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*Manuel Ray*  
CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

17 NOV 1960 *je*

DATE : <sup>651</sup> 16 NOV 60

**SECRET**

ROUTING	
1	4
2	5
3	6

TO : DIRECTOR *R1 copy filed MRP*

FROM : <sup>MASH</sup> <sup>03</sup>

ACTION : WH 9 [ ] WH NOTIFIED 2120-16 NOV 60

INFO : DCI, D/DCI, DDP, COP, ADDP/A, S/C 2  
*Hand for me*

NOV 17 0127Z 60

PRIORITY

IN 43677

PRITY DIR CITE MASH 1694

DINSET

1. IN LATE EVE 15 NOV <sup>1/</sup> PARLETT ALIAS <sup>1/</sup> BENDER MET <sup>5</sup> MANUEL RAY FOR MORE THAN THREE HOURS IN COMPLETE PRIVACY.

2. UNQUESTIONABLY, THE YOUTHFUL SOFTSPOKEN UNASSUMING ALMOST <sup>5</sup> HUMBLE RAY IS A NATURAL LEADER OF HIGHEST INTELLECT DEEPEST SINCERITY AND CONVICTION. HE WOULD BE A REMARKABLE ALLY OR OPPONENT. WHETHER OR NOT HIS POLITICAL POSTURE IS COMPATIBLE WITH ODYOKE LONG RANGE SELF INTERESTS IN CUBA AND/OR IN HEMISPHERE IS STILL SOMEWHAT OF ENIGMA TO <sup>1/</sup> PARLETT FOR REASONS GIVEN PARA FOUR BELOW.

3. <sup>1/</sup> BENDER EXPLAINED TO <sup>5</sup> RAY THE "FLEXIBLE POLICIES" AND OUR NON-PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF NUMBER SIGNIFICANT CASTRO OPPOSITION GROUPS. WHILE OUR COMPLETELY NON-OFFICIAL SUPPORT GOES TO INDIVIDUAL GROUPS FOR THEIR INSIDE CUBA ACTIVITIES, WE WOULD PREFER HAVE CUBAN EXILE COMMUNITY TALK WITH ONE VOICE TO HEMISPHERE AUDIENCES. IN ANY CASE, WE STAND READY TO ASSIST MRP TO EXTENT DESIRED AND FEASIBLE. <sup>5</sup> RAY WHO APPEARS EXCELLENTLY BRIEFED BY HIS STAFF (CHIBAS, ESTEVEZ ET AL) ON BENDER <sup>1/</sup> GROUP ROLE SAID HE DELIGHTED COORDINATE COLLABORATE AND ACCEPT ASSISTANCE ADVICE FROM CONTACTO DEFINITIVO WHOSE RELATIONS WITH <sup>5</sup> RAYS REPS APPEARED TO BE MOST EXCELLENT.

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4. UPON BENDERS SUGGESTION RAY THEN BEGAN OUTLINE MRP POSTURE HIGHLIGHT OF WHICH ARE:

A. MRP DOES NOT DESIRE GO BACK TO 1949 CONSTITUTION. SOME OF ITS BASIC PRINCIPLES WOULD OF COURSE BE RETAINED BUT FOR EXAMPLE PROVISIONS FOR ELECTORAL PROCEDURES AND MODUS OPERANDI OF JUDICIAL WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGED COMPLETELY. DRAFTING NEW CONSTITUTION NOT TO BEGIN TILL AFTER FIRST PERMANENT GOVT ELECTED. THIS ELECTION TO TAKE PLACE 18 MONTHS AFTER ESTABLISHMENT PROVISIONAL GOVT.

B. PROV GOVT TO CONSIST OF SMALL LEGISLATIVE BODY OF 30 HONORABLE CUBANS OF ADEQUATE BACKGROUND.

C. CASTRO LAWS WHICH PASSED FOR "TOTALITARIAN PURPOSES" TO BE REPEALED. LAWS WHICH WERE PASSED AT BEGINNING OF CASTRO REGIME EXPRESSING "TRUE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT" TO BE PROMULGATED.

D. STATE TO TAKE DIRECT ACTION IN THESE FIELDS: PUBLIC EDUCATION, PUBLIC HEALTH, WATER SUPPLIES, AND OTHERS.

E. STATE TO TAKE ACTION IN AREAS WHERE PRODUCTION IS CONTROLLED BY MONOPOLIES AND WHERE "ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES DO NOT OFFER PRIVATE INVESTMENT EITHER IMMEDIATE OR ADEQUATE INCENTIVE."

F. STATE TO REGULATE PRIVATE INVESTMENT.

G. PUBLIC UTILITIES TO BE NATIONALIZED. RAY CITED ESPECIALLY AMERICAN OWNED ELECTRIC AND TEL COMPANIES. ADEQUATE COMPENSATION TO BE MADE. (COMMENT: UPON PARLETT QUESTION WHAT WOULD HAPPEN FOR EXAMPLE TO KING RANCH, ESSO ETC RAY SAID CRITERIA NOT YET ESTABLISHED AND THAT PAZOS WORKING ON THIS. MORE DETAILS ON ALL ABOVE TO BE REPORTED UPON PARLETT RETURN HQ.)

5. AFTER POLITICAL TALK, DISCUSSION TURNED TO PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF REVOLUTION. RAY WANTS KEEP MRP AT LEAN AND HUNGRY LOOK.

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EACH MEMBER TO BE GIVEN SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITIES, EACH MEMBER TO FEEL THAT HE IMPORTANT PART OF REVOLUTION WITH VERY PERSONAL DIRECT IRREVOCABLE STAKE IN IT. (COMMENT: RAY'S<sup>5</sup> SINCERITY, COMPASSION COUPLED WITH HARD PRAGMATIC APPROACH IS UNDOUBTEDLY IMPORTANT INGREDIENT HIS LEADERSHIP CAPACITY.)

6. RAY ASKED BENDER<sup>1</sup> WHETHER IT ALL RIGHT START FUND DRIVE IN CUBA FOR PURPOSE MEET EXPENSES IN CUBA AND THOSE OF EXILE MRP. IN REALITY MONEY RAISED WOULD REMAIN IN COUNTRY WITH BENDER<sup>1</sup> MAKING AVAILABLE IN DOLLARS ONE FOURTH OF PESOS THUS RAISED TO EXILE MRP. BENDER<sup>1</sup> TEMPORIZED. WOULD IT BE ALL RIGHT START FUND DRIVE IN PBPRIME<sup>2</sup>. BENDER<sup>1</sup> AGREED. COULD MRP GET \$10,000 BY NEXT WEDNESDAY? THIS AMOUNT TO LAST TILL 1 JAN WHEN BENDER<sup>1</sup> WOULD GET BUDGET ESTIMATE. BENDER<sup>1</sup> MADE COMMITMENT.

7. COULD AMCHIRP-1<sup>3</sup> BE IN TOUCH JIM SMITH ON MILITARY MATTERS. BENDER<sup>1</sup> CONCURRED. (COMMENT: HERE RAY MILDLY BUT YET QUITE BITTERLY CRITICIZED ABORTIVE DROP TO SINESIO WALSH.)

8. RAY<sup>5</sup> WILL DISCUSS WITH MRO CARDONA<sup>1</sup> POSSIBILITIES ARRIVE AT FORMULA CREATE SOME KIND OF UNIFIED EXILE BODY. (SEE SEPARATE MESSAGE THIS ITEM.)

9. SUMMARY: IN PARLETT<sup>1</sup> OPINION NET RESULT THIS MEETING WAS CLEAR ESTABLISHMENT AND RECOGNITION DEFINITIVE PRIVATE PBPRIME<sup>2</sup> LINK WITH MRP. DOOR REMAINS OPEN FOR SOME KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WITH AMRASP<sup>4</sup>. OUT OF APPROX 183 ANTI CASTRO GROUPS, WE HAVE POLARIZED, ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT AND SUPPORT, THE ONLY REALLY SIGNIFICANT THREE GROUPS: AMRASP<sup>4</sup>, MRP AND THE DISSIDENT MRR. THIS IN LINE CURRENT OPN POLICY. QUESTION REMAINS DEGREE OF SUPPORT WE TO GIVE MRP IN VIEW ITS POLITICAL STANCE WHICH NEEDS FURTHER ANALYSIS. (IF FULL SUPPORT TO

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BE GIVEN OUR POLACT BUDGET MAY STAND SOME UPWARD REVISION.)  
ACCORDING CONSIDERABLE NUMBER CUBANS OF VARIOUS POL PERSUASION PARLETT  
SAW DURING THIS TRIP ALL GROUPS SEEM NOW LOOKING TO BENDER AND CO  
TO SHOW PREFERENCE FOR ONE ABOVE NAMED TRIO. MOST WILL THEN DECIDE  
TO JOIN. FOR HOW LONG WE MAY BE ABLE MAINTAIN OUR CURRENT FLEXIBILITY  
REMAINS PROBLEMATICAL.

END OF MESSAGE

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