited him to the office of Dr. Antonio SANCHEZ DE BUSTAMANTE Y MONTORO, apparently a lawyer and the black sheep of a prominent and respected Havana family, where Arnaldo ("El Muneco") MARQUEZ MARTINEZ promised him money if he would spy on Dominican exiles in Cuba. That eventually led to his recruiting Adan CESPEDES CESPEDES and Felix Oscar GARCIA GUERRA to the plot to kill HERNANDEZ SANTANA, and CESPEDES CESPEDES in turn recruited Alejandro ("Ken") ROBINSON DONET to do the actual stabbing. (GET COMPLETE COPY OF INFORMACION ARTICLE) (Informacion (Havana) 052356 A1 (Havana D838, Zengotita 052356, S_____))

SOLER PUIG's most sensational testimony, however, is apparently that Felix W. BERNARDINO asked MARQUEZ MARTINEZ to arrange GALINDEZ' murder and that MARQUEZ MARTINEZ tried to do so. Two main press versions of SOLER PUIG's testimony on this score, each with variants, emerge. The first is that in 1953 MARQUEZ MARTINEZ offered SOLER PUIG \$100,000 to the job himself but he refused because it was too risky. The other is that at an unspecified time MARQUEZ MARTINEZ told SOLER PUIG that BERNARDINO had offered him (MARQUEZ MARTINEZ) \$100,000 to arrange GALINDEZ' murder during a visit GALINDEZ was to pay to Havana in October 1955 and that MARQUEZ MARTINEZ offered him (SOLER PUIG) the contract. SOLER PUIG intended to carry it out but was arrested before he could do so. The date and reason for his arrest are not mentioned in the press accounts. After SOLER PUIG's arrest MARQUEZ MARTINEZ hired an unknown gunman to do the job for \$20,000 and the gunman actually approached GALINDEZ on Calle Prado, only to lose his nerve at the last moment.

The two homicide detectives who hear SOLER PUIG's testimony think he is concocting his tale about the attempt on GALINDEZ, somehow either to facilitate his escape after his session with BACALLAO or to lighten the sentence he will receive for HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murder. (T9, T10 052956 (HV225.10-1, Anderson/HAV 060756, J7958-9)) In one version or the other, however, the news media report it widely and it becomes further garbled thereafter. (Havana radio station 052256, excerpted in FBIS 101 052356 (Flinn/SY/DOS-FBI 053156, S_____); UP Havana dispatch 052256 (DD5/87, Hynes 052356, N145); Alerta (Havana) 052356 (HV225.9, Anderson/HAV 060756, J7957); Informacion (Havana) 052356 (Havana D838, Zengotita 052356, S_____); World-Journal (San Juan) 052356 1 (HV165, SJ rg 052356, J7816; HV165.1, HQ cab 052556, J7843); NYP 052556 1 (HV163.1-2, NY tt 052556, J7836-7); Time 060456 ____; Andrew St. George, "_____", "Argosy 9/56 ____; Charles O. Porter, "The Butcher of the Caribbean," Coronet 6-56 61)

SOLER PUIG apparently remains in prison, for on May 28, 1957, MASFERRER ROJAS' Tiempo en Cuba publishes an item saying that he is then in prison with ROBINSON DONET, CESPEDES CESPEDES, and GARCIA GUERRA, with whom he will come to trial for HERNANDEZ SANTANA's murder on June 11. The prosecutor intends to ask for 30-year sentences, the maximum for murder in Cuba. (Tiempo en Cuba 052857 (DA217.4, Anderson/HAV 060557, J29353; FBNR.4, Anderson/HAV 060557, J9794)) The outcome of any trial held is not available.

Wednesday, May 23, 1956

IAPC. Having received from GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS on May 22 a copy of a note the Cubans intend to send the IAPC asking for clarification of its April 20 declaration because of TRUJILLO's April 21 claim that it was a Dominican victory, (Havana T436, Gardner 052256, S_____) GARDNER cables the State Department:

Appears that BATISTA now feels it essential that either IAPC or USG take some action clarify nature and scope statement approved meeting April 20 before further progress [in settling the Dominican-Cuban dispute] can be made.... He dissatisfied with results to date and seriously provoked at Dominican assertions. BATISTA now wants IAPC clarify that statutorily it has power only assist and advise, not decide. (Havana T439, Gardner 052356, S_____)

On May 24 the IAPC issues the clarification the Cubans want. The statement says the IAPC is only authorized to suggest "measures and procedures which may be conducive to an amicable settlement of differences between states which come before it." Later in the day the Cuban foreign ministry issues a release recounting IAPC developments to date and concluding that "with this definitive statement ... it is clearly established that the erroneous claim of the Dominican foreign ministry [on April 21] lacks any foundation." During the evening GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS telephones GARDNER, at home in bed with a cold, that he is completely satisfied with the IAPC's clarification. (DOS T414/311, Bowdler 052556, S_____; Havana T446, 052556, S_____; Diario de la Marina (Havana) 052556 1, reproduced in Havana D852, Zengotita 052556, S_____; Neal memcon 052556 S_____)

On May 25, HOYT cables Embassies Ciudad Trujillo and Havana to press the two governments to get together for talks. "Should be emphasized public statements by either party can only lead further charges and countercharges which will complicate rather than ameliorate controversy," he adds. (DOS T314/516, Hoyt 052556, S_____)

Friday, June 1, 1956

Complying with HOYT's May 25 cable, PHEIFFER sees HERRERA BAEZ to press the Dominicans to settle their dispute with the Cubans bilaterally. He finds the foreign secretary rather truculent and ends up listening to HERRERA BAEZ' detailed defense of his country's actions in the dispute. HERRERA BAEZ invites him back for more talk the following morning, this time to say how well Cuban Charge d'Affaires Francisco LINARES BLASQUEZ has been received in Ciudad Trujillo. PHEIFFER comments on his two meetings with the foreign secretary:

A dispassionate view of this situation leads to the conclusion that it was sparked by the HERMIDA charges against TABERNILLA, but that the temperate Dominican public attitude, at least since the issuance of the original IAPC declaration, indicates a Dominican willingness to call it quits. On the other hand, Cuba seems definitely disposed to keep the controversy blazing due, perhaps, to its domestic political situation and the pressure exerted by Dominican exiles and other anti-TRUJILLO forces. So long as these

conditions obtain it would be ill-advised, in my judgment, for our government to make further representations to the Dominican government similar to those encompassed in the embassy's aide-memoire of June 1. Should the DR resume its initial role of provocateur or should it become more aggressive, it will be appropriate, of course, for us to again try to restore it to its present mood which, if shared by Cuba, would augur well for bilateral diplomatic settlement. (CT D511, Pheiffer 060456, S_____)

Sunday, June 3, 1956

With greater or lesser calm restored in Cuba, BATISTA lifts the 45-day censorship imposed on April 29 a week and a half early. The University of Havana reopens on June 18. (HAR 9:285 6-56)

Monday, June 11, 1956

HERRERA BAEZ again summons PHEIFFER, this time to say that Cuban Charge Francisco LINARES BLASQUEZ is being replaced by Mario DE ARCE, who the Dominicans think may be anti-Dominican. The foreign secretary also says that he has devised a formula for settling the Dominican-Cuban dispute, though he declines to tell PHEIFFER what it is until he has a chance to present it to DE ARCE. PHEIFFER comments:

The foregoing reinforces my feeling ... that the Dominicans wish "to call it quits" on terms which will not be humiliating to their country. They have good cause to fear that the adverse public opinion against the DR which has been generated throughout the world, and in the U.S. and Latin America in particular, in the wake of l'affaires ORNES and de GALINDEZ would be compounded by the severance of its diplomatic relations with Cuba. (CT D522, Pheiffer 061256, S_____)

Tuesday, June 12, 1956

According to Carlos Andres PEREZ, a leader of Venezuela's Accion Democratica living in exile at San Jose, Costa Rica, the International News Service stringer in Ciudad Trujillo transmits a story quoting HERMIDA as saying that "by means of intercepted correspondence he had learned that a revolutionary movement of great intensity is being prepared by communists in Chile, Argentina, Guatemala, and Venezuela, and he names an alleged agitator now in Puerto Rico and preparing to go to South America to take part in the coup." PEREZ identifies the "agitator" to a State Department officer two days later as BETANCOURT, who lives in exile at San Juan, and thinks the story is intended to create the "proper atmosphere" for an attempt on the former

Venezuelan president's life. (Perez 061456 (Anonymous fm 061556 2, S_____))

Wednesday, June 13, 1956

Mario DE ARCE arrives in Ciudad Trujillo to replace Francisco LINARES BLASQUEZ as Cuban charge d'affaires and makes his first official call on HERRERA BAEZ two days later. He is well received by the Dominicans. (CT D540, Pheiffer 062256, S_____)

Thursday, June 21, 1956

In Havana, GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS tells a press conference that Cuba will not reapproach the OAS to settle the Dominican-Cuban dispute nor will it ask for a meeting of the hemisphere's foreign ministers toward that end. He denies that Venezuela mediated in the dispute earlier. (Informacion (Havana) 062256 (Havana D922, Zengotita 062256, S_____); CT D540, Pheiffer 062256, S_____; HAR 9:287 6-56)

Friday, June 22, 1956

In Ciudad Trujillo, HERRERA BAEZ and PHEIFFER meet for the fourth time this month to discuss the Dominican-Cuban dispute. The foreign secretary shows the ambassador a sheaf of Cuban press clippings the latter estimates to be three inches thick attacking TRUJILLO and the Dominican Republic. In particular, he complains about a June 17 Tiempo en Cuba article headlined "Las Amenazas de Trujillo" ("Trujillo's Threats") which claims that DE ARCE has been ill-treated by the Dominican press, subjected to "constant surveillance," is "virtually a prisoner" in Ciudad Trujillo, and fears for his life. HERRERA BAEZ also mentions GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS' erroneous statement about Venezuela's mediation the previous day. PHEIFFER comments in a dispatch later in the day that DE ARCE has been well treated in Ciudad Trujillo and only one press item has appeared about him, in the social pages. (CT D540, Pheiffer 062256, S_____)

Fidel CASTRO is arrested in Mexico for violating the terms of his asylum. On a hacienda near Mexico City he has been collecting arms and training several dozen volunteers, mostly Cubans, for an invasion of his homeland. The Mexican government releases a list of those arrested with him. He is released on June 25. (HAR 9:285 6-56)

In Miami around this time, INS decides to let PRIO SOCARRAS remain in the U.S. without a court ruling on his eligibility for permanent residence. His entry in mid-April was questioned because of his 1954 conviction in Miami for arms smuggling. (HAR 9:285 6-56)

Tuesday, June 26, 1956

Cuba's police discover arms caches in raids on several homes, during which they arrest 17 persons including the bullfighter Jose ("Pepillo") SANCHEZ on charges of plotting BATISTA's assassination and a national uprising. The government implicates PRIO SOCARRAS in the plot; he issues a denial in Miami. (NYT 062756 2)

Saturday, August 11, 1956

In Havana, Brig. Gen. Rafael SALAS CANIZARES, chief of the national police, makes another in recurring Cuban accusations that PRIO SOCARRAS, TRUJILLO, and CASTRO are fomenting revolution against BATISTA. (NYT 081356 2)

Monday, August 20, 1956

In Havana, GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS announces that Cuban Charge Mario DE ARCE returned home "last week" for the "convenience of the diplomatic service" and that Cuba, though not breaking diplomatic relations, is closing its embassy in Ciudad Trujillo and turning its affairs there over to the Panamanian ambassador. (NYT 082156 4; HAR 9:381 8-56; Havana T91, 082856, S_____)

DE ARCE's recall, which thus becomes known only several days after the fact, may be occasioned by an allegation televised about August 23 by MASFERRER ROJAS, chairman of the Cuban senate's armed forces committee. He claims that TRUJILLO and PRIO SOCARRAS are sponsoring a vast anti-BATISTA conspiracy consisting of an invasion force of 500 men and 24 planes now encamped on the Dominican-Haitian border which CASTRO will land on Cuba's Pinar del Rio coast. MASFERRER ROJAS, who does not say how TRUJILLO and PRIO SOCARRAS have resolved their long-standing enmity, names the invasion force's leaders, the vessels to be used, ports of embarkation, and probable landing areas. The Dominicans and most Cubans promptly characterize MASFERRER ROJAS' claims as absurd, and PRIO SOCARRAS, perhaps in deference to his promise to INS to refrain from political activity, remains silent. (Diario de las Americas (Miami) 082456 1, cited in DANR, MM at/lhm 083056, J28735-6; HAR 9:381 8-56)

On August 29, HERRERA BAEZ issues a statement to United Press for foreign consumption criticizing Cuba for harboring anti-TRUJILLO Dominican exiles and frequently recalling its diplomats in Ciudad Trujillo. The statement apparently receives no publicity in the Dominican Republic. (CT D133.1-2, Affeld 091456, S_____) The following day U.S. Charge Vinton CHAPIN sees GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS, who reviews the Dominican-Cuban dispute and says he has no constructive proposals for resolving it and does not intend to make

further public statements about it, and BATISTA will eventually appoint another charge d'affaires in Ciudad Trujillo. The Dominican government has said it will ask the Venezuelan government to take over its interests in Havana if Cuba leaves its embassy in Ciudad Trujillo vacant for too long. (Havana T97, Chapin 083056, S_____)

CHAPIN sees GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS again on September 19 but the Cuban foreign minister has nothing new to say. The American charge thinks Dominican-Cuban relations have remained basically unchanged since Cuba expelled LLAVERIAS on May 14. (Havana D167, Chapin 092056, S_____)

Tuesday, October 2, 1956

About this time MURPHY visits Havana for TRUJILLO to deliver a large amount of money--perhaps \$30,000--to a professor and BATISTA opponent. He may fly to the Cuban capital from Miami posing as an American tourist intent on gambling in Havana's casinos.

Friday, October 5, 1956

Cuba's national police arrest tax inspector Carlos DEL AMO DIAZ, who reveals details of a PRIO SOCARRAS plot to assassinate BATISTA and other high officials in his regime, and seize three caches of machine guns, rifles, revolvers, and ammunition in Havana. In announcing the arrest and seizures the following day, Brig. Gen. Rafael SALAS CANIZARES, national police chief, says two hired killers, Mario MASIPI and Alfredo LABRE, were to be brought to Cuba and terroristic activities were to have started on October 8. He also accuses TRUJILLO of giving arms to Cuban revolutionaries. (NYT 100756 6)

Sunday, October 28, 1956

In Havana, assassins fire at Col. Antonio BLANCO RICO, SIM chief; Col. Marcelo TABERNILLA, deputy chief of staff of the Cuban air force and son of Brig. Gen. Francisco TABERNILLA, chief of staff of the Cuban army; young TABERNILLA's wife, and another woman as they are leaving the Montmartre nightclub. BLANCO RICO is killed and the others are wounded. (HAR 9:476-7 10-56)

Monday, October 29, 1956

Cuba's national police receive an anonymous telephoned tip that BLANCO RICO's killers have holed up in the Haitian embassy, where a new ambassador is replacing the old and the entire official staff is out to lunch, having left only the cook and a servant girl in the building. SALAS CANIZARES and many of

his men rush there and are met by gunfire from the nine Cuban asylees in the embassy, six of whom sought refuge earlier and are awaiting safe conducts and three of whom rushed in at 0400, only hours after BLANCO RICO's murder. The cook flees out the back door. SALAS CANIZARES is fatally wounded (he dies at a hospital on October 31), all nine asylees are killed, and the only person remaining alive in the embassy after the shootout is the servant girl.

The Inter-American Press Association is holding its annual meeting in Havana at this time, and the Cuban government fears that the BLANCO RICO and SALAS CANIZARES killings may have been set up in order to precipitate a bogotazo. That danger is averted.

Though the Haitian embassy staff is at fault for having admitted armed asylum-seekers into their building and for then having left them unattended, the Cuban police violated the embassy's extraterritoriality. Haiti protests and Cuba apologizes. (HAR 9:476-7 10-56; HAR 9:530 11-56)

November 1956

After almost complete quiescence since the Dominican-Cuban dispute began in mid-February, TRUJILLO now becomes violently anti-BATISTA. The reasons for this sudden change in Dominican behavior are unclear, but the Dominican Republic's noticeable increase in anti-Cuban activity begins in late October or early November and lasts unabated until the two countries become friendly again at the end of December. The Dominican attack takes two forms, propaganda and covert action.

The peg for the Dominican propaganda offensive is the October 29 police raid on the Havana embassy of Haiti, with which the Dominican Republic immediately sides even though the raid in no way harmed its interests in Cuba. Articles by such Dominican eminents as Virgilio DIAZ ORDONEZ and Arturo DESPRADEL lambasting Cuba appear almost daily on the front pages of El Caribe and La Nacion, and Ramon MARRERO ARISTY, the latter newspaper's editor, writes that the BATISTA regime's attacks on the Dominican Republic are motivated by fear of an uprising because it is becoming increasingly unpopular and divided. Even more vituperative are the Dominican Republic's radio stations, especially HIT over which Victor ESPINOSA OROZCO, the Spanish Falangist and paid pen imported to the Dominican Republic in 1955, regularly spews anti-BATISTA diatribes. In one, on December 5, he demands BATISTA's immediate "extermination." In another he pictures BATISTA's Cuba as a land of destitution where people starve and die in the streets.

Embassy Ciudad Trujillo thinks that TRUJILLO does not intend to invade Cuba but does want to "reap maximum propaganda benefits both at home and abroad from BATISTA misdeeds and Cuban turmoil." (CT D242, Pheiffer 111556, S____; Montllor memcon 111556, S____; HAR 9:530-1 11-56; CT D262, Pheiffer 112756, S____; DOS T195, Fromer 120756, S____; CT D314, Allen 121356,

S _____; Havana T267, Gardner 121456, S _____; CT D324.1, Allen 121856,
S _____)

The other half of the new Dominican effort against Cuba is covert action. From at least the beginning of November on, TRUJILLO agents recruit Cuban men of military age in various cities abroad and send them to the Dominican Republic for training. Most fly to Ciudad Trujillo on CDA's twice-weekly flights from Miami, though others arrive from San Juan, Port-au-Prince, Havana, and perhaps other cities and a few take PAA flights. Apparently to avoid conspicuousness they travel in small groups of from three to a dozen, though they are indeed noticeable since many of them are loudly dressed, airline manifests invariably list them as Cubans whose passport formalities are to be waived, and most of them list their sponsor as "Joaquin RODRIGUEZ" though a few say Manuel DE MOYA. Other passengers on the inbound flights describe many of them as looking like criminals. Richard H. STEPHENS, the acting DCM in Embassy Ciudad Trujillo, who takes a CDA flight from Miami to the Dominican capital on December 15, flies with three such Cubans, two of whom wear sport shirts and appear to be under the orders of the third, a well-dressed younger man in a business suit.

On arrival at the Ciudad Trujillo airport they are waved through the usual customs and immigration checks and then driven to the Hotels Embajador, Jaragua, Paz, Comercial, or Colon. Some remain in the Dominican Republic for less than two weeks and then leave for various destinations. These may become TRUJILLO agents in Cuba and report there to various controllers, one of whom may be Ernesto DE LA FE, once BATISTA's information minister.

Others are shipped to a camp variously identified as near the airport or formerly having been occupied by the Dominican army's fourth infantry battalion at Km 6 to join the "Cuban Expeditionary Army of Liberation" and receive military training from both Dominicans and Cubans.

In charge of the military training is Policarpo Benito SOLER CRUZ, who BRETT reports lives in one of two newly built houses owned by Ramfis TRUJILLO on Avenida Mexico Prolongada near the southwest corner of the airport with two other Cuban gangsters, Candido DE LA TORRE and Leonel GOMEZ. DE LA TORRE reportedly absconded with \$345,000 which PRIO SOCARRAS gave him in late 1955 to buy arms for a planned revolt against BATISTA, while in late 1946 GOMEZ, a young UIR member, was wounded in a street shooting after boasting that he was going to take over the presidency of Cuba's Federacion Estudiantil Universitaria by force. DE LA TORRE and GOMEZ are reported to have returned to Ciudad Trujillo from Cuba shortly after October 29. Others from the Cuban underworld, including Manuel ("Manolo") DANS and his wife who have lived for some time on the third floor of a Calle Jose Reyes house, are part of SOLER CRUZ' inner circle and act as his couriers throughout the Caribbean. Eufemio FERNANDEZ ORTEGA may also be in Ciudad Trujillo.

David HART DOTTIN told the FBI in March 1962 that while he was assistant

to the director of the armed forces' technologic services he worked in an office three buildings from SIM headquarters overlooking the national palace. He sees SOLER CRUZ enter the palace an average of once weekly, though he does not know what he does there or who his contacts are.

Most estimates of the number of Cubans in both categories who reach the Dominican Republic during a roughly six-week period in November and December run from 100 to 150, though a few are higher. BRETT and Cmdr. Ralph C. MCCOY, the naval attache in Embassy Ciudad Trujillo, keep themselves busy collecting information about TRUJILLO's Cubans and send lists of those they can identify to their headquarters. This work is particularly vexing to BRETT, who later complains about the nuisance of frequently having to visit his CDA and PAA informants at the airport to collect copies of manifests. It may represent the first step toward his later breakdown.

Those Cubans who are in military training in the Dominican Republic after TRUJILLO resumes friendly relations with BATISTA in late December present the Dominican dictator with a disposal problem. He retains a few of the better ones on his payroll for later use as secret agents abroad, but most he trickles back to their places of origin. One, who returns to Miami around March 1957, later tells the FBI that conditions at his training camp became very bad after the Dominican-Cuban rapprochement. As he was about to catch his plane to Miami, SOLER CRUZ called him to his house and warned him that he had "better keep your mouth shut because TRUJILLO has a long arm and he can catch you anywhere you go, even China. Remember 'Pipi' HERNANDEZ [SANTANA]." Several of those who return to Miami give anonymous press interviews. (CT D309, Allen 121156, S____; CT T260, 121456, S____; T 101856 (FBNR.2, HAV 1hm 060557, J9792); T15 022657 (DA157.16, Davis/MM 032957, J29210); CT D324.1-2, Allen 121856, S____; CT D326.1-2, Stephens 121956, S____; T2 041657 (RS3.3, Errion/MM 063061, J10625); Hart Dottin 030762 (DH24.12, Kolombatovic/SF 032662, J23731); Hugh Thomas, Cuba, The Pursuit of Freedom (New York, Harper & Row, 1971), 811-2)

Friday, November 2, 1956

About this time MURPHY goes to Cuba to reconnoiter a possible C46 landing site near Santiago or Havana, according to CAIRE. He later tells TRUJILLO that an arms landing at the Cuban airfield would be feasible and receives \$1,000 for his mission.

Saturday, November 17, 1956

Cuban attacks on the Dominican Republic continue during the latter half of November. At a press conference on this date in which he reads prepared answers to written questions, BATISTA says that PRIO SOCARRAS, TRUJILLO, and CASTRO are plotting to overthrow his government and TRUJILLO is aiding Cuban

gangsters of the worst kind. He hints that the Dominican government is planning an invasion of Cuba. (Havana D302, Topping 112056, S_____) On November 27, GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS accuses the Dominican Republic of "training and financing" anti-BATISTA conspirators and of engaging in an "aggressive policy of interference" in Cuban internal affairs. (NYT 112856 8) The following day the Cuban police arrest four among a group of youths throwing Molotov cocktails against the walls of the Dominican embassy in Havana. GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS quickly assures the Dominicans that his government will give the embassy more protection. (NYT 113056 9; HAR 9:584 12-56)

Tuesday, November 20, 1956

About this time TRUJILLO asks MURPHY to bomb the presidential palace in Havana, MURPHY later tells CAIRE and two other friends.

Friday, November 30, 1956

Starting around 0600, armed men in green uniforms wearing the armbands of CASTRO's July 26th Movement make lightning raids on urban and rural police stations in various parts of Cuba's Oriente Province. Several people are killed, the country's military and police forces are put on alert, the army takes control of the province's major cities, and a roundup of hundreds of CASTRO's supporters and other oppositionists begins. In Mexico CASTRO, who is in hiding, has a manifesto delivered to United Press saying that he has decided to carry out his earlier promise to fight for Cuba's liberty or die this year because of the "imminent threat" of TRUJILLO aggression against his homeland. (Leonhardy memcon 113056, S_____; NYT 120156 1; HAR 9:528-9 11-56)

Sunday, December 2, 1956

Though the uprising of his adherents in Cuba has largely failed, CASTRO and 82 followers land on the Oriente coast from the yacht Granma. Most are captured during the next day or two by BATISTA's forces, but CASTRO and a few of his closest comrades evade the army's patrols and escape to the Sierra Maestra mountains where they hole up. During the rest of December disturbances of greater or lesser intensity occur in Cuba and there are reports--mostly government-inspired--that CASTRO has been killed. (NYT 120556 5; HAR 9:579-80 12-56)

Monday, December 10, 1956

DE MOYA confers with Jack D. NEAL, the State Department's director of Middle American affairs, who among other things asks the Dominican about

reports received in Washington of Cubans being infiltrated into Cuba from the Dominican Republic and about what the TRUJILLO regime is doing to settle its dispute with BATISTA. (Neal memcon 122056, S_____)

Tuesday, December 11, 1956

Still euphoric because of the October revolt in Hungary, the State Department wants peace in America's own backyard so it can attend to more important matters elsewhere. On this date ARA's Spencer M. KING cables Embassies Ciudad Trujillo and Havana to urge their host governments anew to settle their differences because the "[c]ritical world situation demands utmost efforts on part all American states retain their normal solidarity. Free World by remaining strong and united can take good advantage of present crumbings within communist world to help fill vacuum being left as satellite bonds are gradually being softened and broken with USSR." (DOS T327, King 121156, S_____; DOS T203, King 121256, S_____; DOS T204, King 121256, S_____) Because they see no possibility of a quick fix, PHEIFFER and GARDNER cable back that they are reluctant to pressure their respective hosts further and so risk irritating them. (CT T256, Pheiffer 121356, S_____; Havana T267, Gardner 121456, S_____)

On December 12, KING cables Embassy Ciudad Trujillo that Cuba and Haiti are jittery about the military maneuver the Dominicans are to hold at Monte Cristi on December 18 because they fear it may cloak invasions of their countries. He asks the embassy to urge the Dominicans to publicize the maneuver in order to calm the other two countries' fears. (DOS T204, King 121256, S_____) MCGOY has a word with the Dominican brass, who accept the suggestion, order the necessary publicity immediately, and invite Cuban and Haitian representatives to attend the maneuver. (CT T256, Pheiffer 121356, S_____)

Thursday, December 20, 1956

DE MOYA, back in Washington after conferring with TRUJILLO, brings the State Department the first real indication it receives that the Dominican Republic is now willing to make amends with Cuba in another meeting with Jack D. NEAL. The Dominican assures NEAL that the Dominican Republic's anti-Cuban broadcasts, including the particularly vicious rantings of Sixto ESPINOSA OROZCO, will stop, and that the Cubans now in the Dominican Republic will not be allowed to leave "with even a pocket knife." "DE MOYA said I could be assured 'everything is going to be sugar and honey in the Caribbean,'" NEAL soon dictates in a memcon. (Neal memcon 122056, S_____)

The mutual propaganda attacks do stop around this date. (DOS T361/219, Leonhardy 122756, S_____; NYT 011657 16)

Friday, December 21, 1956

The Cubans have apparently not yet learned of TRUJILLO's new policy, for GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS tells U.S. Charge Vinton CHAPIN that BATISTA has instructed him to voice informally his concern about the Dominican Republic's continuing anti-Cuban campaign, including its assistance to Cuban criminals and revolutionaries. (Havana T287, Chapin 122156, S_____) Having read CHAPIN's cabled report, NEAL tells John L. TOPPING, Embassy Havana's political section chief, in a December 22 telephone conversation that DE MOYA assured him two days earlier that TRUJILLO was ending his anti-Cuban activities and so Embassy Havana should bring the Cubans up to date and get them to stop their own attacks on TRUJILLO. (Leonhardy memcon 122256, S_____) An hour or two later this message is delivered to GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS, who says that BATISTA will do everything he can to reduce the anti-Dominican campaign in Cuba's press. (Havana T288, Chapin 122256, S_____)

Thursday, December 27, 1956

A BATISTA interview Vision magazine is to publish in its January 4, 1957, issue (excerpts from which Vision releases to the wire services for publicity purposes on December 26) almost upsets the applecart. On this date LEONHARDY frantically cables Embassy Ciudad Trujillo to assure the Dominicans that the interview, in which BATISTA attacked them, was a summary of BATISTA's mid-December written answers to an early December Vision questionnaire and so has been overtaken by later events. He tells Embassy Havana to advise GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS that the article may have repercussions in the Dominican Republic and urge him to issue a statement espousing Cuba's desire for friendly relations with all Latin American countries including the Dominican Republic. (DOS T219/361, Leonhardy 122756, S_____)

Apparently without having received LEONHARDY's cable, CHAPIN sees GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS to reinforce William _____. PAWLEY's recent intercession with BATISTA to permit Cuban participation in the annual Dominican cattle fair, as occurred in 1955. The foreign minister responds that BATISTA told Agriculture Minister Fidel BARRETO not to impede Cubans wanting to take part in the fair but not to support such participation officially. Meanwhile, Interior Minister Santiago REY PERNA tells TOPPING that the Cubans now want the State Department to explain the timing of Vision's BATISTA interview to the Dominicans so they will not misinterpret current Cuban thinking. CHAPIN cables these developments to the State Department and Embassy Ciudad Trujillo at 1900. (Havana T296/24, Chapin 122756, S_____)

In Ciudad Trujillo, Charge Richard H. STEPHENS relays the messages from LEONHARDY and REY PERNA to DE MOYA on December 28 and HERRERA BAEZ on December 29. The Dominicans agree to forget BATISTA's interview in Vision. (CT T275, Stephens 122956, S_____)

Friday, December 28, 1956

Having received CHAPIN's message from GUELL Y MORALES DE LOS RIOS, BATISTA decides to end his quarrel with TRUJILLO and, as an initial gesture of amity, send Agriculture Minister BARRETO to Ciudad Trujillo for the opening of the cattle fair. The foreign minister so informs CHAPIN this morning, (Havana T298, Chapin 122856, S_____) and later in the day BARRETO tells the press that he has accepted the Dominican Republic's invitation to the fair. (NYT 011657 16) The Dominican press plays up his acceptance on December 29. (CT T275, Stephens 122956, S_____)

The rapprochement proceeds smoothly hereafter. In late February 1957 a delegation of Dominican officials and cattle breeders returns BARRETO's visit by flying to the Cuban National Stock Show at Rancho Boyeros. (HAR 10:71 2-57) TRUJILLO begins getting rid of the anti-BATISTA Cubans he has been stockpiling in the Dominican Republic, and many turn up in Miami where the press interviews some of them anonymously. (One fell afoul of his superiors and was punished in a TRUJILLO jail, where he thought Octavio DE LA MAZA was also a prisoner.) (HAR 10:185 4-57) The two governments announce the resumption of diplomatic relations on April 17: Telesforo CALDERON is named Dominican ambassador to Cuba and Jose LOPEZ ISA is appointed Cuban ambassador to the Dominican Republic. (HAR 10:190 4-57) The two ambassadors present their credentials in early June, when Embassy Ciudad Trujillo comments: "With both BATISTA and TRUJILLO in hot water, it is expected that their warm relations will continue to flourish at least until one or the other is free of his present difficulties." (CT D761.2, Spalding/Allen 061157, S_____) In mid-August a delegation of Cuban officials and newspapermen, the latter headed by Diario de la Marina editor Gaston BAQUERO, attends Hector TRUJILLO's presidential inauguration and tours the Dominican Republic to the plaudits of the Dominican press. (CT D84.1, Allen 082757, S_____)

Why TRUJILLO suddenly decides to end the year-long quarrel with BATISTA is uncertain, but from the information above it seems clear that it is he and not BATISTA who takes the initiative in doing so. The Hispanic-American Review speculated on the reasons, though some of its hypotheses are obviously questionable:

In the absence of official explanations, observers ventured all sorts of theories for the change. One version was that BATISTA initiated the action as a payoff to Generalissimo TRUJILLO because he did not send help to Fidel CASTRO. For months Senator Rolando MASFERRER had led all Cuba to believe that TRUJILLO would support CASTRO in force, although the latter had denied any connection with TRUJILLO. As part of the rapprochement, TRUJILLO asked BATISTA's enemies in the Dominican Republic to leave within 40 days. Another viewpoint was that the TRUJILLO-BATISTA tension had been artificial

from the start and kept alive only to divert attention from domestic troubles. However, this policy was now being abandoned because it threatened to get out of hand. A third opinion suggested that the combined good will efforts of agencies, such as the U.S. State Department and the Organization of American States; of individuals, such as Senator [George A.] SMATHERS of Florida; and of periodicals, such as Vision, had finally borne fruit. One Cuban official, who may have cooperated in the U.S. State Department's activities, was Minister of Interior Santiago REY, who visited the U.S. for 10 days as a guest of the government. Although he was picketed by anti-BATISTA groups in Washington and New York, he succeeded in creating the impression that Cuba was sincere in its efforts to live in peace with all its neighbors, including the Dominican Republic. (HAR 10:17-8 1-57)

...

These conciliatory efforts by both the Caribbean strongmen were rumored to be the result of pressure from Washington. After the Mexican magazine Tiempo's December report that Dominican troops were poised for an attack upon Cuba, Washington was said to have advised the countries to resolve their differences. (HAR 10:19-20 1-57)

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AIR POUCH

UNCLASSIFIED

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

COPY NO. 2 SERIES

FROM : CIUDAD TRUJILLO, D.R.

309
DESP. NO.

December 11, 1956
DATE

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

REF :

For Dist. Use Only	ACTION	DEPT.
	REL'S	OTHER
	12/11	R MIR - OLI - SCS - V.O. - RML/A

SUBJECT: Unusual Influx of Cuban Tourists.

CAS has informed this Embassy as follows: "From 1 November to 6 December approximately 87 Cuban nationals, practically all males, ages between 17 and 40, have arrived in Ciudad Trujillo in groups of 3, 5, 6, 10 and 14. The majority of said Cubans are males of military age mostly between the ages of 20 and 30. All have been shown on manifests as being in the Republic for a stay not to exceed 15 days. These persons have been variously lodged at hotels Embajador, Jaragua, Paz, Comercial and Colon. The majority have arrived in Ciudad Trujillo from Miami, Florida, although others have reached Ciudad Trujillo from San Juan, Habana and Port-au-Prince. A small number of the group have traveled by Pan American Airways. The great majority have traveled by Compania Dominicana de Aviacion. The majority of these persons have named as their sponsor in the Dominican Republic one Joaquin RODRIGUEZ. A small number of them have been received under the sponsorship of Minister Without Portfolio Sr. Manuel DE MOYA Alonso. According to limited evidence some of these persons have stayed only a short time in Ciudad Trujillo and have later left the country on Pan American Airways. The professions of said Cubans are listed generally as follows: writers, students, carpenters, airline pilots, airline mechanics, artisans and 'employees.' It is of interest to observe that the great majority of said Cubans are of military age. CAS will advise the Embassy when he can confirm that all or the majority of these persons have actually left the Republic within the 15 days' time limitation of their stay here. CAS is forwarding to his headquarters a complete list of the above-mentioned Cubans."

CAS evaluated his source for this information as "A-1."

The Embassy's Naval Attaché has provided the following report: "A usually reliable source reports that the Dominican Air Lines (CDA) is continuing to bring in 5 to 15 Cubans on each Miami-Ciudad Trujillo flight. This traffic reportedly has been going on since the last of October. The individuals are described as gangster types and are afforded quick access to the country without necessity of passport or baggage checks. Available information indicates that they remain 3 or 4 days in Ciudad Trujillo, then depart by various airlines to different destinations. Several reliable sources report the transits described are receiving cash from the Trujillo Government to assist in an anti-BATISTA propaganda campaign and agitation in Cuba."

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Page 2
Encl. No.
Desp. No. 309
From Ciudad Trujillo, R.S.

The missing Compania Dominicana de Aviacion ex-co-pilot Gerald MURPHY, a U. S. citizen (see Embassy despatch No. 307 dated December 11, 1956) might possibly be connected with CDA involvement in the suspicious movement of these Cuban malcontents. It is also recalled that a short time ago CDA President Col. Charles McLAUGHLIN gave up U.S. citizenship in favor of Dominican nationality. Shortly thereafter he fired U.S. citizen George BERRY, CDA Manager for 12 years, and took over management of the line himself.

COMMENT: The Generalissimo is actively interested in the embarrassment of the Cuban regime, and the Embassy believes he is contributing to clandestine propaganda efforts aimed threat. Any Dominican military move against Cuba is believed most improbable and the Jefe is not believed to be directly supporting the revolutionary activity of Fidel CASTRO. His interest seems to be to foment general turmoil in Cuba, not favoring any "side."

(NOTE: CAS report not for distribution outside Department of State).

For the Ambassador:



Robert N. Allen
Second Secretary of Embassy

UNCLASSIFIED

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

AmEmbassy Ciudad Trujillo

326

SERIES A

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

December 19, 1956

Embassy Despatch 309, December 11, 1956; Embtel 141, Sept. 29, 1956

11 For Dept. Use Only	ACTION	DEPT.	R/R OLI P S/S S/P
	REC'D	IN F O	
	12/22		CIA

EXEC CIB INTER AMERICAN AREA

SUBJECT: Activities of Cuban Nationals in the Dominican Republic DEC 27 1956

On the subject of Cuban-Dominican relations, [] has reported as follows to the Embassy:

- "1. Sources of following information are highly reliable and non-political.
- "2. Policarpo SOLER, Cuban gangster, has been seen recently, by sources personally, in Ciudad Trujillo. Soler is reportedly living in one of two newly constructed houses owned by Lt. General Rafael Leonidas TRUJILLO Jr. which are located on Avenida Mexico Extended (near southwest end of General Andrews Airport). Soler is in the pay of the Dominican Government.
- "3. Living in the same house with Policarpo Soler is another Cuban gangster, Candido DE LA TORRE, who, according to sources, Cuban authorities suspect of having a connection with the killing of Cuban Intelligence Chief Col. Antonio Blanco Rico. Candido de la Torre reportedly stole \$345,000 from ex-President Carlos PRIO Socarras of Cuba which money Prio reportedly gave Candido de la Torre for the purchase of arms and equipment to carry out a revolt in Cuba against President Fulgencio BATISTA. This robbery is estimated to have taken place about one year ago.
- "4. Living in Ciudad Trujillo with Soler and de la Torre is Lionel GOMEZ, President of the Cuban Federation of Students. Gomez gained the presidency of the Federacion Estudiantil Universitaria of Cuba by force. Today, Gomez is considered in Cuba to be not a political figure but a terrorist and gangster without political ideals, according to source.
- "5. Candido de la Torre and Lionel Gomez, according to [] returned to Ciudad Trujillo from Cuba shortly after General Rafael SALAS Cañizales' (Cuban Police Chief) attack on the Habanan Embassy in Habana.

DATE 22 Aug 1977

RHStephens/fw
REPORTER

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The action office must return this permanent record copy to DC/R files with an endorsement of action taken.

Attachment 3

C.A. No. 86-1885

737.00/12-15-56

(Classification)

- "6. Manuel (Manolo) DANS, Cuban national wanted by the Cuban authorities for arson, has been living in Ciudad Trujillo for some time on the third floor of a house on Calle Jose Reyes. Dans has joined the Soler gang and reportedly acts as a courier for Soler throughout the Caribbean area. Dans' wife also serves as a courier for Soler's group.
- "7. Dr. Jaime BENAGES, Cuban medico formerly engaged in construction work with deceased mayor of Habana (FNU) SUPEVILLE, left Cuba because of deficits in his government contracts. He lived in Ciudad Trujillo for two years, returning thereafter to Cuba. He now serves as a courier for the Soler group. On his last trip from Cuba to Ciudad Trujillo, the Cuban authorities took him off the plane and detained him for 24 hours, although allowing his family to continue the trip. Following his detainment, Benages was allowed to proceed with his trip.
- "8. (FNU) GONZALEZ, Cuban newspaperman and member Cuban college newspaper writers, is reported to be serving as a courier for the Soler group. Gonzalez now resides in Cuba.
- "9. Juan PEREZ, a Cuban married to a member of the Trujillo family, is also reported working for the Soler group. He lives in Ciudad Trujillo and travels to Mexico, Cuba and other points in the Caribbean for the Soler group.
- "10. Sources report, purely as rumor, that Eufemio FERNANDEZ, former Chief of Cuban Intelligence, was and still may be residing in Ciudad Trujillo. None of informants, however, have either seen or identified Fernandez.
- "11. Regarding Ciudad Trujillo's despatch No. 309 of December 11, 1956 which stated that a list of Cubans visiting Ciudad Trujillo had been forwarded to Mario Belie Massip MAZIQUE appearing on that list, has been identified by sources as being a professional Cuban revolutionary. notes an Alfredo MAZIQUE was killed in Salas Cañizales' raid on the Haitian Embassy Habana.
- "12.

APPROVED FOR RELEASE

DATE *Do Aug 1972*

(Classification)

Encl. No. _____
Resp. No. 326
From Ciudad Trujillo

#13.

and the Embassy are endeavoring to obtain further information on these Cuban activities in the Dominican Republic. In this connection, the Embassy's Acting Deputy Chief of Mission observed while returning from Washington on Saturday, December 15, that three Cubans were on the Dominican Air Lines flight from Miami to Ciudad Trujillo. Upon arrival, they were admitted to this country without the usual immigration documents. In a brief conversation with one of them, this Embassy officer learned that they planned to stay in Ciudad Trujillo from 10 to 14 days and were then to proceed back to Miami, one of the number possibly going on to Washington, D. C. Two were dressed in loud sports shirts and appeared to be under the orders of the third, a younger, well-dressed Cuban in a business suit. On the C.D.A. manifest, their names were followed by the word "Cuban" and then the word in parenthesis "Waived" in the column headed "Passport, Nationality or Identification Document." Another C.D.A. manifest for December 6, 1956 seen by this officer also bore the notation "Waived" after the names of six persons identified on the manifest as Cubans. There is no evidence that there is a build-up of these individuals in the Dominican Republic, since it is fairly well established that they depart within a week or two after their arrival.

Although a firm assessment of the comings and goings of Cuban nationals reported by _____ and other sources may be premature, it appears that numerous small contingents of Cubans are being recruited, in the Miami area or elsewhere, for special indoctrination and/or equipping in the Dominican Republic. They are then sent to various destinations to await, it would appear, further instructions from their leader or leaders in this country. From present indications, it would seem that these individuals are designed to constitute a force in being, directly or indirectly under the orders of Generalissimo Trujillo, which may be utilized to influence the outcome of revolutionary efforts in Cuba in a manner favorable to the Dominican Republic.

For the Ambassador:

APPROVED FOR RELEASE

DATE 20 Aug 1977

Richard H. Stephens
Richard H. Stephens

Second Secretary of Embassy

cc: AmEmbassy Habana.

TELEGRAM

Department of State

SECRET

104

Control: 13262
Rec'd: December 20, 1956
7:53 p.m.

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FROM: Ciudad Trujillo

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 268, December 20, 5 p.m.

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DEC 21 1956
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SENT DEPARTMENT 268, REPEATED INFORMATION HABANA 10.

Re Cuban-Dominican relations/ informed opinion of local elements lukewarm to Trujillo as follows: Trujillo apparently agitating against Batista because he believes Batista twice double-crossed him. In 1953 and again late 1955 Batista attempted to carry out deal with Trujillo and Right Wing dictators to silence Cuban Liberals, Pinks, Communists and Dominican exiles. Batista failed because of too strong opposition among his supporters, including Masferrer. Batista gave in to these elements, began attacking Trujillo, stopped molesting Leftists. Trujillo then took matters in own hands, starting campaign of agitation against Batista and terrorizing Dominican exiles in Cuba, including murder of Papi Hernandez. Trujillo wants to show Batista he cannot survive unless he cooperates fully with Rightist dictators.

PHEIFFER

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Attachment 4

C.A. No. 86-1885

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