

This document is made available through the declassification efforts
and research of John Greenewald, Jr., creator of:

The Black Vault



The Black Vault is the largest online Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)
document clearinghouse in the world. The research efforts here are
responsible for the declassification of hundreds of thousands of pages
released by the U.S. Government & Military.

Discover the Truth at: **<http://www.theblackvault.com>**



Agency Information

AGENCY : LBJ
RECORD NUMBER : 177-10001-10305

RECORD SERIES : VP SECURITY FILE, CUBA, MISC. PAPERS, 5/61 & 11-12/62, BOX 9

AGENCY FILE NUMBER :

Document Information

ORIGINATOR : CIA
FROM : CIA
TO :

TITLE :

DATE : 03/27/1963
PAGES : 44

SUBJECTS :
NEED SUBJECT ASSIGNED

DOCUMENT TYPE : REPORT
CLASSIFICATION : Unclassified
RESTRICTIONS : 1B
CURRENT STATUS : Redact
DATE OF LAST REVIEW : 06/04/1998

OPENING CRITERIA :

COMMENTS : DOC. #2

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Memorandum



CUBAN TRAINING OF
LATIN AMERICAN SUBVERSIVES

27 March 1963

SECRET

THIS MATERIAL CONTAINS INFORMATION AFFECT-
ING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES
WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE ESPIONAGE LAWS,
TITLE 18, USC, SECTIONS 793 AND 794, THE TRANSMIS-
SION OR REVELATION OF WHICH IN ANY MANNER TO
AN UNAUTHORIZED PERSON IS PROHIBITED BY LAW.

SECRET

27 March 1963

CUBAN TRAINING OF
LATIN AMERICAN SUBVERSIVES

SUMMARYPage 1

DISCUSSION

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|---|
| A. Recruitment of Trainees | 2 |
| B. Travel. | 2 |
| C. Numbers of Trainees | 4 |
| D. Training. | 5 |
| E. Subsequent Employment and Countermeasures | 6 |
| F. Purpose and Propaganda. | 7 |

ATTACHMENTS

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Argentina | 8 |
| Bolivia | 10 |
| Brazil. | 12 |
| Chile | 14 |
| Colombia. | 15 |
| Costa Rica. | 17 |
| Dominican Republic. | 18 |
| Ecuador | 20 |
| El Salvador | 22 |
| Guatemala | 23 |
| Haiti | 25 |
| Honduras. | 26 |
| Mexico. | 28 |
| Nicaragua | 30 |
| Panama. | 32 |
| Paraguay. | 34 |
| Peru. | 35 |
| Uruguay | 37 |
| Venezuela | 38 |
| Others. | 41 |

SECRET

SECRET

OCI No. 0515/63

27 March 1963

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

MEMORANDUM: Cuban Training of Latin American Subversives

SUMMARY

1. We estimate that at least 1,500 to 2,000 Latin Americans have received guerrilla training or political indoctrination in Cuba.
2. We have recorded the travel of 5,059 Latin Americans to Cuba in 1962, and reporting to date indicates that at least another 417 went during the first two months of 1963.
3. Field replies to a survey estimate that there were about 11,000 arrests in Latin America during the past 15 months for terrorism, sabotage, guerrilla activity, or other subversive activity. Only a small percentage of those arrested, however, were brought to trial; almost all were released after varying periods of detention.
4. Current efforts to improve and exploit reporting on travel to Cuba had not made themselves felt during the reporting period. The security services of Latin American countries accordingly were unable, with isolated individual exceptions, to establish Cuban direction, instigation or training of arrested subversives.
5. Incidence of guerrilla, terrorist, and sabotage activity at present is highest in Venezuela, Peru, and--in the form of largely non-political banditry--Colombia. There is sporadic guerrilla activity in and around Nicaragua and Guatemala, and a guerrilla potential in Ecuador and Brazil.

SECRET

SECRET

DISCUSSION

A. Recruitment of Trainees

1. Candidates for subversive training in Cuba are selected by the leftist organizations sponsoring such activity in their homeland. These organizations are not always Communist, particularly in countries where the regular Communist leadership is less militant than other extremist groups. One training group of Argentines included Peronists, Trotskyites, and Vanguard Socialists. A Peruvian group has sent to Cuba for extended guerrilla training youths who are not members of any organizations but have expressed leftist ideas.

2. In countries where there is Cuban diplomatic representation, candidates are screened by the embassy's G-2 officer. We have no information on how approval is granted in countries which have no diplomatic relations with Cuba.

B. Travel

1. There is a concerted effort to conceal or obscure the amount of travel to Cuba, the identities of the travelers, and the length of their stay. Documents are falsified and such devices as detachable visas, circuitous travel, and some surreptitious border crossing are used.

2. Since the October crisis, the only Western Hemisphere access to Cuba by scheduled airline has been through Mexico. Throughout the reporting period Mexican authorities have been photographing passports of travelers arriving from or leaving for Cuba, and relaying the information to interested OAS members. In some cases the travelers themselves have been photographed.

3. Cuban embassies, however, have been issuing visas on separate sheets of paper to avoid any record of Cuban travel in the passport. In addition, since some passports are fraudulent, the Mexican report of Cuban travel may neither reach the correct country nor permit identification. At this agency's suggestion, Mexican travel control authorities late in February began stamping passports to show arrival from or departure for Cuba. While this effectively counters the device of the detachable visa in the

SECRET

SECRET

case of legitimate passports, most Latin American countries have inadequate personnel and administrative machinery to scrutinize the passports of returning travelers.

4. Travel control in Mexico City logged 4,912 legal travelers to Cuba in 1962, and 969 in the first two months of 1963. (These figures do not cover access by other routes prior to the quarantine in 1962, and include Cubans as well as all other nationalities. Accordingly they do not correlate with totals for legal and illegal travel to Cuba derived from available reporting in the individual Latin American countries. It should also be noted that a "legal" traveler in Mexican reporting may be listed as an illegal traveler by his homeland, either because he had no authorization to visit Cuba, or because of fraudulent documentation.)

5. Anniversary celebrations, goodwill tours, and international conferences afford pretexts for travel to Cuba ostensibly unconnected with subversive training. Identities of trainees are usually protected by pseudonyms, at least during actual training, and the guerrilla candidate may return to his Havana hotel every few days to maintain a fiction of sightseeing. There have also been reports that trainees have for cover purposes attributed extended stays in Cuba to detention by Cuban police.

6. Prior to the October crisis, there was some direct travel to Cuba from Central American countries, and occasional Cubana charter flights, but the main jump-off points were Mexico City, Curacao, and Trinidad. A Canadian non-scheduled airline has operated a few flights between Canada and Havana, carrying both personnel and cargo. Cuban freighters call fairly regularly at Mexican ports, and some Latin American trainees could reach Cuba aboard Cuban ships picking up rice in British Guiana. There is small ship traffic, of unknown but limited extent, between Cuba and neighboring islands.

7. Soviet and Czech airlines continue transatlantic service to Cuba, and Iberian airlines on 11 February announced resumption of a schedule of two flights a month to Havana via the Azores. Aeroflot has occasionally sought and received permission

SECRET

SECRET

to land at Recife, Brazil, en route to Havana, and may have picked up some passengers

8. Controlled sources who have undergone guerrilla training, and a comparison of inbound and outbound travelers identified by travel controls make it clear that at least in the case of guerrilla trainees one leg of the travel is often by way of bloc countries and Western Europe. We know of Latin Americans given Cuban training who appear on no travel controls, suggesting that travel in both directions was either by way of the bloc or completely surreptitious.

9. A center providing funds and forged passports for travel to Cuba is known to exist in Montevideo, Uruguay. The Cubans are known to provide forged passports for some of the returning trainees. One group of Argentines returning through Prague and Western Europe was furnished with both Cuban and Ecuadorean passports, to be surrendered in Montevideo prior to re-entering Argentina.

C. Numbers of Trainees

1. Our estimate that 1,500 to 2,000 Latin Americans have received subversive training in Cuba is derived from a combination of travel information, debriefing of controlled sources who have taken training, penetrations of sponsoring organizations, and in a few cases from the records of cooperating Latin American security services.

2. Monitoring of travel into Cuba gives some indication of how many have stayed long enough to receive training, but does not permit differentiation between military training and political indoctrination. We cannot establish a hard total or be certain about length of visit because of travel via the bloc. Forged documentation obscures an accurate nationality breakdown of the travelers.

3. The hardest figures on guerrilla trainees by nationality are obtained from established and reliable sources who have access to such information through sponsoring organizations and in a number of cases have themselves taken such training in Cuba. We do not, however, have enough such sources to provide independently a comprehensive total of Latin America. Only a few of the local Latin American security services have adequate assets for contributing such information.

-4-

SECRET

SECRET

D. Training

1. The scope of training varies with the time available. One agent [redacted]

[redacted] received basic training covering cross-country movement of guerrillas, use and maintenance of weapons, and basic guerrilla tactics. Another clandestine source [redacted]

[redacted] devoted more than 10 weeks of training to weaponry, communications, the fortification of defense positions, combat tactics, general strategy, map-reading, security, and sabotage. Both men reported considerable time devoted to political indoctrination and physical conditioning.

2. One controlled agent reported that his entire group was required to fill out an extensive questionnaire aimed at developing targets in the homeland for sabotage, subversion of military and police, illegal entry and movement, operation of dummy business concerns to cover clandestine operations, and possible zones for air-drops.

3. Extensive use is made of Che Guevara's book on guerrilla warfare. The trainees also use a handbook by Alberto Bayo, former colonel in the Spanish Republican air force who trained the original guerrilla group with which Castro invaded the Sierra Maestra. Thousands of copies of these books, in Spanish or in Portuguese, have been printed or mimeographed and are circulating in Latin America. Some have been specifically revised for individual countries.

4. We also have reports of related courses of instruction, lasting as much as six to eight months, in such fields as espionage, psychological warfare, political action, agent communications, and military medicine. Some of the trainees are women.

5. Most of the instructors of the guerrilla warfare courses are Cuban. There are some reports of Spanish instructors. Del Bayo himself is too old to participate actively, but apparently has an "emeritus" connection. General Enrique Lister has been reported to be associated with guerrilla training. There have been a number of reports, without hard confirmation, that Soviet and satellite instructors handle some of the more sophisticated training in such matters as sabotage and espionage.

SECRET

6. Reports of trainees indicate that weapons training is confined to weapons they will be able to obtain, maintain, and replenish in their own countries. We have reliable and corroborative reports that trainees and sponsoring leaders alike have been told Cuba does not intend to supply appreciable quantities of weapons because a guerrilla must be self-sustaining. It should be noted that while Cuba does supply some funds, guerrilla handbooks also suggest that bank robberies make guerrillas self-sufficient in this respect. Leftist militants have in fact resorted to robberies in Peru, Venezuela, and Argentina

E. Subsequent Employment and Countermeasures

1. Clandestine reporting has established a number of incidents of sabotage, terrorism, guerrilla activity and other subversive action in which individuals known to have received training in Cuba have participated. The clearest cases involved the establishment of local guerrilla training camps by Ecuadoreans and Brazilians returning from training in Cuba. In each case, however, our evidence of the guerrilla training in Cuba comes from clandestine sources, there is no legal evidence of such Cuban instruction, and there has been no move to prosecute. All 48 arrested in Ecuador were released after short detention. Two individuals arrested in connection with the Peasant League training activities in Brazil are still known to be detained.

2. The records maintained by Latin American security services are inadequate and far from standardized, so that it has been difficult to establish a statistical approach to arrests for all types of subversive activities. Available reporting indicates at least 11,000 such arrests since 1 January 1962, but a survey shows that most of these arrests amounted to little more than detention and some interrogation. There were relatively few trials and convictions, probably not exceeding five per cent of arrests.

3. Some of those arrested were released for lack of evidence. In other cases, for example in Ecuador, Brazil, and in Peru until last January, there has been little evidence of any inclination on the part of the government to prosecute. In cases where trials have taken place, the local security services have frequently

SECRET

SECRET

been unable to establish any Cuban connection, as in the case of the 139 guerrillas tried in Venezuela last fall.

4. In the absence of a comprehensive statistical approach, information on arrests, trials, and the involvement of Cuban trainees in subversive activities is given in the individual country reports attached to this memorandum.

F. Purpose and Propaganda

1. Fidel Castro stated in July 1960: "We promise to continue making Cuba the example that can convert the Cordillera of the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the American continent." For the past year Cuban spokesmen have been taking the line in public that Cuba provides the example for Latin American revolution, with the implication that nothing more than guidance need be exported. In private, they have been offering training and financial and technical assistance to Latin American revolutionaries. While Cuba's economic dependence on the USSR restrains a wholehearted endorsement of the more militant Peiping attitude, Guevara and Education Minister Armando Hart insist both in public speeches and in private remarks to visiting Communists that "Socialism" can be brought about in Latin America only by force.

2. Direction and support by propaganda is on a massive scale. The work of Radio Havana and of the Prensa Latina news service is backed up by bulk mail and even air freight shipments. Postal and customs authorities in Panama, for instance, are destroying a monthly average of 12 tons of Cuban propaganda which is entering or being sent through Panama. Costa Rica averaged 10 tons in 1962.

3. Radio Havana's international service, started in May 1961, now leads all Latin American international services in program hours. It broadcasts a weekly total of 188 hours of propaganda in languages including Spanish, Portuguese, Haitian Creole, English, French, and Arabic. This includes 108-1/2 hours in Spanish to the Americas, 7 hours in Portuguese, 7 hours in Haitian, and 17-1/2 hours in English to the Western Hemisphere. It also originates black broadcasts on occasions such as the disorders in the Dominican Republic in late 1961, and makes transmitters available to Latin American exile groups.

Attached annexes discuss Cuban training of Latin American subversives on a country-by-country basis.

-7-
SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

ARGENTINA

1. About 500 Argentines are estimated to have traveled illegally to Cuba for training in subversive activities. One training group alone, given guerrilla warfare training over a six-month period in 1962, varied in number from 34 to 50. For the past four months departures from Argentina for Cuba have averaged 35-40 a month. [redacted] 80 of the 500 are known to have received guerrilla training; the number is probably considerably higher.

2. The federal district around Buenos Aires records no arrests for guerrilla activity. There were 155 arrests and three convictions for sabotage in 1962, and 14 arrests, but no convictions, to date in 1963. Records on terrorist activity show 468 cases, 60 arrests, and 27 convictions in 1962; 121 cases, two arrests and two convictions in 1963. Argentine police also list 628 arrests in 1962 and 1963 on the broader charge of "subversive activity."

3. Altogether police files show 1,285 incidents of sabotage or terrorism, of which 425 were committed by unknown persons. Police have no evidence that any of those arrested or convicted are known to have received training in Cuba.

4. None of the individuals known to have received extensive Cuban training hold influential positions, but the following individuals in position of influence have traveled to Cuba and may have received some training:

Fanny Edelman, former secretary-general of the Argentine Communist women's organization UMA, presently assigned to foreign liaison of the Argentine Communist Party.

Maria Josefa de Mastroberti, prominent member of the Cuban Solidarity Committee for Argentina.

Osaias Leon Schujman, director of the Federation of Communist Youth, national deputy for the Argentine

SECRET

SECRET

Communist Party, reportedly a supplier of false passports for travel to Cuba.

Jorge Francisco Timossi, former Argentine representative for Prensa Latina.

Hector Villalon, prominent Peronist close to Peron.

5. Argentine guerrilla training units in Cuba have been mixed, including Peronists, Communists, and Vanguard Socialists. There are indications that the most active recruitment is carried on by the Argentine Communist Party and by the Communist-influenced left wing of the Peronist movement, under the direction of John William Cooke in Cuba. His wife, Alicia Cooke, lives in Montevideo, Uruguay, which is the principal center providing funds and forged documentation for the recruits.

6. An Argentine taking a six-month course received training in weapons, marksmanship, explosives, ballistics, communications, strategy, tactics, sanitation, closed and open order drill, and construction of defenses. Weapons used included Mauser and Garand rifles, Brownings, Thompson submachineguns, bazookas, 81-mm mortars, and a 57-mm recoilless cannon.

SECRET

27 March 1963

BOLIVIA

1. About 500 Bolivians traveled legally to Cuba in 1962, and 25 in the first two months of 1963. There have been no arrests of pro-Cuban agitators for sabotage, terrorist, guerrilla, or other subversive activities in Bolivia to date.

2. We can identify by name 214 of the travelers to Cuba. The individuals who killed a number of anti-Communists during a pro-Cuban demonstration on 26 October 1962 were identified as having visited Cuba. Six of these agitators were indicted but released when government investigators placed the blame for the incident on anti-Communists.

3. Otherwise there have been no known incidents which might be attributed to Cuban training.

4. Zenon Barrientos Manani, a national deputy belonging to the Bolivian Communist Party (PCB), since his return from Cuba has been reported without confirmation to be organizing guerrilla forces among Bolivian peasants. The same untested source said Barrientos was active in supplying weapons to Peruvian guerrillas and had aided Peruvian guerrilla leader Hugo Blanco during a reported Bolivian visit by Blanco.

5. Other Bolivians in positions of influence who have been in Cuba long enough to receive training include:

Daniel Saravia Quiroz, secretary-general of the Bolivian Labor Confederation (COB). (Saravia, however, is reported to have changed his beliefs since his travel to England.)

Baldomero Castel, COB leader.

Oscar Salas, mine leader.

Oscar Sanjines, leader of the Cochabamba Labor Federation.

Ofelia Altamirano de Sabrabi, factory workers' leader.

-10-

SECRET

SECRET

Student and youth leaders Andres Soliz Rada, Dulfredo Rua, Walter Quisbert Barrios, and Alberto de la Barra.

PCB leading members Mario Manje and Hilario Claire.

Alcides Monasterios, national deputy of the left-wing sector of the governing National Revolutionary Movement (MNR).

6. In January 1963, there were 60 Bolivian scholarship students in Cuba who had attended compulsory 20-day courses of military instruction. The Cuban charge in Bolivia reportedly said last month that Cuba expected to give more than 80 scholarships to Bolivians in 1963.

7. The Bolivian government in June 1961, published documents purporting to prove that left extremists had been corresponding with the Cuban Embassy in an effort to obtain arms and instruction for pro-Castro "combat groups." While Bolivia has had extensive paramilitary formations ever since the MNR defeated the armed forces and seized control, and while the extreme left of the MNR in particular has strong militia units, we know of no paramilitary formations linked directly with Cuban subversion.

8. We assume, however, that some proportion of the 500 legal travelers received indoctrination while in Cuba.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

BRAZIL

1. Approximately 400 Brazilian nationals traveled legally to Cuba in 1962, and another 24 the first two months of 1963. A total of about 50 Brazilians are believed to have received specific guerrilla warfare training in Cuba, starting with a contingent of 12 men in July-August 1961. We know of 19 Brazilian specifically. A defecting Cuban army officer who claims to have run a base for guerrilla training reports that 37 Brazilians took courses there at a time which does not coincide with the 19 cases in our records.

2. At least four of the guerrilla trainees in the original contingent of 12 were connected with the guerrilla training camps of the Brazilian Peasant Leagues, exposed by the Varig air crash documents. At least six such camps were established, and each was to have 30 men and at least one leader trained in Cuba. Only one of the Cuban trainees is known to have been arrested. Altogether there were only three arrests, although 24 additional warrants were issued.

3. All of the Brazilians we can identify as guerrilla trainees have come from the regular or the dissident Communist party or the Marxist-oriented Peasant Leagues of Francisco Juliao. Trainees sent by the Leagues were in some cases also members of the regular Communist party.

4. Brazilians in positions of influence known to have received training in Cuba include:

Clodomir dos Santos Moraes, number two man in the Peasant Leagues, and principal agent in setting up the training camps; still in custody.

Joaquim Ferreira, Pedro Motta Barros, Rivadiva Braz de Oliveira, and Amaro Luiz de Carvalho, Peasant League leaders. (Ferreira, a lawyer, is a former economist for SUDENE, development agency for the impoverished northeast. Barros and de Oliveira are also student leaders, and Barros is a Communist Party youth leader.)

SECRET

SECRET

Florentino Alcantara de Moraes, Pernambuco state leader of the regular Communist Party of Brazil.

Carlos Danielli, Angel Arroyo, Mauricio Grabois, and Joao Amazonas, leaders of the dissident Communist Party.

-13-

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

CHILE

1. There were 551 legal travelers from Chile to Cuba in 1962, and another 110 in the first two months of 1963. (Anniversary celebrations tend to make travel in January higher than the monthly average.) In addition, field reports show about 400 illegal travelers in 1962, under a definition which lists nationals of one country who obtain their Cuban visas in a third country as "illegal."

2. We have no hard clandestine evidence of Chilean guerrilla trainees. A defecting Cuban army lieutenant has told reporters that a base he commanded gave 19 Chileans guerrilla training in late 1961. Since neither travel to Cuba nor the large Communist party is illegal in Chile, a Chilean national has little reason, other than the intention to take subversive training, to conceal travel to Cuba. On this basis it would appear to be a safe assumption that more than half of the illegal travelers probably received military or political indoctrination.

3. The only known arrests in the past 15 months for subversive activity took place in October 1962, when five members of the Progressive Socialist Movement (MSP) were arrested following an explosion while they were assembling bombs in a downtown Santiago apartment. Four of the five were released after three days; the fifth, whose hand had been blown off, was given a jail sentence. The bombs were to have been used against the U.S. embassy.

4. Julio Stuardo, leader of the MSP and one of those arrested, had traveled to Cuba, but is not known to have received any particular training. He had been photographed prior to the bombing incident with Cuban embassy officials believed to be intelligence officers.

5. There are no Chileans in positions of influence who are known to have received training in Cuba. However leftist Senator Salvador Allende, the probable FRAP candidate in the next presidential election, has made numerous visits to Cuba.

-14-

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

COLOMBIA

1. We have record of about 400 Colombians who traveled to Cuba legally during the past year, and no record of any illegal travel. Approximately 100 appear on manifests via Curacao, and 65 via Mexico City. Travel information on the remaining 235 is based on agent reports and

2. Of these 400, 37 are reported to have received training in guerrilla warfare, one in counterintelligence, and one attended a staff or cadre school.

3. Most of those selected for training are members of either the United Front for Revolutionary Action (FUAR) or the Worker-Student-Peasant Movement (MOEC). Both are made up of revolutionaries, dissident Communists, and recruits from the ranks of labor, students, and the unemployed lower classes. Both receive Cuban financial support, and are attempting--without appreciable success to date--to coordinate operations with the bandit gangs terrorizing the violence areas of Colombia.

4. Two guerrilla leaders imprisoned in 1961--Eddie Aristizabal of MOEC and Tulio Bayer--and one killed in 1961--Antonio Larotta of MOEC--were reported to have received guerrilla warfare training in Cuba. Larotta's training was in 1959.

5. Colombian army statistics (which the U.S. army attaché considers on the high side because of the statistical procedures used) list 2,582 rural bandits captured and 1,029 individuals detained on suspicion of involvement in rural banditry in 1962, and 300 captured and 134 detained in the first two months of 1963. The Colombian army has no statistics on subsequent trials, but on the basis of past experience it is estimated that about two percent of all those arrested and detained--i.e., about 80 persons--were convicted and sentenced. The bandits are not considered guerrillas in a political sense, although some Cuban propaganda has been found on dead bandits. There were 388 bandits killed in rural areas in 1962, and 89 in 1963.

-15-

SECRET

SECRET

6. According to official records, there were 13 terrorist attempts in Colombia during 1962, in the course of which nine terrorists were captured, and one was killed. Three of those captured--all members of FUAR--were convicted. One of the three, Alvaro Santiago Paz of Cali, is known to have traveled to Cuba. To date in 1963 there have been 15 terrorist attempts, including eight in Bogota. There have been 16 captured and one killed in Bogota preparing or attempting terrorist acts. One terrorist, identified as a FUAR member, was convicted in Cali. One terrorist, not yet identified, was captured in Medellin.

7. Santiago is the only captured subversive known to have been in Cuba. Three leading members of MOEC--Aristizabal, mentioned above; Pedro Abella; and Fabio Molino--are known to have received training in Cuba.

SECRET

27 March 1963

COSTA RICA

1. A total of 216 Costa Ricans visited Cuba in 1962. As many as 30 probably received paramilitary training.

2. In February, 1963, 21 Costa Ricans returned from visits of four to six months. It has been reliably established that nine of them were trained as instructors in guerrilla warfare, and one was trained as an organizer and instructor for militia training. The length of stay suggests that the remaining 11 also received paramilitary instruction. Three other Costa Ricans, including one woman, known to have gone to Cuba for such training are not yet reported to have returned to Costa Rica.

3. Two Costa Rican Communist leaders are reported independently by fairly reliable sources to have stated that guerrilla warfare training camps are to be established in Costa Rica. The purely Costa Rican aspect makes this a new development; guerrilla activity in Costa Rica hitherto has centered in the relatively wild and lightly policed northeastern frontier area, and has been targeted against Nicaragua.

4. There have been no arrests for sabotage, terrorism, or guerrilla activity in Costa Rica. About 50 have been temporarily detained for subversive activity, and one individual was arrested and jailed for one year. (This does not include about 30 suspected subversives detained during President Kennedy's visit.)

5. Nineteen of the 30 Costa Ricans believed to have received guerrilla training in Cuba are known by name. Of the 19, the only ones in positions of influence are Oscar Morera Madrigal, San Jose physician, and Modesto Ruiz Ruiz, leader of the Communist labor union in the banana zone.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

1. The Dominican Republic in 1962 and 1963 arrested 120 persons for sabotage, terrorism, or other subversive activity. Of these, 45 were held for an appreciable time, tried, or sentenced. This includes 33 who were deported. Of these, three are known or believed to have received training in Cuba.

2. There were 15 incidents in all, five of which are considered to have been inspired by Cuban trainees. The remainder were caused by people not believed to have had any Cuban training.

3. There is no hard evidence of legal or illegal travel from the Dominican Republic to Cuba since 1 January 1962, although some of the deportees may have returned from Europe to Cuba. The best available estimate is that about 25 Dominicans may have gone to Cuba illegally. We have an unconfirmed report that three Dominicans went to Cuba for guerrilla training, and 12 others are believed to have stayed long enough for appreciable training or indoctrination.

4. Individuals in positions of influence, known or believed to have received training in Cuba, include:

Juan Ducoudray Mansfield of the Dominican Communist party.

Rafael Faxas Canto of the leftist 14th of June group.

Gustavo Machado Baez, director of the Agrarian Reform Institute (rumored to have been trained in Cuba, but we have no previous traces.)

Labor leaders Jose Estrella and Jacobo Armach.

Student leader Luis Gomex Perez.

-18-

SECRET

SECRET

Tomas Parmenio Erickson Alvarez, a leader of the pro-Communist MPD party.

Andres Ramos Peguero, MPD, recently sentenced to 30 years in prison

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

ECUADOR

1. In 1962 there were an estimated 208 legal travelers from Ecuador to Cuba, including 50 who went for sports events. As of December, about 80 members of Communist and Communist-front youth groups had been in Cuba since June undergoing guerrilla training.

2. Travel reports showed 40 to 60 Ecuadoreans entering Cuba through Mexico in the first two months of 1963.

3. At least 15 Ecuadoreans trained in Cuba are known to have engaged in paramilitary activities of a training nature following their return.

4. Army forces in April 1962 rounded up 48 members of URJE, a Communist-front youth group, at a training camp 50 miles west of Quito. Seven of those arrested had been trained in Cuba. None of the 48 was tried, and none was held for more than six weeks. This was the group whose leaders the Communists subsequently expelled from URJE amid published charges that they had wasted \$44,000 in Cuban funds.

5. Including the 48 URJE guerrillas, there have been an estimated 75 arrests in 1962 and 1963 for guerrilla and terrorist activity, distribution of Communist propaganda, and painting of Communist slogans on walls. All of the propagandists were released after several days of detention.

6. There have been three known terrorist attempts, including the bombing of a theater and a radio station. Most of the participants are identified in clandestine reporting. They include several who have probably had training in Cuba.

7. Ecuadoreans in positions of influence who have had training in Cuba include URJE leaders Mario Vera Arrata, Jefferson Quevedo, Enrique Medina, Carlos Alvarado Llor, and Milton Mejia; and Efraim Alvarez Fiallos, secretary-general of the Ecuadorean Communist Youth (JCE) and JCE leader Ketty Romoleroux.

-20-

SECRET

SECRET

8. We estimate that there are at present about 200 men in paramilitary units. Four corroborative reports establish that the regular Communist Party of Ecuador is forming a paramilitary command of 10 squads of 10 men each scattered throughout the country.

9. Cuban travel does not show in Ecuadorean passports, and is primarily by way of Mexico. There are seven recorded cases of travel via Prague, and two via Paris.

SECRET

27 March 1963

EL SALVADOR

1. Approximately 100 Salvadorans traveled to Cuba in 1962, and eight more have gone in 1963. Most of them attended party meetings or celebrations for one or two weeks. About 20 continued to Bloc countries. There is no evidence that any received guerrilla training or extensive political indoctrination.

2. Since passage of a new law in September, 1962, Salvadoran authorities have been arresting returning Salvadorans suspected of having gone to Cuba. Several now are in jail awaiting trial. Almost all Salvadoran travel to Cuba is through Mexico with detachable Cuban visa. A number of Salvadorans have remained in Cuba because of the police crackdown in El Salvador.

3. There are no known paramilitary units or related activity.

4. There have been 196 recorded arrests since the beginning of 1962 for terrorist or subversive activities. None of those arrested has been convicted or even tried, but 66 were held for an appreciable time--about 15 for as long as nine months. We believe that three of those arrested had had some type of training in Cuba. There is no record of any arrests for guerrilla or sabotage activity.

5. Records show a total of 25 subversion incidents: eight by unknown persons; three involving individuals believed to have received training in Cuba; and 14 involving persons not believed or known to have had any Cuban training.

6. Other than two prominent Communist labor leaders, Luis Felipe Cativo and Jose Delfino Perez, Cuban trainees are not known to have any positions of influence in El Salvador.

-22-

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

GUATEMALA

1. There were about 80 illegal travelers from Guatemala to Cuba in 1962, of whom we believe 20 to 30 received training in guerrilla and sabotage techniques. Identified trainees have remained in hiding since their return. Guatemalan Communists have contingency plans for paramilitary operations, but have been waiting for other elements to create a favorable opportunity for such action.

2. Cuba in the past has furnished funds for illicit purchase of weapons by non-Communist elements, such as the "13 November" movement of ex-Lieutenant Yon Sosa, which has sporadically undertaken unsuccessful military operations against Guatemalan army garrisons. The Cubans have cited the greater militancy of non-Communist groups in explaining such funding operations to the Guatemalan Communists.

3. Cuba gives asylum to former Guatemalan President Arbenz and other leading members of his regime, and affords them propaganda facilities.

4. Arrest statistics in Guatemala are inconclusive because of the waves of detentions during periods of tension. During nearly daily disturbances in January-March 1962 in which an estimated 40 were killed, for example, about 1,000 were arrested under state of siege. A few were exiled to El Salvador, but most of those arrested were released after several days.

5. Similarly, there were a number of arrests on charges of terrorism or subversion during the first half of 1962, but no trials. Communists inspired and controlled most of the street disturbances, but the mobs were made up of all anti-regime elements, and no known incidents can be attributed to the individuals trained in Cuba. Numerous copies of Che Guevara's handbook for guerrillas were passed out early in 1962 to serve as a "do-it-yourself" handbook on sabotage and terrorism.

SECRET

SECRET

6. There have been an estimated 60 incidents, ranging from the almost daily explosion of homemade bombs in some periods to the assassination of the judicial police chief, dynamiting of a water reservoir, and sabotage of a gasoline storage tank. The government has attributed almost all such acts to "Castro-Communists." Cuban trainees were very probably involved, but there is no good evidence of identity.

7. On 12 March 1962 Guatemalan troops encountered a group of 20 Communist guerrillas near Salama, and killed 18. Members of this group may possibly have been trained in Cuba. On 27 March 1962 the army captured 10 guerrillas infiltrated from Mexico, where they had been organized and supplied by Guatemalan Communist exiles with the knowledge of the Cuban embassy. This group was held for military court martial, and there has been no further word of disposition.

8. Five Communists arrested in early December in the act of posting propaganda were released after several days of detention. On 14 February 1963, 13 Communists, including two members of the central committee, were arrested on charges of subversion and planning an insurrection, and are still held. Several of these had traveled to Cuba, but there is no evidence of any training.

9. The reported leader of the Guatemalans known to have received guerrilla warfare training in Cuba, Ricardo Ramirez de Leon, returned to Guatemala alone on 17 April 1962 and went underground. He was most recently reported scouting the Salama area for possible arms cache sites. The Guatemalan Communists recently formed a "military commission," divided into secret cells, to direct insurrectional activity, possibly due to begin in June or July.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

HAITI

1. There is no firm evidence on legal or illegal travel from Haiti to Cuba. The traffic, if any, is probably small. We believe there is clandestine movement by small boat between the two countries.

2. More than 50,000 Haitians live in eastern Cuba, concentrated around Santiago. Most are employed as cane field laborers.

3. Exile sources claim that 400 of these workers have been trained for subversive activities and that some of the trainees have already returned to Haiti. We have no supporting evidence, however, have detected no returning trainees, and know of no pro-Castro paramilitary groups in Haiti.

4. There are two clandestine Communist parties in Haiti. The leader of one of them, Rene Depestre, is in Cuba and reportedly works on Cuban propaganda beamed at Haiti.

5. The only known incident involving Communists was an attempted demonstration at the U.S. Embassy on 31 October. Advance warning from a clandestine source [redacted] who said the instructions for the demonstration came from Cuba, enabled police to forestall the incident. Several of the youths involved may have been detained briefly by the police.

6. No Haitian occupying any position of influence is known to have received any training in Cuba.

-25-

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

HONDURAS

1. There were 92 legal travelers from Honduras to Cuba in 1962 and 21 to date in 1963. Twelve travelers continued to Soviet bloc countries. Most of the travel to Cuba was for one or two weeks, precluding any extensive paramilitary training, but a definite correlation can be established between the return of Hondurans from Cuban visits and the intensity of propaganda and labor agitation. Honduran exiles in Cuba carry on a virulent propaganda campaign over Radio Havana, calling for revolution.

2. There are no known Honduran paramilitary formations, and other Central American Communists are known to have criticized the Honduran Communist Party for lack of militancy. The PCH obtained a series of 16 different military manuals in October, 1962, including manuals on the use of the carbine, explosives, and demolition techniques.

3. As in the case of Costa Rica, there are guerrilla units of Nicaraguan exiles based in thinly patrolled Honduran frontier areas, receiving support from Cuba and raiding sporadically into Nicaragua in the hope of sparking a mass uprising. One group under Carlos Fonseca Amador has about 40 men.

4. Since 1 January 1962, there have been only two arrests for subversive activity in Honduras. Neither man is known to have received training in Cuba, and both were released after short detention without trail. Three other individuals have been charged with subversive activity but no action was taken.

5. Hondurans in leading organizational positions known or believed to have received training in Cuba include:

Labor: Manuel Noe Rodriguez Reyes, Floresmila Castro, Luis Banegas Izaguirre, Sebastian Suazo Lopez, Jesus Otavio Hernandez, Darios Hector Toledo, Regina de Lainez, Anibal Moradelo, Felex Vanencia, Ramon Sabillon Orellana, and Guadalupe Reyes.

-26-

SECRET

SECRET

Students: Randolph Espinsosa Mourra, Rolando Orellano Cruz, Oscar Duron, Ulises Ekonomo Torres, Carlos Falck Contreras, Jorge Arturo Reina Idiaquez, Leonidas Velasquez Funes, and Rodil Rivera Rodil.

Communist Party: Dionisio Bejarano Ramos, Luis Manuel Zuniga, Agapito Robledo Castro, Rigoberto Padilla Rush, Feliciano Protillo Lara, Gustavo Andara Bulnes, Sebastian Suazo Lopez, Longino Becerra, Mario Sosa Navarro, Luis Andres Pineda Villalabos, and Rodolfo Aguiluz Berlioz.

Women: Antonia Suazo Bulnes, Gladas Tablada Ortiz, Rosa Suarez de Moncada, Diana Maria Gomez, and Constanza HH. Caballero.

Education: Medardo Mejia Paniagua and Mariano Mendez Avila.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

MEXICO

1. Mexican nationals traveling to Cuba totaled 238 in 1962 and 157 in the first two months of 1963.

2. A fairly reliable source reported in mid-1962 that about 150 Mexicans were receiving guerrilla training at Minas del Frio, Cuba. A defecting Cuban Army lieutenant told the press in Brazil that 70 Mexicans were trained at his base at San Julian in late 1961. These reports are regarded with reserve, however, particularly in the light of our knowledge that Cuba does not wish to damage its relations with Mexico as long as Mexico City is the principal Cuban "window" to Latin America.

3. Arrests for subversive activities have not been numerous. In the most recent case, six professors and two students at the University of Morelia were arrested for participation in Fidelista protests over the dismissal of the University's Communist rector. One teacher, a Guatemalan Communist militant who visited Havana for 17 days in 1961, is still imprisoned and will probably be deported. Another professor had probably visited Cuba.

4. A Nicaraguan Communist was deported in January and an Argentine Communist newsman in November 1962 for pro-Castro activities. Two Cubans were arrested on arrival in February 1962 and deported as agitators.

5. Mexican government agents on 24 May 1962 killed Ruben Jaramillo, Mexican Communist and guerrilla fighter, at Morelos, and subsequently arrested one of his guerrilla associates, Jorge Martinez Rosillo, who had been a friend of Raul Castro since the Castros' training period in Mexico. Jaramillo had been invited to Cuba in 1961, but there is no record of his travel; Martinez Rosillo was in Havana for 20 days in 1961.

6. Communist factions have touched off numerous disturbances at the national university in Mexico City and provincial universities. Anti-Communist

-28-

SECRET

SECRET

students charge that direction, material, and financial support for these disturbances is channeled through students who have received training in agitation while visiting Cuba as "athletes." More than 50 Mexican students attended the Latin American University Games in Cuba last October.

7. Mexican authorities continue to confiscate large amounts of propaganda from travelers returning from Cuba. For example, three students at Morelia attempted to bring 100 kilograms of propaganda material into Mexico on 31 August 1962.

8. Mexicans who have visited Cuba and probably received training or directives include more than 30 prominent writers, teachers, and leftist party leaders.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

NICARAGUA

1. About 75 Nicaraguans have traveled to Cuba during the past 18 months. Nicaraguan security authorities list 22 as known to have received guerrilla warfare training there.

2. Of the 22, eight were arrested when they returned to Nicaragua to carry on anti-Somoza activities. Two have been sentenced to prison and the other six were released after interrogation.

3. Cuba has dealt with, financed, and supported a succession of Nicaraguan exile movements, but Guevara recently told visiting Central American Communists that none of these had developed a satisfactory level of popular support. Nicaraguan exiles maintain small guerrilla bands across the borders in both Costa Rica and Honduras, making sporadic incursions, but to date they have evoked no internal support and have been effectively rounded up or driven back by the Nicaraguan National Guard.

4. Eight Nicaraguans were tried in June, 1962, for conducting terrorist training. They were caught while studying the manufacture of bombs under an instructor trained in Cuba. Nicaraguan authorities seized arms, ammunition, explosives, and 700 pounds of propaganda. A Nicaraguan found with an arms cache in April 1962 reportedly told interrogators the arms had come from Cuba. A Nicaraguan who had gone to Cuba in mid-1962, ostensibly for a surgical operation, was caught shortly after his return with supplies of explosives intended for terrorist bombings.

5. Altogether there have been five major subversive incidents in Nicaragua since 1 January 1962, four of which involved individuals known or believed to have received training in Cuba. Perpetrators of the fifth incident are unknown. A total of 41 persons were arrested. Nineteen were held for an appreciable time, and 14 were tried and sentenced. Seven of the total 41 are known or believed to have been trained in Cuba.

-30-

SECRET

SECRET

6. A number of minor incursions into Nicaragua, mainly from the Honduran border, have been mounted by the Cuban-supported, Communist-dominated National Liberation Front (FLN). At least nine of the FLN members engaged in these raids are known or believed to have had Cuban training.

7. Influential Nicaraguans known to be believed to have received indoctrination and training in Cuba include:

Carlos Adan Perez Bermudez, Eligio Alvarez, Montalvan, and Reinaldo Viquez Ruiz, leaders of both the Nicaraguan Communist Party (PSN) and the Communist-front Republican Mobilization (MR).

Francisco Rolando Alvarado Lopez, (PSN) leader of the Communist labor front. (In custody)

Ricardo Francisco Osejo Zeledon, Orlando Quinones Torres, and Guillermo Andres Baltodano Serrano, youth front leaders influential among students.

Juan Jose Lorio Garcia, PSN central committee member.

Adrian Sanchez Sancho, Communist labor leader (still in Cuba.)

Abdul Sirker Urroz, PSN leader (believed still in Cuba.)

FLN leaders Marco Antonio Melendez Delgado (in custody,) Socrates Noel Flores Vivas, Ivan Sanchez Arguello, Orlando Quant Quintana, and German Pomares Ordonez.

8. Agapito Fernandez Garcia, a federal deputy of the Nicaraguan Conservative Party, was in Cuba for 10 days during the January anniversary celebration and may have received some form of instruction or indoctrination.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

PANAMA

1. Panama lists 56 legal travelers to Cuba in 1962 and two thus far in 1963. Altogether, however, 64 Panamanians are identified, on the basis of their political backgrounds and known length of stay in Cuba, as probably having gone to Cuba for either political indoctrination or guerrilla training. Of these 64, 38 almost certainly received guerrilla training.

2. Eighteen guerrilla trainees returned to Panama in February, 1963, after stays of four to six months. Six were detained briefly by the Panamanian security service, and the 12 others who returned a few days later were not arrested.

3. Training for Panamanians apparently started at least as far back as 1961. A guerrilla trainee from another country, attending a course with five Panamanians in July, 1961, was told by Cuban instructors that the Panamanians were being given more rigorous training than other nationals because they had special sabotage assignments in the Canal Zone.

4. We have, however, no indication of any paramilitary groups, activity, or training in Panama.

5. Panamanian security authorities maintain no statistics on subversive incidents, and many are not reported to central authority. There have been a considerable number of minor incidents, mainly by unknown perpetrators. Other than continuing sabotage activity against the United Fruit Company installations in Chirique Province, the most spectacular incident was the brief declaration of revolt last August by Manuel Jose Hurtado, a former Panamanian major, and 16 adherents. Hurtado, a strong anti-Communist, was motivated by personal problems.

6. Since 1 January 1962, there have been about 67 individuals arrested, some of them repeatedly, for subversive activities. Of this group, eight are known

-32-

SECRET

SECRET

to have received training in Cuba. Some of the arrests were made to forestall subversive activity.

7. Panamanians in positions of influence known to have received training in Cuba include:

Narcisco Cubas Perez and Cesar Jose Dubois, leaders of the Vanguardia de Accion Nacional (VAN) which hopes to take part in 1964 elections.

Peasant leaders Leovilgildo Barrias de Garcia and Leonidas Alveo.

Leftist student activists Rolando Ernesto Carrasquilla, Jose Modesto Herrera, and Herminio Garrido.

Eliseo de la Hoz, Communist student leader.

Labor leaders Lacides Ceballos, Andres Galvan, Inocencio Garibaldi, Victor Manuel Lombardo, Jack White, and Jose del Carmen Serracin, the latter a leader of Chiriqui Province banana workers.

Jorge Pena and Felix Gonzalez, Communist leaders among the San Blas Indians.

Ezequiel Rios, municipal leader of La Chorrera.

8. In addition, the following are believed to have received training or guidance in Cuba:

Thelma King, national assembly deputy, who boasts of close personal friendship with Fidel Castro and has visited Cuba five times in the past year.

Senior VAN leader Jorge Enrique Turner Morales.

Miguel Porcell and Ruperto Luther Thomas, Communist leaders at the national level.

Alvaro Menendez Franco, member of the municipal council of Panama.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

PARAGUAY

1. About 60 Paraguayan nationals traveled to Cuba in 1962. It is estimated that over the past two years as many as 120 have been in Cuba long enough to receive appreciable political or military training. The preponderance of Paraguayan nationals visiting Cuba are political exiles living in Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil.

2. The Paraguayan Government forbids its nationals to visit Cuba, but cannot control travelers who visit neighboring countries which have Cuban missions and then proceed illegally to Cuba.

3. There are no reports that paramilitary trainees are active inside Paraguay. There is considerable evidence that some returnees have joined exile formations waiting on the Paraguayan border for a favorable occasion for incursions.

4. Since January, 1962, at least 1,000 persons have been arrested for guerrilla, sabotage, terrorist or other subversive activity, but only an estimated 140 were held for any appreciable length of time. We know of only one scheduled for trial, and none of those arrested is known to have received training in Cuba.

5. Most of the arrests have stemmed from about 10 major incidents, of which two involved sabotage and terrorism, one guerrilla activity, and the remainder subversion. There is a rumor that the unknown individual who placed a bomb in an Incarnacion bank had been trained in Cuba. Perpetrators of the other incidents have been identified, and none is known or believed to have received any training in Cuba.

6. Federico Tatter and Anibal Garcete were reported to have returned from Cuba in late 1962, Tatter to take over military direction of the United Front for National Liberation (FULNA), and Garcete to organize cane workers. We know of no other Cuban trainees who may be in positions of influence among Paraguayans.

-34-

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

PERU

1. At least 181 Peruvians visited Cuba in 1962 on visits long enough to permit indoctrination, and according to an agent who participated, more than 150 of them were given guerrilla training. Following the training, 90 of these were designated by Peruvian leftist militant leaders as members of the "Peruvian National Liberation Army."

2. Over the past two years more than 235 Peruvians have been identified as travelers to Cuba. Last December two top Peruvian Communists said that over the past year the militant Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) had sent 200 to 300 Peruvians to Cuba, in groups of 12 to 15, for guerrilla training.

3. An estimated total of some 5,000 persons have taken part in acts of sabotage, terrorism, assaults on police outposts, bank robberies, land invasions, destruction of haciendas, strike violence, and riots. The ruling junta in January launched a major round-up and arrested 729 Communists and leftists, of whom we estimate that 50 to 100 may have been trained in Cuba. There are still 209 in jail, of whom only one is a known Cuban guerrilla trainee. The junta has announced a series of mass trials to be held in Lima and provincial centers, charging the violence was part of a Soviet-Cuban conspiracy to make Peru a Communist state. In the course of the violence there have been 18 killed, including four police, and 165 wounded.

4. Out of a total of 137 recorded acts of violence, 49 were clearly sponsored or controlled by Communist elements. Three Cuban nationals and four Peruvians trained in Cuba were identified among leaders of the striking miners who caused damage estimated at \$4,000,000 to the Cerro de Pasco smelter at La Oroya in December. The Cubans have not been apprehended.

5. The violence in the Quillabamba-Cuzco-Puno area is attributed to the Indian and peasant guerrillas of Hugo Blanco. Local officials estimate Blanco's force at 2,000, but this is probably an exaggeration. Blanco and his lieutenants are not known to be Cuban-trained or Cuban-supplied.

-35-

SECRET

SECRET

6. Some of the 158 guerrillas known to have been trained in Cuba have been in hiding and inactive ever since the January round-up, and others are known to be waiting outside the country. The MIR leader, Luis de la Puente Uceda, was believed to be in Cuba and now is in Europe.

7. Guerrilla groups have sporadically attacked police stations for weapons, and robbed banks for funds. MIR members teamed with common criminals in April 1962 in a \$100,000 bank robbery in a suburb of Lima, dividing the proceeds 50-50. Part of the loot is believed to have reached Hugo Blanco. MIR has brought in from Cuba a reported 5,000 copies of a special miniature edition of Alberto Bayo's guerrilla handbook. There is also a manual on guerrilla operations based on Bayo's and Guevara's books but written specifically for Peru.

8. Peruvian police in March 1962 broke up a small guerrilla training operation and determined that among those arrested, one was a former resident of Cuba, another had received Cuban training in clandestine operations, and a third, caught with radio equipment, admitted having used it to communicate with Cuba. The local guerrilla candidates were issued kits including rifles of Czech manufacture. All of those arrested were soon released, but some were re-arrested in the January round-up.

9. Prominent Peruvians who may have received indoctrination on visits to Cuba include nine student and youth leaders including two presidents of student organizations; seven leading journalists; three labor union leaders; and nine former members of parliament.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

URUGUAY

1. There were about 115 legal travelers to Cuba from Uruguay in 1962, and an additional 20-25 in January 1963. About 25, mainly Paraguayan exiles resident in Uruguay, are believed to have traveled illegally.

2. Probably no significant portion of the Uruguayan travelers went for guerrilla warfare training. Cuba apparently wants to preserve Montevideo, which is host to the most extensive Communist diplomatic missions in all South America, as a gateway and base of operations, as in the case of Mexico.

3. Cuban subversion activity oriented toward Uruguay appears to consist largely of developing and maintaining enough political action and propaganda assets to counter any Uruguayan inclination to oust or restrict the activities of Cuban and Bloc missions.

4. The only arrests for sabotage occurred during the recent electricity and telephone strike, which arose from worker grievances and had no Cuban connection. All of those arrested were released within a week.

-37-

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

VENEZUELA

1. We have no acceptable figure on Venezuelan travel to Cuba. [redacted] maintain no records, and have no such capability.
2. Reports from travel control points show 128 Venezuelan nationals traveling to Cuba, but only 48 returning. The names of most of those returning do not appear on the lists of those who went to Cuba. In the few cases where round-trip travel can be established, the stay was generally short. We must conclude that Venezuelans who went to Cuba for training traveled at least one way, and in some known instances both, clandestinely.
3. On the basis of usually reliable agent reports, we believe that more than 200 Venezuelans received guerrilla warfare training in Cuba in 1962. Castro has made it plain that he assigns the first priority for revolution to Venezuela.
4. At present there are probably about 100 men involved in the Venezuelan Communist Party (PCV) paramilitary command attempting to terrorize the Federal District of Caracas. Sources [redacted] estimate there are another 300 guerrillas in the field, although we know of no more than 150, in small units of about 20 men, who are under coordinated PCV command. Including terrorist groups of university students and paramilitary party formations in Maracaibo and other large cities, the total number involved in violence probably does not exceed 600. Only seven known to be engaged in these operational are known to have been in Cuba long enough for training.
5. The PCV, however, in the first months of 1963 has proven itself capable of implementing the terrorist and sabotage operations which last October it could only plan. Organization and coordination have improved, and sabotage has reached a level of sophistication in technique and materials which implies either the presence of outside experts or else a highly advanced stage of training.

-38-

SECRET

SECRET

6. The guerrillas committed themselves to field operations prematurely in 1962 and, denied support or sympathy by the peasantry who are strongly pro-Betancourt, were rounded up or dispersed. A total of 139 were tried by special military courts last fall following the Puerto Cabello and Carupano revolts. More than 110 were given substantial prison sentences. Four at the most are believed to have been in Cuba long enough to receive training.

7. Altogether there have been an estimated 1,000 to 1,500 arrests since the beginning of 1962, but there have been no trials or jail sentences other than those of the guerrillas mentioned above. All others were held for varying lengths of time, most of them for less than 90 days. Most of those arrested have been released either for lack of evidence, or by civil judges who are generally either inefficient or open to corruption. Possibly 50 of those arrested may have received some training in Cuba, but government interrogators have so far been unable to obtain any admission of Cuban training, and no travel records are maintained which would give leads for such interrogation.

8. The number of incidents leading to arrests are estimated at 250. The principal incidents have been the uprisings of the Puerto Cabello and Carupano garrisons; the October/November sabotage of the Lake Maracaibo oilfields; the hijacking of the freighter Anzoategui in February and the earlier theft of five French paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts; burning of the Sears-Roebuck warehouse and dynamiting of highway bridges in February; pipeline sabotage in March; the recent capture of two PCV paramilitary groups; a bank robbery in February by men wearing the armband of the Communist "Armed Forces of National Liberation" (FALN); and the indiscriminate shooting in Caracas in January and February in the wave of terrorism designed to deter Betancourt's visit to Washington.

9. The majority of the Communist-directed incidents have been carried out by members of the PCV paramilitary groups who in general have not themselves had Cuban training, but are trained and directed by instructors who have in turn been trained in Cuba and in some cases in Communist China.

SECRET

SECRET

10. Voice radio transmitters in Caracas and in outlying cities have been heard in conversation with a voice transmitter in Cuba.

11. Principal personalities known or believed to have received training in Cuba include:

Members of the PCV central committee:
Guillermo Garcia Ponce, Rafael E. Martinez, Radames Larrazabal, Alonso Ojeda Olaechea, Douglas Bravo, German Lairer, and Joaquin Araujo Ortega.

Other political leaders: Simon Saiez Merida, Americo Martin, Romulo Henriquez, Jr., and Domingo Alberto Rangel of the extremist Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); Fabricio Ojeda, Jose Vincente Rangel, and Victor Jose Ochoa of the URD.

Labor leaders: Cesar Millan, Horacio Scott Power, Hector Marcano Coello, Laureno Torrealba, Helo Cruz Villegas, and Vicente Pinate.

Student leaders: Alfredo Maneiro, Freddy Munoz, Jose Rafael Tenorio, Alcides Villalba, Jose Linares, Hector Rodriguez Bauz, and Julio Escalona.

Educators: Hector Mujica, Fruto Vivas, Humberto Cuenca, and Jose Vincente Scorza.

SECRET

SECRET

27 March 1963

OTHERS

1. There have been about 40 legal travelers from British Guiana to Cuba. Some Latin American travelers could be carried without much chance of detection on Cuban freighters hauling rice. Local papers and opposition parties have charged that some of the students sent to Cuba did not have proper academic qualifications for their studies, implying their travel, was for other purposes. There are no reliable reports, however, that any Guianese have received subversive training in Cuba. Any Cuban training for British Guianese would presumably be designed to support rather than subvert the government of Premier Cheddi Jagan. There have been no arrests for subversive activity, and no incidents of terrorism, sabotage, or subversion. There have been riots, but not Cuban-connected.

2. Jamaica sent 593 legal travelers to Cuba in 1962, probably accounted for largely by the 20-25,000 Jamaicans resident in Cuba. There is no evidence of guerrilla training for any Jamaicans, and there have been no arrests for guerrilla, sabotage, or terrorist activity. Subversion is confined largely to public oratory defying the Jamaican authorities. A British Guianese Communist studying in Jamaica, who is believed to have received training in Cuba, instigated a demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy in October, 1962, by six members of the "Friends of Cuba Committee;" one Communist was arrested, fined, and released as a result for "obstructing traffic." Two university instructors and two other teachers are believed to have received indoctrination in Cuba.

3. Surinam and Trinidad report no subversive incidents, no arrests, and no evidence of Cuban subversive training for any of their nationals. Trinidad listed two legal travelers in Cuba in 1962.

SECRET