

CLANDESTINE RADIO OPERATIONS IN THE CUBAN
REVOLUTIONARY AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENT 1953-1965

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Part 2 - Counter-Revolutionary
(anti-Castro)
Radio Activities

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by Don Jensen

DXplorer Radio Association

During the spring of 1959, following the successful overthrow of the Batista government, Fidel Castro has the Cuban people mesmerized. He was on radio and television constantly, and he talked for hours at a time. The people listened and believed every word, for they wanted to believe.

Castro denied angrily that there were Communists in his government. He declared the revolution was not red, but alive-green, the color of the fatigue uniforms worn by his 26th of July Movement troops.

But gradually the true nature of the new regime became so clear that even members of the Castro government despaired at the Communist takeover and spoke out against it. They were summarily imprisoned or shot, along with thousands of other Cubans who felt betrayed by the revolutionary government. The more fortunate ones, first from among the white collar classes, but later middle and lower class Cubans as well, fled the island and Castro's Moscow-oriented tyranny.

Miami became the focal point for these exiles. Here they formed countless organizations, ranging in the political spectrum from right to left, but all with the single aim of counter-revolution against Fidel Castro.

This is the second half of our study of the part played by clandestine radio stations in recent Cuban history — the transmissions of the various groups seeking the overthrow of the Communist revolutionary government just ninety miles from our shore.

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To better understand the historical background of the counter-revolutionary activities from 1959 to the present and the part radio broadcasting has played in these struggles, this text will attempt to study these clandestine radio operations as a part of the overall chronological account of the years that followed the overthrow of Batista. Then, we will turn our attention to several major clandestine broadcasting activities of the anti-Castro elements in some detail.

Needless to say, since we are dealing with contemporary history and since the fight against Castro has not been won, information about these clandestine stations and programs has been difficult to obtain. In some cases the conclusions presented are verified facts. In others they are based on observations, partial information and deductive reasoning. This is necessarily so.

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The Year of the Revolution, 1959, became the year of betrayal for Cubans who had looked to Fidel Castro for the democratic government he had promised. For most, the truth of the situation took a long time to realize, so completely did the people trust Fidel.

But gradually the message began to get through. Rebel army and militia units were being grounded in Communist ideology. Castro's National Agrarian Reform Institute, INRA, which had been supposedly founded to carry out "El Maximo Lider's" promise of land reform began to merely confiscate property and turn the old and huge sugar plantations into cooperative farms. Castro had promised to split these large cane growing areas into small plots which were to be given to the average farmer. These promises were broken.

Businesses were also seized by the government. Among the first to go were the private broadcasters, particularly those domestic radio stations whose owners and managers spoke out against the growing Communist influence.

Jose Manuel Berenguer, co-owner of the Santiago de Cuba station, CMHC, an old friend and leader in the 26th of July Movement, who was asked by Castro to establish a new radio network based in the rebel stronghold of Oriente Province prior to the ouster of Batista, told of his disillusionment with the revolution. In spring of 1959, he began to broadcast speeches critical of the growing strength of the Communists in the government.

Berenguer said he was called to Havana by Castro. "Fidel was angry, hurt, even plaintive," he said. "He accused us of growing cold toward the revolution."

"I explained that many of his old friends in Oriente Province were disappointed because he had done nothing to redeem his promise to make Santiago the capital or even a federal district. I also told him that there was growing concern over the way the Communists were taking charge of everything. At the mention of Communism, Fidel flared up." (H)

Berenguer continued that soon after the CMKC broadcasts started, a Communist officer in the rebel army paid him a visit. He told the owner of the station that Fidel was very angry because he had joined the counter-revolutionaries.

"He said our broadcasts were destroying national unity. He warned us that if the broadcasts did not cease or change, we would be out of business."

"Then we began to lose the good people on our staff," Berenguer said.

"The unions replaced them with announcers and engineers who were either Communists or Communist sympathizers. After that, we knew, it was only a matter of time."

The sixth anniversary of the disastrous attack on the Moncada army barracks in 1953 was celebrated on July 26, 1959. New York Times correspondent Ruby Hart Phillips stated, "Hardly had the celebration ended when we began to hear rumors about an attempted revolution against Castro. There were stories about guns being brought into Cuba with plenty of weapons in hiding already. There was an abortive attempt sponsored by Trujillo of the Dominican Republic." (G)

Late in 1959, violence against the Cuban regime continued and Castro continued to arrest and imprison. Light planes dropped anti-Castro leaflets. These planes were based in Florida and several were shot down or crashed while on their propaganda missions.

In the United States, Dr. Rafael Diaz Balart, brother of Castro's former wife, Mirta, announced he was organizing a group called the "White Rose." This was one of the first formal counter-revolutionary groups and reportedly had a pro-Batista bias. It became lost in the multitude of exile groups that sprang up in 1960.

Soon the number of refugees from the Castro brand of Communism who fled to Miami by plane and boat was in the thousands. Since these anti-Fidelistas refused to be passive about their opposition to the revolutionary regime, they rushed into conspiracies, both Florida-based and in Cuba. While it seemed the U.S. wanted to keep detached from these efforts, inevitably, our government became drawn into the attempts. Soon, in early 1960, Washington had become an active partner in the emerging plots against Castro.

That spring, Central Intelligence Agency operatives began delivering weapons and radio transmitters to the "White Rose" plotters with the apparent hope of building this group into a strong guerrilla force within Cuba.

The groundwork for the curious semi-clandestine radio station known as Radio Swan, and later as Radio Americas, about which we shall learn more later, must have been completed by the CIA, the government's "cloak and dagger corps," about this time too.

This station was on the air with a 50 kilowatt medium wave transmitter and a 7,500 watt shortwave channel just a few months later from Swan Island, a tiny isle of the Hauduron coast.

The CIA made an apparent mistake in extending its working arrangements to groups such as the "White Rose," which backed the hated Batistas. This support ran counter to the official U.S. policy of encouraging needed social reforms in Latin America.

Robert Taber, an ex-CBS newsmen and an early supporter of Castro, stated it was hard to believe that the CIA seriously "expected a group of thoroughly discredited Batistas could command enough support to overthrow Castro." (A)

Taber, incidently, turned his back on the United States and worked as a government journalist for the Castro regime. He also was an English language announcer on Radio Habana Cuba for a time. He did return to this country in March 1962 and founded the left-wing Fair Play for Cuba committee.

While Taber and others remained faithful to Castro, there were many

who renounced their previous support of the revolutionary government. One of these was Dr. Luis Conte Aguero.

Conte Aguero had been one of the most popular radio and television commentators for several years. His noontime show was almost an institution with the Cuban people during and following the revolution. His comments carried much weight with the people. Conte Aguero had opposed Batista and reportedly had been a close friend of Fidel's since their days at the University of Havana.

Conte Aguero's broadcasting activities had been confined to radio until 1959. Then he began a daily commentary program from 1:30 to 2:15 p.m. on CMQ-TV, Havana. The station was the nucleus of Cuba's largest network, which was owned by the Mestre brothers and based in Havana's elaborate Radio Centre.

"Conte Aguero's broadcasts," said Manuel Cores, then manager of CMQ-TV, "were pro-Fidel, but they were also critical of the government. After the middle of 1959, he also became increasingly sharp in his criticism of the Communists. This caused us a lot of trouble, because the Communists now had complete control of the engineers' and announcers' unions. But the Mestre brothers, who owned the network, were determined to maintain freedom of speech no matter what happened." (H)

Castro began to cool toward Conte Aguero in the summer of 1959. By the time the Soviets' Anastas Mikoyan arrived in Cuba in February 1960 for a visit, Conte Aguero was recognized as an outspoken anti-Communist, despite his former friendship with Fidel.

On March 20, Conte Aguero announced over CMQ that he intended to settle the controversy once and for all in an "Open Letter to Fidel Castro." The next day the militia surrounded Radio-Centro to prevent him from entering to broadcast. But somehow it was forgotten that he had the earlier radio show on Radio Progreso. Notified what was awaiting him at CMQ, Conte Aguero locked himself in the Radio Progreso radio studios and broadcast his letter to Castro, warning that the Cuban Communists were seeking to turn the revolution into "Soviet socialism."

After the broadcast, he made an attempt to get into CMQ-TV for his regular program. His way was barred by a Communist controlled mob and the militia.

After this, Conte Aguero went into hiding and sought asylum in the Argentine Embassy in Havana. He later left Cuba for the United States but it is reported that the incident crystallized the anti-Communist sentiment on the island.

Conte Aguero's broadcasting activities are continuing at present. He broadcasts a half hour commentary to Cuba, Tuesdays through Sunday on Radio New York Worldwide, WRUL, on 9,620; 9,550; 6,155; 6,015 kcs., at 0200 GMT. This program is picked up from WRUL's transmissions by stations all over Latin America. The program is either relayed instantaneously, such as is the case of Radio Americas on Swan Island, or is transcribed for later presentation. This program is heard at the prime evening listening time in Cuba, 9 p.m., on both Radio Americas and WRUL.

Incidentally, at the time of this writing, six other revolutionary groups seeking the overthrow of Castro's government are transmitting programs to Cuba over the same WRUL channels. Often these programs are relayed, complete with the jamming on WRUL's frequencies, by various other stations in Latin America on which the groups have purchased air time.

The other programs currently on Radio New York Worldwide are: The Movimiento Unidad Revolucionaria Cubana (0145 GMT Tues.-Sun.); La Vos del Ejercito Rebelde, (the Voice of the Rebel Army, also heard simultaneously over Radio Americas at 0230 GMT, Tues.-Sun.); Federacion Obrera Revolucionaria Democratica Cubana, (0255 GMT, Tues.-Sun.) (Monday, 0145 GMT also); Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil Cubano, (0300 GMT, Tues.-Sun.); Federacion de Radioemisoras Cubanas, (0200 GMT, Mon.); and Confederacion de Trabajadores Cubanos (0230 GMT, Mon.).

WRUL's broadcasts of anti-Castro programs dates back to April 1960 when programs featuring Pepita Riera, a Cuban exile billed as "Havana Rose," were beamed to Cuba. In September of that year, Walter S. Lemmon, president of World Wide

Broadcasting System, announced that his station would cooperate with Radio Swan. Lennon said Radio Swan would tape and rebroadcast WRUL's programs.

WRUL, which has been sold twice since that time, has been known as Radio New York Worldwide since March 1963. It has several transmitters of from 50 to 100 kilowatts located at Hatherly Beach, near Scituate, Massachusetts. It is ostensibly a commercial operation, though it has always had apparent close governmental ties.

Following Conte Aguero's exile, Castro, in a four-hour television speech, denounced him as "a traitor, a counter-revolutionary, a paid agent of the Yankee imperialists." Dr. Conte Aguero was also denounced by Jose Pardo Llada, the greatest voice of radio in support of Castro's revolution and the most vitriolic critic of the United States. (H) Pardo Llada called Conte Aguero a "divisionist." Pardo Llada's broadcasts in defense of the Castro regime continued after Conte Aguero left Cuba, and in time he, in turn, became the best known, though hardly the best loved, broadcasting personality on the island. His broadcasts were described by Ruby Hart Phillips as "crude and vulgar." (C)

Then, oddly enough, nearly a year to the day after Conte Aguero's last broadcast from Cuban soil, Pardo Llada fled the island to Mexico City, leaving his wife and daughter in Havana. He announced in Mexico on March 22, 1961, that he could no longer be a supporter of the Castro regime, because he didn't want to take orders from the Communist party of Cuba.

The day after Conte Aguero sought asylum in the Argentine Embassy, co-owner of CMQ, Coar Mestre made an unscheduled personal appearance on the popular TV program, "Ante la Prensa," the Cuban equivalent of "Meet the Press," to reaffirm the freedom of speech. The union engineers tried desperately to cut the telecast off the air, but a few loyal employees barricaded the control room. Later Mestre slipped out of Cuba and the CMQ-TV network, like all others, was taken over by the unions and finally confiscated in September 1960.

The CIA began working with democratic anti-Castro organizations that were cropping up on the island. One of these, the Movement of Revolutionary Recovery (Movimiento de Revolucionaria Recuperacion, MRR) was launched clandestinely by a group of former military and civilian Castro supporters. Later, it was reported, this group lost its original identity and became more conservative in tone. Among its founders were three former rebel captains in the Castro army, Jorge Sotus, Higinio "Nino" Diaz and Sergio Sanjens. The MRR had close connections with a church-based organization called the Catholic Groupment (Agrupacion Catolica). Later a chief of the MRR, Manuel Artise Buesa, was picked by the CIA to command the invasion forces at the Bay of Pigs.

Anti-Castro groups had contact with the American Embassy in Havana and with CIA operatives functioning out of the embassy, plans were drawn for smuggling or parachuting radio transmitters and arms into Cuba for the MRR underground.

Early in April 1960, Castro had to contend with a guerrilla operation in Oriente Province lead by Captain Manuel Beaton, a former Castro soldier.

With about a hundred men, mostly relatives and friends without clear political ties, Beaton held out in the Sierra Maestra for some months.

Anti-Castro forces claimed Beaton was a government agent sent to the mountains as a "decoy" by Fidel who wanted to lure his opponents into an island-wide trap. With much fanfare, Castro surrounded the entire district with 5,000 men. Eventually he captured Beaton and a dozen others, several of whom were shot along with their leader. Anti-regime spokesmen claimed Castro betrayed Beaton after sending him to the Sierra Maestras.

About the same time, a group led by "Nino" Diaz organized near the Guantanamo Navy base and managed to elude capture, but these guerrillas never mustered enough men and eventually were disbanded. Diaz returned to Miami and linked up with MRR forces.

Airline flights from Havana disgorged new loads of refugees in Florida daily. Navy and Coast Guard patrols picked up sunburned and thirsty Cubans in small boats and rafts who tried a sea crossing to the mainland. Miami began to take on the characteristics of a Cuban city with an eventual peak of about 300,000 refugees living in Dade County.

It seemed that every one of them was bent on starting his own movement of liberation. Some were fly-by-night operations centered around an ambitious politician; others were more substantial. One calculation asserted that there were between 40 and 50 different Cuban movements in Miami, constantly merging and dividing. Still other organizations flourished among exile colonies in Puerto Rico, Caracas and Mexico City.

In Florida, commercial radio stations, beaming programs to Cuba, offered a nightly selection of speakers, each representing a different group.

An American backed group, known as the Cuban Freedom Committee, or as it is known in Spanish, the Comite Pro Libertad de Cuba, began scheduling programs for Cubans using the facilities of a number of existing stations.

The C.F.C. was organized in late 1960, according to testimony made before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, September 12, 1963, by Mrs. Mariada C. Arensberg, executive secretary of the organization.

The committee maintains its headquarters at 1737 H Street, N.W.; Washington 6, D.C., and for correspondence from Latin American listeners, a Miami post office address, Box 2525, is announced. A number of well-known Americans make up the advisory board of the C.F.C. They include Senator Claiborne Pell, (D., R.I.); Rep. Donald C. Bruce, (R., Ind.); Rep. Roman C. Pucinski, (D., Ill.); Mrs. Oreta Gulp Hobby, publisher of the Houston Post; Samuel W. Meek, Vice Chairman of J. Walter Thompson Co.; Edward G. Miller, ex-Asst. Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs; Peter O'Donnell, Dallas businessman; Serafino Romualdi, (D., Ill.), former-Gambian representative; Harold Russell, National Commander, Executive

George S. Schuyler, Associate Editor of the Pittsburgh Courier; and Walter Williams, former Under Secretary of Commerce.

Mrs. Arensberg told Congressman Dante B. Fascell, (D., Fla), and his subcommittee that she joined the C.F.C. in December 1960 as executive secretary, having left Cuba two months earlier, after 15 years of continuous residence there.

The Cuban Freedom Committee, which later added to its name, "Free Cuba Radio," (or in Spanish, Radio Cuba Libre), is a non-profit privately funded organization with tax exemption. Monies are obtained through contributions from private foundations, businesses and the general public. Three of the underwriting foundations prefer to remain anonymous. A public fund raising drive was held in 1961.

In January 1961 when the U.S. broke relations with Cuba, the committee, convinced of the importance of radio as a propaganda medium, started buying time on commercial stations which beam strong signals to Cuba. Since the primary objective was to reach the lower and middle classes, the Radio Cuba Libre operation concentrated on transmitting over medium wavelengths, though short wave stations were also utilized. This decision was based on the fact that in 1959, of the radio sets used in Cuba, only 5% were shortwave models. (Since 1961, the importation of sets from the Soviet Bloc nations has raised this percentage to 15%.) "The basic aims of the Free Cuba Radio are to combat the Communist propaganda; to maintain communication with Cuba and the Americas; to keep alive and vibrant a spirit of resistance, and to expose the deceit of the Communist philosophy." (T)

Starting with five minutes of news every hour over Radio Swan (later Radio Americas), the network of programs expanded in 1961 with the addition of time purchased on three domestic commercial outlets, WOL, 870 kc., New Orleans; WGBS, 710 kc., Miami; and WJWF, 1600 kc., Key West. In November 1962, the chain added the Dominican station, Radio Caribe, (now known as Radio Santo Domingo TV) with its eight frequencies (now four). However, the programs to Radio Americas, which included some in the Chinese language (Cantonese dialect), were suspended sometime early this year.

At the time of this writing, the committee sponsors approximately 11 hours of daily programs on the three commercial medium wave stations and on the Dominican outlets of 620; 3,217; 5,970 and 9,505 kc.

According to Mrs. Arensberg, the committee she represents has no connection with another anti-Communist group, Accion Revolucionaria Interna Contra el Comunismo, which has apparently broadcast programs using the slogan, Radio Cuba Libre, on a few occasions.

Working with Mrs. Arensberg, who plans and supervises the programs for all the stations in the network from the Washington headquarters, are former owners of radio and television stations in Cuba, award winning radio-TV producers and writers, advertising executives, and university professors. The staff of the C.F.C. now numbers 13 full-time employees and several freelance writers. The personnel includes Dr. Isaac A. Casariego, newscaster for programs transmitted by WML; Joe Perez, Luis Dulziades and Jose Manuel Coton, who broadcast from Key West; and Jose M. Garcia Huerta and Eugenio Sanchez Torrente, broadcasting over WGBS, Miami.

A religious message from Monsignor Eduardo Boza Masvidal, former Auxiliary Bishop of Havana, to the Cuban people, serves as a source of inspiration and comfort each Sunday.

Some time ago, a new type of program was added to the schedule for broadcast over WML and Radio Santo Domingo TV. Called, "Programa Para El Hogar," (or Program for the Home), it is directed to middle and lower class women in Cuba. A 13-minute program discussing the problems affecting families living under Communism, it is voiced by two professional Cuban women, known to their listeners as "Rosa and Maria Luisa." They stress the strongest force for liberation is the Cuban family and the program is widely listened to on the island.

The present schedule of Radio Cuba Libre programs is as follows:

WGBS, 710 kc., Miami- Daily- 11:30 to 12:30 p.m.; 5 to 6 a.m., E.S.T.

WML, 1620 kc., Key West- Daily- 12:00 midnight to 2 a.m., E.S.T.

WWL, 870 kc., New Orleans- Daily- 1 to 5 a.m., E.S.T. ; irregularly on days when no baseball game is scheduled, 10:30 to 11:30 p.m., E.S.T.

Radio Santo Domingo TV- Various frequencies - Daily- 5:30 to 6 a.m.; 8 to 8:30 p.m. Sundays - 8 to 9 p.m., E.S.T.

News is taken from the Associated Press and United Press International wires and the rest of the material comes from the committee's Washington office. Initially, the programs drew on the Spanish language teletype news service of UPI, known as "Chester." Refugees are interviewed by Radio Cuba Libre personnel on their arrival in Miami, Key West, or New Orleans.

The manager of "the nation's southernmost radio station," the 500 watt WKWF, Key West, reported that his station transmitted the programs of the Cuban Freedom Committee. Ray A. Schoneck said WKWF beamed these programs in Spanish with the exception of half-hourly English language station breaks. They are intended to "keep the Cuban people of southern Florida and Cuba informed of the situation and about the Castro form of government," he said.

Letters from Cuba, and statements from refugees, testify to the fact that, despite the risk involved in listening to U.S. radio stations, and despite jamming in Havana of the Key West and Miami stations, the message of Radio Cuba Libre does get through to a vast number of Cuban homes nightly. The committee indicates that the audience for its programs is multiplied by post-broadcast discussions and word-of-mouth circulation, which is the common method of news dissemination in all captive countries. (T)

There are many other organizations and groups which are purchasing commercial radio time on various stations on a much less extensive scale than the Cuban Freedom Committee.

One of these programs is known as "Cuba y America," (Cuba and America), which is heard only on the medium and shortwave stations of Radio Santo Domingo TV, in the Dominican Republic, from 9 to 9:30 p.m., E.S.T. daily.

The director of these programs is Dr. Enrique Huertas. His program, which is tape recorded in Miami in advance of its actual airing, caused some confusion recently when it was announced that the program was being presented from 8:30 to 9 p.m. Listeners were actually hearing the broadcast from 9 to 9:30 p.m. The explanation was "Cuba y America" was formerly carried by the Dominican station a half hour earlier and apparently the programs had been taped before the new schedule was known in Miami.

Dr. Huertas indicated that comments are always appreciated and may be sent to Post Office Box 206, Miami. Listeners in Cuba are advised to address their letters to any fictitious name in care of the Miami box number.

Another anti-Castro broadcast transmitted over commercial channels, was a program called "Reflector Sobre Cuba," or "Spotlight over Cuba," which was heard formerly from midnight to quarter past the hour over Radio La Cronica, OAXAJ, Lima, Peru. This program is no longer reported on the air.

Of course, there are presently a number of other anti-Communist groups buying time on commercial stations to beam their messages to Cuba.

With the political carnival of the various exile groups in Miami, Castro's opponents within Cuba soon became disgusted. Presently a new and powerful underground movement came into being. It was headed by Manuel "Manolo" Ray Rivero, 39, a former head of the sabotage section of Castro's 26th of July Movement in Havana, and later Minister of Public Works in the revolutionary regime. He resigned from the cabinet in November 1959 when the moderates were being purged by the radicals.

In July 1960, along with other disillusioned members of Castro's government

who felt the revolution could not be saved from Communism, he formed the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (MRP). This, the most liberally oriented of the major exile groups, quickly grew into a major thorn in Fidel's side, despite the fact that the CIA did not support the group with weapons and radio equipment.

In May 1960, a unity pact was signed among the main exile groups in Florida. This was the Frente Revolucionario Democrático, or simply, the "Front." It was strongly influenced by the CIA and excluded persons connected with Batista's old dictatorship. Also excluded was Ray's MRP.

The "Front" was headed by a five-man directorate which included Dr. Manuel Antonio de Varona, former premier under ex-president Carlos Prío Socarras, and leader of the Auténtico party; Manuel Artime Buesa, head of the MRR; Dr. Justo Carrillo Hernandez, leader of the anti-Batista Montecristi group and an ex-bank president; Aureliano Sanchez Arango, former prime minister in another Prío Socarras regime; and Jose Ignacio Rasco, exiled leader of the small Christian Democrat party. Dr. Varona was the head of the small Movimiento de Rescate Revolucionario (Rescue) group on the island. Sanchez Arango had a limited following among university students in the old Triple A group. Carrillo's faction was composed of intellectuals rather than militant activists. Rasco's followers had little connection within Cuba, although they later distinguished themselves in underground work.

The CIA agents provided the "Front" with a headquarters building on Miami's Biscayne Boulevard and another in Coral Gables, Fla. Shortly after the "Front" was formed, Sanchez Arango's organization quit the pact.

The clandestine broadcasts directed to Cuba about this time weren't all transmitted from land-based stations. One of these unlicensed stations reportedly operated from a ship in the Caribbean.

This station, variously announcing as Radio Cuba Independente or just Radio Cuba, was apparently controlled by the Democratic Revolutionary Front in

Miami. The exact vessel and its location have never been definitely ascertained. Some sources indicated the transmissions originated aboard a yacht off Key West, Fla. Considering the station was powerful enough to have been heard in several northern states, including Connecticut, Indiana and Illinois, a report that Radio Cuba Independente's signals came from a transmitter on a somewhat larger ship, such as the 174 foot former Cuban Navy patrol vessel, the "Rex," may be accurate. (see following page)

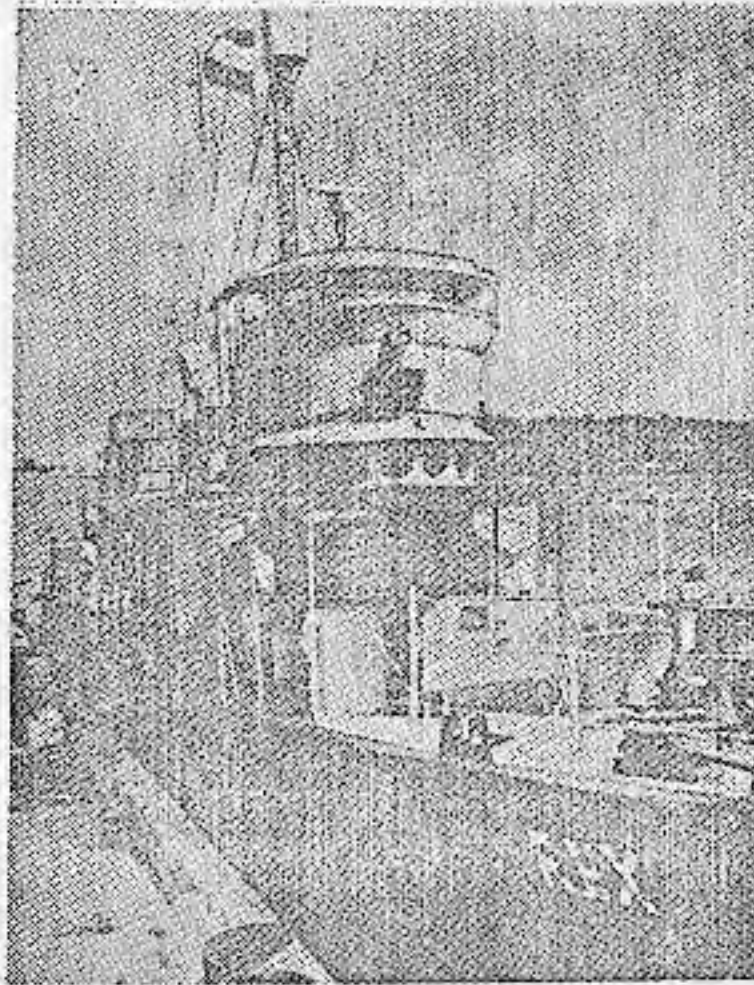
Patriotic speeches and other anti-Castro material were broadcast by this station on a frequency that varied between about 6,132 and 6,150 kc. Another frequency reportedly in use was 7,043 kc. It was suggested by some that this station might utilize a medium wave channel as well, but none was ever definitely reported. The station apparently began broadcasting in the fall of 1960 and was last heard about the time of the Cuban invasion in April of the following year.

One report said reception data concerning these signals should be sent to the Democratic Revolutionary Front, Dr. Manuel A. de Varona, c/o Propaganda and Communications, Biscayne Boulevard, Miami. This address was lacking a street address, however. It is not believed that any reports were ever confirmed by the "Front." (E)

While there were speculations made that other clandestine stations were located aboard a ship on the high seas, investigation fails to indicate that any other stations were seaborne operations.

Meanwhile, there had been rebel activity in the Escambray mountains for several months. The Cuban government quietly sent several thousand militiamen into the area and on October 9, 1960, announced the revolt had been crushed. This, however, was not true.

The guerrillas there were centered in Las Villas and Camaguey Provinces in central Cuba and seemed to have loose ties with Ray's urban MRP groups in Havana.



Associated Press

CASTRO SAID THIS TYPE OF SHIP SHELLIED CUBA

The Rex, pictured at Palm Beach, Fla.

Castro said on Oct. 30, 1963, that the Central Intelligence Agency equipped the "Rex" with arms for raids and infiltration of Cuba. He then produced on Havana Radio and Television three captured crewmen of the "Rex". All said they worked for the CIA.

The "Rex" is a 174 foot former Cuban navy patrol boat. Castro has claimed the vessel was used for several other raids.

The next day, a boat called the "Rex" was in Palm Beach, Fla., slip No. 1. At places where guns might have been mounted,

there were wooden crates bearing the words, "oceanographic research." Crewmen would not let reporters aboard.

Two inboard-outboard launches on the "Rex" were missing. Castro said he captured the two launches when he captured the crewmen.

J.A. Belcher, Miami oil executive, said he owned the "Rex" and knew nothing of any raids on Cuba.

The boat sailed last Dec. 5 (1963) and has not returned. There have been reports that the transmissions of Radio Cuba Independente originated aboard the "Rex" or a similar ship.

The fighters were commanded by Plinio Prieto, a tough one-time anti-Batista guerrilla; Capt. Sinesio Walsh and Capt. Gerardo Ramirez, both veterans of Castro's army. They were also aided by Catholic students' groups in Santa Clara, headed by 18-year-old Porfirio Ramirez.

While the Castro militia failed to wipe out these bands, these leaders were captured with nearly 100 followers, according to a communique issued by Maj. Raul Castro. Later 200 persons were tried in connection with these operations and were presumably shot. Ruby Hart Phillips indicated she had learned most had not been captured in the mountains, but were gathered up in several of the provincial towns and even in Havana. Shortly afterward, three Americans, part of a group of 27 persons who landed on the Oriente coast to join the guerrillas in the mountains, were executed. (G)

Within Havana, the student groups were busy, as were the well-organized cells of the MRP. A clever clandestine broadcast was conducted by the Revolutionary Student Directorate on December 30, 1960. Television viewers heard an anti-Castro broadcast on the government controlled television channel 2. The programs on the station had actually been closed down for some weeks, but the university students built a clandestine frequency modulation transmitter to broadcast their message. There was no picture, but the sound was well received around the capital city.

While this activity was going on in Cuba, the CIA was planning what proved to be the the tragic Bay of Pigs landing. In training camps in Nicaragua and Guatemala, groups of exiles were being given military training preparatory to their invasion of the island.

This phase of contemporary history has been well-reported in newspapers, magazines and books. Therefore this study will pass briefly over this period except to mention the parts played by Radio Swan and other clandestine stations. This phase will be covered fully later.

With the invasion date moving closer, in early 1961 a merger was patched up between the "Front" and Rey's left-of-center ERP. This new organization, called the Cuban Revolutionary Council, was headed by Dr. Jose "Pepo" Cardona, another ex-premier of Cuba.

Frequencies and station names of the various anti-Castro clandestine broadcasters changed at a rapid pace, making it difficult to trace down all of those operating during this period. There were reports of clandestine stations announcing as La Voz de Cuba, La Voz Anti-Comunista de America, Radio Habana Libre, and others. However these were either alternate identifications for other stations or were merely names of programs carried on a variety of stations, both normal commercial outlets and unlicensed secret transmitters.

Among those operations that seemed to have their own independent transmitters were such mystery stations as Radio Revolucion on a frequency which varied around 6,210 kc.; La Voz de Cuba Libre heard on 6,344 kc. and 7,080 kc. There were reports that a broadcaster on 6,245 kc., announcing as Radio Cuba Libre, was operated from Guatemala by a group called Accion Revolucionaria Interna Contra el Comunismo.

Another station whose location was never pinpointed was Radio Guasimo which operated on about 6,205 kc. It may be that this station was operating from the same transmitter as Radio Revolucion. Radio Guasimo, meaning guasimo, was reported in the U.S. during the mid-evening hours for a short time. Guasimo is a term used by Castro to label those who oppose him and has been adopted by some guerrillas within Cuba as a defiant gesture against the existing regime.

A station calling itself La Voz del BOAC was reported heard on 6,230 kc. transmitting in Spanish to Cuba. Its location is not known nor are any details known of the organization behind it. It is possible the identification slogan was misreported. There was a former government agency in Cuba known as BRAC, Bureau for the Repression of Communist Activities, which may have been reactivated secretly and unofficially. BRAC was founded in 1948 by then President Prío and maintained

files on all known Communists and crypto-Communists in the country. These files were destroyed after Castro took power. It is also possible that the letters BRAC stand for a new anti-regime group, in which case the concluding letters probably signify "anti-communismo."

Some of these stations said or implied that they were broadcasting from within Cuba. Considering the extreme difficulties along this line experienced by Castro himself during the 26th of July Movement's battle against Batista, even though he held large areas of land fairly securely, it seems doubtful that many, if any, of the alleged Cuban-based counter-revolutionary broadcasts originated from the island. It is possible occasional sporadic transmissions may have been made from Cuban soil, but one may virtually rule out the possibility of any sort of regularly scheduled broadcasts. These must have originated from other areas of the Caribbean, Central and South America and perhaps from the U.S. mainland.

For a variety of reasons, the CIA never succeeded in getting a secure and effective underground operating inside Cuba, equal to that inside Europe during the Second World War. This was a vital factor since it led directly to the decision to abandon the guerrilla concept and to invade Cuba in some strength.

Yet the MRP and related guerrilla operations continued in Cuba's Escambray region and finally the CIA reluctantly began to assist them with air drops of food, weapons and communications equipment. But under the pressure of thousands of militiamen, the perimeter held by the guerrillas shrank in size. It was reported that the groups in the mountains gradually were forced to struggle just to survive. Listeners in the U.S. reported hearing weak radio messages for help. This resistance continued almost up to the landings at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 and probably to a limited degree afterward.

Yet, at this same time, a "coordinator" of the MRP in Havana told a French journalist, Victor Franco, that his group had about 500 men divided into watertight

cells of three, four and five members at most, well-trained and armed, in the city. They were supposedly in touch with the rural guerrillas, supposedly (in March 1963) 3,000 in number in the Escambray. This group, likely exaggerated considerably, was headed by a Captain Duque, a former Fidelista officer. Another group was located in the Sierra Cristal mountains in Oriente Province. Franco managed to get through to this later group which regularly disrupted traffic on the road between Guantanamo and Baracoa. He reported the group he met was small but relatively secure. However, except for a few isolated raids, they were pretty well bottled up by the militia units surrounding the area.

Prior to the invasion from the CIA's base at Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, called "Happy Valley," liberal minded exiles were complaining that Radio Swan, the voice of the anti-Castro organizations, was beaming broadcasts to Cuba charging that "Manolo" Ray and his MRP were "crypto-Communists." While these feelings were smoothed somewhat during the immediate pre-invasion period, the MRP still to the idea that the original ideals of Castro's revolution should be saved. The anti-Ray forces called this "Fidelismo without Fidel."

Later, in May 1961, Ray withdrew his MRP from the Revolutionary Council blaming its leaders, Miro Cardona and Varona for not consulting with the MRP's underground leaders before the invasion attempt. Ray must have known, however, that the plans weren't those of the Council, but of the CIA authorities.

The failure of the invasion by the exile army resulted in the arrest of many members of the underground movement on the island and for some time the anti-Castro elements were of little effectiveness. Then gradually the counter-revolutionary groups reestablished the underground in Cuba and began harrasing the Communist regime. Again the more favored of these clandestine groups had the backing of the CIA

Sometime in the summer of 1961, puzzled listeners began to report what appeared to be the return on shortwave of the familiar CMQ call letters. Adding to the confusion of these listeners was the fact that the same broadcasters also used the calls and slogans of the familiar Latin American commercial and government stations normally found on those frequencies.

Eventually, the matter was cleared up. A group of former employees of the big Circuito CMQ radio and TV chain in Cuba had banded together and were producing anti-Communist programs which were beamed to the island over other Latin American stations on which they had purchased air time. These programs were identified as those of CMQ Libre (or Free CMQ), to differentiate them from the Castro controlled operation in Havana. Among the stations on which the CMQ Libre programs were heard was TIFG, La Voz de la Victoria, San Jose, Costa Rica, which had a daily transmission from 0000 to 0015 or 0030 E.S.T. The program has been heard irregularly on YSS, Radio Nacional, El Salvador about 10 pm E.S.T., recently. Other stations carrying the programs were HCF31, Onda Popular, in Panama, on 9,685 kc., and TQCB, Radio Nacional de Quetzaltenango, a 1 kw. outlet in Guatemala on 11,700 kc. A number of other stations also reportedly carried these programs, including some in Colombia and Venezuela.

A curious sidelight to this matter, one which has never been clarified, concerns RRUC, Radio Centro, in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, which, according to reports, was seized by the government of that country early in 1962. Its facilities were supposedly turned over to a new station, Radio El Mundo. The reason for this reported takeover was never explained though there was a certain shuffling of Honduran frequencies shortly thereafter and Radio Centro's successor on the medium wave frequency of 865 kc. supposedly increased power. (J) But El Mundo apparently quickly disappeared again for in September a California listener reported Radio Centro on 6,155 kc., now carrying the CMQ Libre program.

Suddenly in the middle of 1962 it became terribly clear that the bearded ones had transformed the beautiful Caribbean island into an armed camp and a

dangerous Soviet bridgehead. The USSR had defied the Monroe Doctrine and the security of the United States. Reports were circulated that there were some 20,000 Russian troops under the orders of four Soviet generals, headed by General Shtemenko. Even more serious was the installation of launching pads for medium range missiles as well as bombers capable of carrying nuclear bombs, jet fighters and submarines.

The American government suddenly appeared to be soon aware of the building of missiles in Cuba and sounded the alarm. President Kennedy drafted an ultimatum demanding the dismantling of the missile installations and instituting a blockade. The Cuban crisis lasted from Oct. 22 to 28, 1962, while the whole world waited anxiously, expecting the worst. However, Khrushchev gave in and withdrew 42 medium range missiles and the IL-28 bombers. However Cuban underground sources insist that thousands of troops and modern weapons and planes, as well as missiles, still remain in Cuba.

During the October missile crisis, the United States government felt it of utmost importance that Cubans hear the message of President Kennedy demanding the withdrawal of the weapons from Cuban territory. A number of private medium and short wave operations were asked to cooperate in rebroadcasting the president's speech and other important news.

The cooperation of Miami stations, WCKR, 1140 kc., and WGBS, 710 kc.; WKHF, 1600 kc., Key West, and stations in other parts of the country including WSB, Atlanta on 750 kc.; WNL, New Orleans, 870 kc.; WCKY, Cincinnati, 1530 kc., and three other stations was received. Short wave stations KGEO and WRUL were also used for the Spanish language transmissions during this dangerous time.

FCC chairman Newton Minnow called the request for domestic stations to join in coverage at the time, "unprecedented" and noted it was a remarkable demonstration of the radio community's willingness to cooperate fully with the government during a period of national emergency.

The Voice of America, the official voice of the nation, operated by the United States Information Agency, increased its over-the-air broadcasts in Spanish during the crisis, using its battery of short wave transmitters.

Later, two very special portable stations were set up in the Florida Keys, broadcasting in the medium wave band. While not clandestine in nature, these two mobile stations provide an interesting topic of study none the less.

These two stations, part of a group of four such portable transmitter relay units built by Alpha of Texas Corporation, a division of Collins Radio Co., in the Dallas suburb of Richardson, Tex., were completely set up and on the air just 12 days after they were trucked to the isolated sites.

The stations were set up on two small islands in the south Florida chain, Marathon and Sugar Leaf Keys, to broadcast on 1180 and 1040 kcs. respectively, with 50,000 watts of power each.

The contract for the construction of the highly versatile mobile radio transmitters, both medium and short wave, was awarded by U.S.I.A. to Alpha on Nov. 15, 1961. Specifications for the \$1.3 million project called for self-contained, air-transportable units, operable at temperatures ranging from minus 20 degrees to 120 degrees Fahrenheit by a crew of 18 technicians. The units were to be completed within nine months.

However, the first of the new "instant" stations were delivered to the government in July of the following year, after being tested in May and June near Yuma, Arizona. The first of the units was loaded aboard a giant Air Force C-124 cargo plane at Dallas and flown to Liberia where they were operated until the recent completion of the permanent major relay base outside of Monrovia, which replaced the portable vans with six 250,000 watt and two 50 kilowatt transmitters.

More recently, a similar medium wave station was airlifted to the Far East and set up in South Vietnam to relay VOA programs. The basic purpose of these transportable broadcasting stations is to augment existing VOA transmitters on a

temporary basis in those areas where adequate coverage is not available during periods of emergency.

This was the situation with regard to Cuba in 1963. The lack of radio wave coverage of the Caribbean island became apparent during the missile crisis of the preceding year when the commercial stations were pressed into service by the government.

And so technicians swarmed over the deserted locations, halfway out the chain of islands that make up the Florida Keys. In less than two weeks they turned a strip of sandy beach into the site of the first of two powerful broadcasting stations.

Temporary power lines were strung to the isolated locations, though a pair of 250 kilowatt generators and a fuel supply are kept on hand in case of power failure.

Three shining trailer bodies, which had been trucked to the spot, glistened in the sunshine at the Marathon site. Three of the special collapsible steel antenna towers are guyed near the air-conditioned trailers. The vertical three-element array aims the highly directional beam across the five score miles of blue-green water to Cuba.

The directional effect of the antenna systems sends 99% of its effective radiation southward, protecting a domestic station in Rochester, New York (WIAH, 1180 kc.) broadcasting on the same frequency.

One of the three vans, filled with racks of Collins equipment on either side of a narrow center aisle, is used to receive the Spanish language programs originating in the VOA studios in Washington, D.C. Some of these programs are previously prerecorded in the field by staff correspondents in Latin America. The Marathon site is linked to Washington by microwave relay signals. The VOA programs are then reradiated from the Florida stations.

The Castro regime reportedly altered the broadcasting frequencies of two of its broadcasting stations in an effort to jam the Marathon and Sugar Loaf transmitters.

The Voice of America, in an effort to learn how it was faring in the inter-continental electronic cold war game, conducted a "listeners" contest for Cubans. For a week, listeners were told hourly that if they wrote to the U.S.I.A. in Mexico, giving name, age, occupation, education and sex, they would be eligible for prizes of transistor radios. Cuban listeners were told to write a Mexico City box number, omitting all reference to the Voice of America on the envelope. This was to avoid reprisal by the Cuban government. The letters were sent in care of a common fictitious name which was changed daily. As a result of this contest, the VOA received 1,500 replies.

This came despite a standing penalty of ten-years imprisonment for those caught listening to the VOA or any other station broadcasting anti-Castro programs.

Many Russian, Czech, and in growing numbers, Chinese "technicians" remained on the island. These foreign nationals became targets for clandestine broadcasts in their own languages.

In 1963, Radio Liberty, one of the world's principal broadcasters to the Soviet Union, from transmitters in Europe and the Far East, entered the anti-Communist broadcasting ranks in this hemisphere.

A press release, jointly issued by Radio Liberty and station WBT, Charlotte, North Carolina, a 50,000 watt commercial outlet on 1110 kc., announced a bonus for Russian language students in colleges and high schools along the eastern seaboard. (J) The press notice suggested these students test their knowledge of Russian by tuning the nightly programs transmitted to Cuba. The quarter-hour programs intended for Soviet personnel on the Caribbean island, were produced by Radio Liberty in its New York studios. These programs were broadcast at 10:10 p.m., EST, Monday through Friday; at 1:30 a.m. Sunday; and 12:05 a.m. Monday mornings on WBT.

The students who tuned in to get a bit of extra practice with the Russian language heard the voices of Boris Orshansky, chief New York correspondent and producer of Radio Liberty, and of Irene Lunin, announcer. The broadcasts reported daily current

events. They were also repeated at 4:45 a.m. seven days a week. These broadcasts were fed by landline from New York to Charlotte. According to reports, they also included current weather conditions in Moscow.

This joint venture was arranged by Charles H. Gratchfield, president of WBT's parent company, Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co., and Howland H. Sargeant, president of the American Committee for Liberation, the organization which sponsors Radio Liberty.

Other foreign language broadcasts to Cuba include those of NTS, Narodno Trudovoi Soyuz, (National Alliance of Russian Solidarists, 125 bis rue Blomet, Paris 15 e., France), better known as Radio Free Russia. This clandestine operation has broadcast from portable transmitters located in trucks for the past 15 years from Sprenlingen, near Frankfurt, in West Germany. NTS transmits programs behind the Iron Curtain from these mobile stations, whose operations apparently are ignored, though unlicensed, by the German government.

NTS now programs regular Russian language sessions on Radio Libertad, a Caribbean area clandestine station, about which we will hear more later. This same NTS broadcast in Russian directed at Soviets in Cuba has been broadcast by the Dominican station, Radio Santo Domingo Television on short wave, though this transmission reportedly has been dropped in favor of the Radio Libertad relay.

It is also known that Radio Americas has occasional programs in Chinese for so-called "technicians" from Red China now in Cuba. The VOA has also beamed Russian language programs to the island.

In 1962, exile commando groups, manning anything from rented fishing boats to World War II torpedo boats, sneaked out of south Florida ports to attack the Castro government's shore installations and shipping. These attacks grew to something of more than nuisance value. However after the missile crisis was over, U.S. authorities put tight clamps on the Miami exiles. The days of raids based on U.S. territory were over. The Coast Guard and Navy patrols stopped these commando raids time and again, confiscating boats and arms captured.

In early 1963, Dr. Jose Niro Cardona rebelled against the restrictions now enforced by the United States. He quit the revolutionary council which then soon dissolved.

About this same time, Manuel Artimo announced he was reorganizing the MRR group. By March 1963 he declared he had commandos training in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. It is alleged that officials of both countries were persuaded that the U.S. wanted to back Artimo, but that this time it must be organized completely outside American territory with no U.S. help except financial. It seems doubtful that Costa Rica and Nicaragua would have permitted these operations without tacit approval by the United States.

The MRR's training camps were located in northeastern Cost Rica, one on the River Suio, around an area called Sarapiqui, the other near the Caribbean port of Tortaguero. In Nicaragua the training camp was near Monkey Point.

But things went badly and much mismanagement was alleged. The prime target of this MRR group was to be Cuban shipping and secondarily they were to conduct hit and run raids on Cuba. But during 1964, when the commandos, supposedly numbering between 200 and 500 men, were at peak efficiency, only two raids were staged, one on a radar base and the other on a sugar mill in Oriente Province.

A different sort of clandestine station appeared on a number of short wave frequencies beginning in the spring of 1963. In April, Time magazine said stations using code names such as "Tiger," "Corsair," and "Alpha Five," (actually "Tigre," "Corsario," and "Alpha Cinco.") beamed a torrent of "astronomer-like numbers in Spanish and repeated cryptic messages: Caesar is approaching the Coliseum...The little tree is in the middle of the pasture." Listeners reported hearing another station identifying as "Amadeo 196." More recently these stations seem to have given up the use of such code names in favor of preliminary musical selections apparently used for identification and frequency adjustment purposes.

by their intended listeners.

It is widely believed that these "numbers" transmissions, normally read in Spanish in groups of four digits, are instructions for underground agents within Cuba.

Press sources in 1963 reported that similar "numbers" broadcasts in Czech and German, which were heard by listeners in this country, were instructions for Communist agents in West Germany. It seems reasonable that this technique is now also being used by anti-Communist elements broadcasting coded messages behind the "Sugar Cane Curtain."

The location of these stations has remained a secret thus far. While the avowed policy of our government at the moment is that no anti-Castro operations may be conducted from U.S. territory, evidence seems to point to a stateside location for these stations.

While not indicating the source of their information, Time continues, "While some of these stations may be located inside Cuba, most of them probably originated no further south than the 'Little Havana' district of southwest Miami."

Loggings made by listeners also seems to indicate at least some of these clandestine operations originate in central or south Florida. The quality of the broadcasts suggests a fixed station rather than a shipboard or airborne transmitter.

If secret Castro agents have infiltrated exile groups in Miami, as seems quite certain, the location or locations of such stations might be in secure areas of military reservations to prevent sabotage.

Some speculation has centered around the possibility that some of these stations may be situated at MacDill and Homestead Air Force Bases, or the supposedly (but not actually) abandoned military airport of Opa-Locka in North Miami. All three of these government reservations in Florida have been the sites of clandestine operations directed against Castro's Cuba in recent years. Others have suggested the locations might be on military bases near the Texas-Mexico border, such as Ft. Bliss. The latter seems like the less likely possibility.

In continuing its report of these stations, Time says, "More than once, Castro stations broke in angrily. Cried one Castroite at the microphone, 'You have no guts to come here...Tell me where you are, I'll get you!'" These responses were filled with obscenities, Time reported. One of the anti-Castro mystery stations responded, "That is the education that the Russians have given you, but we are going to reeducate you!"

These transmissions may take one of several forms. Some contain only the number series texts, others also include messages and brief speeches in Spanish. Occasionally, some English language transmissions are heard on the same frequencies, however, it is not known if they are also directed toward Cuba.

Announcers' voices may vary from station to station and often from transmission to transmission. Some speak with normal Cuban pronunciation; other voices have definite Castillian Spanish or English inflections. More than one listener has commented on the strength of signal, often over 8-9 on the meter in the midwestern part of the country, and the "studio quality" of some of the transmissions.

Among the frequencies which have been used are 5,260; 5,600; 5,750; 6,150; 6,250; 6,600; and 11,430 kc. Most of these channels are merely central points around which the exact frequency may vary from day to day. Not all of these are presently believed to be in operation.

As a case in point, let's take a look at one of the most consistent of the operating "numbers" stations. This transmitter has been broadcasting consistently since at least last August.

The station is heard on a frequency which may vary from 3,200 to 3,203 kc. (or on occasions between 3,380 and 3,385 kc.) with a series of more or less regular broadcasts nearly every night beginning at 0030; 0200; 0300; 0400 and 0530 GMT, (or alternately, 0100; 0230; 0400; and 0530 GMT.) The alternate schedule seems to be used when the coded messages are of some length. The transmissions vary greatly in length, from as little as twenty minutes to as much as 55 minutes.

Most transmissions are in Spanish read by a non-Cuban. Based on the pronunciation and voice quality it seems likely the announcer is a young Mexican, perhaps from the middle west. Occasionally the broadcasts on this frequency are read in English by a man.

The Spanish language transmissions are preceded by several minutes of musical introduction, a Latin American orchestral selection. The tunes used are "Adios Muchachos," "You Are Always in My Heart," and "La Cucaracha." There seems to be no pattern as to which selection will begin a particular broadcast. The English broadcasts of this station are preceded by an orchestra version of the "Blue Danube" waltz.

At times the quality of the musical reproduction has been extremely poor, with a severe fluctuation in recording speed causing terrible fidelity. At other times reception seems excellent except for occasional single sideband interference on the frequency.

Following three to six minutes of this identification and tuning signal, the voice portion of the broadcast begins with the announcer counting from one to ten (uno to diez) and back. Then follows a three digit number, apparently indicating to whom the message is addressed. This key number, i.e. 222, 082, 2/1, etc., is repeated twice before the regular series of four numeral code figures begins. After perhaps ten to twenty or more minutes the announcer pauses, then repeats the entire coded message again. Following the completion of the repeated message, the station signs off the air abruptly.

Last December, Costa Rican officials discovered someone was taking advantage of the protective secrecy around the MRR bases to smuggle in Scotch whiskey from Panamanian free ports. President Francisco J. Galich ordered these bases closed. The dissolution of these Costa Rican bases was also probably ordered because of the strong belief that they had been penetrated by Castro agents.

This left the Monkey Point, Nicaragua base as the major MRR base still in operation early this year. As recently as February 5, 1964, the Cuban Ministry of Armed Forces reported the capture of two "CIA agents," the Castro regime's usual terminology for anti-government rebels, near the town of San Luis on the western coast. A Cuban radio broadcast said the men captured carried machine guns, grenades and a portable radio transmitter of 15 to 20 watts capacity. They were allegedly waiting for a launch to take them to Monkey Point, called by Radio Habana Cuba, "a CIA base of operations."

On March 13 of this year the MRR's Central American training camps were finally closed and the command troops were demobilized.

Arturo indicated his group was changing its tactics from hit-and-run raids to subversion inside Cuba. He then left Central America for Venezuela in connection with the group's new phase of operations.

Observers estimated the MRR force at several hundred at the time of demobilization. They had been training in Nicaragua and Costa Rica for nearly a year and a half. The last announced MRR raid on Cuba was a February 2 attack on oil installations at Casilda, on the central south coast. MRR said the shelling was successful; Radio Habana Cuba said militiamen saved the oil tanks.

Reportedly, there are now two other major action groups among the counter-revolutionary groups, and one additional organization, known as a "war board." Supporters of each say their favorite organization is the only one adequately equipped to make Castro run for his life.

JURE, the Revolutionary Junta, is headed by Manuel Ray Rivero, former head of the MRP. He still supports the original aims of the Castro revolution without the totalitarian aspects of international Communism. For this reason he is still rejected by the more moderate exile groups. JURE reportedly has a significant internal underground organization in the urban areas of Cuba, mainly in Havana.

The Second National Front of the Escambray, a group which originally fought with the Castro 26th of July organization against Batista, has combined with the much publicized Alpha 66 raider group, and the old MKP, which has shifted slightly right from the days when it was headed by Rey. This combined group believes in essentially the same goals as JURE, but favors rural guerrilla tactics rather than urban operations. They have a guerrilla operation of major scope proposed, known as Plan Omega. This was no doubt disrupted by the capture of the group's leading figure, Major Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo while landing in Cuba this January. Yet these groups seek contributions through post office Box 2466, Miami 1, Florida, to support their continued efforts.

Among other activist organizations are small independent raider groups such as Commandos "L", led by Antonio Cuesta. A tiny group, they attack a few ships, fire a few rounds from anti-tank guns at refineries from aboard small speedy cruisers, but in general are only a nuisance to the Cuban regime. They are also handicapped by the lack of a port from which they can openly stage their raids. According to these exiles, the British and United States Navies keep them off the American coasts and Bahamian islands. The Mexican islands off Yucatan have been considered as bases, "but Castro's people are already here." Central America is just too far off for such small scale raids.

The political "war board" was a drive launched last May to unite all Cubans for a big push against Castro. A five-man board, consisting of Erasmo A. Oliva, 31, a professional soldier and second in command at the Bay of Pigs; Ernesto Freye, 53, a lawyer who played a role in negotiating the release of the invasion prisoners; Aurelio Fernandez Diaz, 43, an accountant; Vicente Rubiera, 51, an ex-Havana union leader with an anti-Communist reputation and Jorge Mas, 24, a student leader. These five were selected by a committee of exiles and their names were presented for approval to 75,000 Cuban exiles and were endorsed overwhelmingly. They claim to offer no political platform and their one big aim is to coordinate action of any Cuban group willing to fight Castro, regardless of politics.

The only trouble is that none of the three main militant groups recognises this "war board," hence its problems in uniting the counter-revolutionary elements are tremendous.

As March 1965 began, a new clandestine station was heard on the air, broadcasting anti-Castro programs. The station, identifying as Radio Libre, uses the letter "L" sent in code as an interval signal. It was first heard on March 3 on 6,775 kc. until 1750 GMT signoff. Programming was described as news, commentary and music with modulation of the signal ranging from fair to poor. Its location is not known. (J)

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With each passing week, the chances of the exiled Cubans to eventually return to a country such as they knew before grow slimmer. Al Burt, prize-winning Latin American editor of the Miami Herald puts it this way:

"For the rich and poor exile alike, the world has turned. The eternal optimism of the exiles persists -- that next month, next Christmas, somehow, some day, somewhere, somebody will liberate Cuba. But some are beginning to hedge that optimism by seeking status as a U.S. resident, or applying for citizenship. Each year the breach grows between the seven million Cubans in Cuba and the 300,000 exiles. Could mass privileges won at the expense of minorities be taken away? Would those who have endured life in Cuba be willing to let those who left it determine the government of their country? It seems apparent that Castro has disturbed the social structures of the island in ways that can never be entirely erased, whatever the intensity of current internal discontent.

The United States policy recognises that the future of Cuba will rest with those who remain there. For exiles, this means there probably can never be a return to the Cuba they knew. It means, further, that one day they are apt to see their militant efforts sacrificed either to Cuba's moderation, or withdrawn by Russia, or

to a successor government that must grapple and live with indelible nationalities. In either case, the United States would presumably have access to Cuba.

Some foresee a parallel to the Mexican revolution, which for years boiled bitterness with the United States, but eventually eased into mutual acceptance and friendship, limited only by a fierce Mexican independence nurtured by years of conflict. The exiles must now be spectators at the international waiting game, using their waning power to influence and hoping that the Russian pawns go first."

And so counter-revolutionary activity goes on daily on Miami's Flagler Street, where an anti-Castro organization headquarters itself in a dilapidated store, and on Biscayne Boulevard where Cuban refugees operate out of a building hopefully called Freedom Tower. And from various locations clandestine broadcasts are beamed across Caribbean waters to Cuba. For if Castro is to be overthrown at all, it must come from within and the exiles believe the words of author Nathaniel Weyl... "Radio is of key importance in the Cuban case." (K)

Weyl states, "A revolution by the Cuban people against their Communist oppressors must be predicated on mass discontent and mass hatred. This is not automatically created by economic disasters and political injustices. It must be crystallized, channelized against the regime and directed from resentment to specific militant actions by a widely disseminated propaganda which is organized in terms of planned stages of revolutionary discontent."

"American-financed Cuban freedom stations can compete effectively with Castro's radio for the minds of the Cuban people. Should the Castro regime resort to jamming, counter-jamming would break the main nexus between the charisma of the Communist dictator and the masses who support him."

And thus, with hopes waning somewhat, but still with a strong purpose, the anti-Castro battle of the airwaves goes on.