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CSI-0307/93 22 June 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

FROM:

David D. Gries

Director, Center for the Study of Intelligence

David D. Gries

SUBJECT:

JFK Assassination Records;

Release of William Pawley's Name

We continue to believe that the Agency cannot justify withholding the fact of William Pawley's relationship with CIA, in view of the public record. I ask that you personally read the attached brief items, which clearly reveal a relationship. Two of the items are from official documents--one from General Maxwell Taylor's Board of Inquiry, the other from the record of the House Assassination Committee. The other contains quotes of Pawley's own statements, which are included in a book by wellknown authors.

Attachments:

- Investigation of Assassination
- В. First Meeting
- Deadly Secrets C.

SUBJECT: JFK Assassination Records;

Release of William Pawley's Name

DCI/CSI/HRG/JFPereira:hfs/x30335 (22 Jun 93)

Distribution:

Original - Addressee

1 - D/CSI

1 - C/HRG 1 - HRG files

INVESTIGATION OF THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

APPENDIX TO HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS

OF THE

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS

"SECOND SESSION

VOLUME X

ANTI-CASTRO ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS
LEE HARVEY OSWALD IN NEW ORLEANS

Government until the end of 1966, (45) the group's activities, like those of other anti-Castro organizations, declined in intensity and effectiveness.

(297) Because the DRE was an extremely militant "action" group, the committee was especially interested in DRE operations prior to the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963. (298) As noted, one of the effects of the Bianquita raid in September 1962, was to garner the DRE a blast of national publicity, which, in turn, gave the leaders of the group the opportunity to solicit additional funding from wealthy individuals who were sympathetic to their anti-Castro cause. (46) Among those who wound up supporting the DRE was Miami multimillionaire William Pawley, a staunch rightwing conservative, former owner of the Havana bus system, and a friend of former CIA Director Allen Dulles. (47) Another supporter of the DRE was a friend of Pawley's, former Ambassador to Italy Clare-Boothe Luce, (48) then the wife of Time-Life publishing boss Henry Luce, and later, a Nixon appointee to the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

(299) In its review of DRE activities, the committee took special interest in a relatively recent series of events involving Clare Boothe Luce. In October 1975, Luce was being interviewed by Vera Glaser, a reporter and columnist for Knight newspapers, when she told Glaser of an alleged incident involving members of the DRE and Lee Harvey Oswald. (49) At the time, Senator Richard Schweiker and Senator Gary Hart were in the midst of their subcommittee investigation of the Kennedy assassination as part of the Senate select committee inquiry into intelligence activity.

(300) According to Glaser's report of the interview, this is basically

what Luce told her:

(301) Luce said that after the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion, her friend, William Pawley, persuaded her to help sponsor a fleet of motorboats for a group of anti-Castro Cubans who. Pawley envisioned, would be Cuban "Flying Tigers," flying in and out of Cuba on intelligence-gathering missions. Pawley had helped start Gen. Claire Chennault's original Flying Tigers in World War II. Luce said she agreed to sponsor one boat and its three-man crew. She said she met with this Cuban boat crew about three times in New York and, in 1962, published a story about them in Life magazine. (50)

(302) Following the missile crisis in October 1962, Luce said that the Kennedy administration clamped down on exile activities against Cuba, and the Pawley-sponsored boat raids were discontinued. Luce said she never saw her "young Cubans," as she called them, again, (51) (303). Then, on the night of Kennedy's assassination, Luce said she received a call from New Orleans from one of the boat crew Cubans. Luce told Glaser she would call him Julio Fernandez. She said the Cuban told her he called because he wanted to tell her about some information he had concerning the President's killer, Lee Harvey Oswald (52).

(304) Luce told Glaser that, according to "Julio Fernandez," Oswald had approached the anti-Castro group to which Fernandez belonged and offered his services as a potential Castro assassin. The Cubans, however, did not trust Oswald, suspected he was really a Communist,

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DEADING SECRET

The CIA-Mafia War Against Castro and the Assassination of J.F.K.

WARREN HINCKLE WILLIAM W. TURNER

Thunder's Mouth Press

the Talisman Sugar Corporation. In addition, he was a real estate developer and, of course, a millionaire many times over. (He was also a man of rather extreme political views. In a publication of the archeonservative American Security Council, former Ambassador Pawley once advocated unleashing Chinese Nationalist troops from Taiwan to run the reds out of Vietnam—and then letting them go on to an invasion of the Chinese mainland.)

In 1954 Ike formed the Doolittle Committee to forestall a congressional inquiry into CIA covert actions and named Pawley one of the four members. The panel was chaired by General Jimmy Doolittle, like Pawley a famed World War II aviation figure. The Doolittle Report said the United States had to abandon its traditional concepts of fair play in the face of an "implacable enemy" and "learn to subvert, sabotage and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated, and more effective methods than those used against us." The American people, the report said, might have to be acquainted with "this fundamentally repugnant philosophy,"

Ike bought the Doolittle Report. He issued a follow-up National Security directive seeking the destruction of "international communism" and authorizing "all compatible activities" to achieve that goal. The Cuba Project was to stretch the definition of compatible.

"I had several conferences with the President," Ambassador Pawley said, "and finally he was convinced that the anticommunist Cubans in Florida should be armed and given every assistance to overthrow the communist regime." This was, of course, in direct violation of the Neutrality Act, and the Munitions Act to boot. The old Flying Tiger made a pitch to take over command of the project himself; his argument was the highly selective one that the CIA was primarily an intelligence-gathering outfit and should not be simultaneously in charge of operations. "Eisenhower wanted me to assume overall command of the operation, with veto power over the CIA," Pawley told the authors. "But Allen Dulles, joined by Christian Herter who was easily led, prevailed, and it became a CIA operation." "35

On Saint Patrick's Day the red hot line phone rang on Dulles's desk. It was the President, giving him the green light and promising to issue a blanket National Security directive so that operations did

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William Pawley fumed as John Martino and Eddie Bayo stood shamefully before him the day before the scheduled departure. "They told me they had accepted \$15,000 from Life magazine," Pawley said, "with which they had bought the military equipment that they needed for the voyage and that Life was to send along a reporter and a photographer. As far as I was concerned, that blew the deal. I couldn't conceive of the U.S. government letting me go ahead under those circumstances."

Dick Billings appealed to Pawley, who finally agreed to speak to Life managing editor George P. Hunt. Hunt flew down from New York. He promised that all film would be turned over to Pawley, and Life would guarantee that no story would be written without his consent. The promise was put in writing. Pawley called Senator Eastland and informed him of Life's proposal. Eastland thought it was all right to go ahead.⁴¹

The Flying Tiger left on schedule with Billings and the three CIA men on board. Three days later, only hours before the Flying Tiger was due at the rendezvous point, Pawley took off in a Catalina PBY flying boat chartered from the Aircraft Ferry Company of Fort Lauderdale, which frequently rented planes to the CIA. Also on board was British free-lance photographer Terrence Spencer, who had been hired by Life, as well as Martino and Bayo and nine of his commandos. The only reason Pawley had rented the plane was his strong distrust of the Cubans, who he feared might hijack the Flying Tiger to Cuba. "I frisked every one of those guys as they got on board," Pawley said. "At this point I had no assurance of any kind what type of men I was dealing with—whether they were anti-Castro or pro-Castro." While the plane was in the air, all the passengers were locked into a center compartment.

When the Catalina arrived at the atoll, however, the Flying Tiger wasn't there. She arrived seven hours later—the CIA navigator had lost his bearings in the murky weather. Pawley unlocked his state-

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FIRST MEETING

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First Meeting of General Maxwell Taylor's Board of Inquiry on Cuban

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Time and Place:

1400-1800 hours, 22 April 1961,

Quarters Eye

Participants:

Investigating Committee Members

General Maxwell D. Taylor

Admiral Arleigh Burke

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Colonel C. W. Shuler Commander Mitchell

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1. After a discussion of procedural matters, it was decided that all papers and documents stemming from the inquiry would be retained by General Maxwell Taylor. [

] Chief, Western Hemisphere Division, was designated recorder of the first meeting.

2. Mr. Dulles, in his opening remarks, cited the document which authorized CIA to conduct paramilitary operations. This document, NSC 5412, was described as one of the most secret documents in the U.S. Government. Mr. Dulles said that under this authority CIA is directed to engage in activities such as the Cuban operation under the general supervision of the National Security Council. General Taylor indicated that he wanted a copy of this document to be made available to him for his study. General Gray indicated he had a copy and would give it to General Taylor.

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OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR OPERATIONS

15 June 1993

NOTE FOR: David Gries

Director

Center for the Study of Intelligence

FROM: John Berg

Special Assistant/ADDO

SUBJECT: JFK Assassination Records

See attached memo dated 7 April 1993 by which DDO noted that we do not concur in the release of information on Pawley's relationship with the CIA. We continue to have an obligation, even to persons deceased, to protect sources and methods. One possible course of action might be for someone to contact Pawley's family (who are apparently witting of his relationship) and discuss with them their views on the release of information about his relationship with us. If they do not raise any objections, this office would be willing to reconsider our decision.

ponn Bergy

Attachment

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR OPERATIONS 1

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Attachment

SHERET

CIA SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
RELEASE IN FULL

CSI 0306/93 9 June 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

FROM:

David D. Gries

Director

Center for the Study of Intelligence

SUBJECT:

JFK Assassination Records;

Release of William Pawley's Name

- 1. Based on our review of JFK assassination records, we have concluded that the Agency cannot justify withholding the fact of William Pawley's relationship with CIA. We request your agreement to release documents that acknowledge the relationship. Information that reveals sensitive sources and methods would be protected.
- 2. William Pawley was an unpaid asset of CIA in the early 1960s, who assisted us in activities targeted against Cuba. It is a matter of public record that he was heavily involved in anti-Castro activities, and that he was in contact win DCI Allen Dulles and other senior CIA officials. Pawley publicly acknowledged his CIA connections. Clair Boothe Luce told Congress that Pawley persuaded her to help fund boats to be used in raids against Cuba by anti-Castro Cubans.
- 3. There are at least three books and numerous newspaper and magazine articles that describe in detail Pawley's contact with CIA and his involvement in covert action against Castro. The published record of the House Special Committee on Assassinations describes Pawley as a supporter of the DRE (an anti-Castro organization), and a friend of CIA Director Dulles.
- 4. In one book, Pawley describes his arrangement with the DDCI, General Carter, for obtaining assistance from CIA to launch an operation into Cuba. He is quoted as saying he wanted to be "in constant touch with the CIA office in Miami." The record shows that his family was aware of his involvement with CIA.

CL BY 0185904
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DR FR HUM 4-82



SUBJECT: JFK Assassination Records;
Release of William Pawley's Name

- 5. The JFK Assassination Records Act provides that information cannot be withheld unless disclosure would demonstrably harm national security. There has to be clear and convincing evidence that disclosure would be so harmful that it outweighs the public interest. It is not sufficient to use the mosaic rationale, nor a general concern about the possible effect on potential assets.
- 6. The numerous deletions of information and withdrawal cards in the files on Pawley that will be released, which comprise a full box, in themselves reveal a covert relationship.
- 7. In view of the standards established by the JFK Act with respect to disclosure of records, it is our judgement that there is no justification for withholding the fact that Pawley was a contact of, and collaborated with, CIA in anti-Castro activities.

David D. Gries



SUBJECT:

JFK Asassination Records; Release of William Pawley's Name

DCI/CSI/HRG/JFPereira:hfs/x30335 (7 Jun 93)

Distribution:

Original - Addressee 1 - D/CSI

1 - D/HRG 1 - HRG file

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET SUBJECT (Optional) JFK ASSASSINATION RECORDS; RELEASE OF WILLIAM PAWLEY'S NAME NO. FROM David D. Gries CSI 0306/93 Director, Center for the Study of Intelligence DATE 7 June 1993 433 Ames Bldg. 30373 TO (Officer designation, room, and building) OFFICIAL'S COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.) 1. DDO Registry 10 ESEL MUL 7E22 OHB 2. 3. _{DDO} **7E26 OHB** 5. 8. 10. 12. 13. 14.

FORM 610 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

SECRET

SECRET.

DD1093-1026

CIA SPECIAL COLLECTIONS RELEASE IN FULL 2000

07 April 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

VIA: DC/Information Management Staff

FROM: Katherine M. Stricker, DO/IRO

SUBJECT: Operational Status of William D. Pawley in JFK

Collection

- BACKGROUND: William D. Pawley (201-0077378) born 1893, millionaire, diplomat, international businessman, adventurer was an unpaid asset of the CIA in the early 1960's primarily targeted against Cuba. He had ready access to the emigre circles in Florida, his own reasons for anti-Castro activity and a strong streak of patriotism. His activities on our behalf range from conversations/consultations with Allen Dulles in his DCI's office, to purchasing a boat with Clare Booth Luce to be used in a sabotage raid against Cuba. He provided operational information to us, funded emigres who were somewhat under our control and had the ear of high level politicians in Washington. He was a force to be reckoned with and maintained a high profile throughout his activities, including bragging/alluding to his connection with the CIA. The details of his cooperation with us have never been acknowledged and, repeatedly since his death, we have continued to conceal the fact of our relationship with him.
- 2. <u>ISSUE</u>: Files on Pawley which fill one archive-sized box are within the JFK Collection being considered for release to the National Archives under the JFK Act of 1992.
- a. The initial review by the Historical Review Group (HRG) recommends release of virtually all of the contents of the box (less some cryptonyms and names of covert officers) in light of the semi-overt nature of Pawley's relationship to the Agency and the common perception that he was a CIA agent.

CL BY 0199835 DECL OADR DRV HUM 4-82



SECRET

SUBJECT: Operational Status of William Pawley in JFK Collection

- b. The DO position is that each document be reviewed and those which specifically pertain to his CIA affiliation be withheld i.e. POA requests, other clearance documents, taskings, meetings with our officers and information which he reported. While Pawley is now dead, his heirs and colleagues could well be negatively affected by any disclosure of his CIA relationship. A larger concern is the chilling effect such a revelation would have on other assets, current and future, who would be repelled by CIA's admission of a clandestine relationship post mortem.
- 3. RECOMMENDATION: Appeal the decision of the HRG's initial review to release information on Pawley and request that the releases involving Pawley be confined to his role as an historical/political figure which should not reveal his Agency affiliation.

& 5 APR 1995

AGREE WITH RECOMMENDATION:

THOMAS A. TWETTEN

Katherine M. Stricke

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CIA SPECIAL COLLECTIONS RELEASE IN FULL 2000

26 April 1993

NOTE FOR: Frank Most

SUBJECT: William Pawley/Appeal

On 23 April, Dave Gries agreed to challenge the DO's appeal on William Pawley. To do this he asks that HRG do the following:

1. Prepare a memo that he can send to Twetten.

-- Develop our argument in the memo, to include the point that we are following the JFK law.

-- Combine the comments from the various books into one paragraph.

-- Add Bill's point that the box (or boxes) will have a lot of withdrawal cards, indicating a relationship existed.

- 2. Attach to the memo other evidence if we have it e.g., any photo of Pawley with Dulles, congressional testimony, etc.
- 3. Check the PRB again to see if any acknowledgement of Pawley's relationship was ever made.

John P.



CIA SPECIAL COLLECTIONS RELEASE IN FULL

22 April 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Director

Center for the Study of Intelligence

FROM:

John F. Pereira

Chief, Historical Review Group/CSI

SUBJECT:

JFK Record/Appeal by DO of HRG Decision/

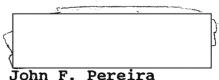
William Pawley

- 1. Attached is a memorandum approved by the DDO which appeals HRG's decision to release information in the JFK records related to William Pawley's association with CIA.
- 2. We make the following points to support HRG's position:
 - a. William Pawley was a well-known, wealthy businessman and former ambassador who was openly anti-Castro. He publicly acknowledged his CIA connections.
 - b. He is described in press items and the Congressional record as a friend of DCI Allen Dulles. He openly sponsored raids by anti-Castro Cubans into Cuba.
 - c. Former Ambassador Claire Booth Luce told Congress that Pawley persuaded her to help fund boats to be used in raids against Cuba by anti-Castro Cubans.
 - d. In the book, *Conspiracy* by Anthony Summers and in other literature, there are descriptions of a well-publicized joint operation by CIA and Pawley to capture two Russian military officers from a Cuban missile site in 1963.
 - It is also noted that Pawley had a hand in the CIA operation in Guatemala in 1954.

UNCLASSIFIED WHEN SEPARATED FROM ATTACHMENT

SUBJECT: JFK Record/Appealed by DO of HRG Decision/William Pawley

- e. In the book, Bay of Pigs by Peter Wyden, it is stated that J. C. King, Chief DO/WH had plotted with Pawley in 1958 to head off Castro's coming to power.
 - The book discusses Pawley's talks with President Eisenhower which focused on Pawley's attempt to be named to command a project to overthrow Castro.
 - Pawley is described as having undertaken missions to Cuba and to the Dominican Republic at CIA's request.
 - Pawley is noted as having discussions with DDCI General Carter about getting CIA assistance for an anti-Castro operation. Pawley is quoted as saying he wanted to be in constant touch with the CIA station in Miami during the operation.
- f. There are numerous other references in open sources to Pawley's contacts with Allen Dulles, J. C. King, and CIA in general.
- g. The record shows his family was aware of his involvement with CIA.
 - h. Pawley is dead.
- 3. Conclusion: Pawley was a prominent, wealthy American, publicly known for involvement in anti-Castro activities and as a contact of the CIA. We do not believe disclosure of his relationship with the Agency would demonstrably damage the National security of the United States.



Attachment

JFK Record/Appeal by DO of HRG Decision/William Pawley

DCI/CSI/HRG/JFPereira:hfs/30335 (22 Apr 93)

Distribution:

Original - Addressee 1 - Frank M.

1 - C/HRG 1 - File (13.0)

DD1093-1026

07 April 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Deputy Director for Operations

VIA:

DC/Information Management Staff

FROM:

Katherine M. Stricker, DO/IRO

SUBJECT:

Operational Status of William D. Pawley in JFK

Collection

BACKGROUND: William D. Pawley (201-0077378) born 1893, millionaire, diplomat, international businessman, adventurer was an unpaid asset of the CIA in the early 1960's primarily targeted against Cuba. He had ready access to the emigre circles in Florida, his own reasons for anti-Castro activity and a strong streak of patriotism. His activities on our behalf range from conversations/consultations with Allen Dulles in his DCI's office, to purchasing a boat with Clare Booth Luce to be used in a sabotage raid against Cuba. He provided operational information to us, funded emigres who were somewhat under our control and had the ear of high level politicians in Washington. He was a force to be reckoned with and maintained a high profile throughout his activities, including bragging/alluding to his connection with the CIA. The details of his cooperation with us have never been acknowledged and, repeatedly since his death, we have continued to conceal the fact of our relationship with him.

- 2. <u>ISSUE</u>: Files on Pawley which fill one archive-sized box are within the JFK Collection being considered for release to the National Archives under the JFK Act of 1992.
- a. The initial review by the Historical Review Group (HRG) recommends release of virtually all of the contents of the box (less some cryptonyms and names of covert officers) in light of the semi-overt nature of Pawley's relationship to the Agency and the common perception that he was a CIA agent.

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- b. The DO position is that each document be reviewed and those which specifically pertain to his CIA affiliation be withheld i.e. POA requests, other clearance documents, taskings, meetings with our officers and information which he reported. While Pawley is now dead, his heirs and colleagues could well be negatively affected by any disclosure of his CIA relationship. A larger concern is the chilling effect such a revelation would have on other assets, current and future, who would be repelled by CIA's admission of a clandestine relationship post mortem.
- 3. <u>RECOMMENDATION:</u> Appeal the decision of the HRG's initial review to release information on Pawley and request that the releases involving Pawley be confined to his role as an historical/political figure which should <u>not</u> reveal his Agency affiliation.

AGREE WITH RECOMMENDATION:
CONCUR WITH HRG'S INITIAL POSITION:
Natherine M. Stricker

7/15

A Binder of materials related to the Bayo-Pawley/ Operation Red Cross.

- a. a copy of "The Bayo-Pawley Affair: A Plot to Destroy JFK and Invade Cuba," by Miguel Acoca & Robert K. Brown. (Published in Soldier of Fortune, 1975)
- b. sanitized copies of the Ops plans the cables, call signs, etc.
 - c. post-op assessment
 - d. name traces

NOTES

Summary: William D. Pawley, prominent and wealthy ex-govt official (high) financed a mission of anti-Castro Cubans who wished to exfiltrate 4 Soviet missile officers from Cuba in June 1963. He bankrolled it, sailed the Cubans out in his yacht (Flying Tiger II), and CIA provided weapons, air support, and naval support. The Cubans landed on the island and never returned.

CIA after action assessment: "OP participants had no Soviet contacts but they parlayed notional Sov contacts into sharp con game designed to attract Angel (Pawley etc) who could facilitate their exit from US as well as give them some arms equipment."

Apparently this whole episode has been kept rather quiet, and in the past the DO has denied any relationship with Pawley. A sanitized version of the Ops report was prepared for House staffers to read, but they were not allowed to take notes or possess a copy.

Also, a check of Sylvia Meagher's index does not reveal the names of any of the Cubans denied.

For these reasons, with the additional fact that the episode has no direct bearing on the JFK assassination, I recommend that we deny in toto the folder, and protect the names of the parties involved.

CIA SPECIAL COLLECTIONS RELEASE IN FULL 2000

· 201-294665 Eduardo Perez/ Eddie Bayo

201-298397

Ernesto Duenas

Aircraft Ferry Co, Inc released in SOF

cover co for CIA,

Alpha 66 group militant Cuban exile

Bandin, Carlos

dissident faction of MRR

Cabezas, Rolando

Cuban, MRR member

Canton, Luis

see Cantin

Cantin, Luis

aka Luis Mario Cantin, Luis Mario Cantin de Nacimiento, part of Op Red Cross

Castillo Cabrera, Angel Luis

part of Op Red Cross

Commando L exile group that sunk the Russian freigher 'Baku', led by Eddy Baez and Tony Questa

CRC invasion?

DRE

anti Castro student

group, funded by CIA

Duenas, Ernesto

part of Operation Red

Cross

Fiorini, Frank

aka Frank Furg

Furg, Frank

aka Fiorini

Flying Tiger II

Operation Red Cross.

Pawley's yacht, used in

FORDC anti Castro group commanded by Mario Fontela, funded by CIA

"Francisco"

Cuban, part of Operation

Red Cross

Garcia, Victor Cuban, part of Red Cross. Garcia, who remained in cuba, wrote a letter to Venegas in Miami stating that Bayo lost Vacuero and Rodriguez in a firefight and needed more men. Martino came to the US embassy and requested a second op.

Hunt, George P.

Was part of Operation

Red Cross.

Jiminez, Luis
Red Cross

Cuban, part of Operation

Lomolu, Rene Cross part of Operation Red

Martinez, Rolando cross

part of Operation Red

Martino, John a minor Mafia character who worked as a roulette wheel repair man. He brokered the Red Cross Op.

Mir, Alfredo Cross part of Opearation Red

Paez Guerra, Luis part of Op Red Cross, captain of the Flying Tiger II

Pawley, William D former asst Sec of State, Asst Sec of Defense, Ambassador, owner of Flying Tigers II yacht, organizer of Flying Tigers in WWII, bankrolled Operation Red Cross.

Perez, Eduardo known as Eddie Bayo, led Operation Red Cross.

Quevedo Pena, Benito

part of op Red Cross

Regal, Denys Cross part of Operation Red

REX
during Operation Red Cross

CIA raider ship used

Rigal

See Regal

Sourwine, James counsel to the Senate's Internal Security Committee. Was part of the Operation Red Cross

Spencer, Terry

Time Life, took pictures (illicitly) during Operation Red
Cross. These photos were published in 1975 in Soldier of
Fortune.

Vacuero, Thomas

See Vaguero

Vaquero, Tomas Cross part of Operation Red

Venegas Garcia, Andres Eugenio

Cuban, part of Red Cross