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001. memo	Jack Otero to Joe Velasquez re: Cuba briefing attendance [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	09/08/1994	b(6)
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RESTRICTION CODES

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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REPORT ON SEPTEMBER 16, 1994 MEETING WITH CUBAN REFUGEES ON GUANTANAMO NAVAL BASE

On September 16, 1994, a delegation of four Cuban American attorneys from South Florida non-government organizations met with the Cuban refugees detained at the Guantanamo Naval Base. The delegation visited the Base at the invitation of the U.S. military Joint Task Force (JTF) in charge of the Cuban and Haitian refugee camps. The invitation was based on a request from the Cuban refugees to meet with counsel.

We were accompanied by an attorney from the United States Department of Justice Office of Immigration Litigation and a representative of the National Security Council. In addition to meeting with leaders from the camps, we met with representatives from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Community Relations Service, and representatives of the JTF.

This Report summarizes our observations and discussions with the refugees and different government representatives. In reading the report it should be understood that these observations are based on a limited visit of five hours. We were only allowed to view the camps while we were driving by and while we walked to the different meetings. Moreover, U.S. government representatives accompanied us the entire period, precluding us from meeting privately with the refugees. This report represents the views of the individual attorneys and not their organizations.

I. Living Conditions

We were only allowed to meet with the leaders from the several Cuban camps that have been established on the Base. Although we had no access to the camps themselves, we recognize, based on statements from the refugees and general observations, that the military is making great efforts to provide the approximately 32,000 refugees with shelter and basic necessities. Much remains to be done to make living conditions tolerable for the refugees. The refugees are most grateful

to the U.S. military. They understand that the military is not trained or equipped to manage a refugee camp and that the soldiers are merely following orders.

At the time of our visit only approximately 22,000 of the 32,000 plus individuals have been processed for identification. The Cubans are housed separately from the Haitian refugees. The Cuban refugees are divided into two geographic areas, the former golf course and Camp Bulkeley. These two camps are further split into many subcamps. The JTF plan, which is still in the early stages of implementation, contemplates that there be two camps subdivided into four major population groups: families, single females, unaccompanied minors, and single males. At present these groups are housed separately. We are not clear as to the criteria for the further subdivisions into the many smaller camps. Each camp has elected representatives and they meet on a weekly basis to discuss issues of common concern. Individuals are not permanently settled within specific subcamps, causing a great deal of transition between camps.

There is also a separate area termed "administrative segregation" where suspected criminals from Cuba are being identified and segregated from the general population. Those who disturb the peace and safety of the camps are also placed in administrative segregation. There are now approximately 300 individuals in these facilities.

A. Health & Safety

The camps do not have running water. The refugees are fed "meals ready to eat" (MRE's), although the military is in the process of setting up a more stable infrastructure, including kitchens and running water. Dust covers the sea of tents in which the refugees live. On the day we visited it was not raining, but it was explained to us that there is no drainage, and conditions would worsen severely with rain.

It is beyond the control of the JTF to make conditions at the camps tolerable. It is impossible to make these camps habitable. The plans are to improve conditions to those existing for the Haitian refugees. Those conditions are unacceptable. One of the attorneys in our delegation had toured the Haitian camps on July 27, 1994, and observed their living conditions. The Haitians continue to live in tents without privacy or the most basic comforts. For the Haitians there are still few opportunities to engage in productive activities. Long term detention of refugees, behind barbed wire and regimented control, will dehumanize them.

Basic medical care is provided at Guantanamo. Camp Bulkeley and the golf course camp each have a field hospital. There are also clinical facilities in the subcamps which Cuban doctors and nurses help to run. The series of vaccinations normally provided to

children are administered as part of processing for identification.

The Cuban leaders stated that they would cooperate with the military in the upkeep of the camps. Poor hygienic conditions and prolonged exposure to the elements, however, can lead to the spread of normally preventable diseases, according to the Cuban doctors. We share the camp leaders concern for the special needs of the elderly, pregnant women, the new born, and those with chronic diseases, such as asthma, diabetes, hypertension and heart conditions.

Safety concerns are being addressed by the military and the Cubans by identifying and separating suspected criminals from Cuba. We are concerned that troublemakers are being housed with these suspected criminals. We are not aware, however, of any due process rights afforded to any of these individuals.

B. Children

A recurring concern of the camp leaders was the welfare of the children. There are hundreds of children, ranging from newly born babies, such as a three day old baby sleeping in an ammunition box converted into a cradle, to teenagers. The leaders stated that the children on the Base are under great physical and mental stress. Many of the leaders, including Cuban medical doctors, reported that the children are losing weight due to inadequate diet and suffer from diarrhea and fevers. Ailments such as upper respiratory infections and asthma are further aggravated by camp conditions. Gloria Inclan Vivo, M.D., one the refugees, is particularly concerned about the mental well-being of the children. She said, "We have spent about a month here and already the majority of them cry every night and long for a little house, a school, and a wholesome, humble life." One of the camp leaders we spoke with told stories about traumatized children hiding in tents and refusing to eat. This camp leader stated that the trauma of travelling on rafts, was compounded by now finding themselves behind barbed wire surrounded by uniformed soldiers.

The children are not receiving adequate education. We understand that some camps have refugees serving as teachers on a limited basis. We further understand that more formal schooling is planned by the JTF. Parents expressed the desire that their children learn English.

The camp leaders stressed that at a minimum the children should be paroled. In the words of one of the camp leaders, "The children should not be victims and made to suffer because of their parents' decisions."

C. Communications

At the time of our visit communication with the outside world was extremely limited. No comprehensive system of communication has been implemented and that which exists has been limited and sporadic. AT&T has contracted to install 10 to 15 telephones at each of the subcamps so that the refugees can make collect telephone calls to relatives. It is expected that this telephone system will be operational in about two weeks. The Red Cross is in the process of implementing a system whereby the refugees will be allowed to send a brief written message to relatives stating that they are alive.

There is no postal system. The mail brought by the Congressional delegation has not been distributed to the refugees. We were informed by one of officers that because of logistical and legal problems that mail is to be returned to the United States. One of the attorneys in our delegation brought several pieces of mail for the refugees, but she was asked to bring the letters back to the United States. At a meeting with the refugees this attorney again brought up the issue of the mail and a representative from the I.N.S. stated that the letters should be given to the Red Cross. After the meeting, the same representative said that this mail would be undeliverable under present conditions. We received conflicting reports about the feasibility of implementing a regular mail system in the camps. A JTF representative stated that the assistance of the U.S. Postal Service was needed to implement a mail system.

The refugees expressed extreme frustration with the limited and often contradictory news they receive. Some portable radios are available throughout the camps. The JTF created a local radio station for the camps which rebroadcasts segments of Radio Marti. Part of the frustration is that the refugees also hear broadcasts from Cuban Radio from Communist Cuba. A newsletter is also in the works for the refugees. The refugees are anxious to receive news from the outside world to be informed and to be assured that they are not forgotten. Many of the camp leaders stated that rumors abound because of limited communications. This has resulted in increased tensions, anxiety, and confusion. One leader stated that this situation caused hopelessness.

We understand that World Relief will provide interpreters. We did not meet with the military linguists who work in the camps, but we are concerned that interpreters be competent and sensitive to the refugees.

To reassure the refugees that they had not been forgotten, we reported that there are frequent news stories regarding their plight and that Cubans in the U.S. had demonstrated in their support. We told the refugees that their names were listed at

Spanish radio stations where large numbers gathered daily. We told them that the U.S. Cuban community is solidly behind them.

II. Legal Status

The Cuban refugees were gravely concerned about their future and how the recent Accord between the governments of the United States and Cuba would affect them. We explained that the present position of the United States government is that they are only being offered safe haven, presently at Guantanamo or Panama, or voluntary repatriation to Cuba. The position of the U.S. government is that anyone in safe haven is not eligible for any immigration benefit. We further explained that the U.S. takes the position that the Cuban refugees have limited rights because they are regarded as being outside of U.S. territory.

The leaders stated that they understand that the new U.S. policy of detaining Cuban refugees was instituted in an effort to stop a mass exodus. They stated that the signing of the Accord had achieved its intended effect and a new mechanism now exist to prevent another mass influx. Now that the crisis has ended, they should be paroled into the United States. They understand that it is not feasible for all the refugees to be resettled in Miami; they are willing to be resettled throughout the United States. They stated that they are honest, law-abiding, and hard-working individuals who do not want a handout. They further stated that the small criminal element present at the camp is being identified and segregated.

They consider themselves to be political refugees and claim the rights and privileges accorded this status. A significant number of former political prisoners and dissidents have been identified among the detainees. The Cubans vehemently oppose repatriation to Communist Cuba, voluntarily or otherwise and believe that the Accord is inconsistent with U.S. and international laws because persons who voluntarily reavail themselves of the protection of their country forfeit refugee status. Returning to Cuba would force the Cuban refugees to reavail themselves of the protection of the Castro government in order to survive within that communist regime and therefore forfeit refugee status. Even if their voluntary repatriation is not considered to be a forfeiture of refugee status, there is no system in place to restore the basic provisions provided to the general Cuban population. How are these people, some of whom have been identified as known dissidents and political prisoners, to trust the government they originally fled from?

The refugees are concerned about the arbitrary manner in which U.S. law is being applied. Among the arguments presented by the refugees was that it was illogical to require that they return to Cuba for processing since the U.S. already regarded them as being in Cuba. Guantanamo is considered Cuban territory by the United

States in the application of U.S. immigration law. One doctor gave the example that he is not allowed to practice medicine because he is not licensed under U.S. law, and at the same time he is told that U.S. immigration law does not apply to him because he is in Cuba. They questioned why those who arrived before the August 19 announcement of the policy change are being detained with those who arrived after that date.

III. Recommendations

A. We have confidence that the appointment of Ombudsmen Guarione Diaz will improve conditions and communications. He has many ideas of ways to help the Cubans. We believe that he will be an effective intermediary between the Cuban community, the U.S. government, and the Cuban refugees. We urge him to also focus on the social, psychological, and educational needs of the population, once the basic necessities, such as food and shelter, are fully met.

B. It is imperative that lines of communications be established and maintained between the refugees and the outside world. Not only must a telephone system be immediately installed, but mail service must also be made available. Mail service may be the only means of communication with family members, as the refugees may be precluded from placing collect calls, especially to families in Cuba.

C. It is important that the refugees be kept abreast of news and world developments. Newspapers and radios should be widely available. This will help reduce rumors and allow for the refugees to receive accurate news information.

D. Non-government organizations and attorneys should be given continued access to the refugees. In the past it has been proven that their presence has eased tensions within the camp and facilitated communications between the refugees and the U.S. government.

E. The harsh living conditions are aggravated by refugees spending long hours in idleness. We urge the military to implement its plan to utilize the talents of the refugees within the camp, many of whom are professionals and skilled workers. By allowing the refugees to assist themselves, they can develop a sense of control over their lives and at the same time assist the military.

F. We urge the implementation of formal procedures to safeguard the due process rights of those identified as "criminals" and "troublemakers."

G. While we are aware of the current policy and the rationale behind it, we do not anticipate that many Cubans will elect voluntary repatriation. Almost all will chose to remain in safe havens, resulting in prolonged detention. In the past, this policy

has resulted in despair and frustration, leading to highly tense and volatile situations.

Children, pregnant women, the elderly and the seriously ill should be immediately paroled into the U.S. We also believe that the current U.S. position requiring processing at the U.S. interest section in Havana is illogical as the U.S. considers the Guantanamo Naval Base to be Cuban territory. Cubans in Guantanamo or other designated safe havens should therefore be allowed to apply for refugee status, immigrant visas, or granted humanitarian parole. Repatriation is inhuman. Long term investment in Guantanamo and other safe havens is costly and futile. Resettlement throughout the United States should be the goal.

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Elaine Bloom

Darell Jones

page 5, Outreach

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- * MDCC (Miami-Dade Community College)
- * FIU (Florida International University)
- * SALAD (Spanish-American League Against Discrimination)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1994

Monsignor Augustin Roman
Pastoral Center
9401 Biscane Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33138

VIA FAX: 305-758-2027

Dear Monsignor Roman:

Thank you for agreeing to help us.

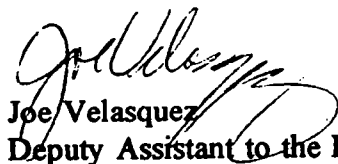
As I mentioned to you on the phone, the people in the detention centers on Guantanamo are asking for priests to visit them.

We would like your help in identifying priests who would be able to go to Guantanamo. We need to discuss how many and how often they would go. Our challenge is that there are 30,000 people in the detention centers.

Perhaps you could send someone to do an assessment of what is needed before we ask for commitments.

Thank you for your consideration. I will be in touch soon.

Sincerely,



Joe Velasquez
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Director for Political Affairs

September 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR SUZANNA VALDEZ

FROM: JOE VELASQUEZ

SUBJECT: Cuba Stuff

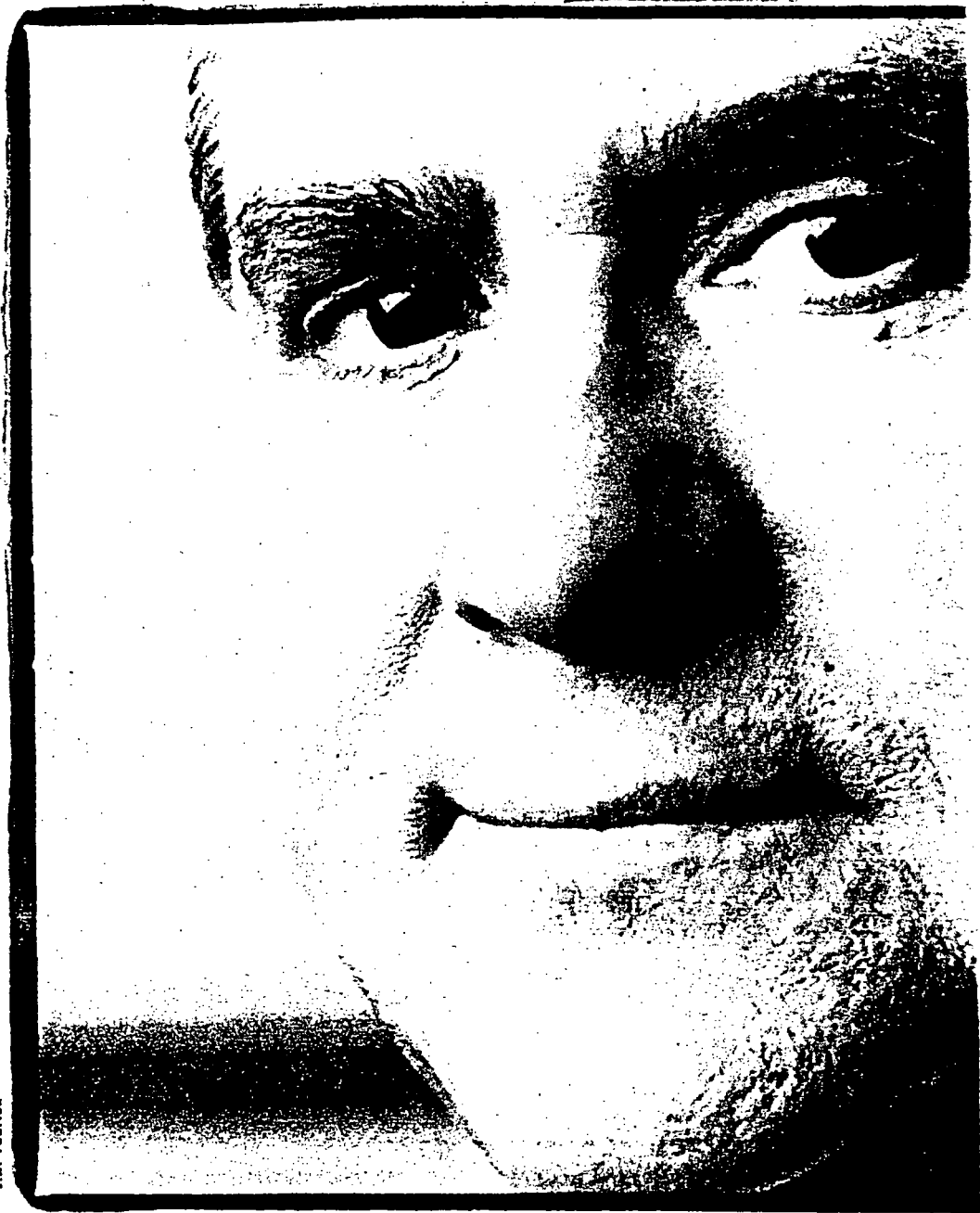
In light of the elections, I will not be able to participate in the Cuba project to the extent necessary. These are a few things underway that you may want to pick up:

1. Work with Ruga to get the donations to GTMO -- he's ready. The Core Group has the info on what we need. Simon and I discussed that it would be good PR if the Core Group got all the stuff and takes credit.
2. I'm checking with the Postal Service to send a team to GTMO to check out what can be done to set up some type of mail service.
3. I talked with Monsignor Roman about the need for priests. He's ready to help. Think about getting the military to fly them down every Saturday.
4. Vicki Rivas Vasquez's sister is into social workers and nurses. She can help you work out a system to rotate them in and out of GTMO. I've talked to her and she's sending me a memo outlining an idea to do a needs assessment.
5. The visitors policy is important. We need to get JMC to continue supporting us. His big deal now is to get to Guantanamo. This needs to happen, but the President's Democrats need to be the first group. We should, however, announce the approval for the trips simultaneously.
6. I have friends at the Red Cross who should brief us on what they're doing in Cuba and what else they can do. I also know the United Way network. If you want I can get you tied into them. They can do a lot.

I've put in a request for the President to meet with a select and diverse group of Cuban Americans. MAR will help me define the group.

Don't think I'm abandoning the issue. I will help you with any piece of this, particularly JMC. Let me know what you want me to do.

c: Mort Halperin



J.M. Yearien

B Y J I M D E F E D E



White House Photo

YOU MAY
ADMIRE HIM
OR YOU MAY
FIND HIM
DISGUSTING.
BUT AT LEAST
YOU'VE GOT
TO HAND IT
TO HIM:
JORGE MAS
CANOSA HAS
GOT CLOUT.

Jorge Mas Canosa is running late. "I'm sorry, I'm sorry," he says. "I was with the ambassador." Mas turns and introduces Otto Reich, the former U.S. ambassador to Venezuela under President Ronald Reagan. "He was also a member of the National Security Council," Mas says in a hushed tone. The ambassador smiles but says nothing. With a handshake the two men part and Mas heads back to his office at the West Dade headquarters of his multimillion-dollar telecommunications company, Mastec. "These are busy days," he notes. He spent yesterday at the Krome Detention Center visiting the 600 refugees being held there. Tomorrow he'll fly to New Jersey to address more than 1200 Cuban Americans at a political fundraiser. The day after that he's off to Chicago, and then back to Miami, where he'll be preparing for a trip to Germany and a meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Up since 5:00 a.m., and with a waiting room full of people, the 54-year-old chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation will be in meetings until nearly midnight. "These are very busy days," he repeats. "But I think this is a turning point. Just look at the way things were two weeks ago. Two weeks ago nothing was happening. Haiti was on the front page of all the papers. Nothing was being written about Cuba. Now, in two weeks, Cuba has been paralyzed. There is social chaos in Cuba. Whatever good press there was left for Castro has turned around. The images of *balseras*, rafters, all around the world really present the vision of the dictator who is pushing people out to be drowned in the Straits of Florida. You see those faces of desperation of those individuals, those children. People are saying, 'My God, what is going on in Cuba?'"

As Mas speaks on this Thursday, September 8, U.S. and Cuban officials are still trying to negotiate an end to the refugee crisis that began in mid-August, after Castro announced that his security forces would no longer attempt to stop people from fleeing the island. In the ensuing weeks, more than 20,000 Cubans have taken to the sea.

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For more than a dozen years Jorge Mas Canosa has commanded the attention of U.S. presidents from both parties, including last month's meeting with Bill Clinton

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small boats and improvised rafts. The low-motion Mariel, as it has come to be known, could be a disaster for local officials, and an election-year nightmare for Gov. Lawton Chiles, as well as an unwanted foreign-policy test for the Clinton administration.

While Mas is right in saying that before the crisis, the world's attention was drawn to Haiti, North Korea, and Rwanda — anywhere but Cuba — it is also true that Mas himself had been relegated to the sidelines of public consciousness, at least outside Miami. By way of contrast, not too long ago Mas had been everywhere: profiled in the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *Squire* magazine, the *London Sunday Times*, and *60 Minutes*, among others.

But out of the recent commotion, Mas has emerged with unprecedented prominence, anointed by both Governor Chiles and Pres. Bill Clinton as the voice of exiled Cubans, the man policymakers turned to at the height of the crisis, and whose advice they followed. Mas also provided the president and the governor desperately needed support for the dramatic shift in U.S. policy toward Cuban refugees — from unqualified welcome to indefinite detention. In return he extracted from the Clinton administration new measures designed to hasten Cuba's economic collapse. For Mas's opponents, who see him as a right-wing bully and his anti-Castro strategy as a cruel form of torture inflicted upon the Cuban people, the turn of events couldn't have been more shocking.

Mas sees it as vindication. "The true colors are coming out," he says emphatically. "The Foundation is coming out with positions that most people would not have anticipated. You would not have anticipated that I would have met with President Clinton. You would not have anticipated that I would have opposed another Mariel. You would not have anticipated that I was going to sup-

port Clinton on this decision, because the stereotype that I've been a victim of does not indicate that. What has been said and written about the Foundation was totally untrue."

On this day, Mas is positively giddy about another unanticipated development: an editorial in the *Miami Herald*, his favorite whipping boy. This morning's editorial is titled "A U.S. Strategy for Cuba," and it calls for "tightening the vice" on Castro by maintaining the economic embargo and putting pressure on U.S. allies to demand change in Cuba. The editorial represents a striking reversal for the *Herald*, which two years ago, under the headline "Bad Strategy on Cuba," attacked the so-called Torricelli Bill (now the Cuban Democracy Act) for proposing similar tactics. Mas was infuriated by the paper's efforts to kill a piece of congressional legislation he helped create.

He has a copy of the new editorial in his coat pocket. "Look at this!" he implores. "Now they are calling for more embargo. Who won in the end? Who was right in the end?" A smile spreads across his face as he rises from his chair, too excited to remain seated. "Who was right? Who was right?" he keeps repeating, now laughing. "Who won? Who won?" For Mas the answer is obvious: He won. "It is time for us to realize that time will redeem us," he intones. "Time will prove to people just how wrong they were in rushing to judgment about the Foundation."

Of late, however, not all media have brought him such pleasure. The previous Sunday, for example, *60 Minutes* had rebroadcast its unflattering profile of Mas, which first aired a couple of years ago. (In light of recent events, the program's executives decided to dust it off and show it again.) In the past few months, the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal* had editorialized in favor of lifting the U.S. embargo against Cuba. And once again his name has been appearing with regularity in the nation's weekly news magazines and

major dailies — often on the op-ed pages, where he has been castigated as the man who wants to be the next president of Cuba.

A week earlier the *New York Daily News* published its lead editorial under the headline "Who Is Jorge Mas Canosa?" "The quick, easy answer: He is a Cuban expatriate in Miami who came to the U.S. when Fidel Castro seized power," the editorial began. "The whole truth is more complex and disturbing: Mas is a powerful player who emerged from the shadows of a private audience with President Clinton and is helping to drive American policy in the wrong direction."

Despite the broadsides, Mas is buoyant. After all, a man on top of the world can afford to be forgiving. Even his decision to sit down for a lengthy interview with *New Times* (which has been highly critical of him) reflects a new level of self-assuredness. "Sometimes I look at myself in the mirror and ask what the hell is happening to my life," Mas offers in a reflective moment. "I've got no private

life. I can't enjoy the good things that the Lord has given me. I can't get out on my boat. I can't get to my house on the beach. I say to myself, 'Mas Canosa, you are very stupid. Why don't you stop? Look at the price you are paying in terms of the personal sufferings and the things people write about you. Why? Why? Why?'"

He pauses, scripting a moment of drama, allowing the question to linger unanswered. "There is an inner feeling, it's a drive," he finally says. "As long as Castro

is there, I feel that drive to make the contribution."

On the morning of Thursday, August 18, Attorney General Janet Reno told the reporters assembled for her regularly scheduled weekly press briefing that she didn't believe the exodus of Cuban rafters, which had begun only a few days earlier, had reached a crisis point. "We have been able to manage the increased flow arriving from Cuba during the last several days in

an orderly way and without disruption to the community," Reno stated in her trademark monotone.

A little more than twelve hours later she was in front of the cameras again, this time at a hastily called, late-night news conference. And her assessment of the situation was startlingly different. Looking tired and adopting a stern tone, she proclaimed that contrary to long-standing U.S. policy, Cuban refugees

would no longer be immediately released into the community; they would be interdicted at sea and detained indefinitely. "The detention of these people will continue at appropriate facilities pending a determination of how they should be processed," she said.

According to an aide to Governor Chiles, during the intervening hours that Thursday, Chiles had "declared war" on the Clinton administration. With the arrival of each new rafter, the governor saw his chances for re-election slipping away. He insisted to White House officials that if he lost this year because of the immigration issue, Clinton could forget about having any chance of capturing Florida in the 1996 presidential election.

Chiles told the White House he was prepared to commandeer Homestead Air Force Base and convert it to use as an internment camp for refugees. "We went so far as to talk to our Department of Corrections and our Department of Transportation to get buses together to barricade the roads around the Coast Guard station at Key West so the Cubans couldn't be released," recalls the aide. "We were going to declare the area under quarantine. He was ready to sign a quarantine order. We had it drafted." The governor's warnings resonated with President Clinton, who lost his own gubernatorial bid for re-election in 1980 after Mariel detainees rioted at Fort Chafee, Arkansas.

Over the course of Thursday, discussions among top administration officials led to a stunning break with the past — an end to the 28-year-old policy of giving preferential immigration treatment to Cubans. Instead of being picked up at sea and taken to Key West, where routinely they would be released, Cuban refugees would be taken to the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo. Any Cubans who managed to reach the United States by raft would be held by the INS. The formal announcement of the change

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The White House, August 18: (clockwise from lower left) César Odio, Art Teale, Jorge Mas Canosa, Lawton Chiles, Luis Lanredo, María Elena Toranzo, George Stephanopoulos, Al Gore, Bill Clinton, Janet Reno

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would be made the next day, Friday, August 19, during a presidential press conference.

According to Chiles's aides, though, the governor insisted that something be said publicly as soon as possible. So Reno called her late-night press conference (without mentioning Guantánamo) and thus averted a confrontation with the governor. Chile's demands had been met. He had the immigration showdown with Washington. But it provided him only a few moments of solace. As he went to bed Thursday night he had to worry about keeping Miami's Cuban exile community from exploding.

When the sun rose on Friday morning, Mas was already up and on the phone. He had been briefed on the pending announcement to change nearly three decades of U.S. policy and, according to several sources, he was furious. This was a frontal assault on his credibility, a betrayal as profound as the abandonment at the Bay of Pigs. To detain Cuban refugees indefinitely without taking any action directly against Castro was an affront to everything Mas and the Cuban American National Foundation had struggled for over the years. Mas was scheduled to appear that evening on CNN's *Larry King Live*, and he was prepared to use that opportunity to savage the president.

Mas wasn't the only one to recognize the danger of "punishing" rafters while doing nothing to damage Castro. Metro-Dade Commission Chairman Art Teele and other community leaders worried that unless Cuban exiles were given something meaningful in exchange for detaining refugees, the county could erupt in violent demonstrations. Chiles, who was in touch with Teele and others, agreed. And certainly none of them wanted to see Mas blasting the president that night on *Larry King Live*.

According to several sources, both Chiles and Teele spoke to Mas in a series of phone calls Friday morning and throughout the day. "This was high-level telephone diplomacy," recalls a senior aide to the governor. "The reality was that if we were going to make an interdiction policy work, we couldn't do it without Mas. You couldn't have Mas outside the tent pissing in." Clearly Mas was angry, but what did he want the president to do?

If Clinton expected Mas's support for the detention plan — and if he wanted to avoid a possible explosion in Miami — Mas wanted him to do four things: 1) Cut off remittances (up to \$300 every three months) from exiles to their relatives on the island, 2) curtail flights between the United States and Cuba, 3) increase broadcasts of Radio Martí and TV Martí (Mas reportedly wanted to know why the White House had been willing to use Air Force C130s for airborne radio broadcasts into Haiti but was unwilling to do the same for Cuba), and 4) institute a full naval blockade of the island. These options reportedly had already been under consideration at the White House and State Department, but

Mas wanted to let the president know the time for discussing them had ended and the moment for action had arrived.

On Friday morning, Mas's list of demands was passed to the White House by the governor and others, along with the warning that the president had better do something quickly. "Of course Mas was going to send out signals that he was going to shit on the president," says a close ally of Mas. "He had to do that in order to get the White House to cut a deal." Later that morning the governor paid a personal visit to Mas at his company's headquarters west of Miami International Airport. (The friendly relationship between Mas and the governor dates back twenty years, to the days when Chiles was a U.S. senator and a sponsor of both Radio Martí and TV Martí. Tellingly, Mas has not offered any support to Jeb Bush in his effort to oust Chiles from the governor's mansion. "I respect Lawton Chiles a lot and I'm very grateful to him for all the years of service he provided for us in Washington," Mas explains. "I wouldn't do anything against Lawton Chiles.")

The two men met in Mas's eighth-floor office for nearly an hour. Sinking comfortably into an oversize black leather chair, the governor sought Mas's counsel and advice. But he also had a message for his old friend: This was not the time to be shooting from the hip. White House aides were suggesting that Clinton was receptive to Mas's demands, with the exception of the naval blockade. "Mas was going for the whole thing, including a blockade," recalls a source familiar with the meeting. "What the governor had to do was move him away from saying this *had* to be one of the four

**"Look at this!"
Mas implores.**

**"Now the Herald is
calling for more
embargo. Who
won in the end?"**

points."

The governor succeeded. While Chiles, Mas, and other local leaders would still call for a blockade, they would not make it a breaking point in their support for Clinton's new detention policy — as long as the president followed through with an end to remittances, the cutback on flights, and increased broadcasts to Cuba.

By Friday afternoon, after numerous phone calls back and forth between Miami and the White House, a plan was developing: The president would make room in his schedule that evening for a brief meeting with a delegation from South Florida led by Chiles, who, along with his aide, would decide who should be invited. Chiles, the group eventually included Teele, Miami City Manager Hemispheric Summit director Lauredo, and businesswoman Mariana Torano.

In addition, of course, there would be Jorge Mas Canosa. "We were attempting to identify various leaders in Miami, son of the key, influential leaders in the Cuban community," says a senior aide to the governor. "And certainly Jorge Mas's name would come to the mind of any thoughtful person. It wasn't a terribly Machiavellian environment. The whole thing blew up on us on Wednesday and Thursday, and it got

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acks on Mas. "This is madness what's going on," Rangel says by way of criticizing Mas's influence over U.S. policy toward Cuba. "Who is Jorge Mas Canosa? Where does he get his power? How can he drive foreign policy? No one believes at the embargo is in our best interest. It's unfair to the Cuban people. The Organization of American States says it must go. The United Nations says it must go. The only group that believes they will benefit are those who believe they will take over after Castro goes and renew the glory days of the Batista years."

Ironically, Rangel was scheduled to rebuke Mas on Larry King's show the Friday night that Mas, Chiles, and the others went to the White House. Rangel says that when he got to the studio and learned Mas had canceled because he was meeting with the president, he was incredulous. He called the White House immediately and asked to speak to Clinton, but was told the president was in a conference. "Is he meeting with Mas Canosa?" Rangel says he asked the White House aide.

"Why, yes he is," the aide responded.

"If you could," asked Rangel, "you might want to pass a note to the president and let him know he's presently meeting with someone who is raising money for a candidate that is running against me."

"Oh shit," the aide replied, according to Rangel, and hung up. (Rangel says he doesn't know if Clinton was in fact given a note during the meeting, and he hasn't had a chance since to speak to the president.)

Mas grows angry when he hears such criticism of him and his Foundation. "Instead of praising what the Foundation has done — working within the system, getting involved in political races, going to Congress, exercising the Jeffersonian principle to petition my government — we have

exiles getting within the system, using that system effectively, playing by the rules, and adopting the rules of the game that were already in place here. It is a testament to the intelligence of the Cuban-American community, how they have grown, how they have participated in the system.

PHOTO COURTESY OF AIPAC



President Bush at the signing ceremony of the Cuban Democracy Act, along with Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart and Mas

been criticized because we supposedly buy votes, because we buy people," Mas complains. "Others like Rangel go out there and lie completely out both sides of his mouth, saying we threaten, we intimidate people. Is it right to chain us into silence?"

Mas pauses momentarily to catch his breath. "In any other society," he continues, "we would have been praised for coming from Cuba and within the first generation of

Others of Hispanic background haven't been able to do that."

Mas ventures that Cubans have done so well because they possess a unique combination of personal characteristics. "Organizational skills, a sense of purpose, a sense of direction," he says. "But that's what makes me very proud of the Cuban American National Foundation. *Extremely* proud. We were lost in 1980. Nobody talked

about Cuba. And when the Foundation came into place, it changed the history, the goddamn history of U.S. relations with Cuba. That's why I laugh when I read in newspapers about the Foundation: 'Those people who intimidate,' or 'Those people who are terrorist.'"

This refugee crisis has provided Mas an opportunity to draw more attention to the Foundation's history and achievements. He denies published allegations that the Foundation was a creation of the Reagan administration's National Security Council, designed to help garner support for the president's aggressive policies in Central America. ("Fantasies created by the Cuban government," Mas says in dismissing them.) Instead, he maintains, the Foundation was an alliance of Cuban Americans who were weary of the exile bombing campaigns that had rocked Miami in the early 1980s. Rather than engage in illegal activities, Cuban Americans needed to organize themselves into a political force, using as a model the highly successful pro-Israel Jewish lobby, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). In fact, Mas

and his colleagues hired many AIPAC organizers to help them set up both the Cuban American National Foundation and the group's political action committee, the Free Cuba PAC.

"Had not the Foundation been created, Miami today would probably be the Belfast or the Beirut of America," Mas boasts. "You've got thousands of people here

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a whole package. And the package of decisions that the president made deserves support of the Cuban-American community."

Mas declines to discuss specifically what pressure he may have brought to bear on the White House that Friday morning before the meeting. All he'll say is that quick action was imperative. "You have to understand that we had an explosive situation at that point," he notes. "And the policy that point toward Cuba required something more than just punishing the rafters sending them to Guantánamo. There is a need for things to be done. Let's say so. The president made a decision that I think benefits tremendously the United States. We talked to him about those decisions, and we brought the Cuban perspective."

the Cuban perspective. Whether Jorge Mas Canosa and the Cuban American National Foundation truly represent the Cuban-American perspective has long been a matter of debate. In the last few years, that debate has intensified significantly. As Cuba has headed into an economic tailspin following the collapse of the Soviet Union, a chorus of exile voices has risen in anticipation of Castro's demise. And more than ever before, those voices have pressed a wide range of opinion regarding the appropriate response to a

game that appeared to be crumbling. As a result, the hard-line approach espoused by Mas and the Foundation — no dialogue, no loosening of the embargo, no Castro, no period — has been revealed to be only one among several, a development welcomed and encouraged by many policy analysts and some government officials.

For a while Mas's considerable influence over U.S. policy toward Cuba seemed to diminish, if not disappear, following the Reagan and Bush administrations. Prior to Clinton's inauguration, for instance, the *Miami Herald* attempted to assess who could be in and who would be out with regard to influence in Washington. The paper predicted that Miami's Simon Ferro likely will emerge as the Democratic version of Mas Canosa, the conduit through which the exile community's concern will pass. "The president even had a Cuban-American sister-in-law here, Maria Arias Adham, who he could turn to for advice.

"Prior to this crisis in August, the Clinton administration had at least made symbolic efforts to talk to different groups, with different perspectives in the Cuban community," says Marifeli Pérez-Stable, a Cuban scholar at the State University of New York at Old Westbury and a vice president of the Cuban Committee for Democracy. "It was a healthy change from the way the Reagan and Bush administrations conducted themselves. But that policy wasn't carried over

when the issue of Cuba was put on the front burner. And the reason was politics. It was domestic politics driving foreign policy."

Playing the political card has come easy to a man like Mas. He is less the strident ideologue and more the shrewd pragmatist. His sole issue is Cuba, and any politician who embraces his views, regardless of party affiliation, stands to benefit from the Foundation's substantial financial support. Over the years, many a Democrat has found that to be true, Claude Pepper and Dante Fascell being among the most notable. Another is Rep. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, one of the most liberal members of Congress on nearly every issue but Cuba. It was Torricelli, with Mas's close counsel, who successfully drafted and passed the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, which included provisions designed to tighten the embargo.

In one of his most politically prescient moments, Mas met with then-candidate Bill Clinton at the Tampa airport and said afterward that Cuban Americans had nothing to fear if Clinton were to be elected president. It was as close to an endorsement as Mas, a

Republican, could make. Clinton had laid the groundwork for that meeting by publicly supporting Torricelli's controversial bill before President George Bush had even agreed to back it. Clinton's unexpected advocacy of the measure came during an April 1992 fundraiser at Victor's Cafe, a favorite haunt of the local Cuban power elite. The candidate walked away with \$125,000 in donations.

In contrast, politicians who oppose Mas run the risk of finding themselves facing unexpected and well-financed opposition during their next elections. Thanks in part to the financial resources afforded him by the Cuban American National Foundation and its political action committee, the Free Cuba PAC, Connecticut Democrat Joseph Lieberman in 1988 defeated incumbent Republican Sen. Lowell Weicker, who had committed the unpardonable sin of establishing his own personal dialogue with Fidel Castro. "Mas has learned the influence game very well in Washington," acknowledges Ernesto Betancourt, who worked with the Foundation chairman for six years as the director of Radio Martí. (At that time Mas chaired the station's advisory board.) "He has been very effective and very clever in his influence on Congress. I am not a Jorge Mas basher; I do not object to him personally. What I object to are his ambitions. We have another authoritarian figure waiting to replace Fidel."

Another member of Congress currently in Mas's sights is Democratic Rep. Charles Rangel of New York. A senior member of the House and one of Mas's most ardent critics, Rangel is facing a challenge from an opponent who has received thousands of dollars from both the Free Cuba PAC and from Cuban Americans in Miami. The money, however, has not stopped Rangel's

"The reality was that if we were going to make an interdiction policy work, we couldn't do it without Mas."

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the point where the time to methodically plan a meeting just wasn't there." In what had to be one of the sweetest moments for Mas, the group would fly to Washington aboard his private Lear jet, which seats up to nine passengers and is faster than his state plane.

Nearly all the participants had to scramble to make it to the Fort Lauderdale Executive Airport in time for the departure. Mas was in the midst of a county commission meeting and was forced to rent a private helicopter. Torano was at a hospital visiting her mother when she got the call, and didn't have time to change the khaki pants and T-shirt she was wearing.

Shortly after the jet took off at about 5:00 a.m., Spanish-language radio crackled with news that the governor and Mas had just left for a meeting with the president.

The two-hour flight was smooth, if cramped. Everyone onboard was aware of the measures Clinton was considering, Torano says, but no one knew with certainty what the outcome would be. Two young Florida aides based in Washington met them at the airport and drove them to the White House, but in their haste, they ended up at the wrong gate. After a mad dash, they found the right entrance. No sooner had they sat down in the Cabinet Room than the president walked in.

The meeting stretched to an hour and fifteen minutes. President Clinton had interrupted his 48th birthday barbecue to meet with the group. Vice Pres. Al Gore also attended, as did a host of White House and State Department officials. The president thanked them for coming on such short notice, talked at length about his great affin-

ity for the Cuban-American community, and at one point joked with Mas that he knew the Foundation chairman was supposed to appear on *Larry King Live* that night, and if Mas wanted to, he could leave the meeting early and race over to the television studio. "The president said, 'You can go to Larry King now,'" Mas recalls. "And I said, 'I'm meeting with the *real* guy here. You're much more important, Mr. President, than Larry King.'"

The only glitch in an otherwise cordial affair arose when Clinton proposed to cut remittances in half, not to end them completely. Aides to the president passed around a press release outlining the change; in fact, the announcement was about to be circulated to the press. The Floridians were shocked, and Mas was adamant about stopping the flow of money altogether. According to sources at the meeting, Gore appeared to be the strongest advocate for only halving the remittances. He told the group that he, as well as officials at the State Department, were afraid a total ban would inflict too much pain on the Cuban people. A compromise was struck. The remittances would be cut to zero, but special exceptions would allow families to continue sending money to relatives for humanitarian purposes involving food and medicine. Although not as strong as originally intended, the symbolic value of the president's declaring an end to remittances was kept intact. In addition, the flights from Miami were severely restricted and increased broadcasts of Radio and TV Martí were promised.

While the policy changes were being drafted, the Floridians would spend the night in Washington in order to review the final product Saturday morning. Clinton



Long a magnet for critical press attention, Mas says his day of vindication is at hand

didn't join them at that meeting; instead the group was briefed by his aides. A short time later, however, Clinton announced the new sanctions. And even though the president had rejected the imposition of a naval blockade, all in the delegation agreed the meeting had been a great success. On the flight back to Miami, everyone was in a jubilant mood. Both Chiles and Mas fielded in-flight calls from the press.

"I have never seen an administration move as fast and as effectively as this administration did in 24 hours," Mas says today, recalling that tumultuous period following Reno's late-night announcement to detain rafters. "You can't analyze the Guantánamo decision by itself and separate that decision from the other decisions the president has made. You have to analyze it

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trained by the CIA, experts in explosives, real radical people. The Foundation brought a sense of togetherness, direction. It changed completely the strategy of the Cuban-American community. We dropped the commando-raid operations against Cuba and limited them to the Everglades,

Channel 23, I'm the top vote-getter of confidence and trust in the community. I work that community. And sure I look for their support, but I'm not ready to sacrifice my principles and to do harm to the community for that support. In this case, I took a big chance, I put my credibility down on the line. Fortunately enough, I think I read correctly the Cuban-American mentality and the maturity of that community and how much it has grown up, and I came out a winner."

Mas may consider himself a winner, but that judgment, too, is not without its risks. He has committed himself to a policy (and to a president) that has no shortage of critics on both the left and the right. "Let's look forward three months," suggests Lisandro Pérez, a professor at Florida International University and director of the Cuban Research Institute. "Who is going to lose then? If Fidel is still in power three months from now, then those who bought into the plan are going to have some explaining to do, and they are going to have a problem."

Notes Republican gubernatorial candidate Jeb Bush, a long-time friend of Mas: "Jorge may have trouble on this. He is someone who is completely dedicated to the liberation of Cuba; that's his agenda and he does everything viewed through that lens. But now Jorge is stuck



Governor Chiles "declared war" on the Clinton administration

where they can wear their fatigues and it doesn't harm anyone."

And during the current turmoil in Cuba, Mas contends, he and the Foundation have been just as effective in maintaining an atmosphere of relative calm in Cuban Miami. He notes that he was the one who demanded no one sail from Miami to pick up family members in Cuba, as they did in 1980 and as they had been invited to by Castro last month.

Mas adds that his recent actions have put his credibility at risk. "The risk was that the people wouldn't listen to my call and try to go down to Mariel and to other ports to get the Cubans," he says. "The risk was that the community was going to repudiate my support for President Clinton and criticize President Clinton and demonstrate out in the streets. None of that has happened. I reminded [*Miami Herald* publisher] Dave Lawrence of that the other day. I said, 'Look, Dave, you have tried to question our leadership. Look at how useful the leadership of the Foundation now has been.'

"I have a constituency," he continues. "If I didn't have a constituency, I wouldn't be sitting with Clinton in the White House, and I wouldn't be discussing one-on-one with Lawton Chiles these policies, and I wouldn't be sitting with the decision-makers in the State of Florida. I have a constituency and I really, really work that constituency constantly. We have 252,000 members in the Foundation, and when every single poll comes out, whether it's done by [pollster] Sergio Bendixen or

with Bill Clinton. I think he's been too supportive of the president."

There are also those who question the value of Mas's recent policy victories. "He got access to the White House," says a former federal official well versed in Cuban affairs. "But what else did he get? He didn't get the blockade. The policy on remittances will probably eventually be reversed. The ban on travel hasn't totally taken effect. He got increased radio broadcasts, but how important is that?" To obtain these few achievements, Mas had to support a policy that ended special treatment for Cuban refugees and has left thousands of them in detention camps indefinitely. "The question is, how high a price is that to pay when this

is all he received in return?" the former official asks.

Politically speaking, FIU's Lisandro Pérez believes that Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart and Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen have staked out much smarter positions: lashing out at the president for not ordering a blockade, attacking him for holding refugees in camps and telling them they must first return to Cuba in order to apply for asylum.

Both have been unrelenting in admonishing the president, though neither has publicly criticized Mas. "It's complete demagoguery, of course," Pérez says of the attempts by Diaz-Balart and Ros-Lehtinen to whip up exile emotions. "This whole thing is so surreal."

Mas agrees that some people in Cuban

"Who is Jorge Mas Canosa?" Rangel asks. "Where does he get his power? How can he drive our foreign policy?"

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Miami have been using the refugee drama to their rhetorical advantage, though he won't single out Diaz-Balart and Ros-Lehtinen. "I oppose demagoguery in our community," he says flatly. "That's what many people are realizing now, that Mas Canosa is not the radical, violent, ultrarightist. Because when it came to the crisis and time to show the true colors, the one who stood up in this community before Cuban Americans and said we must support the United States, Clinton's decision is right, nobody goes to Mariel to try and pick up family members, it's time to stick together all of us in Florida — it was Mas Canosa."

But the more volatile question remains: What ultimately will happen to those refugees held in camps both here and abroad? "This is a battle we will have to fight when the time comes, not now," Mas says. "They cannot be there indefinitely. I think that what the administration is saying now, rightfully so, is a political speech to keep people from leaving the island, and I agree with that. But at a certain point we will all have to face a reality. When the crisis is over and the political speeches have ended, then we will have to deal with the realities."

Mas outlines two options for the Cubans being held at Guantánamo and in Panama: Those with family members in the United States could be brought here and reunited. Or, Mas says, "The decision could also be made to have them remain in Guantánamo. Let them organize the first free Cuba city there. Let them elect their own government there, have their own newspaper there. Move Radio and TV Martí over there. Move factories to Guantánamo. I'm certain that a

Photo Courtesy: CANF



Mas found an early supporter in Pres. Ronald Reagan for programs such as Radio Martí

lot of factories owned by Cuban Americans could be moved to Guantánamo. Make those Cuban Americans there self-sufficient." And which option does Mas favor? "We will have to analyze that at another point," he hedges.

One of the most stinging criticisms directed at Mas asserts that he doesn't really care about the fate of these refugees, or for that matter Cubans still living in Cuba. They are all merely pawns in Mas's personal chess match against Castro. "The Cuban people are ready to

suffer whatever they have to suffer in order to free Cuba," Mas says in response. "We have all paid a price. We should not lose sight of that. All Cubans have paid a price to free Cuba. We all are victims of Fidel Castro. My generation paid a price — the executions, the hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, and hundreds of thousands forced into exile. Now this generation is paying a price, which is going to Guantánamo. For how long, we don't know. But we are all victims of Fidel Castro."

have to look at it."

Many people believe that whenever Castro opens his borders, he buys himself more time by releasing pressure, ridding the island of dissident voices. Many people also believe those dissident voices have a responsibility to remain in Cuba to seek change, even to foment another revolution. "For me it's very difficult to comment on that because I am here," says Mas, who fled to Miami in 1960. "Yes, they could be more useful to Cuba if they remained there. If I were in Cuba now, I would stay. But also they are playing an important role because these images of them leaving the island have done irreparable damage to Castro and his perception."

Like his arch-enemy, Mas has had to cope with intense public scrutiny in the last few weeks, and it hasn't been an entirely pleasant experience. "I would like to be perceived as a reasonable person," he offers. "I consider myself a patriot. I

am not a politician, I'm not fighting for the presidency of Cuba. I just want to make a contribution toward the restoration of democracy and a free-market economy in Cuba, to bring prosperity to the Cuban people. I probably will not even participate in politics in Cuba. If I were running for president of Cuba, I wouldn't make the kind of enemies that I make every day. And I have to make them because I am fighting the most formidable adversary you can have in the political arena in the Western Hemisphere. Fidel Castro. He is

*and that is how we
a very talented, smart
guy.*

SENT BY: 112-19-37 112-21PM Cuban Amer Natl Coun 202 455 0210W 1

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY OF GUARIONE M. DIAZ

Mr. Diaz was born in Havana, Cuba and is currently a resident of Dade County, Florida. He holds a Masters Degree from Columbia University and a B.A. in Sociology from St. Francis College, in New York City.

At present, Guarione M. Diaz is President and Executive Director of the Cuban American National Council, a private nonprofit organization involved since 1972 in policy analysis, education, and community development. The Cuban American National Council is based in Dade County and is governed by a Board of Directors elected annually.

Mr. Diaz's responsibilities at the Council include the setting of operational policy, direction and administration of agency programs, and participation in national activities affecting Cubans, Hispanics, and other minorities.

Before establishing residence in Miami, Mr. Diaz held management positions at New York City's Department of Employment, and the Community Development Agency.

Since his relocation in the Greater Miami area in 1978, Mr. Diaz has been actively involved in various aspects of community work and community organizations. He has served on the board of directors of Children Have All Rights; Legal, Educational, Emotional (CHARLEE); Hispanic Policy Development Project; Advisory Committee on the Education of Blacks in Florida; Instructional Oversight Committee of Dade County Public Schools; Fair Campaign Practices Committee; National Association for the Hispanic Elderly; National Council of La Raza; and the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda. He was recently appointed to the Florida Commission on Education Reform and Accountability and the National Hispana Leadership Institute.

In the last decade, Mr. Diaz authored over twenty-two research and policy papers, and wrote over fifty articles for newspapers and magazines.

In 1989, he was given the "Hispanic of the Year" Award, Metro Dade Police Department, Hispanic Police Association; in 1983. His name has appeared in the Miami Herald's Tropic Magazine article "Cuban Power: The Ranking;" and Hispanic Business magazine named him among "100 Influentials and Their Critical Issues Agenda for the 80's." He has appeared as well in "Who's Who Among Hispanic Americans", and "Who's Who in Florida's Latin Community."

In 1992, Mr. Diaz received the "Hispanic Hero of the Year" award from the Midwest/Northeast Voter Registration Project.

#18/12

Updated 05/94

September 12, 1994

To:
From:

Joe Velasquez
Suzanna Valdez

This is the list of names that was discussed with Cesar Odio on Saturday night.

~~Paul Cejas~~ 305-470-1943

Monsignor Roman

Cesar Odio

~~Carlos Arboleya~~ NO per Paul

Luisa Garcia-Toledo NO per Odio

Maria Dominguez

Jose Basulto

Tomas Garcia-Fuste

Pepe Hernandez - PRES. Cuban American Foundation

Jose Fina-Carbonell

~~Ciro Castillo~~ NO per Odio

Guantanamo DIAZ

Cuban American Natl Council
Foundation

President/CEO

JOHNNIE

BINACCHI

703 614-0363

LAURE

MARCUS

Defense

Steve Silberman 116

tentative list for people going to Guantanamo
Because of short notice contractors may delete or add
call them

Eduardo Padron
Pres. Miami Herald C

Simon Ferro
Attorney

• The Fingerhut

• Oct Maling Slaughter Step

Structure

Message - Rahm Dwyer Resque

• David Dwyer general

Genie media - Mandy PRZ under
Mark Brown /

Jenni Trizano

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1st version

FACSIMILE COVER

DATE: September 2, 1994
TO: Mr. Joe Velasquez
FAX NUMBER: (202) 456-7929
FROM: Florida Core Group
REFERENCE: Hispanic Heritage Week

Attached is the Hispanic Reception List, as requested. The total number comes to 36. The group feels that this list is clearly representative of this community.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Pablo Cejas or Eva Carrasquillo at (305) 591-3311 ext. 1959.

Thank you.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Jack Otero to Joe Velasquez re: Cuba briefing attendance [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	09/08/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Suzanna Valdez
OA/Box Number: 5340

FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba

2016-0920-F

jm1900

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

U.S. Department of Labor

Deputy Under Secretary for
International Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20210



September 8, 1994

VIA FAX 456-7929

MEMORANDUM FOR JOE VELASQUEZ

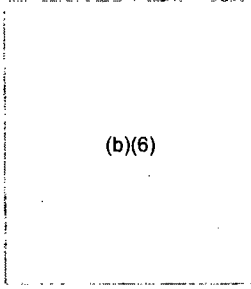
FROM:

Jack Otero 

SUBJECT: Cuba Briefing -- September 9, 1994

For your information, the following people will be attending the briefing tomorrow:

Jack Otero
Jorge Perez-Lopez
Nelson Reyneri
Jose Pardo-Kronemann
Marta Vilarchao
Robert Rodriguez
Angelina Ornelas



(b)(6)

[001]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. fax	Jack Otero to Joe Velasquez re: Cuba briefing attendance [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	09/08/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Suzanna Valdez
OA/Box Number: 5340

FOLDER TITLE:

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2016-0920-F
jm1900

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

U.S. Department of Labor

Bureau of International Labor Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20210

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: 9/8/94

To: Joe Velasquez

Fax Number: 456-7929

Addressee's Phone Number:

From: Jack Otero

Fax Number: (202) 219-5980

Sender's Phone Number:

Number of Pages including this Cover Sheet 1

If there is any problem receiving this fax please call (202) 219-6043

Remarks:

Peter

[002]

Please add Pedro Pablo Pernuy to the list of attendees
for tomorrow's meeting. His DOB is (b)(6)

Thanks.

SCHOOL KIT FOR MIGRANT OPERATIONS
PER 1000 MIGRANT STUDENTS / 50 INSTRUCTORS

INSTRUCTORS

50 BLACKBOARDS
OR
50 SHEETS PLYWOOD (4FT X 8FT X 1/2IN; CONSTRUCTION GRADE)
5 GAL BLACK PAINT, MATTE FINISH
5 4IN PAINT BRUSHES
50 BOXES WHITE CHALK
50 POINTERS, 2FT LONG
50 INSTRUCTOR'S NOTEBOOK
50 BALL POINT PENS
50 LINED NOTEBOOKS (8X10IN)
100 NEWSPRINT CHARTS (BRIEFING CHARTS)
10 NEWSPRINT STANDS (BRIFING STANDS)
50 BOXES OF FELT TIP PENS (MAGIC MARKERS, THICK FELT TIPS,
MULTICOLOR)

STUDENTS

1000 NOTEBOOKS
1000 PENS

RECREATION KIT FOR MIGRANT OPERATIONS
PER 1000 MIGRANTS

ACTIVITIES

20 VOLLEYBALLS
10 VOLLEYBALL NETS
50 BASKETBALLS
10 BASKETBALL NETS, RIMS, & BACKBOARDS
10 POLES FOR BASKETBALL BACKBOARDS
50 SOCCERBALLS
200 PACKS PLAYING CARDS
200 SETS DOMINOES
100 CHILDREN'S COLORING BOOKS
200 BOXES CRAYONS
3 AIR PUMPS PER 50 BALLS
5 AIR NEEDLES PER 50 BALLS
50 BASEBALLS
100 BASEBALL GLOVES (20 LEFT; 80 RIGHT)
200 JIGSAW PUZZLES
50 BALLS OF STRING
1000 NOTEBOOKS
1000 PENCILS

MUSIC

50 HARMONICAS
50 RECORDERS (FLUTE TYPE INSTRUMENT)
15 GUITARS
15 TAMBORINES
15 HAND DRUMS (BONGOS)
20 SHAKERS
20 STICKS

PERSONAL ITEMS FOR MIGRANT OPERATIONS

**SHIRTS
SHORTS/SLACKS
UNDERWEAR
SHOES
HATS
WATER BOTTLE
PLASTIC CUP**

PERSONAL HYGIENE PRODUCTS

**TOOTH BRUSHES
TOOTH PASTE
SOAP
HAIR BRUSHES
MIRRORS
COMBS
OIL FOR HAIR
DEODORANT
FEMALE PRODUCTS
SHAVING PRODUCTS
 SHAVING CREAM & RAZORS
 BRUSSELS SHAVING POWDER
CASE TO PUT PERSONAL ITEMS IN**

BABY ITEMS

**BOTTLES
NIPPLES
DIAPERS
PACIFIERS**

CUBAN QUALITY OF LIFE ITEMS

22	TENTS FOR COMMUNITY CENTERS
22	VCR PROJECTION MACHINES
2750	SPANISH/ENGLISH DICTIONARIES
4100	ELEMENTARY SPANISH TEXTBOOKS/MULTI-SUBJECT
2100	SPANISH FOLKTALE/LITERATURE BOOKS
22X100	VARIOUS FICTION TITLES/SPANISH PAPERBACKS
8250	SETS OF WATER-BASED PAINTS
11000	PAINT BRUSHES
8250	ART PAPER PADS
210	SEWING MACHINES W/ACCESSORIES
70	HANDBELLS TO BEGIN SCHOOL
40	BATTERY POWERED CLOCKS
2750	RULERS
140	VARIOUS BOLTS OF FABRIC
41250	TENNIS SHOES (ASSORTED SIZES)
1400	PLAY PENS
5500	BABY CLOTHES (ASSORTED)
16500	HATS FOR MEN
11000	SCARFS FOR WOMEN
220	BARBER KITS
660	WASHBOARDS
660	TUBS FOR WASHING BABIES
11000	TOYS FOR CHILDREN (AGES 1-6 YRS)
??	RELIGIOUS LITERATURE (\$10,000.00)
??	RELIGIOUS ITEMS (\$5,000.00)

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FILE NO.

REPLY TO

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
FAX #: 1-202-456-6703
PHONE #: 1-202-456-6610

FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS RODRIGUEZ
FAX #: (305) 443-3292
PHONE #: (305) 442-3334
FILE #:

RE: SEE MEMO ATTACHED

DATE: September 16, 1994
TIME: 4:34 pm
NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 4

MESSAGE: Please review the attached. Thank you.



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

*To Tony Lake -
needs response.*

Confidential. It is
not to be distributed or copy

MEMORANDUM

TO: Honorable Leon Panetta, Chief of Staff, The White House

FROM: Jorge Perez, Jorge Bolanos, Willy Braceras,
Simon Ferro, Herminio San Roman

RE: Cuba Policy

DATE: September 16, 1994

We understand that Haiti is the most important issue facing the Administration today and possibly the foreseeable future, so please forgive our urgent desire to communicate with you on Cuba policy.

We are part of the Democratic Cuban American "core group" in Dade County which has been supportive of President Clinton, both politically and financially, since the early days of his campaign for the Presidency. President Clinton always assured us that we would be a primary source of advise and counsel on Cuba policy and would be made a part of the decision-making process.

Unfortunately, none of us was able to attend the meeting with the President on August 5 because we were either not invited or we were called we such short notice that it was physically impossible to secure transportation. Since then our serious involvement in the process has rarely been sought.

Still, we feel a great sense of loyalty and commitment to the President and refuse to sit idle while mistakes continue to be made and opportunities lost. Please accept this memorandum in the spirit in which it is delivered, and in the hope that it can make a positive contribution to this process.

Notwithstanding the high approval rating the Administration enjoyed several months ago in the Cuban American community we believe the support is fading fast. There are several reasons for this:

1. The focus has shifted from the initial direct political confrontation with Castro to the plight of the rafters in Guantanamo and elsewhere.

* The media, especially T.V. and radio, is highlighting the human suffering and frustration at the camps. In fact, they are regularly referred to as "concentration camps". There is no positive activity or response by the Administration to counterbalance or lend perspective to the stories.

Post-it Fax Note	7871	Date	9/16	Page	4 of 4
To	Maria Guioz	From			
Co. Dept.		On			
Phone #		Phone #			
Fax #	443-3292	Fax #			

* Local political factions and rivals are attacking the policy for political advantage. Many local leaders and personalities, including radio talk show hosts, elected officials and civic leaders who have been excluded from the process and feel they have nothing to lose by opposing it.

Recommendations

* Accelerate improvement of the living conditions in Guantanamo. De-emphasize the military nature and characteristics of the base.

* Name a Cuban American ombudsman with a bilingual staff and generate immediate positive actions/improvements. Start bringing some people out of the camp. Bring some sick people out, release some or all kids. Without violating the integrity of the accord find an excuse to produce some positive result every week. Most importantly, try to find ways not to continue placing people in the camp. Find reasonable, documentable exceptions to the accord. The more people inside the camps the bigger our problem becomes!

* Start to inventory and document the people at the base. Have them start filling forms and questionnaires with personal information. Make them feel they are part of a "process".

* Allow periodic visits by balanced delegations of responsible Cuban American community leaders.

* Expand the list of community leaders and organizations with access to the White House and begin to invite a balanced and broader range of people to D.C. Pay special attention to local elected leaders.

2. There is persistent and growing distrust of the President relating to his future intentions with Castro.

* Castro gave in too easily on the immigration agreement. There is fear of secret side agreements and conspiracies to reverse the current policy after the November elections or after the December Summit of the Americas in Miami.

* Notwithstanding the high level of support the Cuban American community in Miami had given the Administration's Cuba policy prior to this crisis, the President was prevented from capitalizing on this and never created the personal rapport with the community that Presidents Reagan and Bush enjoyed.

* During the last two years the Administration has failed to "empower" a sufficiently large number of Cuban Americans who are respected and trusted in the community to serve as bridges to the President.

Recommendations

* The President should immediately grant a 30 minute interview to

the two local Spanish T.V. stations. He would have a face-to-face "fireside chat" with the Cuban American community. He would explain his policy, play up the harsh measures imposed on Castro and express his concern and sympathy over the Cubans in Guantanamo. He would promise the Cuban American community that he will not forget those Cubans and will do everything in his power to deliver them to a free and democratic Cuba. He will look the community in the eye and say there were no side deals and that he will not sell us out!

* Empower more of the President's friends and trusted allies! The community expects this because it creates local accountability.

3. The Administration is working within an information vacuum with regards to the Cuban American community's opinions and feelings on Cuba policy.

* A material shift in support or passive acquiescence for the President's policy within the Cuban American community would severely weaken the policy and could negatively impact Governor Chiles' re-election. I heard this on Cuban radio yesterday:

"The best way to show our rejection of the President's policy is to vote against all Democrats in November, especially Governor Chiles, who provoked it".

Since the first White House meeting with the President Governor Chiles appears to have disengaged from the process.

* No credible polling organization has surveyed Cuban Americans on the policy.

Recommendations

* Do a good benchmark poll and even some focus groups. What are the President's strengths? Weaknesses? What options would the community accept? How should we "talk" to the community? We may be surprised to learn we have more flexibility than we think.

* Governor Chiles must "re-engage" in the process in a positive way. He cannot sit back and allow events to overtake him.

4. Continued Administration pandering to the Cuban American National Foundation is costing the President vital support among its Democratic Cuban friends and other potential supporters, especially among CANF detractors in Congress.

* The CANF failed to endorse the US-Cuba accord, publicly stating that it neither supported nor rejected the accord.

* The CANF makes daily public statements criticizing the indefinite status of the Cubans in Guantanamo and positioning itself as their champion vis-a-vis the Administration.

* Several days ago Pepe Hernandez, CANF President, bluntly told Richard Muccio that the Administration could no longer take continued CANF support for granted.

* A material reason that Armando Perez Roura, of Radio Mambi, is so harshly critical of the President is because of his continuing feud with Jorge Mas and the CANF and his perception that the CANF is driving the Administration's Cuba policy. Perez Roura's civic organization, Unidad Cubana, has been shut out of the informational and political loop, as have other viable grassroots groups. Unidad Cubana has sponsored the two largest Cuban American public demonstrations in Dade County in the last years.

Recommendations

* Don't ignore the CANF, but stop pandering to it. Include it in the process but don't allow them to set the agenda or scratch people off lists. The Administration and its friends set the agenda. That is the way it was done under Reagan and Bush and its what the community expects. Empowering your detractors and ignoring your friends creates more confusion and bewilderment in the community and provokes greater distrust of the President.

* If the CANF threatens to turn against the President call its bluff. They have worked too hard to break into the loop to jump ship now. The CANF respects power, authority and those who know how to use it. They will play hardball with the President until you stop them.

Conclusion

We feel extremely frustrated and disappointed over the way the Cuba policy is being developed and implemented. We have very little "ownership" over it and it has become increasingly difficult to justify our continued support of a process which relegates the President's core supporters to the sidelines and his detractors to the forefront. With all due respect, we are not interested in invitations to window-dressing events such as next Tuesday's Hispanic Heritage Day if we are to be excluded from true substantive interaction with the Administration. We therefore decline to attend. We deserve and respectfully request a private meeting with President Clinton as soon as possible to re-enforce our relationship, voice our concerns, offer our humble advice and, hopefully, be reintegrated into the decision-making process.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

cc: Hon. Bill Clinton, President
 Hon. Al Gore, Vice President
 Hon. Lawton Chiles, Governor
 Hon. Buddy MacKay, Lt. Governor
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