

MANUEL RAY RIVERO

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#12

Manuel Ray Rivero was born in Cuba in 1924. (HSCA#009005)
~~Memo to G. Robert Blakey, 6/28/78, Interview with Manolo Ray~~
~~Rivero from Fonzi/Gonzales)~~ ^{He} Ray has been described as softspoken,
unassuming, almost humble -- a natural leader of the highest
intellect, sincerity and conviction. (CIA/DDO Manuel Ray Rivero
Volume II, Cable to Director from MASH, 11/17/60) In 1947, be-
cause of his outstanding performance as a civil engineer, he was
granted a scholarship by the Cuban Ministry of Public Works to
pursue graduate studies in engineering at the University of Utah.
¹ (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. (Ibid)

During this period, it has been alleged that Ray was
friendly with members of the Puerto Rican group which plotted to
assassinate President Truman, (CIA/DDO Loose Document, Dispatch
to Deputy Chief, WH/SA from COS/JMWAVE, 4/14/64, Mexico D.F.
Classified Secret. From an undercover source with cryptonym,
(AMSHOT/1) Upon receipt of this information in 1964, Ray's Case
Officer questioned the reliability of the information. HSCA
researcher endeavored to identify source as was told that (AMSHOT/1)
was still a current asset in 1978) and a good friend of Puerto
Rican Communist (Pedro Albizu Campos) (Ibid) It was further alleged
that he was in frequent contact with Puerto Ricans who were working
on the renovation of the White House. (Ibid) The assassination
attempt of President Truman occurred at Blair House, across the
street from the White House. The Trumans were using this home as
an official residence until such time as the White House renovation
was completed. This rather bizarre story surfaced in 1964 and the

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information
/ was disseminated to the Secret Service (HSCA 008290, Item 3) and
the FBI (HSCA 006468, Item 5).

in 1949,
When Ray returned to Cuba, he held various positions in
the engineering field, one of which was project manager for the
construction of the Havana Hilton Hotel. (HSCA 006468, p. 9, Item
8, Manolo Ray References, FBI, Section 2)

In May 1957, he organized the Civic Resistance Movement
which supervised sabotage and acts of terrorism against the regime
of Cuban President Batista. (HSCA 009005 Memo to G. Robert Blakey,
6/28/78, Interview of Manolo Ray Rivero from Fonzi/Gonzales) Fidel
Castro appointed Ray Minister of Public Works in February 1959. (Ibid)
He confided to two anti-Castro Cubans in April 1959 that he recognized
the symptoms of Communism in the Castro regime but was not prepared
to conspire against "El Lider Maximo". (Give Us This Day, Popular
Library Edition, E. Howard Hunt, p. 91) Ray was relieved of his
official position in November 1959. (HSCA 005990, p. 2, FBI
Correlation Study, Manolo Ray, File #97-4546, Section 1) but con-
For whatever reason, Ray
1 continued to permit his name to be associated with the Castro regime
(Give Us This Day, E. Howard Hunt, Popular Library Edition, p.92)
until he formed the Revolutionary Movement of the People (MRP)
around May 1960 (HSCA #009005 - Interview)

The MRP was an anti-Castro organization which believed
that the ideas and aims of the democratic left best suited the
needs and aspirations of the Cuban people. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol VI,
9 June 1962 study of program for liberation of Cuba submitted by
Ray) The MRP did not wish to reinstate the 1940 Cuban Constitution

10/27/78 _ Manuel Ray

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No definite reason for this severence has been documented but, according to one source, Ray did not leave Castro because of ideological or policy discrepancies but rather because of a personality clash with Castro's Minister of Labor, who almost shot Ray after a Cabinet meeting! (CIA/DDO Ray Vol VII, Memo from ^{#8} (Jack Malone, former manager, Kings Ranch, Cuba), dated July 16, 1962) Another theory which came to the attention of the CIA was that Ray resigned because of ^{he opposed} ~~his~~ ^{Castro} ~~opposition~~ ^{to the plan} to shoot Cuban revolutionary hero, Hubert Matos, ^{as a} ~~as~~ ^{influencing him} ~~as~~ ^{#9} a traitor. (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol IV, Information Report, March 16, 1961, Subject: Background, Character and Economic Concepts of Manuel Ray Rivero)

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p. 2*

The MRR was considered the foremost underground group in Cuba, organized in each of the six provinces. ^{16 17} (NYTimes, April 10, 1961, Castro Foes Map Multiple Forays by Tad Szulc) Working in tightly organized cells, the leadership in one province did not know the identities of members in any of the others. ^{17 18} (ibid) The Cuban saboteurs were supplied with explosives sent by launches from the Florida Keys and delivered on Cuban beaches. ^{18 19} (ibid)

and favored continuation of the laws passed by Castro at the beginning of his regime. ³ They favored the regulation of private ~~investment~~ ¹⁴ ~~utilities~~ and nationalization of all utilities. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II, Cable to Director from MASH) Associated with Ray in this underground organization were Raul Chibas, Ramon Barquin, Rogelio Cisneros, ^{4, 15} (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II, Organization of MRP) Rufo Lopez Fresquet and Felipe Pazos ¹⁶ (Give Us This Day, E. Howard Hunt, PLEd. p. 92)

Ray was criticized as a tardy adherent to the anti-Castro movement ^{18, 19, 20} (Ibid p. 92) and charges of "Fidelism without Fidel" were made against him and the MRP because of their leftist ideologies.

²¹ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II, Contact Report from (Wallace Parlett) 10/17/60, Subject: Meeting with (Juan Estevez) and (Jorge Beruff,) 10/13/60)

For these reasons, his background was questioned by some in the State Department ^{18, 19, 22} (CIA/DDO Ray Vol I, Memo to WH/Chief from Acting Chief, WH 9/27/60, Subject: State Approval to Include Manuel Ray Rivero into the FRD Complex) and the Miami CIA office ^{19, 20, 23} (CIA/DDO,

Ray Vol I, Cable from MASH to WH/9, 9/29/60) when, in the summer of 1960, he was actively being recruited by the CIA in Cuba to

become a member of the FRD, a newly formed anti-Castro organization sponsored by the CIA. ²⁴ ~~25~~ ²¹ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol I, Cable from MASH to WH/9, 9/29/60) (cite) The Agency considered him an important

political asset ^{22, 23, 25} (CIA/DDO Ray Vol I, Summer 1960) and facilitated

his clandestine entrance into the United States ^{22, 23, 26} (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II,

Cable to Director from MASH, 11/5/60) on November 10, 1960 ^{23, 24, 27} (CIA/DDO

Ray Vol II, Cable to Director from JMASH, 11/11/60).

Doubts arose within the CIA as to Ray's political ~~allegiance and its~~ compatibility to United States Government policy. In a Memo for Record dated 11/21/60, it was reported that, "... Ray did not politically represent anything to cheer about." ²⁴⁻²⁵⁻²⁶ (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 ²⁶⁻²⁹ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II, Cable to Director from MASH, 11/17/60) and an additional assessment stated that Ray was so far "left" in his thinking that he would be as dangerous to U.S. interests as Castro. ²⁶⁻²⁷⁻³⁰ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol V, Memo for Record, 2 June 1961, Subject: Relations with Manolo Ray and the MRP from (James A. Noel))

Prominent exiled Cubans also expressed negative information about Ray, described by one ~~exile~~ ^{as highly dangerous} because of his ambition to play a prominent role in the Cuban government after Castro's overthrow. ³⁰ ~~(CIA/DDO, Ray Vol II, Memo for Record, (John D. Peters, 11/8/60, Subject: Contact Report on Meeting with (Rogelio Gonzalez))~~ Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, President of the FRD, was ³¹⁻³²⁻³¹ 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. ³²⁻³³⁻³² (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol IV, Memo to S - Dr. Berle from ARA - Philip W. Bonsal, March 16, 1961, Subject: Recent Cuban Developments) Manuel Artime, head of the MRR, advised that Ray's

Ray withdrew from the CRC shortly after the Bay of Pigs invasion. In a Miami new conference on May 28, 1961, he said the major reason for the MRP break with the CRC was that the council had failed to live up to the written promises given it in March, outlining conditions Ray had insisted upon before joining the organization. (NYTimes, 5/28/61, One Cuban Group Quits Exile Body by Sam Pope Brewer) The first condition had been that the council was to give first priority to the underground fighters in Cuba during the Bay of Pigs invasion. Secondly, Ray had insisted that anyone too closely associated with the Batista regime would not be used in the invasion and lastly, he was to have been allowed prior approval before any military leader of the invasion was named. (Ibid) Ray told the assembled newsmen that his program to overthrow Castro was based on maximum mobilization of the discontented people inside Cuba and that the leadership of this underground should come from Cubans who could prove they had such a potential force. (ibid)

Ray then sought CIA support independent of the Council, () explaining to Agency personnel that the MRP did have an effective underground organization but needed material and financial support. () Ray felt it necessary for his organization to be allowed to plan its own operations and broaden its base of financial support to include sympathetic Latin American governments. () He was totally opposed to any future invasion attempt. ()

Insert for Page 6, #1 - Ray.

He explained to agency personnel that the MRP had an effective underground organization inside Cuba but needed material and financial support from the CIA. ⁴⁴ (CIA/DDO ~~3 44 42 43~~) Ray Vol II, Cable to Bell from SHWAVE - Apr 27, 1961 # 0923) ~~He resented his desire to operate independently of and to be in control of the MRP independently.~~ Ray felt it necessary for the MRP to plan its own operations and broaden ^{its} ~~the~~ base of financial support to include sympathetic Latin American countries. ⁴⁵ ~~44 45 44~~ (Ibid) He was totally opposed to any future invasion attempt ⁴⁶ ~~44~~ ⁴⁶ maintaining that internal revolt would

be the only way to ~~not~~ rescue Cuba
from the ~~the~~ communistic grip of Fidel
Castro. ⁴⁶ (ibid) The ~~CIA~~ ^{miami CIA Station} recommended
~~give~~ Ray ^{the resources} an initial \$50,000 for operational
expenses ⁴⁷ ~~48~~ ~~49~~ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol 5, Cable to Bell from
JMWAVE, May 4, 1961, #1312) and Ray pledged
to the agency an MRP program of discipline,
security and austerity. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol 5, Cable to
Bell from JMWAVE Apr 29, 1961, #0923)
but, ^{within 24 hours} resistance to this recommendation ~~emerged~~
erupted at CIA headquarters because it
was felt within the Western Hemisphere
Division that Ray did not even produce
any substantial ^{military} ~~actions~~ actions against
Castro. ⁴⁸ ~~49~~ ~~50~~ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II, Memo for Record, May 5, 1961
from Calvin H. Hark WH/1/P.M./Operations) Ray was
asked to submit a "prospectus" of his plans
for the MRP and advised that no financial
help would be forthcoming until such a
plan was reviewed. ⁴⁹ ~~50~~ ~~51~~ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol II, Memo
for Record June 2, 1961 from (James A. Noel))

While there, the ~~National Executive of~~
leaders of the MRP underground in Cuba issued
a statement that Ray ~~was~~ was dismissed as
General coordinator of ~~the~~ ^{the} group. ^{S1 #} (Miami News,
July 17, 1961 - Ray lashes CIA for Custer as Epile
Chief by Hal Hendrix) Ray ^{accusing} ~~accused~~ the
CIA of maneuvering to divide & weaken the
MRP and force his ouster, ~~(Ibid)~~ submitted
his "revocable" resignation. ^{S2 #} (Ibid)

The Miami CIA station recommended Ray be given an initial \$50,000 for operational expenses ⁴⁷ and reaction at headquarters was immediate. Within 24 hours a Memo for the Record was circulated objecting to the Miami Station's recommendation, reflecting the feeling that Ray did not ever produce any substantial military actions against Castro. ⁴⁸ Ray was asked to submit a "prospectus" of his plans for the MRP and advised that no financial help would be forthcoming until such a plan was reviewed. ⁴⁹

Ray went to Puerto Rico ^{via} July 1961, where he could reasonably expect sympathetic support for the MRP from the Governor of that island, Luis Munoz Marin, ⁵⁰ who was reportedly ⁵¹ CIA/DDO Ray Vol. II, Memo for Record (Secret) 19 Dec 1961, Subj: Miscellaneous Items discussed with Dr. Munoz on 8 Dec 1961

While in Puerto Rico, a member of the MRP underground in Cuba met-with-the-National-Executive-of-the-MRP-in-Miami and reported to-them that he had been in contact with the CIA who made it clear that no material resources would be available from them for the MRP struggle within Cuba until Manuel Ray was dismissed as general coordinator. ⁴⁹⁻⁵¹ (NYTimes, July 17, 1961, Cuba Exile Group Criticizes C.I.A. by Peter Kihss) Charging the CIA with repeated interference in their affairs, Ray resigned his post to eliminate any obstacle to the group's cohesion. ⁴⁹⁻⁵² (ibid)

Force W. from Alfonso Rodriguez, July 12, 1962, Subject: Manolo Ray Rivero) Ray freely admitted that this group would cooperate with the CRC but ultimately hoped to dominate it. (Ibid) JURE

Concurrent with his/activities, Ray began giving information to the CIA regarding possible recruitment or defection of Castro officials. (CIA/DDO Vol VII, Cable July 25, 1962) He discussed plans with the CIA to approach the Cuban Ambassador to Mexico (Ibid) The CIA decided he had capabilities along these lines and his case officer recommended he be given \$84,700 over a six month period to set up an intelligence network inside Cuba and create a recruitment or defection capability in selected Latin American countries. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol VII, Memo to Chief, Task Force W from Alfonso Rodriguez, Aug. 24, 1962, Subject: Operational Use of Ray Expenditure of Funds) The degree of Ray's success in this area is not documented, but his efforts continued into the summer of 1963 and involved recruitment activities in (France) and (Belgium) in June. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol IX, Cable to Director from Paris) June 19, 1963, #77272) (see 10/30/78 notes - add here)

It was also in June 1963 that the CIA inaugurated the concept of Autonomous Operations, under which JURE could be financed independently as opposed/through the CRC. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XVI, Memo to Director from Chief/WH Division, July 9, 1964, Subject: Chronology of Concept of Autonomous Operations and Summary of Financial Support to Manuel Arttime) and military operations

^{62/66 69}
were initiated. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol X, Memo for Record, 8/23/63
from Alfonso Rodriguez, Subject: Ray, Contact Report) Rogelio
Cisneros was the JURE coordinator for these military operations.

⁶⁹
(HSCA #009005, p. 7, Memo to G. Robert Blakey, 6/28/78, Interview
with Manolo Ray Rivero by Fonzi/Gonzales)

Operating under the Rules of Engagement of the
Autonomous Operations, Cisneros felt that JURE was not obligated
to report its military or political plans to the CIA but that the
agency was obligated to finance JURE's purchase of military
equipment. ^{69/64} (CIA/DDO Ray Vol X - Cable to Director from JMWAVE,
September 11, 1963) The group, at this time, was receiving
\$25,000 monthly from the CIA (CIA/DDO, Ray Vol X, Memo for Record,
8/23/63 from A. Rodriguez, Subject: Ray Contact Report)

By the fall of 1963, Ray was devoting his full time to
JURE (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Draft, October 4, 1963 by Rodriguez,
Subject: Manuel Ray Rivero) and travelled extensively in Latin
American countries ^{to gain support etc which would allow} in connection with the groups activities. (HSCA
#009005, p. 6, Memo to G. Robert Blakey, 6/28/78, Interview with
JMWAVE/CS, 10/22/63) ^{JURE to mount resistance operations inside Cuba. (Vol XI Cable to Chief, SA Staff)}
Manolo Ray Rivero by Fonzi/Gonzales) On the 22nd of November,

1963, the day President Kennedy was assassinated, Ray said he and
Cisneros were at a JURE meeting in Caracas. (Ibid) ^{Insert} Ray was
actively engaged in mounting an infiltration attempt into Cuba
during this time period (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Memo for Record from
Alfonso Rodriguez, Subject: Meeting with Ray in St. Thomas on 31
October and 1 November 1963) and the CIA made plans to cache

The FBI received information from an informant on Nov 21, 1963
that JURE was planning a meeting in Caracas & Raul Chibas was
leaving Miami on this date for Caracas. Ray & Cisneros were also
scheduled to attend. (HSCA #009299, Item 5, P 4, FBI #105-114543-50, Rogelio Cisneros

12 (HSCA 009005 6/28/78 Interview)

Diary, Report of Francis J. O'Brien, NYC., 12/31/63 Title: JURE)

military supplies for JURE on Roncador Cay on November 25, 1963.
(CIA/DDO Ray Vol XI, Memo for Record from Alfonso Rodriguez,
December 13, 1963) but the JURE ship failed to rendesvous with
the CIA vessel and no satisfactory explanation for the failure
to do so was given by Ray. (Ibid) No documentation is contained
in Ray's files at the CIA to indicate whether or not that agency
endeavored to investigate JURE's failure to successfully complete
their part of the operation. ~~but by January 1964, the organization~~
~~was making plans to move their operations to Costa Rica (CIA/DDO,~~
~~Ray Vol XII, Cable to Director from JMWAVE, dated January 14, 1964)~~
~~Governor-Marin-of-Puerto-Rico-pledged-to-give-Ray-double-any~~
~~amount-of-money-~~

In January 1964, Ray's organization was making plans to move their operations to Costa Rica (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XII, Cable to Director from JMWAVE, 1/14/64) and establish a guerrilla training base in Venezuela (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XII, Intelligence Information Cable, 2/4/64) Ray also began to formulate plans for his infiltration into Cuba at this time (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XIII, Cable to Director from JMWAVE, 3/28/64) and indicated he would turn the operation of JURE over to Rogelio Cisneros during the period of his absence. (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XIII Memo for Chief, WH Division, 4/14/64 from Alfonso Rodriguez, Subject: My Meeting with Ray on 13 April 1964) His plan did not reach fruition and Ray and his group were arrested by the British near Cayo Largo and taken to Nassau for a short detention. (CIA/DDO Vol XV, Cable to Director from JMWAVE, June 3, 1964) The failure of Ray's infiltration attempt and resultant publicity brought his prestige among the Cuban exile community to a "near-absolute low point." (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XV, Cable to Director from JMWAVE, 6/10/64)

Compounding Ray's credibility troubles, the ~~embarrassing~~ revelation by the FBI and U.S. Treasury that JURE had illegally purchased \$50,000 worth of arms from a California company (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XIV, Memo for Record, 5/20/64 from Samuel Halpern, Subj: JURE Purchase of Arms) caused the CIA considerable embarrassment. (Ibid) The Agency denied knowledge of the arms purchase when queried by Revenue officials and, because of the autonomous nature

Invert^{#2} In order to re-establish his
lost credibility, Ray tried once again in July 1964
to infiltrate Cuba, but his boat, the M/V True,
developed motor trouble & the plan was
aborted. ^{#84} (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XVI, Cable to Director
from (JMBARR), July 15, 1964) This misadventure
was greeted with relative indifference by
the Cuban spies in the Miami area ^{as a whole but} (CIA/DDO, ⁸⁹ 1)
Ray Vol XVI, Cable to Dir from JMWAVE, July 18, 1964)
^{did} and caused three ^{#85} spy groups to withdraw
from JURE (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XVI, Whixson
printout, Miami, Monday, July 24, 1964)

of its relationship with JURE, did not make any attempt to stop Revenue's investigation. ¹¹⁸² (Ibid) ~~Insert 1182~~ Insert 2

This combination of events led a special group within the CIA to cancel any monies to Ray until he ceased all activities from the U. S. Mainland. ⁸⁶⁴⁸⁻⁸¹ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XV, Memo for Record, 29 June 1964 from Alfonso Rodriguez, Subject: Establishment of Base Abroad, Manuel Ray Rivero) A final payment of \$75,000 was made to JURE at the end of 1964 ⁸²⁸⁷ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XVII, Autonomous Operations - Operating Plan) and JURE books were closed at the CIA. ⁸³⁸⁸ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XVII, Memo for Record, draft, 9/22/64, Alfonso Rodriguez)

~~Ray has remained in Puerto Rico~~
 Ray kept his organization together until August 1968 ⁸⁹⁴⁴ (CIA/DDO Ray Vol XVIII, Cable Ltr WH/Miami # 2233, 4 Jan 69) although it was relatively ineffective and personally maintain announcing plan to call a Congress of Cuban exiles in 1968 ⁸⁹⁴⁴ in interest in anti-Castro activities, as late as to create a new organization (ibid) ⁸⁵⁹⁰ 1972 he was actively engaged in the formulation of a new organization, of Cuban exiles, (HSCA) People's Revolutionary Party, ^{hoping} in an effort to reinvigorate the anti Castro Movement (HSCA 007005 Memo D 6 & B, Ray, 6/24/78 Interview with Manuel Ray Rivero, by Jorge/Longobardi) but it too, ~~failed~~ ²⁴⁹¹ failed to make an impact (Ibid) ⁷⁷⁹² ~~It failed~~