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Even in describing the worst aspects of the present situation, only 30% of all respondents mentioned items which could be construed as criticisms, explicit or implicit, of the Castro regime. Only a few such subjects received significant mention, with each being referred to by only a small minority of total respondents: e.g., the danger of or trend toward Communism (7%); criticism of the Revolution's program (7%); economic difficulties (7%); unemployment (6%); confusion and disorganization (5%).

In view of the overwhelming popularity of the Revolutionary program, it is patently clear that *criticisms of Castro's program, as such, will fall very largely on barren, if not counter-productive ground.*

The only positive statements that appeared in the Free report, insofar as the objectives of WH/4 were concerned, were to the effect that successful attack on the Castro Government should be made in terms of the inability of the government to meet the projects it had outlined because of "the unwise and unrealistic means it is employing in the execution of its program"; and "the Revolution and its program are being perverted through the insidious influence of the Communists."*

* The information concerning the Free report, is contained in source reference 24.

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It is interesting to record the reaction within

the Agency to the Free report:

C/JMARC lamented the fact that the Lloyd Free report evidently has gotten into the hands of the Cuban Government and will probably be used with devastating effect at some point during the meeting [the upcoming OAS conference scheduled for San Jose, Costa Rica]. He told ADDP/A that he felt the Department of State would have to be prepared to sacrifice Mr. Free's report on the proverbial "alter of gold." The point was made strongly to ADDP/A that the Free report, in fact, is not at all valid other than for a limited "sample" of the City of Habana. ADDP/A agreed, but said he did not think State should be made aware of the fact CIA actually paid for the report. He further indicated that he was still endeavoring to find out how the report -- copy of which CIA never received in full -- got out of control.* 25/

The substance of the Free Report appeared in the *New York Times* and also in a Peter Edson column which was reported to be syndicated in 600 newspapers. In passing this information on to the DDP, Chief, WH/4 suggested that "the survey, in the opinion of WH/4

* Chief, WH/4 apparently misread the significance of the Free report because, as the report points out, the most serious opposition was, in fact, in the Havana area, which included the heaviest sampling of opposition sentiment.

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Prop, will be used in Cuban propaganda" -- something of an understatement! * 26/

* Logic would seem to indicate that if WH/4's principals could not subscribe to the results of Free Survey's study that WH/4/PR might have been tasked to make a serious study of the impact which Castro's propaganda and his achievements were having on the will of the Cuban public to resist outside interference. In an interview with the author of this history, Dave Phillips stated that Enno Hobbing had provided the editorial guidance for WH/4's propaganda efforts; but that to his (Phillips's) knowledge, no study ever was conducted of the Castro propaganda effort. In retrospect, Phillips indicated that this probably was an oversight. 27/

On the subject of surveys of questionable value during the Bay of Pigs Operation, mention should be made of a contract JMARE negotiated with Klein and Saks

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to initiate a survey of Cuba's present [May 1960] economic position that will also contain an outline of proposals that would sound [sic] as a platform for a successor government to the Castro regime. The cost, which will be borne by JMARC, will be about \$20,000. This is merely the first phase of the projected comprehensive economic program.

Why, with CIA's in-house economic talent (in the Economic Research Area of the Office of Research and Reports) and the surfeit of government economists familiar with Latin America, WH/4 thought it necessary to negotiate an outside contract for a study such as indicated is truly incomprehensible! That the Klein and Saks contract was not blocked at the DDP or DCI level is equally incomprehensible. The company's "Preliminary Outline of Economic and Financial Government Platform to Serve the Interests of the People of Cuba and to be Compatible with the Interest of the Hemisphere and the Free World of which Cuba is a Part"

-- which was presented in typscript -- was 15 pages of platitudes about the best of all possible worlds. 28/

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WH/4 PP also became involved in the propaganda activity that was intended to offset the planned visit of Nikita Khrushchev to Cuba in the summer of 1960. In an Eyes Only memorandum to the Director of Central Intelligence, Col. J. C. King informed Allen Dulles that it had been learned that Khrushchev had accepted an invitation from the Government of Cuba to visit that country. Working with Havana Station, a two-pronged program was being developed with the intention of either forcing the cancellation of the trip or indicating the opposition of the Cuban people to Communism. Havana Station was to be responsible for organizing church opposition to the visit, and WH/4 and other elements of WH Division would be responsible for instigating rumors throughout Latin America that an assassination attempt would be made on Khrushchev's life if he appeared in Cuba.

One of the WH/4's contacts suggested that leaflets should be prepared depicting the crucifix upside down, to signify the Soviet treatment of religion, and that these leaflets should be distributed widely through Cuba. 29/ There is no indication that this particular leaflet was ever devised, but in at least

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one instance, the Hammer and Sickle was used to form the 'T' in the word *Traidor* on a sticker that was being prepared for propaganda use. 30/ In anticipation of the possible visit, 10,000 stickers of an anti-Khrushchev, anti-Soviet nature were forwarded from Headquarters to Havana Station. The legend on one of these was "Cuba, Yes; Russia, No; Khrushchev, No;" and a second item showed a prisoner behind bars formed by the stripes of the Cuban flag with the words *Sin Palabras* -- "Without words." * 31/

Despite these advanced preparations, no opportunity was presented to utilize the propaganda stickers.** Although both Castro and Khrushchev were in attendance at the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, 19-28 September 1960, and even though Castro flew out of New York in an Aeroflot jet, the Khrushchev visit did not materialize at this time.***

* See following two pages for copies.

** More detailed information on propaganda leaflets and the dissemination of such materials by air drop is given in Volume I of this history, *Air Operations*.

*** Khrushchev flew from New York directly to Moscow at the close of the UN session. On 22 October 1960 in the course of an interview in Moscow with a Cuban journalist Khrushchev did state that he wanted to visit Cuba and its people as soon as possible. 31a/

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If not particularly successful in projects other than Radio Swan, WH/4/PP cannot be charged with lack of imagination. Among other projects, it was proposed that the Office of Medical Services' psychiatric study of Fidel Castro be surfaced because the profile was not particularly flattering to the Cuban leader; and the Castro image also would have suffered if a disorienting drug could have been placed in Castro's food. These proposals were similar in intent to others aimed at the Castro "image" as revealed in the Senate Select Committee investigation of CIA plots against the Cuban leader.

In light of a rumor that had been picked up to the effect that the Cubans reportedly were painting some of their British Sea Fury aircraft with the American flag -- said planes to be used in a provocation action to discredit the United States -- WH/4 investigated the possibility of doctoring some photos of the Sea Furies with the flag being painted on in order to forestall any such provocations by the Cubans. Unfortunately, however, the Agency art shop pointed out that it would be technically infeasible to attempt to make such fake photos. With the idea in mind of a

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propaganda campaign aimed at terrorizing Castro's militia (and apparently at the request of Col. Jack Hawkins, Chief, WH/4/PM), WH/4/PP gave some thought to preparing a purported secret order to Castro's militia to establish an "elite suicide squad" which would fight on even after the defeat of the other troops. The gentleman who would later become infamous in connection with the Watergate activity, E. Howard Hunt, and Dave Phillips assessed the possibility of sending a white painted "flight of truth" airplane on a trip to several of the Latin American countries, bringing -- in a "Billy Graham type operation" -- the message of Castro's betrayal of the Cuban Revolution. But this esoteric plan, too, never got beyond the planning stage. 32/

None of the foregoing proposals however, were in the same league with the propaganda plan that came to be known as "the Dripping Cuban." The WH/4 Propaganda Notes for 19 August 1960 stated:

P[hillips] dispatched cable on Special Operation to HAVA. (Cuban jumping ship in Bosphorous). 33/

In fact, the cable that Dave Phillips had originated was addressed not only to Havana, but also to

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[12-3], [12-13] and to the Forward Operations Base in Miami. Remembering that Dave Phillips himself was something of an actor, as well as a newspaperman, it is believed worthwhile to repeat this cable in its entirety. The cable read as follows:

1. FYI: HQS IS CONSIDERING THE FOLLOWING OPERATION: SHORTLY AFTER A RUSSIAN BOAT HOMEWARD BOUND FROM CUBA PASSES THROUGH BOSPHOROUS A DRIPPING CUBAN CLIMBS ASHORE IN TURKEY. HE CLAIMS TO BE POLITICAL PRISONER ARRESTED BY CUBANS IN HAVANA BUT SENT TO RUSSIA FOR IMPRISONMENT. CUBAN SUBJECT WILL CONTACT LOCAL LATIN AMERICAN CONSULS AND ISTANBUL PRESS FOR EXPLOITATION, THEN RETURN LATIN AMERICA. AFTER BRIEF BUT DRAMATIC EXPOSURE TO PRESS AN "ATTEMPT" WILL BE MADE ON SUBJECT'S LIFE. FOR THIS REASON HE WILL GO UNDERGROUND SO "THEY" WILL NOT LIQUIDATE HIM.

2. FOR HAVA: REQUEST STATION RECRUIT SUBJECT. OBVIOUSLY HE MUST BE SUPERB ACTOR WHO CAN CONVINCINGLY MAINTAIN ROLE IN SPITE OF SKILLFUL PROBING BY DUBIOUS NEWSMEN. HE MUST HAVE MEMORY CAPABLE OF RETAINING THOUSANDS OF "DETAILS" ABOUT HIS ARREST AND FORCED JOURNEY. HE MUST BE KNOWN IN HAVANA SO AS TO BE MISSED WHEN HE IS "ARRESTED." AN ARTICULATE STUDENT TYPE WOULD BE DESIRABLE. SWIMMING ABILITY DESIRABLE BUT NOT ESSENTIAL.

3. SUGGEST THAT IN RECRUITMENT, STATION STATE THERE GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE CUBAN PRISONERS REALLY ARE BEING SENT RUSSIA, BUT THAT THIS CANNOT BE PROVED. THUS SUBJECT'S PARTICIPATION IN THIS PLAY-ACTING WILL BE JUSTIFIABLE DRAMATIZATION OF SOVIET CONTROL IN CUBA. STATION ALSO AUTHORIZED PROMISE FINANCIAL BACKING, LATER

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RETURN TO CUBA WITH FIGHTING GROUP, PERMISSION WEEKEND WITH ALL THE WORKS IN PARIS, ETC.

4. IN RECRUITMENT, IT SHOULD BE STRESSED TO SUBJECT THAT SUCCESS THIS OPERATION AND STATUS HIS POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL LIMELIGHT DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON SECURITY. HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS MUST REALLY BELIEVE HE HAS BEEN ARRESTED (AND STATION MUST ASSIST IN SPREADING WORD OF HIS ARREST FOR SPECIFIC OFFENSE SO THAT FACTS WILL JIBE IN SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATIONS.).

5. ADVISE SOONEST WHEN YOUR MAN IS SELECTED. HIS BRIEFING WILL BE IN DBPRIME. HOPE HE MAY BE RECRUITED IN TIME EXPITRATE AMPAN BOAT DEPARTING HAVA END OF THIS MONTH.

6. FOR [12-3, 12-13]: APPRECIATE YOUR CABLED ASSESSMENT POSSIBLE EXTENT COOPERATION [24] SUGGEST HOWEVER NOT (REPEAT NOT) CONTACT NON-KUBARKERS UNTIL HEADQUARTERS CAN FORWARD OPERATIONAL PLAN. 34/

A memorandum on the outgoing cable quoted above went to Chief, WH/4 from Rudy Gomez, the Deputy Chief of WH Division on 24 August 1960. Gomez's memorandum read as follows:

The DCI, General Cabell, and Mr. Helms discussed this cable on 24 August [1960] and concluded that since Fidel Castro is definitely identifying himself more and more with the Russians, it is not worth the candle to launch an operation such as that one proposed in subject cable. Mr. Helms said that we may discreetly try to find a body for this operation, providing we play it very carefully and do not

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let the body in on what we definitely have in mind; also, that any further cables which go out on this proposed operation are to be signed off by him.

Examined in retrospect, it would appear that Mr. Helms had good reason to be nervous about the proposal.* 35/

B. Sabotage and other Exercises**

Where WH/4/PP was successful in putting Radio Swan into operation and in supporting Station WHUL in

* This proposal provided another of the very few instances where Mr. Helms' name surfaced in relation to a Bay of Pigs related problem.

** Because so many of the sabotage activities of the Cuban dissidents were uncoordinated, uncontrolled, and did nothing to impede the extension of Castro's control or lessen his support, the author has tried only to illustrate something of the scope of those sabotage operations over which the WH or WH/4 could exercise a degree of control. In responding to the Taylor Committee's request for an assessment of the effectiveness of its sabotage program, the best that WHD could say was:

There are numerous acts of sabotage reported from all provinces of Cuba. These acts included the burning of cane fields, damaging of power and communication lines and sugar mills, burning of schools and commercial buildings and damaging of petroleum and sugar refinery [sic]. It is extremely difficult to verify just what sabotage damage were [sic] the result of our team's [sic] activities; however, they have claimed the burning of cane fields, the firing of commercial stores, [high] tension lines, and the damage to the oil refinery at Santiago de Cuba was the result of a raider operation by one of our (footnote continued on following page)

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its broadcasts into Cuba, Project JMWAVE could claim no similarly successful or continuing program of sabotage and disruption. In fact, one of the earliest and most thoroughly discussed sabotage programs against Cuba -- disruption of the Cuban petroleum industry -- was a complete and total bust. Being suggested even before President Eisenhower's authorization of the anti-Castro program, attempts to sabotage and interfere with the operation of Cuba's petroleum refineries continued until well into the middle 60's -- with at least one of the sabotage "experts" displaying the same notable lack of success, but excess of foolishness, that characterized his activities during Project

external action groups. In addition, we feel that a great deal of the other sabotage were [sic] the results [sic] of the demolitions we supplied to the various teams and other action groups in Cuba with which we were in contact. Approximately 10-15,000 lbs. of the over 100,000 lbs. of material [sic] placed in the hands of internal assets were demolitions supplies for sabotage action. 35a/

The attack on the Santiago refinery was led by Rip Robertson, but his exciting cable about the action greatly overemphasized the damage; and the plant operations were quickly restored to normal. At the time, however, the DCI reported it to the Special Group (Chester Bowles, Roswell Gilpatrick, and McGeorge Bundy) as a "successful" operation. 35b/Robertson's cable is shown as Appendix E (p. 355).

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JMATE. It is a story worth recording here, because of the extremely close and continuing relationship between one of the major US oil companies operating a refinery in Cuba, [29] , and WH Division.

As early as 9 March 1960, the minutes of a Special Group meeting reflect conversations that both Allen Dulles and Gordon Gray had concerning the problems being faced by the major petroleum companies operating in Cuba -- SONJ, Texaco, and Shell -- and particularly the need for "discreet means of inter-company consultation" in order to avoid possible anti-trust prosecution. In a discussion of planned para-military operations against Cuba, it was reported that on 14 July 1960, Chief, Western Hemisphere Division was approached "by [29] , [29] . He [chief, WH/D] indicated that it appeared that [29] will be willing to cooperate, perhaps even carry the ball on certain selected [sabotage] targets. DD/P gave authority to push this contact immediately."* 36/

* Paramilitary Operation Plan I, indicated that among the specific sabotage targets to be considered for attack in the period between 1 and 30 September 1960, were petroleum targets. 37/

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By August of 1960, WH/D had approved a program of "subtle sabotage paying off, without resorting to the more risky and sensational type of sabotage." Unfortunately, however, there was a communications gap between the operations people and the intelligence analysts most familiar with the world petroleum industry and a number of demonstrably unworkable -- though subtle -- sabotage efforts came to naught.*

The Cuban petroleum industry also was looked to as an economic-political target as well as a sabotage target. When the US refineries operating in Cuba refused Castro's order to process Soviet crude oil, WH/4 began to think in terms of disrupting the flow of this crude to Cuba by pressuring Onassis and other independent shipping operators to refuse to carry the Soviet oil. It was predicted that such

* The Agency's real petroleum expertise and knowledge-ability -- both technically and economically -- on a worldwide basis was in the Fuels and Power Branch (later the Fuel's Branch) of the Office of Research and Reports (later the Office of Economic Research). Aside from the constant irritation of having to work half in the dark in response to WH/D or WH/4, ORR/F&P was constantly having to correct errors, to make apologies, or mend fences with the major US petroleum companies as a result of the lack of coordination between DDP and DDI components.

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a plan would force the USSR (then facing a shortage of tanker bottoms in the world market) to transport its own crude to Cuba and to "provide technicians and make modifications in existing refineries to process their crude." This, in turn, was supposed to alienate Venezuela and Mexico, normally among Cuba's crude suppliers.* 39/

In addition to petroleum refineries as targets for sabotage, plans were also made to disrupt the Cuban microwave system. Unlike the plans to disrupt the Cuban petroleum industry -- which would directly involve properties of the international oil companies -- the sabotage program for the microwave networks, as late as February of 1961, specifically stated that attacks should be limited to the Cuban operated net with "hands off RCA and Dumont systems, which are to remain intact for later consideration." 40/ Also

* In fact, the Cuban refinery technicians themselves did an excellent job of adapting the plants to the use of Soviet crude. The former manager of the E 29 J refinery commented to this effect after reviewing the all source intelligence materials available on the plant. He was pleased -- at least in one sense -- to note that E 29 J training program has apparently been quite successful!

prohibited were attacks under Agency sponsorship on Soviet and Soviet-bloc targets located in Cuba. J. C. King protested that attacks on Soviet and Soviet-bloc targets by resistance forces not controlled by the Agency were far less efficient than such attacks would be if they were mounted through Agency efforts. 41/

In addition to planning for sabotage, WH Division's anti-Castro activity also included extensive plans for the formation of goon squads throughout much of Latin America in an attempt to counter the pro-Castro elements of the various nations. This goon squad program also was of considerable interest to the Deputy Director for Plans, Mr. Bissell. Because of its areawide nature, the activities of the goon squads were run out of WH/D rather than out of WH/4. Among the operations which WH claimed credit for were the following: The disruption in L 10 of about 400 Castro sympathizers gathered to celebrate the 26th of July movement through the use of stink bombs set off in the meeting place; in L 10 a counter demonstration against some 200 Castro sympathizers also gathered to celebrate the 26th of July movement; and in L 10 a "A meeting

of the [29] was broken up by [24]
 [] , who sprayed the two principal speakers,
 prominent [8] leftists with 'Who, Me?'.** 42/

Among other assets which Chief, WH/D chose to
 mention in the same context with the goon squads were
 the [8] of one Latin American
 country:

Who can promote action of any of the
 [29]
 In another country, an**

Agency member integrated into the
 [8] serving as an
 Advisor to the President on [8]
 [] is in a position to recommend
 [24] to the President.** 43/

In what may have been a ploy intended principally
 to obtain a vessel for use in infil-exfil operations,

* "Who, Me?" was an obnoxious scent.

** In light of subsequent investigations of CIA Activities by the Senate Select Committee in the mid 1970's, it is interesting that the reference to the "Action Squads" described above also included with reference to the Dominican Republic an agent:

In contact with a group of dissidents capable of violent action, including assassination. This group has killed a number of agents of the *Servicio de Inteligencia Militar* (SIM), Dominican Secret Police. 45/

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rather than in direct action programs against Cuba, representatives of the Special Projects Group, Counter-intelligence made a pitch to Chief, JMATE to acquire a vessel which -- for its acquisition, operational maintenance, crew, including incentive bonus would run roughly \$200,000 for a 6-month period -- could also be used in deception operations against Castro.

In responding to this suggestion from the Special Projects Group, Col. Jack Hawkins quickly put the quietus on this request, noting that it was doubtful that the Cubans had either enough sophisticated radar or commo gear so that they would react to "the false radar presentation, deceptive communications traffic, noise makers, signals, smoke, explosions, etc." Consequently Hawkins concluded:

In view of the high cost involved, and the other factors mentioned above, I do not concur in the acquisition of this craft for deception purposes as proposed in the reference. 46/

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