

DRAFT - 10/24/78

MANUEL RAY RIVERO

FOLDER 24  
# 11

Manuel Ray Rivero was born in Cuba in 1924. (HSCA #009005 Memo to G. Robert Balkey, 6/28/78, Interview with Manolo Ray Rivero from Fonzi/Gonzalez) <sup>Ray has been described as effusive, intelligent, respect security and connections; CIA/DOO Ray Vol II</sup> Because of his <sup>1947,</sup> outstanding performance as a civil engineer, he was granted a scholarship ~~in 1947~~ <sup>to pursue graduate studies in engineering</sup> by the Cuban Ministry of Public Works to <sup>3</sup> study at the University of Utah. (HSCA 006468, p.9, Item 8, FBI Manolo Ray References, Section 2) Ray was in the United States for two years but did not complete his work for a Masters Degree. <sup>4</sup> (Ibid) <sup>Returning to Cuba,</sup> he held various positions in the engineering field, one of which was Project Manager for the construction of the Havana Hilton Hotel. <sup>6</sup> (Ibid)

In May 1957, he organized the Civic Resistance Movement which supervised sabotage and acts of terrorism against the Batista regime. (Ibid) Fidel Castro appointed him Minister of Public Works in February 1959. (Ibid) <sup>but</sup> ~~the~~ following <sup>In</sup> <sup>1959</sup> November, he was arrested and relieved of his official position. (HSCA 005990, p. 2, FBI Correlation Study, Manolo Ray file, #97-4546, Section 1.) (Ray <sup>broke with</sup> ~~deserted~~ Castro because of his communist connections. (Ibid)) <sup>then</sup> He <sup>founded</sup> the anti-Cast. Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (MRP) in 1960, serving as its Chief with the following individuals completing the leadership: Raul Chibas, Special Assistant to Ray; Juan Esteves Ramires, Secretary; Ramon Barquin, Military Intelligence Matters; and Rogelio Cisneros, Chief of MRP in Cuba. (CIA/Deputy Director of Operations, Manuel Ray Rivero file, Volume II)

DO NOT REPRODUCE  
RETURN TO CIA

142-10223

In the Summer of 1960, <sup>while still in Cuba,</sup> Ray was actively recruited by the CIA to become a member of the FRD, ~~approaches being made through Raul Chibas.~~ (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol I) Ray's background was questioned by the State Department. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol I, Memo to WH/4 Chief from Acting Chief, WH, 9/27/60, Subject: State Approval to Include Manuel Ray Rivero into the FRD Complex) and by the Miami CIA office (CIA/DDO Ray Vol I, Cable from MASH to WH9, 9/29/60) Despite these objections, Ray was granted Provisional Operational Approval <sup>and, with the aid of the CIA was brought</sup> by the CIA on 25 October 1960 / (CIA/DDO Ray Vol I, POA form) His personnel papers contain the following assessment: "Subject has definite political action potential, is a pro-democratic official of government who is not in sympathy with aims of international Communism and ~~who~~ is interested in strengthening ties between Cuba and U.S. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol I, (PRO form, Part 2, Section VI)

Not everyone in the CIA who <sup>had contact with</sup> ~~knew~~ Ray were in agreement with this assessment. In a Memo for Record dated 11/21/60, it was reported that, "...Ray did not politically represent anything to cheer about." (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II, Memo for Record, 11/21/60, Subject: Meeting with King and Esterline on Subject of Handling MRP) Another CIA officer who met privately with Ray in November 1960 stated that his political posture was doubtful as far as U.S. Government acceptance is concerned. (CIA/DDO Ray VOL II, Cable to Director from MASH, 11/17/60)

Still another Memo for Record states that Ray's action all seemed directed toward making him the future power in Cuba rather than overthrowing Castro. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol V, Memo for Record, 2 June 1961, Subject: Relations with Manolo Ray and the MRP from (James A. Noel) The memo further pointed out that it was believed Ray was so far "left" in his thinking that he would be as dangerous (or more so in the long run) to U.S. interests as Castro, if he ever got to be a power in Cuba. (Ibid)

Ray made his political position very clear during a private meeting with a CIA officer on November 15, 1960. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol II, Cable to Director from MASH) He said the MRP did not wish to reinstate the 1940 Cuban Constitution and that the Castro laws passed at the beginning of his regime would be ~~promulgated~~ <sup>continued</sup>. (Ibid) Ray further informed the CIA officer that he believed the State should regulate private investments and utilities should be nationalized. (Ibid) Charges of "Fidelismo without Fidel" were made against Ray's MRP (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol II, Contact report from (Wallace A. Parlett) 10/17/60, Subject: Meeting with (Juan Estevez) and (Jorge Beruff,) 10/13/60) <sup>5 days after his arrival in the U.S.</sup> <sup>because of these "leftist" ideology</sup>

The CIA received negative information about Ray from prominent exiled Cubans. Ray was described by one exile as highly dangerous because of his ambition to play a prominent

role in the Cuban government after Castro's overthrow. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol II, Memo for Record, (John D. Peters,) 11/8/60, Subj: Contact Report on Meeting with (Rogelio Gonzalez) ) Miro Cardona was opposed to Ray, believing his program was too Marxist. (CIA/DDO Ray, Vol. III, Information Report from U.S. Citizen, Free-lance writer and part-time sugar broker, 12/22/60) and also stated that Ray was bitterly anti-American as well as probably totalitarian in his thinking. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol IV, Memo to S - Dr. Berle from ARA - Philip W. Bonsal, March 16, 1961, Subject: Recent Cuban Developments) Manuel Artime advised that Ray's group, MRP, was opposed to banning the Communist Party and in favor of "nationalizing everything". (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol IV, Cable to Bell from JMWAVE, 3/1/61) Although aware of his controversial <sup>political</sup> ~~stances~~, the CIA actively recruited <sup>him</sup> ~~Ray was actively recruited~~ to join the FRD. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II, Cable to Director from MASH, 11/17/60) ~~Ray was described as, "... a natural leader of highest intellect, deepest sincerity and conviction" by his recruiter. (Ibid)~~ <sup>The State Dept White House & St Dept. pushed for his inclusion (cite)</sup>

Ray received full operational approval as a "political asset" on 7 February 1961 (CIA/DDO Ray Vol IV) and accepted appointment to the CRC on 27 March 1961. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol IV, Memo for Record, 27 March 1961 by Gerald Droller, Subject: Ray Accepts appointment to Council ....) Ray had resisted joining the CRC because he felt the members were too restrained and he did not want to become a part of a situation in which someone else was running the show for the exiles. (HSCA #009005, Memo to G. Robert Blakey, 6/28/78, Interview with Manolo Ray Rivero, from Fonzi/Gonzalez)

Within a week, Ray met with a CIA officer and complained that Miro was backing away from his commitments and was not willing to give Ray any voice in the Council.

(CIA/DDO Ray Vol V, Cable from JMWAVE to Bell, 4/3/61) He

*recalled the events of the period*  
stated to HSCA investigators *stating that* that certain influential and wealthy Americans, among them William Pawley, opposed him and a lot of heavy propaganda was circulated at this time accusing him of being a Communist. (HSCA #009005, Memo to G. Robert Blakey, 6/28/78, p. 4, Interview with Manolo Ray Rivero, from Fonzi/Gonzales) *However,*

*Ray* ~~Ray was persuaded to remain in the CRC as a show of unity but withdrew from the organization shortly after the Bay of Pigs invasion and requested the CIA to give him support independent of the CRC.~~ *Enlarge* (CIA/DDO Ray Vol V, Memo for Record, 2 June 1961, Subject: Relations with Manolo Ray and the MRP, signed (James A. Noel) *and*

In October 1961, the Puerto Rican Planning Board announced that Ray had accepted a position as consultant to that Board, ~~and~~ Ray took up residency in Puerto Rico. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol VI, Memo for Chief/WH Division, 10 October 1961 from Warren S. Yauger, Subject: General - Cuban Matters; Specific - Manuel (Manolo) Ray) He was looked upon with great favor by the Puerto Rican government. *effort* (CIA/DDO Vol VII, Cable dated 2 July 1962 to Director (from San Juan) *although there was no evidence that govt was supporting the MRP. (Olivier) (Effand)*) Manuel Ray became actively engaged in recruitment of Castro defectors in the summer of 1962. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol VII, Cable dated 25 July 1962) His efforts were initially directed

*a May 27, 1962 Miami Herald story by James Buchanan Clark titled "Ray's Story" leaders supported Ray - Gov. Mingo Marin of P.R., Romulo Betancourt of V.C. - called to him from Miami May 27, 1962, & former President of*

toward the ~~(Cuban Ambassador in Mexico)~~ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol VII, Cable ~~(to Mexico City)~~ from Director, 23 August 1962) and later Cuban officials in Paris and Brussels. (CIA/DDO, Ray file Vol IX, Cable to Director ~~(from Paris)~~ 19 June 1963, #77272) File reviews failed to ascertain if any of his endeavors were fruitful. *(quote his capabilities)*

In the two months preceeding the assassination of JFK, Ray was travelling in Lating America -- Honduras, (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Field Information Report, 1 October 1963) ~~✓~~ Costa Rica in late September 1963, (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Dispatch to Chief/WHD ~~(from CS/Panama)~~, 3 October 1963) and Venezuela in October (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Memo for Record, 2 October 1963 from Alfonso Rodriguez) devoting his full time to JURE, (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Draft, 4 October 1963 by Rodriguez, Subject: Manuel Ray Rivero)

On November 1, 1963, he met with a CIA officer on St. Thomas Island to discuss JURE plans to begin operations inside Cuba by the end of December. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol. XI, Memo for Record from Alfonso Rodriguez, Subject: Meeting with Ray in St. Thomas, 31 October - 1 November, 1963) JURE was to be involved in an infiltration plan known as Operation Bola, (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Cable to JMWAVE, from Director, 12/3/63) to commence when the CIA cached materials for JURE on 25 November. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol XI, Cable to JMWAVE from Director, 18 Nov. 1963)

*However,* Ray told HSCA investigators <sup>in 1978</sup> that he was in Caracas on November 22, 1963 with Rogelio Cisneros and could not recall the dates

*✓ Said Cisneros would have been in charge*

the CIA/JURE operation was to have taken place. (HSCA #009005, Memo to G. Robert ~~Bay~~<sup>Key</sup>, 6/28, 78, Interview with Manolo Ray Rivero, by Fonzi/Gonzales, pp 6-7) The JURE ship failed to pick up the cached materials on 25 November 1963 as scheduled and Ray gave the CIA no full explanation for this failure. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Memo for Record, 13 December 1963, from Alfonso Rodriguez)

The Western Hemisphere division of the CIA received word in April 1964 that in the late 1940's, Ray had been closely associated with a known Puerto Rican Communist and was friendly with the Puerto Ricans who were working on the renovation of the White House and the group that tried to assassinate President Truman. (CIA/DDO, Ray - Assorted documents, Dispatch to Deputy Chief WH/SA from Chief of Station, JMWAVE, 14 April 1964 in Mexico, D.F.) The source of this information was referred to by cryptonym and when a HSCA researcher requested the identity of the individual in ~~April 1978~~, the CIA indicated that he was a "current asset" of theirs and his identity could not be revealed. This information on Ray was dissiminated to the Secret Service (HSCA #008290, Item 3, Secret Service Administrative Profile, <sup>Sub title</sup> 3/27-75 on Manuel Ray Rivero, Case # COz 33115, Subject: #00311) and the FBI (HSCA #006468, Item 5, page 1, FBI #97-4546, Memo from San Juan - Secret, dated October 12, 1964, Re:JURE)

Ray's primary activities the first half of 1964 involved infiltration plans into Cuba and are discussed in

the JURE section. The failure of the attempt brought Ray's prestige to a near absolute low point among the Cuban exiles. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol XV, Cable to Director from JMWAVE, 6/10/64) <sup>Insert</sup> In an effort to enable JURE to move its activities from U.S. territory, the CIA made a final payment to Ray's group of \$75,000 for the period of 1 October - 31 Dec. 1964. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol XVII, Autonomous Operations - Operating Plan.)

<sup>Insert</sup> The military Chief of the MDC, Laureano Batista Zella, (HSCA Security File 092, JFK, FBI SensStudy doc. Vol 32, Item 2, #97-4110-823) said that Ray, as a result of his failure to infiltrate Cuba, had caused the death or imprisonment of many of the Cuban underground members and that Ray ~~is~~ had lost his following & was considered a part of the "sad past." (Ibid. p3)