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REMARKS			
<p>I furnished Seymour Bolten and Assistant to DCI a copy, since you provided them with a text you had received.</p> <p>PS: You also sent a copy to IG, but they rec'd attached</p>			
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In early 1960, slightly over ten months before a national election deciding who would be the next president of the United States, there occurred a series of events that took place during the Eisenhower/Nixon Administration that would inevitably lead to the death of John F. Kennedy in Dealy Plaza, November 22, 1963.

They are as follows:

By the end of January 1960, British reconnaissance flights overflying Cuba detected unusual construction activity of a military nature, not normally associated with defense weaponry. By the end of March, aerial photographs showed sufficient information to indicate that offensive missile installations were being prepared for use against Cuba's neighbors in the western hemisphere. After this conclusion had been reached by British Intelligence, they reported the information through diplomatic channels to our State Department (see Affidavit, Exhibit 1).

Simultaneously, our own embassy in Havana had been receiving confidential reports through members of its staff, i.e., Paul Bethel (see Exhibit 2, entitled "On missiles in Cuba; conversation June 16, 1976; Miami; with Dick Russell). Bethel was Press Attache to our embassy in Havana all during the critical period from 1959 up until diplomatic relations were broken off in early 1961. During this period he kept in close touch with local Cuban friends who were also concerned with this unusual construction activity.

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Sequence

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By June 1 of 1960, a Cuban businessman by the name of Mario Garcia Kohly had organized close to 42,000 people inside Cuba who belonged to many different organizations and who, up until that time, had been completely disorganized and uncoordinated. By the end of 1960, he was considered the number one exile leader inside and outside of Cuba and had even instituted a counterfeiting program that forced Castro to change his currency in August of 1961.

In the latter part of 1960, Mario Kohly, Sr.'s underground also began receiving reports of unusual construction activity that looked like they might be missile sites. This information was passed on to both the Central Intelligence Agency and top ranking State Department officials. It is not known, but believed, that this information was never passed on to John F. Kennedy during any pre-inaugural briefing by the Eisenhower/Nixon administration prior to his physically taking office in the White House on January 20, 1961. John Kennedy was, however, briefed several days after being elected, by Allen Dulles and Richard Bissell on November 18, 1960. They informed the president-elect that the Central Intelligence Agency had an invasion plan using Cuban exiles that was looked upon favorably by the National Security Council, and that a training operation in Guatemala was actually under way.

It must also be assumed that the new president was never told by the CIA whose invasion plan it was, i.e., Mario Garcia Kohly's -- the top exile leader in the U.S. -- or of a top secret deal made between the former Vice President, Richard Nixon, and Mario Garcia Kohly. The deal regarded the disposition

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Sequence

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of Cuba once the country had been recaptured from Castro. This deal would be a major factor in shaping the motive for a conspiratorial death of the new president and possibly contributed to the resignation of Richard Nixon from the presidency in 1974. The deal involved direct involvement in conspiracy to murder, i.e., by condoning domestic assassinations conducted by or sanctioned by the CIA. It was a plot relating to the Bay of Pigs that would put the former Vice President in far more jeopardy than the Watergate breakin.

\* \* \* \* \*

In mid-1960, before the U.S. election, Mario Garcia Kohly, who was to become the president de facto in exile of Cuba, had started to form what would be his United Organizations for the Liberation of Cuba. He also had a working relationship with the Central Intelligence Agency.

By late summer, however, the State Department exerted its maximum political influence on the CIA hierarchy, forcing it to accept more leftist leaning leaders on the basis that the more conservative Cubans would be former Batistaites and not popular with the people. There was then formed the Cuban Revolutionary Council stemming from a front group known as the Cuban Revolutionary Movement or Front, headed by Dr. Hito Cardona, Manuel Artimas, Manuel Ray, Aureliano Sanchez Artango, Tony Verona and a number of others. This action forced Kohly to take a back seat, which alienated Kohly. This action also put various elements of the CIA into major conflict, for when Kohly's invasion and provisional government plans were

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Sequence

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selected by the Central Intelligence Agency, the Agency was committed to a plan involving Kohly's U.S.-based exile organization, his underground inside Cuba, and his guerrilla army hiding in the Escambrey Mountains. In addition, the National Security Council also looked favourably on Kohly's plans which included a conservative provisional government. It is, therefore, likely that any decision made by Mr. Nixon in 1960 to placate Kohly was made by him in the belief that it was in the best national interest and that he, as the next president, would be in a position to justify any dramatic action or decision taken on his part in 1960. Therefore, in October of 1960, he met with Kohly on the golf links of the Burning Tree Club (see Affidavit, Exhibit 3; and Betrayal, Forward: Morrow, Henry Regnery Company).

Kohly confided to Robert Morrow, a CIA contract employee working with Kohly, less than a week after this meeting took place that an agreement had been reached between him and the Vice President for the elimination of all the leftist Cuban Revolutionary Front leaders in the United States in order that he (Kohly) could take over the reins of power inside Cuba once the invasion, i.e., Kohly's "Operation Lake,"\* had been accomplished. He claimed the agreement was reached when he guaranteed to support the invasion with his 42,000 man Cuban underground force and to commit his guerrilla force located in the Escambrey Mountains to support the landing. Although it might not have been part of his conversation with the Vice

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\* "Operation Lake" was Kohly's name for an invasion originally chosen for southeastern Cuba in the area of Trinidad. Later the name was changed to "Operation Pluto" and moved to the Bay of Pigs.

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Sequence

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President, Kohly also claimed that any Front leaders in the actual invasion would also be assassinated by his guerrilla force. This information told to Morrow was also stated in Kohly's deathbed tape statement (see Exhibit 4, entitled "Mario Kohly Deathbed Transcript") and reaffirmed by his son, Mario Kohly, Jr., in his affidavit dated 15 July 1976, (see Exhibit 5).

Shortly after this meeting, Morrow inquired of his case officer, C. Tracy Barnes, in the presence of General Charles Cabell, if Kohly had made a deal with the administration. They confirmed that an arrangement had been made for Kohly to take over Cuba once the invasion had been successful and that Kohly had made additional arrangements regarding the Front leaders, although any final disposition would be by the new president (Morrow is uncertain whether this meant of the U.S. or Cuba).

Morrow thought no more about this until the night of April 17, 1961, when he was ready to fly en route from Opa Locka to Buckingham Field on the west coast of Florida. It was at that time, as he was saying goodbye to Tracy Barnes, that Barnes made an incidental remark regarding the Front group, saying "with the exception of two members who are participating in the invasion, Cardona and his crowd are being held incommunicado at a deserted house on this very (CIA) base under armed guard and -- are they mad!" Barnes then remarked, "If they knew what the hell was going to happen to them once the boys take over the island they'd never have left the loving arms of Fidel." Morrow's interpretation was that they would never be heard from again.

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Sequence  
6.

On April 19th, Tony Verona, one of the Front leaders held at Opa Locka, managed to elude the guards surrounding the house by escaping through a bathroom window. Once free, he called the White House in Washington in a rage.\* Even at that time, the president must not have been informed of the deal Kohly, the CIA, and Nixon had made. Thus, he never realized that he had inadvertently saved the lives of all the Cuban Front members by withholding the air cover support for the invasion and thereby causing the invasion to fail. Withholding the air cover for the invasion did, however, irreparably alienate the right wing elements of the Cuban exile organizations.

An additional related factor that would affect the fate of the president stemmed from a decision he (Kennedy) made not to inform the American public that long range offensive missiles were still operational in Cuba after the missile crisis of October 1962. This infuriated the Central Intelligence Agency and their mercenary Cuban exile groups operating in the southeastern part of the United States. It was also the point in time when the most severe measures were being taken by the administration to suppress any exile activity against Fidel Castro, i.e., October 1962 to October 1963.\*\*

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\* After receiving the information about the detention of the Front leaders at Opa Locka, President Kennedy immediately dispatched Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and A. A. Berle to see the Cubans. After hearing their story of being held captive, Schlesinger telephoned the President and advised him to see the Cubans to placate them. Kennedy agreed and within hours they were off toward Washington on an Air Force plane.

\*\* What the exiles didn't know was that the President in the Fall of 1963 had instructed former Ambassador William Atwood to begin making arrangements for talks with Fidel Castro in order that the two countries might start resuming talks that would eventually lead to a reestablishment of diplomatic relations and normalization of mutual interests.

Sequence

7.

By mid-1963, sensing that their days were numbered, the right wing extremists amongst the exile groups funded by the CIA acted. All speed was urged to complete a second peso counterfeiting operation so that Castro's top military aides and personnel could be bought off before any new invasion could take place. It was also imperative that the counterfeiting operation be completed and the money disbursed before a formal deal could be made between the Kennedy Administration and Fidel Castro.\*

By fall of 1963, the exiles and their allies, the criminal underworld, were preparing the last desperate push to overthrow Castro, and began mounting another exile invasion to be coordinated with an internal guerrilla action.

This attempt would be too late, however, as the administration had already set the wheels in motion to negate this last major exile attempt, and the final death knell to the exile cause for regaining their homeland would be struck. Robert Kennedy, through Henry Morgenthau, Jr., United States District Attorney for the Southern District of New York, ordered the arrest of Mario Garcia Kohly, Sr. and Morrow on charges of conspiracy to counterfeit foreign securities along with a host of other related charges (see Exhibit 6).

With this operation effectively destroyed by order of

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\* On October first of 1963, these counterfeit Cuban peso plates were delivered to Mario Kohly in New York. This operation called for the manufacture of approximately fifty million dollars worth of counterfeit Cuban pesos that were to be distributed among Castro's strategic military personnel and aides. The purpose being to buy their loyalty. Once the overthrow of Castro was completed and Kohly held the reins of power in Cuba, he would legalize the currency. It was a temptation that few of Castro's ill-paid followers could resist.

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Sequence  
B.

the administration, there would be no further action the exiles could take until the president and his brother were removed -- at least as long as the ballistic missile sites were still active in Cuba (see Exhibit 7, Interview with Dr. Portelli-Vila). In effect, the exiles realized there would be no way that the Kennedy Administration could allow exile groups to regain control or even invade their country and expose the presence of the ballistic missiles.

At this point, it is highly plausible that right wing Cuban exiles saw John F. Kennedy's death and the subsequent new administration as the only way to follow through with their desire to overthrow Castro. In addition, it is quite conceivable that by assassinating John F. Kennedy and placing blame on Castro for the assassination, the exiles could create a situation whereby the new president (Lyndon B. Johnson) in response to popular sentiment in the United States might institute armed intervention against Castro.\*

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\* There have been several reported incidents of this type of attempt on the part of the exiles, some of which are described in "Behind Betrayal," see Exhibit B.

MEMORANDUM from Charles Colson to H. R. Halderan re: Howard Hunt (July 2, 1971)

"The more I think about Howard Hunt's background, politics and disposition and experience, the more I think it would be worth your time to meet him. I had forgotten when I talked to you that he was the CIA mastermind on the Bay of Pigs. He told me a long time ago that if the truth were even known, Kennedy would be destr

MEMO by John Ehrlichman after meeting with President Nixon (September 18, 1971)

"Bay of Pigs - order to CIA - President is to have the FULL file OR ELSE. Nothing withheld. President was involved in Bay of Pigs. President must have the full file - simply involved - must know ALL the facts."

MEMORANDUM for Nixon after Ehrlichman met with Helms for twenty minutes (October 7,

"The President wants to see all of the documents requested. He recognizes that many are sensitive and could damage the agency if used by the wrong people (even, Helms suggests, some White House staff)"

NOTES by Ehrlichman after meeting with Nixon and Helms (October 8, 1971)

"Purpose of Presidential request for documents: must be fully advised in order to know what to check. Won't hurt agency nor attack predecessors."

MEMO TO HELMS, Nixon to Halderan (July 23, 1972)

"I just got a report \_\_\_\_\_ Just say \_\_\_\_\_ very bad to have this fellow Hunt, ah, he \_\_\_\_\_ that. If it gets out that this is all involved, the Cuba thing would be a \_\_\_\_\_ it would make the CIA look bad it's going to make Hunt look bad, and it's \_\_\_\_\_ to know the whole Bay of Pigs thing which we think would be very unfortunate \_\_\_\_\_ the \_\_\_\_\_, and in the country, at this time, and American foreign policy.

... Helms the problem is it tracks back to the Bay of Pigs and it tracks back to some other leads run out to people who had no involvement in this, except by contacts and connection, but it gets to areas that are liable to be raised? The whole problem \_\_\_\_\_ Hunt. So at that point he kind of got the picture."

... TRANSCRIPT Nixon to Halderman later same day (July 23, 1972)

"When you get in - when you get in \_\_\_\_\_ people, say, "Look the problem is that this will open the whole Bay of Pigs thing, and the President just feels that ah without going into the details, don't - don't lie to them to the extent to say the of no involvement, but say just say this is a comedy of errors, without getting into it, the President believes that it is going to open the whole Bay of Pigs thing

... THOMPSON to Halderman if the two CIA officials (Helms and Walters) responded to his question about other unrelated CIA activities being exposed. Halderman responded in any detail, no. The only area where there was a response to that, and it was in his interpretation sort of a curious response, was on the CIA problem, question of whether there was a CIA problem with relation to the Bay of Pigs, and on that case Helms jumped very rapidly and very defensively to say, "That is of no concern at all. We don't want to get into that at all." It was a sort of different reaction than the flat and calm reaction that there had been no CIA involvement that there had been no CIA involvement in the Watergate. There was - well, it's not genuine.

... Helms Watergate Committee he was approached by Halderman who:

... made some, what to me was an incoherent reference to an investigation in Mexico or FBI investigation, running into the Bay of Pigs. I do not know what the reference alleged to be, but in any event, I assured him that I had no interest in the Bay of Pigs that many years earlier later, that everything in connection with that had been cleared up and liquidated as far as I was aware and I did not care what they ran

GENERAL CHRONOLOGY LEADING TO  
THE ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

- January 1960 British discover strange installations being constructed in Cuba.
- March 1960 British reach conclusion offensive missile hard sites being constructed in Cuba.
- April 1960 (a) British inform U.S. State Department of missile site construction.
- (b) U.S. Press Attache to Havana Embassy, Paul Bethel, informed of missile site construction by friend.
- May 1960 (a) Mario Garcia Kohly agrees to accept help from CIA and starts forming United Organizations for the Liberation of Cuba.
- (b) Kohly turns over to CIA plans for new provisional government of Cuba and invasion plans for exiles.
- July 1960 Kohly's provisional government plan received by National Security Council.
- August 1960 Kohly's provisional government plan meets with favour by National Security Council.
- September 1960 (a) Kohly's provisional government plan given to Nixon and meeting arranged between Nixon, Kohly, and CIA.
- (b) Kohly's underground reports construction sites are definitely offensive missile construction.
- October 1960 (a) Kohly meets Vice President Nixon and CIA; makes deal on invasion and provisional government.
- (b) Morrow informed by Kohly of deal with Nixon and CIA.

Chronology  
2.

- November 1960 (a) Nixon loses presidential election to John F. Kennedy.
- (b) Kennedy briefed for first time on training program for Cuban exiles.
- (c) Kennedy not briefed on agreement between Kohly, Nixon, and CIA.
- January 1961 Kennedy takes over White House.
- March 1961 (a) Administration does not let CIA move on invasion plans.
- (b) Kennedy warned by Allen Dulles, it could be too late for successful invasion.
- April 1961 (a) Bay of Pigs invasion goes forward.
- (b) CIA honors Nixon deal with Kohly, holds Front leaders prisoners in Opa Locka.
- (c) Kennedy still does not know of deal between Kohly, Nixon, and CIA.
- (d) Kennedy holds off air cover.
- (e) Kohly pulls out underground and guerrilla force.
- (f) Hard proof of Cuban missile site construction provided CIA by Kohly's underground.
- May 1961 Morrow starts first peso counterfeiting operations for Kohly.
- June 1961 Kennedy rebriefed on increasing danger of Cuban missile capability.
- July 1961 (a) Kennedy warns Fidel Castro of first peso counterfeiting operation through his brother, Robert.
- (b) Start of crackdown on exile groups by Kennedy Administration while tacitly giving them support.

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Chronology

3.

- August 1961 Castro changes currency, thwarting exile plans for an economic coup.
- September 1961 (a) Administration suppression of exile activities through increases at rapid rate.
- September 1962 (b) Kennedy still does not acknowledge missile sites.
- (c) Kohly institutes new invasion plan that would utilize counterfeit pesos to buy off Castro's military.
- October 1962 (a) Missile crisis occurs; Kennedy reports missiles removed after blockade.
- (b) Underground reports missiles moved to permanent sites and are still intact.
- November 1962 Kohly reinstitutes new peso operation.
- December 1962 (a) Exiles frustrated by crackdown on activities. through
- August 1963 (b) Cuban exile invasion plans complete.
- September 1963 Counterfeit peso operation completed.
- October 1963 (a) Kennedy orders peso operation halted.
- (b) Kohly arrested in New York City with peso plates; Morrow arrested in Baltimore, Maryland. Both charged with counterfeiting, etc.
- (c) Right wing exiles infuriated and determine that as long as Kennedy remains alive, their chances for regaining Cuba are totally lost.
- (d) If assassination attempt successful, exiles feel blame could be placed on Castro, forcing new president to take military action.
- November 22, 1963 John F. Kennedy assassinated at 12:30 p.m. CST in Dallas, Texas.

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DISTRIBUTION II

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(CIA ASSASSINATION)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- REP. THOMAS DOWNING, D-VA., SAID MONDAY NEWLY-DISCLOSED MATERIAL COMPILED BY THE AUTHOR OF A BOOK ON THE DAY OF PIGS INVASION JUSTIFIES A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO REOPEN THE KENNEDY ASSASSINATION PROBE.

DOWNING GAVE A NEWS CONFERENCE A 73-PAGE PACKET COMPILED BY AUTHOR ROBERT MORROW, ENTITLED, "MOTIVATION BEHIND THE ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY," SUGGESTING RIGHT-WING CUBAN EXILES SOUGHT KENNEDY'S ASSASSINATION IN RETALIATION FOR HIS WITHDRAWAL OF AIR SUPPORT FOR THE DAY OF PIGS INVASION.

THE MATERIAL ALSO ALLEGED VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON WAS "THE CIA ACTION MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE" IN EARLIER STAGES OF PLANNING FOR THE DAY OF PIGS AND THAT NIXON HAD PROMISED A RIGHT-WING CUBAN EXILE LEADER HE COULD ELIMINATE LEFT-WING ANTI-CASTRO EXILES AFTER THE INVASION.

MORROW, AUTHOR OF "BEHIND BETRAYAL," A FICTIONALIZED ACCOUNT OF THE ABORTIVE INVASION AND SELF-DESCRIBED FORMER CIA CONTRACT EMPLOYEE, BROUGHT DOWN THE MATERIAL LAST WEEK.

THE MATERIAL INCLUDED THREE AFFIDAVITS, COPIES OF MEMORANDA, EXCERPTS FROM NIXON'S WHITE HOUSE TAPES AND COPIES OF LETTERS WHICH SHOWED THAT NIXON, WHILE A LAWYER IN THE 1960S, SERVED KOHLY, APPARENTLY WITHOUT FEE.

*over*  
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I believe this is not a CIA ~~document~~  
document but was presented to it by  
someone, probably Robert M. Jones.  
It is often incorrect.