INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CASE OF THE



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These are the results of investigations and operational information demonstrating the Miami-Central America link in the promotion, organization and authorship, both material and intellectual, in the terrorist aggression against Cuba.

As a result of the investigations into the increased terrorist actions against Cuba in the '90s, aimed mainly at the tourist industry, information has been obtained linking the **Cuban American National Foundation (CANF)** and other violent factions based in Miami, with **Luis Posada Carriles** and Central Americans recruited to carry out these acts.

After the disintegration of the socialist bloc in Eastern Europe and collapse of the USSR, the US government took advantage of the situation to increase its aggressiveness towards Cuba. This created some false expectations amongst counterrevolutionary organizations and groups of Cuban origin based in the US of the imminent collapse of the Cuban Revolution. In order to hasten the violent overthrow of the Revolution, these groups intensified their aggressive actions, creating an atmosphere of terror which reached its climax in 1997 with terrorist activities involving high explosives aimed at Cuban tourist centers, led by cells of mercenaries operating from Central America, following orders from the anti-Cuban mafia in Miami.

Despite the enemy's efforts to keep their actions secret in order to avoid detection by Cuban authorities, our research bodies obtained evidence confirming the connection and participation of leaders and members of counterrevolutionary organizations based in Miami and New Jersey, in the promotion, organization and authorship, both

intellectual and material, of terrorist actions carried out by Central American mercenaries. Among the mercenaries, the following names stand out due to their degree of involvement: **Arnaldo Monzón Plasencia**, **Rolando Fernando Borges Paz**, **Dionisio Gonzalo Vidal** and **Santiago Gonzalo Penin**.

The foundations of the plot date back to 1992, when the executive committee of the **Cuban American National Foundation (CANF)** created the so-called **Cuban National Front (FNC)**, a clandestine group acting as the CANF's armed wing. The FNC led and financed major terrorist plans and activities directed against Cuba from US territory in the 1990s.

On August 23rd, 1993, "Voice of the Cuban National Front" began transmitting broadcasts directly to Cuba, in which they encouraged the Cuban population to physically attack Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz and carry out acts of sabotage against vital economic targets, in order to overthrow the Revolution, claiming "the existence of an alleged internal resistance, composed of members of the FAR (Cuban armed forces) and the MININT (Cuban Ministry of Interior), disillusioned with and in overt contradiction with our political and social system."

Similar arguments were put forward by the **CANF** in a message published on August 15th, 1997, in the New Herald in which the Board of Directors of the CANF declared their support for terrorist actions carried out against tourist centers in Cuba, and linked the authorship of those actions to alleged commands operating in Cuba, comprised of members of the Cuban armed forces. This was clear evidence of the real motives of this organization in supporting "terrorist acts" in a country that is not at war.

The channel "Voice of the Cuban National Front" was also used to transmit coded messages to alleged clandestine cells in Cuba. The same technique was later used by the CANF to connect with the collaborator Frayle.

Research on these broadcasts showed that they were made at frequencies **7020** and **3507 kHz**, frequencies that were not authorized for this type of transmission because they are amateur radio band frequencies. This prompted Cuba to write to the US authorities and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and as a result, the transmissions ceased on July 27th, 1994.

It was also established that these transmissions were broadcast from a cattle farm located in Salinas, close to Ponce in the south of Puerto Rico. The farm was property of **Domingo Sadurni, CANF** board member, information that was published in the Miami Herald on August 26th 1994, quoting statements by the Field Engineer of the Federal Communications Commission, Reuben Jusino. This proved that the **CANF** was responsible for the broadcast and that the **FNC** was the armed wing of the organization.

In 1993, Luis Manuel de la Caridad Zúñiga Rey and Alfredo Domingo Otero, members of the secret paramilitary wing of the CANF, recruited Percy Francisco Alvarado Godoy, a Guatemalan citizen resident in Cuba, known as Agent Frayle by Cuban State Security, who was informed of the need to keep secret the existence of the FNC and its relationship with the CANF. In addition he received hundreds of

stickers alluding to that structure, in order to promote its existence on Cuban territory.

From that date onwards, the CANF leaders Horacio Salvador García Cordero, Francisco José Hernández Calvo and Arnaldo Monzón Plasencia, and the aforementioned Alfredo Domingo Otero and Luis Manuel de la Caridad Zúñiga Rey, all FNC members, instructed collaborator Frayle to ensure the introduction into Cuba of explosive devices and other methods for carrying out terrorist actions against tourist centers and economic targets in Cuba. He was also encouraged to study and record information about the targets, which included filming, drawing survey maps and locations through GPS receivers. He was given the necessary resources and means to do this.

On August 4th 1994, **Alfredo Domingo Otero** and **Luis Manuel de la Caridad Zúñiga Rey** gave collaborator **Frayle** a cell phone designed to ensure contact with him in Cuba. Following instructions, **Frayle** returned the cell phone to **Alfredo Domingo Otero** in December 1994. Two Cubans residing in Miami, Santos Armando Martínez Rueda and José Enrique Ramírez Oro used the same cell phone in 1995. They were recruited by the counterrevolutionary organization **Cuban American Veterans Association (CAVA)**. These two Cubans were arrested after planting an explosive device in the Hotel Sol Palmeras, Varadero, Matanzas province, more details of which can be found below.

Investigations into the cell phone confirmed that it was rented from the company **Tercel** in Mexico, by the president of the **CANF** Board, **Francisco José Hernández Calvo**, and activated for use in Cuba through Tercel's communication with its counterpart **Cubacel**. A call log was requested from Cubacel, which confirmed that the cell phone was used in Cuba for calls to **Alfredo Domingo Otero**, to his home number **5951656** and his cell phone **2995104** and in addition to the number **2994358**, belonging to **Guillermo Novo Sampoll**, in the United States.

This is further corroborated by the fact that our research bodies also knew about the phone calls between **Frayle** and **Alfredo Domingo Otero** using the same mobile device.

In the case of **Novo SampolI**, his phone number was linked to **Santos Armando Martínez Rueda** who, when captured in Mexico (see further below) handed a paper to a Mexican official, asking him to inform the person on it of his arrest and transfer to Cuba. The paper had a phone number, together with the name **Mister BilI**, and was handed over to Cuban authorities with the detainee. When checked against the records of our operating bodies, the phone number turned out to belong to **Guillermo Novo SampolI**, also known in counterrevolutionary milieu in Miami as **Mister BilI**.

Also in 1994, following instructions from **Alfredo Domingo Otero** and **CANF** board members **Francisco José Hernández Calvo** and **Horacio Salvador García Cordero**, **Frayle** traveled to Guatemala City, staying at the Hotel Camino Real, where he was contacted by the terrorists of Cuban origin **Gaspar Eugenio Jiménez Escobedo**, **Luis Posada Carriles** and a third unidentified subject (all three were staying in room 561 of the same hotel). They trained **Frayle** in the manufacture of explosive devices, designed to be detonated in tourist and recreational centers in

Cuba, and gave him 900 grams of C-4 plastic explosives, hidden in shampoo and conditioner bottles, two electric detonators disguised in a set of markers and two electric clocks.

On subsequent visits to Miami, **Frayle** was ordered by **Alfredo Domingo Otero**, **Luis Manuel de la Caridad Zuñiga Rey**, **Horacio Salvador García Cordero** and **Arnaldo Monzón Plasencia** to plant these explosive devices in tourist and recreational centers in the Cuban capital. He was promised a sum of \$10,000 on completion of the mission.

In Miami, the aforementioned **CANF** board members also provided **Frayle** with hundreds of fake Cuban exchangeable notes in 20 peso denominations, designed to be introduced into circulation in Cuba in order to wreak havoc on the domestic economy.

Identical bills were given by **Rolando Borges Paz** to collaborator **Félix** and found in the possession of terrorists **Ernestino Cecilio Abreu Horta** and **Vicente Marcelino Martínez Rodríguez**, caught when trying to infiltrate arms along the north coast of Pinar del Río in 1998. This is further evidence of **CANF**'s involvement in these actions and their use of other organizations and counterrevolutionary elements based in Miami to cover up their direct participation in terrorist activities directed against Cuba in the 1990s.

On March 20th 1995, the aforementioned Cuban citizens resident in Miami, **Santos Armando Martínez Rueda** and **José Enrique Ramírez Oro**, were arrested in Cuba, having been handed over by Mexican authorities for carrying passports with false identities. Both admitted responsibility for planting an explosive device (deactivated by Cuban authorities) at Hotel Sol Palmeras in Varadero, Matanzas, and initiating the Palma case.

Investigations and interrogations proved that it was a major operation, organized and financed by CANF, using the Cuban American Veterans Association (CAVA) as a front. Leaders of the CANF secret paramilitary group, Guillermo Novo Sampoll and Arnaldo Monzon Plasencia, were involved, the latter of whom was already involved in operations with Frayle.

In their statements, **Martínez Rueda** and **Ramírez Oro** stated that they arrived in Cuba with false Costa Rican identity documents, and that a week before they had illegally entered the country by sea, bringing with them 51 pounds of C-4 plastic explosives, electric detonators, detonating cord reels and two pistols, among other devices designed for use in subsequent terrorist attacks against tourist centers. Interestingly, the explosive device deactivated in the Hotel Sol Palmeras and the devices found subsequently in possession of **Santos Armando Martínez Rueda** and **José Enrique Ramírez Oro** had the same structure and operating system as the ones supplied to **Frayle**.

Martínez Rueda stated that he knew that the **CANF**'s aim was to develop a terrorist program involving planting bombs in Cuba, and that they planned to move the operational base to Central America, which is corroborated by evidence of the training and supplying of explosives to collaborator **Frayle** in Guatemala and subsequent actions involving Central American mercenaries.

The neutralization of the terrorist activities described above, along with the need of the main leaders of the Cuban American extreme right to avoid problems with US authorities for carrying out terrorist attacks from US territory, influenced the decision of **CANF** terrorist elements to move operations to Central America. They took advantage of the opportunities provided by Posada Carriles to act in this region, even though plans and subsequent actions continued to be directed and financed by the terrorist mafia, in particular the **CANF**, from US territory.

From April 12th 1997 onwards, a series of bombings started to take place in Cuban tourist centers, both in Cuba and abroad, which corroborated **Martínez Rueda**'s statement regarding the organization of further terrorist attacks, and the information obtained through **Frayle** of the planning of these actions against the Cuban tourism industry. Additional information was obtained by our research bodies about the terrorist network acting from Miami, a result of which was the capture of the Salvadoran terrorist **Raúl Ernesto Cruz León** on September 4th 1997.

Cruz León stated that fellow Salvadoran Francisco Antonio Chávez Abarca, mercenary in the service of Posada Carriles, recruited him. Journalistic records from El Salvador revealed that **Chávez Abarca**'s father, **Francisco Chávez Díaz**, had been involved with **Posada Carriles** in arms trafficking during the dirty war against the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua.

Regarding the involvement of Chávez Abarca in these actions, it was established that in addition to selecting and recruiting Central Americans operating in El Salvador and Guatemala, he was also responsible for the following terrorist activities: the planting of an explosive device on the 15th floor of the Hotel Meliá Cohiba between the 7th and 8th of March 1997, the detonation of a bomb in the Aché nightclub of the same hotel in April 12th 1997, as well as the bombing of the offices of Cubanacán in Mexico, May 24th 1997 (his presence in Mexico was verified on this date).

According to the statements of the detainee **Cruz León**, **Chávez Abarca** confirmed his participation in these events. In addition, the link between both these men and **Posada Carriles** in these actions was recognized by the latter in his statements to the journalist Ann Louisse Bardach of the New York Times, on the 12th and 13th of July 1998, and ratified to the CBS in August 2nd of the same year.

On August 23rd 1997, an explosive device was detonated at the Hotel Sol Palmeras in Varadero and, in October of the same year, traces of explosives were detected on a Transtur minibus and at a kiosk located in the area surrounding the International Airport Jose Martí in Havana. The investigation confirmed that the alleged perpetrators of these acts were Guatemalan citizens **Jorge Venancio Ruiz** and **Marlon Antonio González Estrada**, who entered the country using their real names the first time and the second time with the fake identities **José Luis Castillo Manzo** and **Nery de Jesús Hernández Galicia**, respectively. (Actions described in the Research Records Palmeras, 7/97 and Panel, 25/97).

It was also established that a transfer of \$375 was made to both Guatemalans through the tour operator agency Junior SA, by **José Burgos**, a resident of Guatemala. **Burgos** is linked in turn to the Guatemala-based Cuban-American **José Álvarez**, known **as Pepe Álvarez**. Both **Burgos** and **Álvarez** have connections to **Posada Carriles** and the Swiss American School of Guatemala City, which has the

phone numbers 5023621744 and 5023621743 and which both Guatemalan terrorists called during their stay at the Hotel President.

A link was also established between **Burgos** and **Álvarez** and the commercial offices at the address 15-42 17th Street, Zone 10, Apt 2 in Guatemala City, phone number **333 5070**, references given by **Venancio Ruiz** and **González Estrada** to several Cubans whom they encountered during their stay in Cuba.

Following this chain of events, on March 4th 1998, Guatemalan citizens **Nader Kamal Musallan Barakat** (with the false identity of **Miguel Abraham Herrera Morales**) and **María Elena González Meza de Fernández** were arrested in Cuba.
They were in possession of four explosive and other devices, designed to be brought into Cuba, using the same modus operandi indicated by collaborator **Frayle** in 1994.

In their statements **Musallan Barakat** and **González Meza de Fernández** claimed that they were recruited by **Chávez Abarca**, adding that on several occasions, he referred to the participation of **Posada Carriles** (using the identity of **Ramón Medina**) and **Arnaldo Monzón Plasencia**, in the organization, management and financing of the aforementioned plans.

González Meza de Fernández confirmed his awareness of the link between Cruz León and Chávez Abarca, and also referred to the problems that arose with "the man of New Jersey" as a result of delays in payment for the bombings in Havana, evidently referring to Monzón Plasencia.

Chávez Abarca in turn confirmed that he had met **Monzón Plasencia** and **Ramón Medina** at Hotel Cortijo Reforma, to deal with the issue of delayed payments. At that meeting they resolved the issues concerning payment for the planting of bombs in Cuba, and decided to continue the terrorist attacks having agreed to restart the provision of funds.

In the days prior to the departure of the Guatemalan terrorists to Cuba, **Chávez Abarca** told **Musallan Barakat** that the person preparing the clocks and interfaces for the explosive devices was a Cuban American staying at the Hotel Cortijo Reforma in Guatemala City (where he had had the meeting with **Ramón Medina** and **Monzón Plasencia**).

On June 10th 1998 and as a result of operational work, the Salvadoran citizen **Otto René Rodríguez Llerena** was arrested at Jose Martí International Airport, whilst trying to enter the country with 1519 grams of plastic explosive substances and other products designed for making two explosive devices.

Among the devices found in possession of **Rodríguez Llerena** were phones and a picture of the granddaughter of the Cuban **Juan Francisco Fernández Gómez** (AKA collaborator **Félix** for Cuban State Security) who, during a visit to Miami in 1996, was recruited by the counterrevolutionary leader **Rolando Borges Paz**, who gave him a pen for invisible writing and an ultraviolet lamp for reading, indicating that the collaborator would use the pseudonym of "**Juan**" while he used that of "**José García**" or "**García**".

From that date until the arrest of **Rodríguez Llerena**, collaborator **Félix** maintained several personal as well as indirect contacts (by phone or via messages in secret writing) with **Borges Paz**, in which the latter encouraged him to create the conditions necessary for receiving a supply of explosives via an illegal sea route. However, this plan turned out to be impossible to execute, and consequently the devices were delivered by a Central American who travelled to Cuba for this purpose, which resulted in the arrest of **Rodríguez Llerena** and was given the name "Operation Aunt Ramona" by **Borges**.

The analysis of this operation provides further evidence of the close link between elements based in Miami and the actions of **Posada Carriles** in Central America as demonstrated by the following actions:

- During the preparation of collaborator Félix outside of Cuba, and following Borges Paz's instructions, he was given training in making explosive devices in the Miami residence of counterrevolutionary Dionisio Gonzalo López, by the nephew of José Santiago Gonzalo Penin, a resident of New Jersey and linked to Monzón Plasencia, former member of the US Army, who participated in the invasion of Grenada.
- During this training, Gonzalo Penin gave Félix a sketch of the explosive device, with a similar operating principle as that used for assembling the bombs used by the Central American terrorists recruited, trained, supplied and sent to Cuba by Posada Carriles and his associates from Central America.
- Likewise, **Borges Paz** gave him a Casio digital watch, model PQ-10, similar to the ones found in possession of the Guatemalan terrorists and the Salvadoran **Rodríguez Llerena**.
- Significantly, during Félix's last journey to the US, between March 26th and April 26th 1996, Borges Paz informed him that he would be travelling to Central America, and on his return confirmed that the collaborator would continue to carry out their plans for terrorist activities in Cuba. He showed Félix a shoebox filled with hundreds of fake Cuban exchangeable banknotes in 20 peso denominations, and gave him a sample. When the sample was analyzed by Cuban operational bodies and compared by experts against similar notes from other cases previously described, it served as proof of the involvement of the CANF and other powerful interests of the Cuban-American extreme right, involved in previous attempts to introduce counterfeits into Cuba.
- The photo of the granddaughter of collaborator Félix, given by him to Borges
 Paz to be used as a password, was found in possession of Salvadoran terrorist
 Rodríguez Llerena, who in turn had received the photo from his recruiter
 Ignacio Medina (Posada Carriles) together with the phone number of "Juan"
 (Félix) and the knowledge that the contact in Cuba (of whom he had seen
 pictures) would be wearing a black cap with the inscription "100% Cuban".
- The arrangements around the contact in Cuba were made by Borges Paz when collaborator Félix was in the US. Félix never traveled to Central America or had contact with Posada Carriles. Thus, the possession of contact information by

Rodríguez Llerena demonstrates the connection between the leaders of terrorist organizations in Miami with **Posada Carriles** in Central America.

- This was corroborated during the training process, when Rodriguez Llerena
 voluntarily agreed to address his contact "Juan" and pass him the messages prearranged by Félix with Borges Paz in Miami, and by the detainee with Posada
 Carriles in El Salvador.
- The telephone conversations with collaborator Félix as well as the clandestine messages in secret writing demonstrate the involvement of the perpetrator Borges Paz in all parts of the process relating to the terrorist activity, his link to the main counterrevolutionary organizations involved in these actions, his constant monitoring of the situation, and the instructions and training of collaborator Felix, just before the appearance and arrest of Rodríguez Llerena, so that Félix would be ready to make contact with and receive the Central American terrorist and the explosive devices.

Conclusions:

The facts presented here, together with the results of expert technical analysis of all the evidence obtained in a variety of different ways through the investigation carried out while this terrorist activity was taking place, as well as statements by detainees and important disclosures published in the media in the US and Central America, indicate the following:

- 1. The terrorist acts of 1997 and 1998 are not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a longer-term strategy of counterrevolutionary right-wing organizations in Miami with roots in the past, and of the continuity of its policy designed to destabilize the Cuban Revolution by any means possible.
- 2. The terrorist acts of 1997 and 1998 were planned and organized by terrorist groups based in Miami, Florida, United States, financed and directed by the **CANF**, in connection with **Posada Carriles** as executor in Central America, through the recruitment of mercenaries.
- 3. In the investigation of these events, information and evidence have been gathered which incriminates several counterrevolutionaries of Cuban origin residing in the United States, making it essential that US authorities obtain complementary evidence in order to conclusively demonstrate their involvement in terrorist acts against Cuba.

End of report.