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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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REPORT CLASS S E C R E T--WNINTEL--NOFORN

DIST: 18 JANUARY 1996

COUNTRY: CUBA

SUBJ: SUSPECTED CUBAN SECURITY PENETRATIONS OF THE CUBAN HUMAN  
RIGHTS/DISSIDENT MOVEMENT IN CUBA

DOI:

SOURCE:

SUMMARY: LEADERS OF THE CUBAN CIVIC CURRENT (CORRIENTE CIVICA  
CUBANA), A DISSIDENT GROUP IN CUBA, SUSPECTED THREE MEMBERS OF THE  
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GROUP, AND THE FORMER HUSBAND OF A GROUP MEMBER, OF BEING CUBAN SECURITY SOURCES OR PENETRATIONS. THE LEADERS OF THE DISSIDENT GROUP DID NOT HAVE ANY SPECIFIC EVIDENCE THAT THE INDIVIDUALS WERE CONNECTED TO CUBAN SECURITY, BUT INCIDENTS IN WHICH EACH OF THESE INDIVIDUALS WERE INVOLVED LED THE LEADERSHIP TO BECOME SUSPICIOUS OF THEM.

TEXT: 1. AS OF MID AUGUST 1995, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CUBAN DISSIDENT GROUP, CUBAN CIVIC CURRENT (CORRIENTE CIVICA CUBANA - CCC), WAS CERTAIN THAT THE CUBAN HUMAN RIGHTS AND DISSIDENT MOVEMENTS HAD ATTRACTED THE ATTENTION OF CUBAN SECURITY, PRIMARILY THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR (MININT), AND THEY BELIEVED THAT MININT WAS TRYING TO PENETRATE DISSIDENT ORGANIZATIONS. CCC MEMBERS CONCERNED OVER THE GROUP'S SECURITY TAGGED FOUR INDIVIDUALS WHO EXHIBITED BEHAVIOR OR ACTIVITIES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS OR DISSIDENT ORGANIZATIONS THAT SUGGESTED THAT THEY WERE ASSOCIATED WITH MININT. THE INDIVIDUALS WERE JORGE ((GONZALES)), VLADIMIRO ((ROCA)) ATUNEZ, GUILLERMO ((FERNANDEZ)) DONATES, AND RAFAEL ((ALCIDES)).

2. THE CCC LEADERSHIP WAS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT JORGE GONZALEZ, OF THE CHRISTIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT (MOVIMIENTO CRISTIANO LIBERACION), HEADED BY OSVALDO ((PAYA)) SARDINAS, WAS A CUBAN SECURITY PENETRATION. DIRECTORS OF THE CCC NOTED THAT HIS QUESTIONS WERE USUALLY SO PENETRATING AS TO SUGGEST INSIDE KNOWLEDGE. A TRUSTED MEMBER OF THE CCC WAS DIRECTED AGAINST GONZALEZ, PROVIDING HIM WITH MOSTLY BOGUS INFORMATION KNOWN ONLY TO THE CCC MEMBER AND THE CCC LEADERSHIP. RECORDS OF THE DATE THE INFORMATION WAS PASSED WERE KEPT BY THE CCC. THE INFORMATION LATER SURFACED THROUGH MININT DURING THE COURSE OF MININT INTERVIEWS OF DETAINED CCC LEADERS. THE CCC LEADERSHIP BELIEVED THAT GONZALEZ MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN VENEZUELA AS OF MID AUGUST 1995.

3. VLADIMIRO ROCA OF THE CUBAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST CURRENT (CORRIENTE SOCIALISTA DEMOCRATICA CUBANA), WHO IS ONE OF THE CLOSEST ASSOCIATES OF ELIZARDO ((SANCHEZ)) SANTACRUZ OF THE CUBAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION (COMISION CUBANA DE DERECHOS HUMANOS Y RECONCILIACION NACIONAL), CAME UNDER CCC SUSPICION AFTER AN INCIDENT IN 1992. IN THAT YEAR, SHORTLY AFTER THE LETTER BY CUBAN PROFESSIONALS TO THE IBERIAN AMERICAN SUMMIT WAS PRESENTED, CCC CHIEF ASSISTANT DIRECTOR VLADIMIR ((MARTINEZ-AMORES)) ALVAREZ WAS VISITED AT HIS HOME BY TWO MININT OFFICERS. THE TWO OFFICERS WERE NAMED "MARCIAL" AND "DANIEL." THE SENIOR OF THE TWO, DANIEL, REMARKED THAT ELIZARDO SANCHEZ WAS A U.S. INTELLIGENCE AGENT. IN DUE COURSE THIS INFORMATION WAS PASSED BY MARTINEZ-AMORES TO SANCHEZ IN THE PRESENCE OF VLADIMIRO ROCA. AROUND DECEMBER 1992, DURING AN "INTERVIEW" BY MININT OF A CCC MEMBER, MARCIAL MADE A STATEMENT THAT INDICATED THAT HE KNEW THAT HIS INITIAL REMARKS TO MARTINEZ-AMORES ABOUT SANCHEZ HAD BEEN PASSED TO SANCHEZ. WHEN IT WAS REPORTED TO SANCHEZ THAT MININT HAD MADE THIS STATEMENT, HE ATTRIBUTED IT TO TECHNICAL COVERAGE IN HIS HOME ASSOCIATED WITH AN LP OPPOSITE HIS HOME. THE CCC WAS NOT CONVINCED BY THIS EXPLANATION AND THEREAFTER KEPT ROCA AT A DISTANCE, AS THEY ASSUMED THAT IT WAS ROCA WHO HAD PASSED THE INFORMATION TO THE

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MININT. (SOURCE COMMENT: ONLY ROCA, SANCHEZ AND MARTINEZ-AMORES KNEW THAT SANCHEZ HAD BEEN TOLD, AND BOTH SANCHEZ AND MARTINEZ-AMORES WERE TRUSTED MEMBERS OF THE CCC.)

4. CCC'S SUSPICIONS CONCERNING ROCA HAVE GROWN STRONGER IN LIGHT OF THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS:

A. CCC MEMBER FELIX ((DIAZ)) WAS DENIED A REQUEST FOR A VISA TO THE U.S. BY THE U.S. INTERESTS SECTION. THE REPORTED GROUNDS FOR DENIAL WERE THAT DIAZ HAD NOT SUBMITTED SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO JUSTIFY THE VISA. ROCA WAS HEARD TO TELL DIAZ THAT HIS REQUEST HAD BEEN UNDERMINED BY FELIX ((BONNE)) CARCASSES, THE CCC LEADER. BONNE DENIED THIS ACTION, SAYING THAT HE WOULD HAVE HAD NO INTEREST IN UNDERMINING DIAZ.

B. IN EARLY 1993, JORGE GONZALEZ, A CLOSE FRIEND OF ROCA, INFORMED THE CCC LEADERSHIP THAT AN AUTHORESS, IDENTIFIED AS MARIANA ((BADELL)) (PHONETIC), WAS PREPARING A BIOGRAPHY OF CUBAN PRESIDENT FIDEL ((CASTRO)) AND WANTED TO MEET BONNE. THE REASON FOR SUCH A MEETING IN CONNECTION WITH A BIOGRAPHY OF CASTRO WAS NOT CLEAR, BUT THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN GONZALEZ' HOME, AND INCLUDED BADELL, BONNE, AND MARTINEZ-AMORES. THE CCC LEADERS NOTED THAT BADELL APPEARED TO BE UNCOMFORTABLE DURING THE COURSE OF THE MEETING. SHE STATED THAT SHE HAD HAD LUNCH WITH AN OFFICIAL OF THE SPANISH EMBASSY IN HAVANA, WHO WAS ASSISTING HER WITH THE BIOGRAPHY OF CASTRO BY PUTTING HER IN TOUCH WITH ONE CARLOS ALBERTO ((MONTANER)) IN MADRID, WHO WOULD EDIT THE BOOK. SHE DECLINED TO IDENTIFY THE SPANISH OFFICIAL, BUT DESCRIBED HIM IN SUCH DETAIL THAT BOTH BONNE AND MARTINEZ-AMORES RECOGNIZED HIM AS JORGE ((DE ORUETA)), A LONG-TIME CONTACT OF THE CCC. WHEN THE CONVERSATION WAS RELAYED TO DE ORUETA BY THE CCC, HE RECALLED BADELL HAD BEEN INTRODUCED TO HIM BY VLADIMIRO ROCA'S WIFE. HE FURTHER RECALLED THE LUNCH AND MENTION OF THE BOOK, BUT DECLARED THE MONTANER INFORMATION TO BE SPURIOUS. THIS SEQUENCE OF EVENTS SUGGESTED TO CCC SECURITY PERSONNEL THAT THERE WAS COORDINATION AMONG INDIVIDUALS SUSPECTED OF BEING DIRECTED BY CUBAN SECURITY.

C. IN 1993 A GROUP OF DISSIDENTS, INCLUDING BONNE, WAS INVITED TO THE HOME OF PIOTR ((MIKISKA)) (PHONETIC), FIRST SECRETARY AT THE CZECH EMBASSY, TO ATTEND A VISIT FROM THE CZECH VICE CHANCELLOR. (SOURCE COMMENT: THIS KIND OF CONTACT WAS ANATHEMA TO THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT.) THE CZECH INVITATION TO BONNE WAS SENT THREE DAYS IN ADVANCE BY WORD OF MOUTH VIA ROCA. BY COINCIDENCE, ANOTHER CCC REPRESENTATIVE VISITING MIKISKA WITHIN A DAY OR TWO OF WHEN THE INVITATION WAS RELAYED TO ROCA WAS ASKED ABOUT THE INVITATION TO BONNE, AS BONNE HAD NOT RESPONDED TO THE CZECH EMBASSY. THE CCC REPRESENTATIVE INCLUDED THE QUERY REGARDING THE INVITATION IN HIS REPORT OF THE MEETING TO THE CCC, GIVING BONNE HIS FIRST NOTIFICATION THAT THERE HAD EVEN BEEN AN INVITATION. ROCA FINALLY PASSED THE MESSAGE TO THE HOME OF GEORGINA DE LAS MERCEDES ((GONZALEZ)) CORBO, ONE OF BONNE'S CHIEF ASSISTANTS, TWO HOURS PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FUNCTION.

D. IN MID 1995, REINALDO ((ROQUE)) MALHERBE OF CCC REPORTED THAT VLADIMIRO ROCA'S WIFE WAS UNDERMINING ELIZARDO

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SANCHEZ BY PASSING AROUND STORIES THAT HE HAD BEEN WITHHOLDING ORGANIZATIONAL FUNDS, INTENDED FOR THE SOCIALIST CURRENT, FOR HIS PERSONAL USE. (SOURCE COMMENT: THIS RUMOR CAMPAIGN MAY HAVE \*CONTRIBUTED TO SANCHEZ' REPORTED RESIGNATION FROM THE<EXECUTIVE> COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST CURRENT.)

E. REPORTING ON RADIO MARTI FROM MIAMI AROUND MID 1995 ALLEGEDLY REFERRED TO VLADIMIRO ROCA AS AN AGENT OF CUBAN STATE SECURITY. ROCA HIMSELF WAS REPORTED IN CUBAN DISSIDENT CIRCLES TO HAVE STATED THAT HE WAS A LONG-TIME FRIEND OF MAJOR GENERAL FABIAN ((ESCALANTE)) FONT, WHO WAS REPORTEDLY THE CHIEF OF THE MININT DIRECTORATE OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE (DCI). (HEADQUARTERS COMMENT: ESCALANTE FONT NOW HEADS THE MINISTRY'S HISTORY COMMISSION AND IS \*KNOWN FOR HIS INQUIRIES INTO THE PRESIDENT<JOHN>F.<KENNEDY> ASSASSINATION, THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION, AND THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS.)

5. GUILLERMO FERNANDEZ DONATES IS A CIVIL ENGINEER WHO WAS CLOSE TO GUSTAVO ((ARCOS)) BERGNES OF THE CUBAN COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (COMITE CUBANO PRO DERECHOS HUMANOS). HE WAS SUSPECTED OF BEING A MININT SOURCE AND A PROVOCATEUR BY THE CCC LEADERSHIP. HE JOINED THE CCC ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF ARCOS BECAUSE FERNANDEZ WAS A MEMBER OF THE PROFESSIONAL CLASS. (SOURCE COMMENT: MANY MEMBERS OF THE CCC ARE PROFESSIONALS.) THE CCC INITIALLY BECAME SUSPICIOUS OF FERNANDEZ BECAUSE HE HAD A HISTORY OF ARRESTS IN WHICH HE WOULD BE PLACED WITH VARIOUS GROUPS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. IN PRISON HE WOULD EVENTUALLY HAVE A FIGHT WITH A GUARD OR COMMIT AN INFRACTION OF REGULATIONS AND BE REMOVED BY THE AUTHORITIES FOR DISCIPLINARY ACTION. EACH TIME HE EMERGED FROM PRISON HE SEEMED TO BE IN EXCELLENT HEALTH AND WELL FED.

6. ADDITIONALLY, SEVERAL OTHER ANOMALIES HAVE CAUSED THE CCC LEADERSHIP TO BE SUSPICIOUS OF FERNANDEZ:

A. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, FERNANDEZ HAS BEEN ASKED BY THE CCC TO COMMUNICATE ITEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST TO ARCOS. SUBSEQUENT ELICITATION OF ARCOS BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CCC LED THEM TO BELIEVE THAT INFORMATION PROVIDED BY FERNANDEZ TO ARCOS WAS OFTEN GROSSLY INACCURATE. WHEN APPRISED OF THIS SITUATION, ARCOS DISMISSED CCC COMMENTS AS BEING SIMPLE MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

B. IT HAS BEEN NOTED BY THE CCC LEADERSHIP THAT FERNANDEZ WAS FRIENDLY WITH JORGE GONZALEZ AND WITH VLADIMIRO ROCA. FERNANDEZ WAS PRIVY TO THE ACTIVITIES PLANNED BY SOCIALIST CURRENT, THE GROUP TO WHICH ROCA BELONGED, BY HIS ASSOCIATION WITH ROCA. REINALDO ROQUE, A MEMBER OF THE CCC, WHO WORKED WITH SOCIALIST CURRENT, NOTED THAT WHEN THE GROUP WAS SCHEDULED TO MEET, IT WAS CHALLENGED BY CUBAN AUTHORITIES SO OFTEN THAT THE AUTHORITIES MUST HAVE BEEN APPRISED OF ITS SCHEDULE. EITHER FERNANDEZ OR ROCA (OR BOTH) COULD HAVE BEEN PASSING SUCH INFORMATION TO THE AUTHORITIES.

C. ON ONE OCCASION, TO THE SURPRISE OF THE CCC, FERNANDEZ, A KARATE PRACTITIONER, INVITED THE ENTIRE CCC MEMBERSHIP TO GO TO THE CIUDAD DEPORTIVA (SPORTS CITY) TO AN

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EXERCISE FIELD TO WORK OUT. CCC SECURITY PERSONNEL NOTED THAT THIS WOULD HAVE ASSEMBLED ALL OR MOST OF THE CCC MEMBERSHIP IN HAVANA IN AN OPEN AREA WHERE IT COULD BE OBSERVED AND PHOTOGRAPHED. THE INVITATION, COMING AS IT DID AS A ONE-TIME OPPORTUNITY WITH NO PRECEDENT, FUELED SUSPICIONS WITHIN THE CCC AND THE INVITATION WAS DECLINED.

7. A SERIES OF EVENTS INVOLVING RAFAEL ALCIDES, A NOTED CUBAN POET AND FIRST HUSBAND OF TERESA ((FERNANDEZ)) MARDONES (A MEMBER OF THE CCC), WAS SIGNIFICANT TO THE CCC BECAUSE IT CALLED INTO QUESTION WHERE ALCIDES' LOYALTIES LAY. ALCIDES AND FERNANDEZ HAD ONE CHILD, A SON, TOGETHER BEFORE THEY WERE DIVORCED AROUND LATE 1993. FERNANDEZ HAD REMARRIED AND WAS LIVING WITH RONALDO ((ROQUE)) (COUSIN OF REINALDO ROQUE), AND ALCIDES WAS SPENDING CONSIDERABLE TIME AT THE ROQUE RESIDENCE, PRESUMABLY TO BE WITH HIS SON. THE CCC BECAME CONCERNED WITH THE SECURITY OF THE SITUATION AS FERNANDEZ WAS PRIVY TO CCC INFORMATION AND WAS ASSESSED AS BEING EMOTIONAL AND TENDING TO CONFIDE TOO MUCH. MARTINEZ-AMORES WAS DISPATCHED BY THE CCC TO FEEL OUT ALCIDES, AND REPORTED THAT HE SPOKE COHERENTLY AND LOGICALLY AGAINST THE CURRENT REGIME. MARTINEZ-AMORES APPEARED TO BE REASSURED. SUBSEQUENTLY HOWEVER, IN CONVERSATION WITH ALCIDES, REINALDO ROQUE LEARNED THAT ALCIDES WAS PART OF A DELEGATION OF THE CUBAN NATIONAL UNION OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS (UNION NACIONAL DE ESCRITORES Y ARTISTAS DE CUBA - UNEAC) THAT VISITED MADRID SOMETIME AROUND 1994. WHILE THERE, ALCIDES SAID THAT HE WAS INVITED WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER UNEAC DELEGATES TO LUNCH WITH CARLOS ALBERTO MONTANER. (SOURCE COMMENT: THE LUNCHEON WITH MONTANER MUST CERTAINLY HAVE RECEIVED CUBAN GOVERNMENT APPROVAL, AND THE GROUP MUST HAVE INCLUDED CUBAN SECURITY PERSONNEL.) ALCIDES TOLD ROQUE THAT ON HIS RETURN TO CUBA, HE ATTENDED THE FUNERAL FOR A SISTER (NFI) OF FIDEL CASTRO AND DELIVERED THE FUNERAL ORATION. FOLLOWING THE FUNERAL, HE WAS OBSERVED TO BE EMBRACED BY MINISTER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES GENERAL RAUL ((CASTRO)) RUZ.

POC: ECC, [REDACTED] SECURE X-43770, STU III [REDACTED]

ACQ: (LATE OCTOBER 1995)

DISSEM: FIELD: SENT TO; USCINCSO, USCINCOM, AIC, USCINTRANS, USCINCSOC, JSOC.

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