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002. memo	Richard Nuccio to Vice President re: Update on Cuba policy (2 pages)	06/13/1995	P1/b(1)

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

FAX COVER SHEET

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BUREAU OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FAX: 202-647-0344

Date: June 28, 1995TO: Susanna Valdez-FAX: 456-6218FROM: RICHARD A. NUCCIOSPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT ANDTHE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CUBAPHONE: 647-7024Number of pages including this cover: 7REMARKS: _____

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The Miami Herald

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 1995

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TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

Clinton defends policy TV talk to Cubans reaffirms rafters ban

By JOHN LANTIGUA
Herald Staff Writer

After almost two months of intermittent demonstrations, a march on Washington and withering condemnations on Cuban radio, President Clinton took to television Tuesday to defend his new Cuba policy to Cuban Americans all over the nation.

In a prerecorded speech — aired at least in part on many South Florida stations — the president reemphasized his May 2 decision to close the United States to most Cuban rafters.

There was no new change in policy announced, but the unusual if not unprecedented satellite relay aimed at one ethnic community was a notable attempt to mend fences with those Cubans who oppose him.

"I know that many of you have questions about aspects of this policy," Clinton said. "Yet the simple truth is there is no realistic alternative."

In his address, Clinton stressed:

■ That the refugees remaining at the U.S. Navy Base at Guanta-

namo Bay, Cuba, since last summer's rafter crisis, mostly young men, are being allowed into the United States because "unrest and violence were likely this summer" at the camps if they weren't.

■ The would have led to a "new massive exodus of Cubans," many of whom would perish on rafts at sea, unless the borders were closed.

"We simply cannot admit all the Cubans who seek to come

PLEASE SEE CLINTON, BB

Clinton takes to TV to explain

CLINTON, FROM 1B

here," he said. But he assured his listeners that those who face political persecution will not be turned back, and that those who have been returned are being monitored to assure they are not punished by Cuban security forces.

■ That new U.S. immigration quotas pertaining to Cuba — 20,000 a year for the next several years — will mean an increase in the number of Cubans allowed to immigrate. About 15,000 have been approved since September, several times more than in previous years, he said.

"Our new policy is working," he said.

Since May, 2, few Cubans have been intercepted at sea — 58 to be exact, one administration source said, compared to about 2,000 in May and June last year.

"Regularizing Cuban immigration also helps our efforts to promote a peaceful transition to

democracy on the island," the president said.

Clinton stressed that his policy is based on the Cuban Democracy Act, passed by Congress in 1992, and that he would maintain the 32-year-old economic embargo against Cuba as the act specifies.

But "if Cuba takes steps in the direction of meaningful changes, we are prepared to respond with our own carefully calibrated response," he said.

"We will continue to help Cuba's democratic opposition and the churches, human rights organizations and others seeking to exercise the political and economic rights that should belong to all Cubans."

In closing, he cited a recent visit to the United States by Cardinal Jaime Ortega of Havana, who called for "reconciliation and for veness" among Cubans, as has been seen in other Latin countries that have moved toward democracy in recent

years.

"Cuba will follow this course of its neighbors," he predicted.

The May 2 policy shift ended 35 years of entree to almost all Cuban refugees and was reached after negotiations with the Cuban government. It touched off demonstrations, including traffic blockages by a part of the Cuban community in Dade County. It also drew pledges from some Cuban leaders that Clinton would be badly hurt at the polls in 1996.

Clinton's televised speech came nine days after Attorney General Janet Reno asked to meet with South Florida Cuban leaders to try to mend fences but was rebuffed. But an administration spokesman said Clinton's address was recorded before Reno's trip to Miami for the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

"The policy has been spectacularly successful," said Richard Nuccio, the Clinton administration's Cuba policy coordinator

policy to Cuban Americans

who was a major contributor to the speech. "It is saving lives, and our supporters in the [Cuban] community had been urging the president to say so."

In Miami, Cuban-American activists picked and chose the parts of president's message they liked and condemned those they didn't.

The Cuban American National Foundation applauded Clinton's support for the embargo, but decried the return of rafters to Cuba.

"The president expresses confidence in the ability of U.S. diplomats to monitor the fate of forcibly returned refugees," the group said in a statement. "But CANF has already gathered compelling evidence that every group returned to Cuba thus far has experienced some retribution or abuse."

Nuccio insisted that of the 58 Cubans returned since May 2, the United States had reports of only two cases of mistreatment

by Cuban security forces and those cases were being investigated by U.S. diplomats.

Meanwhile, Miami human rights activists Ramon Cernuda, who has advocated lifting the embargo and opening a dialogue with the Castro government, said the president's insistence on maintaining the embargo "is not ideal." But he praised the speech

in general, saying he thought it opened the door to greater U.S. involvement with pro-democracy forces in Cuba.

"Also, when he talked about Cardinal Ortega, he talked about forgiveness," Cernuda said. "This must be the first time ever a president has used the word 'forgiveness' when speaking about Cuba."

JUN 28 '95 07:00

Clinton defiende su nueva política

con Cuba

Declara que no hay alternativa que sea realista

Por CYNTHIA CORZO.
Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

Asegurando que quería tener el privilegio de dar la bienvenida a Cuba en la comunidad de naciones libres, el presidente Bill Clinton dijo el martes a los cubanos-americanos que su nueva política era la mejor opción para traer la democracia a la isla.

En un mensaje dirigido a la comunidad cubana y transmitido el martes vía satélite desde Washington, D. C., Clinton dijo que la repatriación de los balseiros interceptados en alta mar es la fórmula correcta para salvar vidas de cubanos y regular la inmigración descontrolada.

"La simple verdad es que no existe una alternativa realista. Simplemente no podemos admitir a todos los cubanos que buscan venir aquí", dijo Clinton en el mensaje de cinco minutos. "No podemos permitir que las personas arriesguen sus vidas en precarias balsas. Y no podemos condenar a miles de hombres jóvenes a vivir en el limbo en Guantánamo".

Clinton reiteró que su gobierno tiene un compromiso sólido con

VEA CLINTON, SA

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El Nuevo

MIAMI, FLA., MIÉRCOLES 28 DE JUNIO DE 1995

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

JUN 28 '85 07:01

NUEVO HERALDO
MIÉRCOLES 28 DE JUNIO DE 1985

Clinton: Hay compromiso con un

CLINTON, DE 1A

un "mejor futuro para la población cubana".

"Como presidente, confío en tener el privilegio de dar la bienvenida a una Cuba libre en la comunidad de naciones democráticas", dijo.

La política estadounidense, señaló, está basada en la Ley de la Democracia Cubana, también conocida como la Ley Torricelli, que busca recrudescer el embargo

económico y al mismo tiempo ampliar los contactos entre Estados Unidos y la sociedad civil que nace en la isla.

"Estados Unidos mantendrá el embargo contra el régimen cubano. Es una manera importante de promover el cambio en Cuba, y se mantendrá hasta que veamos amplias reformas políticas y económicas", dijo Clinton.

"Si Cuba da pasos en la dirección de cambios significativos, nosotros estamos preparados a res-

ponder con nuestra propia y cuidadosamente calibrada respuesta".

En el mensaje, grabado tres semanas antes y redactado hace un mes, Clinton indicó que la Ley de la Democracia Cubana establece ayuda a la población de la isla en su lucha por alcanzar la democracia y la estabilidad económica.

"Vamos a continuar ayudando a la oposición democrática en Cuba, las iglesias, las organizaciones de derechos humanos y otros que busquen ejercer los derechos políticos y económicos que deben pertenecer a todos los cubanos", dijo Clinton.

El mensaje de Clinton fue recibido con una mezcla de aceptación, escepticismo y disgusto por cubanos en Miami. Muchos se congregaron en comercios y centros de trabajo para escuchar la declaración, que se convirtió en un tema central de conversación.

"Dijo algo que no separamos", preguntó Tina Ortiz, manicurista de La Pequeña Habana. "Creí que iba a decir algo drástico —que las relaciones ya estaban hechas o que iba a invadir Cuba— pero nada".

Ramón Saúl Sánchez, dirigente de la Comisión Nacional Cubana, elogió parte del mensaje y criticó otra.

"Lo más interesante, lo único que tiene valor, es el respaldo a los movimientos de derechos humanos y de oposición en la isla", dijo Sánchez. "No dijo nada nuevo, sólo que reafirmó su posición de no admitir a personas que salen buscando libertad".

La Fundación Nacional

Declaraciones del Presidente

Fragmentos de la declaración del presidente Bill Clinton a la comunidad cubana transmitida el martes desde Washington, D. C.:

■ Hace poco más de un mes di pasos para eliminar la peligrosa e ilegal corriente de cubanos que intentaban entrar a Estados Unidos por mar. Quiero informarlos los resultados de esos pasos y explicar por qué creo que fue la decisión correcta. Pero primero déjenme aclarar que nuestro compromiso hacia un mejor futuro para la población cubana se mantiene tan fuerte como siempre.

■ La presión de nuestro embargo y la retirada del apoyo soviético han obligado a Cuba a adoptar algunas medidas de reforma económica en los últimos dos años. No habíamos visto eso antes. Pero el cambio económico se mantiene lento, testarudo y dolorosamente inadecuado. La negación de los derechos básicos y oportunidades ha llevado a decenas de miles de cubanos a la desesperación.

■ Las acciones que tomamos concernientes al serio problema humanitario en Guantánamo impiden la inmigración ilegal y peligrosa, protegen a los refugiados políticos y expanden las oportunidades para la entrada legal desde Cuba. Sirven a nuestros intereses nacionales.

■ A través de las Américas, las dictaduras han dado paso a la democracia. Están siguiendo el camino de reconciliación y perdón predicado por el primer cardenal de Cuba, Jaime Ortega Alamino. Cuba seguirá el curso de sus vecinos.

RESEARCH

JUN 28 '95 07:02

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mejor futuro para el pueblo cubano

Cubano Americana señaló que el mensaje de Clinton no llega a remendar la confianza perdida y las heridas abiertas por la nueva política migratoria.

"Mientras encontramos aliento en la reafirmación del presidente de su apoyo al embargo contra el brutal régimen de Fidel Castro y a favor de una Cuba libre y democrática, también queda claro que él ha sido colocado en la no envidiable posición de tener que defender una política moralmente indefendible", citó un comunicado de prensa de la Fundación.

"Los obstáculos a la democratización de Cuba, a eliminar caóticos éxodos masivos, a la reconciliación y el perdón entre los cubanos son simples: Fidel y Raúl Castro. Un mejor futuro para Cuba espera sólo por su partida del poder", agregó.

En el restaurante Versailles, los congresales discutieron minuciosamente la declaración presidencial. Algunos opinaron que no significaba nada, otros dijeron que lo que busca Clinton es justificar sus acciones. Pocos aplaudieron.

"Dice que la política está bien, veremos qué pasa", dijo Víctor Otaba, que llegó de Cuba por mar en 1960. "Quiere disculparse con los cubanos por haber devuelto tantos para Cuba".

Luis Alberto Hernández aprobó la posición de Clinton con respecto al embargo pero se acerca de la repatriación de los balseiros.

"Debido al sistema político en Cuba arriesgan sus vidas y luego los devuelven allí", dijo Hernández, entre bocados de croquetas

con galletitas. "Eso de que no les hacen nada es una mentira. Fidel Castro hace lo que le da la gana".

Desde que se anunció el cambio de política el 2 de mayo, unos 60 balseiros interceptados en alta mar han sido repatriados a Cuba. Sólo unos cuantos han recibido permiso para ingresar a Estados Unidos.

Funcionarios del Departamento de Estado sostienen que la Sección de Intereses de Estados Unidos en La Habana ha seguido de cerca la situación de los deportados, los cuales no han sufrido represalias. De acuerdo con los funcionarios, el gobierno cubano ha cumplido su promesa.

"Hemos podido vigilar las condiciones", dijo Richard Nuccio, asesor especial de asuntos cubanos en la Casa Blanca. "Está funcionando".

Partidarios de una transición negociada y pacífica hacia la

democracia en Cuba recibieron con júbilo las palabras de Clinton. Según ellos, de cierto modo éstas subrayan la posición que ellos mantienen.

"Marca un cambio en el espíritu de la política exterior hacia Cuba. Va de un espíritu punitivo y de un intento aislacionista a uno positivo, encaminado a facilitar una transición pacífica a la democracia en Cuba", dijo Ramón Cernuda, representante en el exterior de la Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Derechos Humanos (CODEHU).

Cernuda comentó que la repatriación de los balseiros ha contribuido a un cambio en el pensamiento de los cubanos. Ahora, explicó no piensan primero en abandonar el país. "Piensan más en la búsqueda de soluciones internas a los problemas dentro del país", dijo Cernuda.

Cámara aprueba reducción de ayuda a Rusia si colabora en Juraguá, Cuba

Washington —(EFE)— La Cámara de Representantes aprobó el martes una camienda para reducir en \$15 millones la ayuda económica a Rusia por su participación en el proyecto para terminar la construcción de la planta nuclear de Juraguá, en la provincia de Cienfuegos, Cuba.

La iniciativa fue presentada por la representante republicana de Florida, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen. Apoyada por más de 120 congresistas de ambos partidos, la legisladora envió hace dos semanas una carta al presidente Bill Clinton, pidiendo la intervención de la Casa Blanca para desalentar la participación rusa en el plan de Juraguá.

Ellos consideran que esa central sería un "riesgo para la seguridad" de Estados Unidos y una amenaza para las naciones del Caribe, Centroamérica, Colombia y Venezuela, en caso de un accidente nuclear por el tipo de tecnología que ya está instalada en una de sus dos turbinas, similar a la utilizada en la central de Chernobyl, Ucrania, que en 1986 causó un pavoroso desastre nuclear.

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

**Office of Cuba Broadcasting
Bureau of Broadcasting**

Washington, D.C. 20547

**USIA****FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION****TO: Name** Suzann Valdez**Office** _____**FAX #** _____**Date** 7/26 **Time** _____**FROM: B/C** Rolando Bonachea**FAX** (202) 401-3340**Tel.** (202) 401-7013**MESSAGE:** Today's Clips from
Hearld**NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING****COVER SHEET** 10

The Miami Herald

RESEARCH

TV MARTI - MARI

JOHN S. KNIGHT (1994-1995)

JAMES L. KNIGHT (1993-1995)

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A question of conflict

Jorge Mas Canosa has been accused before of meddling in Radio Marti's news coverage, slanting it to his special-interest group's advantage, and retaliating against officials and employees who counseled. "This isn't right."

Previously the accusations came from Radio Marti employees. But the latest is in a draft report from the inspector general of Radio Marti's parent U.S. Information Agency. Yesterday both Mr. Mas and USIA chief Joseph Duffey blasted the report, leaked over the weekend, as inaccurate and incomplete. Mr. Mas called its allegations "baseless, and I challenge anyone to provide proof to the contrary." Mr. Duffey said that he would call for an ethics investigation.

Ethics? Let's welcome them. The USIA's inspector general has been investigating accusations against Mr. Mas for more than a year. Some of these accusations have been heard for far longer.

The USIA investigation precedes by almost a year Mr. Mas's break with the Clinton administration over its May 2 decision to repatriate Cuban rafters. From last September until this May, Mr. Mas was a participant in the administration's policy on dealing with the rafters detained at Guantanamo Bay.

For some years now, insiders have told of a Radio Marti divided among *masistas* and *contra-masistas*: People loyal to, or opposed to, Mr. Mas. This from a USIA agency that, like its Voice of America model, is supposed to dis-

FROM RADIO-TV MARTI

A new internal report accuses Jorge Mas Canosa of subverting Radio Marti to suit his ends. Solution: Replace him with someone without an agenda.

seminate only facts untainted by any interest except that of the United States.

The USIA report suggests that Radio Marti departs from U.S. government policy to support Mr. Mas's personal agenda and ambitions. For a decade now, Mr. Mas has been in the hopeless conflict of heading

both the principal Cuban-American lobbying group, the Cuban American National Foundation, and the supposedly neutral advisory board that runs both Radio and TV Marti.

No human being can serve two masters without conflict, apparent or real. Yet three presidents — Reagan, Bush, and now Clinton — have allowed Mr. Mas to hold his conflicted position as head of the U.S. government's official voice of supposedly unbiased broadcasts to Cuba.

The ethical conflict isn't with the investigation — it's with Mr. Mas's untenable joint roles. The fact is, he has held for 10 years a U.S. government post that no special-interest advocate, of whatever group or belief, ever should have held in the first place.

President Clinton's course thus is clear. He should thank Mr. Mas for his service and end his reign at (and reins on) Radio and TV Marti. Then he should appoint a successor with deep interest in Cuba's future, zero ties to any group advocating that future's course, and passionate commitment to unbiased dissemination of factual news to, from, and about Cuba. Nothing less will do.

TV MARTI - MARI
RESEARCH

Director de USIA cuestiona informe sobre Radio Martí

Por CYNTHIA CORZO

Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

El director de la Agencia de Información de Estados Unidos (USIA) cuestionó la imparcialidad de un informe de la Oficina del Inspector General de esa dependencia, según el cual Jorge Mas Canosa había interferido en las transmisiones de Radio Martí.

Además, dijo que presentará una queja ante el Consejo Presidencial sobre Integridad y Eficiencia acerca de la forma en que la Oficina del Inspector General ha realizado la investigación.

Según Joseph Duffey, director de la USIA, las afirmaciones de que Mas Canosa interfirió indebidamente en la programación de dicha radioemisora representan sólo una parte de un complejo tema que se halla bajo investigación.

"Me preocupa que se haya dado a conocer antes de tiempo esta información incompleta, en particular con respecto a las afirmaciones sobre serias violaciones de procedimiento gubernamental, influencia inapropiada y violaciones de reglamentos profesionales de la carta de la Oficina Internacional de Transmisiones", dijo Duffey el martes en una declaración enviada a El Nuevo Herald.

Tanto Duffey como Tim Roberts, agente especial de la Oficina del Inspector General a cargo de la

VEA RADIO MARTI, 5A

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RESEARCH

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MIAMI, FLA., MIÉRCOLES 26 DE JULIO DE 1995

El Nuevo Herald

efo de USIA presentará queja por informe sobre Radio Martí

RADIO MARTÍ, DE 1A

investigación, recalcaron que la información entregada al Congreso era incompleta.

Mas Canosa, presidente de la junta directiva de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana y de la Junta Presidencial sobre Transmisiones a Cuba, negó energicamente desde España las afirmaciones.

"Estas afirmaciones no tienen base y reto a cualquiera a ofrecer un ejemplo que demuestre lo contrario", dijo Mas Canosa en un comunicado enviado a El Nuevo Herald.

Duffey precisó que los temas involucrados en la investigación son sumamente serios y que "sólo una investigación realizada con el mayor nivel de profesionalismo e imparcialidad puede hacer justicia a todas las partes involucradas".

El martes, el pleno de la Junta Presidencial sobre Transmisiones a Cuba envió una carta al presidente Bill Clinton pidiendo el despido de Marion Bennett, jefa de la Oficina del Inspector General, por considerarla incapaz de realizar una "investigación imparcial, justa y profesional".

"Respetuosamente, solicitamos que Bennett sea retirada inmediatamente de su puesto como jefa de la Oficina del Inspector General mientras se investigan a fondo sus acciones en este asunto", indicó la carta firmada por Mas Canosa, y los miembros de la junta Salvador Lew, Tony Costa, Christopher Coursen y Joseph Glennon.

Las acciones de Duffey y la Junta Presidencial sobre Transmi-

Estas afirmaciones no tienen base.

JORGE MAS CANOSA
Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana

siones a Cuba responden a una información publicada el fin de semana en los periódicos *The New York Times* y *The Washington Post*. Los diarios informaron que una investigación de la Oficina del Inspector General de la USIA había concluido que Mas Canosa interfirió sistemáticamente en las operaciones diarias de Radio Martí. También agregaron que ejecutivos de la radioemisora se vengaron impropriamente de los empleados que se quejaron de esa manipulación.

Se ignora cómo fue que la información sobre la investigación llegó a la prensa. Roberts indicó que Bennett entregó la información a un miembro del Congreso que la había solicitado.

"La petición llegó directamente a la Oficina del Inspector General", dijo Roberts, que se negó a revelar el nombre del congresista.

Bennett no estaba el martes en su oficina. La recepcionista de esa dependencia dijo a El Nuevo Herald que el funcionario indicado para hablar del caso era Roberts.

Duffey agregó en su declaración que en los últimos meses había pedido repetidamente a la Oficina del Inspector General

que completara su investigación lo más rápido posible, y que entregara los materiales correspondientes a las afirmaciones sobre irregularidades en Radio Martí.

Según él, la forma en que se realizó la investigación y su fragmentaria publicación deja mucho que desear.

La mención a la investigación de la Oficina del Inspector General es la más reciente en un rosario de pesquisas y quejas sobre las operaciones de Radio Martí y la Oficina de Transmisiones a Cuba (OCB) impulsadas en algunos casos por empleados y ex empleados.

Entre las afirmaciones se asegura que en la emisora hay favoritismo, falta de objetividad y represalias contra algunos empleados. Igualmente, se afirma que el favoritismo político ha dañado la veracidad y la objetividad de las transmisiones a Cuba.

Según la información de *The New York Times*, Bennett comenzó a preparar este informe hace meses, después de que J. Richard Planas, analista de noticias de Radio Martí, se quejó de que ejecutivos de la emisora querían despedirlo. Planas agregó la información, aseguraba que sus superiores intentaron censurar sus análisis después que él había dicho que la cobertura de noticias estaba prejuiciada.

El 6 de julio, durante una reunión de la Junta Presidencial sobre Transmisiones a Cuba en Miami, Rolando Bonachea, director interino de OCB, negó que Mas Canosa hubiera intentado nunca interferir en Radio Martí.

TV MARTÍ - MIAMI
RESEARCH

USIA flap heats up with call for IG's job

Leak of Radio Marti probe criticized

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The U.S. Information Agency's deputy inspector general yesterday called for the inspector general to resign, accusing her of compromising and "politicizing" a probe of the agency's broadcasting to Cuba.

USIA Director Joseph D. Duffey also issued a public statement denouncing Inspector General Marian C. Bennett's release of raw depositions and other documents from an unfinished investigation to Rep. David E. Skaggs, Colorado Democrat, a vigorous critic of the government's broadcasts to Cuba over Radio Marti and TV Marti.

Last weekend, The Washington Post and the New York Times reported on the IG's probe of Cuban-American leader Jorge Mas Canosa's influence over Radio and TV Marti. Mr. Canosa chairs Radio Marti's advisory board.

A Radio Marti research analyst whose job was threatened in a staff reduction pressed for the probe a year ago, the Times reported.

"Although these materials raise serious allegations, they represent only one side of what will surely prove to be a complex issue," said Mr. Duffey, who called for a second ethics probe of Mrs. Bennett by the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency, which oversees presidentially appointed inspectors general.

Mr. Duffey said he was concerned that Mrs. Bennett had compromised the fairness and impartiality of the investigation through the "premature release" of depositions by USIA employees from the IG's case file.

He said the documents contain allegations of "violations of government procedures, inappropriate influence and violations of professional guidelines of the charter of the International Bureau of Broadcasting...."

"The issues involved are of a most serious nature and only an investigation conducted with the highest degree of professionalism and fairness can do justice to all parties concerned," Mr. Duffey

said in his statement.

The USIA director previously prompted an FBI criminal investigation of charges by Deputy Inspector General Bernard C. Dowling that Mrs. Bennett had covered up an internal probe of government credit-card misuse by six of her staff members, including a senior investigator.

Yesterday, Mr. Dowling said Mrs. Bennett threatened to terminate a meeting with her top assistants when he called on her to resign for releasing the files.

"She has compromised the entire investigation," Mr. Dowling said in an interview. "Whatever you send to the Hill, they interpret it as a report. This office has never done this on an investigation. She has politicized it by giving it to a minority member" of Congress opposed to Cuba broadcasting.

Mrs. Bennett declined to comment yesterday.

John Sinclair, assistant IG for investigations, said only a "summary of some information" was sent in response to a request from Mr. Skaggs and the staff of Rep. Harold Rogers, Kentucky Republican and chairman of a House Appropriations subcommittee that funds USIA.

However, congressional and USIA sources said Mr. Rogers did not request the investigative files and was not provided the documents by the inspector general's office.

"Rogers got his copy from Skaggs, and he was livid," a senior USIA official said.

Mr. Rogers could not be reached for comment.

In a telephone interview yesterday, Mr. Skaggs said USIA's appropriation bill was "on the [House] floor right now" and he believes "the inspector general has a responsibility... to inform interested members of Congress concerned about the use of taxpayers' money and to inform us where this investigation stood right now."

He said Mrs. Bennett stated in her cover letter "that this [file material] was to be kept confidential, and I have abided by that."

He had nothing to do with press leaks from the files, he said.

The Washington Times

7/26

Rad'o Mart' overseer quest'ons

By CYNTHIA CORZO
Herald Staff Writer

The top man at the agency that oversees Radio Marti is questioning the fairness of an in-house investigation that concluded Cuban exile leader Jorge Mas Canosa had improperly influenced the station's broadcasts.

Joseph Duffey, head of the United States Information Agency, said in a statement made public Tuesday that he would file a complaint before a government

ethics panel on the way the investigation was handled and made public.

The New York Times and Washington Post reported over the weekend that an investigation by USIA Inspector General Marian Bennett had shown that Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, had exerted "pervasive influence" over Radio Marti.

Duffey said the materials he had received about the investigation raise concern about the

"thoroughness and impartiality" of the probe.

"Although these materials raise serious allegations, they represent only one side of what will surely prove to be a complex issue. I am concerned about this premature release of incomplete information," he said.

"The issues involved are supremely serious," he added, "and only an investigation carried out with the highest level of professionalism and impartiality

fairness of investigation

TV MARTI — NIAA
RESEARCH

could do justice to all the parties involved."

As a result, Duffey said, he intends to "bring the conduct of this investigation to the attention of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency," a government-wide ethics panel.

Mas Canosa, in a fax sent to The Herald Tuesday, denied the report's allegations: "These charges are baseless, and I challenge anyone to provide proof to the contrary," said the chairman

of the Radio Marti advisory board. The station operates under USIA control.

Jim Roberts, the special agent at the USIA Inspector General's office who is in charge of the Radio Marti investigation, confirmed Tuesday that the final report on the inquiry "has not been released. The investigation continues."

Roberts said the inspector general sent a draft report to a member of Congress, at the request of

the lawmaker, whom he declined to identify.

On Tuesday, four members of the Radio Marti advisory board wrote to President Clinton urging him to dismiss Bennett for "breach of professional ethics... We believe she is incapable of conducting an impartial, fair and professional investigation," they wrote.

They were Tony Costa, Joseph Glennon, Salvador Lew, and Christopher Courson.

Conspiracy in Washington **Against Radio Marti**

Everything indicates, or seems to indicate, that the campaign now raging against Radio Marti and its chairman in what concerns its operations, is part of what without exaggeration could be called a giant conspiracy against the cause of Cuba's freedom, since Radio Marti has been a bulwark in the defense of that cause.

Usually, in recent years when the time comes to discuss the budget for Radio Marti in Washington, there have been accusations and opinions issued against that station. But always with less force and uproar. What is happening now has other dimensions which are in line with what is taking place in Washington in favor of Castro using Cubans who pose as anti-Castro and who are working for Castro in cahoots with the White House and with the help of important organs of the U.S. media belonging to the so-called liberal camp. Cubans who openly or covertly side with Castro are now being presented by that media as if they were true leaders or voices of the exile community.

Whatever might be Radio Marti's flaws, no one doubts --and truthful sources attest to this-- that the programs broadcast by this powerful station have been decisive to orient the Cuban people inside the island who, before Radio Marti, could only learn about what was happening there and abroad through whatever Castro authorized. The Cubans who come from the island on authorized visits, or those who go into exile, clearly, candidly, explain what listening to Radio Marti meant for them, even if the programs were not vehemently anti-Castro but influenced by the restraints of American liberals who wanted those programs to have cautious tones.

Presently an official investigation of Radio Marti is under way and the office in charge is deliberately "leaking" news and commentaries that should have been private to sectors who favor the new policy that favors Castro. This is an indication --one more-- that the conspiracy against Radio Marti is part of a larger conspiracy in favor of the totalitarian tyranny of Fidel Castro. Radio Marti will perhaps survive, but possibly under guidelines to encourage this international ploy that will immensely benefit not only the communists in Cuba but all over the Western Hemisphere who are seeing with good eyes this extremely dangerous shift devoid of political morality, to say the least.

DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS

4-A - DIARIO LAS AMERICAS MIERCOLES 26 DE JULIO DE 1995

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

Investigación parcial sobre Radio Martí revela presión contra el exilio cubano

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH



Piden renuncia de inspectora de la USIA



Intentan inclinar informaciones a favor de la política de Clinton



Jugosos salarios también serían objeto de discordia

Por HORACIO RUIZ PAVON

La filtración de una investigación parcial sobre Radio Martí por parte de la Inspectora General de la Agencia de Información de Estados Unidos (USIA), Marian Bennett, cuyo principal blanco es el "chairman" de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, Jorge Mas Canosa, podría convertirse en un "boomerang" que pondría al descubierto denodados esfuerzos por apagar la voz a los líderes del exilio cubano y allanar el camino hacia un mayor entendimiento entre la Casa Blanca y La Habana.

El señor Mas Canosa, quien preside la junta asesora de Radio Martí, cuyo principal objetivo es aconsejar a la Casa Blanca sobre las transmisiones radiales a Cuba, rechazó este martes las

acusaciones vertidas en el informe, las cuales van desde "corrupción" hasta la de hablar por teléfono con el director de noticias de la emisora con el supuesto propósito de influir en su cobertura de noticias.

"Esta es una lucha frontal y directa contra Fidel Castro", dijo el líder de la FNCA, quien recordó que en el pasado tanto el ex director de Radio Martí, Dick Lobo, como su sustituto, Rolando Bonachea, han declarado públicamente que él no ha intervenido en la política informativa de la estación.

La congresista republicana de Miami, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, recordó que "este tipo de cosas es común cada vez que se acercan las discusiones sobre el presupuesto; los izquierdistas han montado su campaña de mentiras otra vez".

Las discusiones sobre los fondos para Radio y Televisión Martí en el Congreso empezarán a tener lugar esta semana y los defensores de la Oficina de Transmisiones a Cuba confían en que el liderazgo republicano permitirá la continuación del proyecto.

Uno de los principales adversarios de dichas transmisiones es el demócrata de Colorado, David

(Pasa a la Pág. 11-A Col. 1)

DIARIO LAS AMERICAS

Por la Libertad, la Cultura y la Solidaridad Hemisférica.

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

NUMERO 19

Miami, Florida Miércoles 26 de Julio de 1995

EDICION DE 24 PAGINAS - 2 SECCIONES

LAS AMERICAS

Estados Unidos está gestionando la apertura de oficinas de la prensa americana en La Habana, que, sin embargo, no importa los requisitos de imparcialidad que se están tratando de cumplir, ha dicho que nunca aceptará una oficina de Radio Martí en su territorio.

Mientras tanto, la Junta de Asesores que preside el señor Mas se encontraba reunida este martes en Washington y persaba solicitar al presidente Clinton la renuncia de la señora Bennett, por haber dejado flirar en foros "impropia y anti-ética" un informe que aún no está terminado.

"Ella no sabe conducir investigaciones imparciales", afirmó un miembro de la junta, la cual está integrada, además de Mas Canosa, por Salvador Lew, Tony Costa, Joe Glemon, Christopher Coursen, William Geoghegan, Clair Durgener y Margaret Kempleman.

La señora Bennett estaría siendo objeto de una investigación federal por el supuesto encubrimiento del abuso en cuantías de tarjeta de crédito que el gobierno extendió a sus empleados, informó The Washington Times.

El director de la USIA, el señor Duffey, dijo el lunes que el material hasta ahora filtrado sobre la investigación a Radio Martí "sólo representa una parte de un tema muy complejo".

"Estoy preocupado por la publicación prematura e incompleta de este informe, particularmente en cuanto a la alegaciones sobre violaciones a procedimientos del gobierno y sobre el uso inapropiado de influencia", dijo Duffey quien, al mismo tiempo, aseguró que Radio y Televisión Martí han servido "como fuerte precisa de noticias y voz de esperanza para el pueblo cubano".

Duffey arrojó dudas sobre la capacidad de Bennett para conducir una investigación tan delicada como la política informativa de Radio Martí.

En Miami, el exdirector de noticias de la emisora, Augustine Alles Soberón, afirmó hoy lunes que "en ningún momento" él se dejó influir por el señor Mas Canosa en cuanto a la política informativa de Radio Martí, señalando que más bien aunque la FNCA es el grupo más grande e influente del exilio cubano, aún reconocido por la prensa izquierdista y el gobierno del presidente Clinton, éste no recibe igual proporción de cobertura noticiosa de parte de la emisora.

Los congresistas republicanos Lincoln Díaz-Ba-lart, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen y Chris Smith, este último de New Jersey, han advertido que la investigación de Bennett podría haber estado dirigida a presionar a Radio Martí para que vuelque su apoyo hacia la política de acercamiento a Cuba.

"Nos quieren inculcar un complejo para que Mas Canosa sea apartado de nuestra cobertura", dijo Alles Soberón.

Mas Canosa rompió con la Casa Blanca en mayo, después de anunciar el pacto de inmigración entre Washington y La Habana que permite la repatriación de los balseros que intentan huir de Cuba.

Skaggs, quien, según el diario The New York Times, ha leído el informe inconcluso de la inspectora de la USIA, y vertió fuertes acusaciones contra el señor Mas. El diario The Miami Herald, adversario político de Mas, publicó recientemente alegaciones de empleados de alto nivel de Radio Martí, particularmente del Departamento de Investigaciones, que acusaron a los directores de censurar sus análisis.

El analista Richard Pianas aparece mencionado en el informe como uno de los funcionarios que se han quejado sobre la supuesta injerencia de sectores derechistas del exilio cubano en la política informativa. El departamento de Pianas podría desaparecer a causa de una reestructuración de la Oficina de Transmisiones a Cuba que se está viendo obligada a recortar su presupuesto.

"Nosotros somos el corazón de la emisora. Mi posición es no editorializar sobre las informaciones sino que presentar todos los puntos de vista tal como son, no importa que le gusten o no le gusten a alguien", dijo el señor Pianas.

Una funcionaria de Radio Martí que pidió no ser identificada afirmó que detrás de la actitud de Pianas se esconde su deseo de no perder su juego. El diario como analista que ascendería a \$90,000 anuales. Pianas dijo que él gana, netamente, unos \$71,000 al año, pero que el ahorro que la emisora lograría con los despídidos que se han anunciado sólo sería de \$60,000 en comparación con los \$ 4 millones que necesita.

El diario The Washington Times informó recientemente que la señora Marian Bennett decidió lanzar la investigación sobre Radio Martí obedeciendo a presiones de legisladores demócratas que defienden al Departamento de Investigaciones (Research) de la emisora de los inminentes recortes en su presupuesto.

Ese departamento ha sido una especie de manzana de la discordia. Pianas afirma que el balance informativo sobre Cuba proviene de ese departamento y que los reporteros de Radio y TV Martí no tienen la preparación adecuada para asumir una tarea de investigación más exhaustiva sobre sus informaciones.

La administración de Radio Martí alega que el "Research" era de vital importancia durante los primeros años de la emisora, pero que ya no lo es porque el personal periodístico ha obtenido mucha mayor experiencia.

El plan de recortes ya ha sido aprobado por el director de la USIA, Joseph Duffey, pero el exdirector de la emisora, el señor Lobo, ha denunciado interferencias en los planes de reajuste presupuestario que, generalmente, van acompañadas de acciones políticas y amenazas.

La nueva política hacia Cuba del presidente Clinton, impulsada por sus asesores partidarios de un mayor acercamiento hacia el régimen castrista, probablemente ha exacerbado las críticas de sectores liberales del partido demócrata contra Radio Martí, renovándose así las acusaciones contra el sector derechista del exilio cubano, particularmente el señor Mas Canosa, estimó la funcionaria de la emisora en entrevista con DIARIO

Copyright 1995 Associated Press
AP Online
July 25, 1995; Tuesday 17:07 Eastern Time

SECTION: Washington - general news
LENGTH: 454 words
HEADLINE: USIA Director Eyes Marti Probe
DATELINE: WASHINGTON
BODY:

USIA Director Joseph Duffey is questioning the fairness of an in-house investigation into the influence of conservative Cuban exiles over a government radio station beamed to Cuba, it was disclosed Tuesday.

The Washington Post reported last Saturday that the investigation documents the "pervasive influence" of Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of a powerful, Miami-based lobby, over the operations of Radio Marti.

In a statement dated Monday, Duffey said materials he has received about the investigation being conducted by the USIA inspector general raise concern about the "thoroughness and impartiality" of the probe.

As a result, Duffey said he intends to "bring the conduct of this investigation to the attention of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency."

"The issues involved are of a most serious nature, and only an investigation conducted with the highest degree of professionalism and fairness can do justice to all the parties involved," Duffey said.

The Post account, quoting sources familiar with the investigation, said the probe found that interference by Mas Canosa in January led to broadcasts that seriously undermined U.S. immigration initiatives, embarrassing U.S. officials and causing several government agencies to protest the coverage.

The Post also said that Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban-American National Foundation, has been instrumental in personnel and management decisions at Radio Marti and has arranged reprisals against employees who defied him.

The investigation also has generated concern among Cuban-Americans in Congress, who have accused the USIA inspector general of having a political agenda. They have demanded a probe by Congress's investigative arm of the inspector general's office.

Radio Marti went on the air 10 years ago to provide Cubans with

an alternative to Cuba's state-controlled broadcasts.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 25, 1995

TELEFAX MESSAGE

**U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
301 4TH ST., SW - ROOM 255
WASHINGTON, DC 20547
PHONE (202/619-5217)
FAX (202/205-0792)**

**FROM: LULA RODRIGUEZ, DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL VISITORS**

DATE: July 26, 1995

TO: Suzanna Valdez

SUBJECT: See attached articles about OCB.

Suzanna Valdez

Investigación parcial sobre Radio Martí revela presión contra el exilio cubano

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

- ✓ Piden renuncia de inspectora de la USIA
- ✓ Intentan inclinar informaciones a favor de la política de Clinton
- ✓ Juegos salariales también serían objeto de discarida

Por HORACIO RUIZ PAVON

La filtración de una investigación parcial sobre Radio Martí por parte de la Inspectora General de la Agencia de Información de Estados Unidos (USIA), Marian Bennett, cuyo principal blanco es el "chairman" de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, Jorge Mas Canosa, podría convertirse en un "bumerang" que pondría al descubierto denodados esfuerzos por apagar la voz a los líderes del exilio cubano y alejar el camino hacia un mayor entendimiento entre la Casa Blanca y La Habana.

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(Página 2 Pág. 11-A Col. 1)

JUL 26 '95 10:33AM

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El analista Richard Planas aparece mencionado en el informe como uno de los funcionarios que se han quejado sobre la supuesta inferencia de sectores derechistas del exilio cubano en la política informativa. El departamento de Planas podría desaparecer a causa de una reestructuración de la Oficina de Transmisiones a Cuba que se está viendo obligada a recortar su presupuesto.

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"Ella no sabe conducir investigaciones imparciales", afirmó un miembro de la junta, la cual está integrada, además de Mas Canosa, por Salvador Lew, Tony Costa, Joe Silemon, Christopher Courson, William Goughgan, Clair Burgener y Margaret Kempleman.

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MARTÍ 9

Martí, Fondo Miércoles 26 de Julio de 1995

EDICION DE 2 PAGINAS - 2 SECCIONES

Por la Libertad, la Cultura y la Solidaridad Hemisférica.

TV MARTÍ - Miami
RESEARCH

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AP Online
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Radio Marti went on the air 10 years ago to provide Cubans with

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15:00

OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

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JUL 26 '95 10:41AM

P.11/11

14

an alternative to Cuba's state-controlled broadcasts.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 25, 1995

RADIO MARTI OVERSEER QUESTIONS

By CYNTHIA CORZO
Herald Staff Writer

The top man at the agency that oversees Radio Marti is questioning the fairness of an in-house investigation that concluded Cuban exile leader Jorge Mas Canosa had improperly influenced the station's broadcasts.

Joseph Duffey, head of the United States Information Agency, said in a statement made public Tuesday that he would file a complaint before a government

ethics panel on the way the investigation was handled and made public.

The New York Times and Washington Post reported over the weekend that an investigation by USIA Inspector General Marian Bennett had shown that Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, had exerted "pervasive influence" over Radio Marti.

Duffey said the materials he had received about the investigation raise concern about the

"thoroughness and impartiality" of the probe.

"Although these materials raise serious allegations, they represent only one side of what will surely prove to be a complex issue. I am concerned about this premature release of incomplete information," he said.

"The issues involved are supremely serious," he added, "and only an investigation carried out with the highest level of professionalism and impartiality

fairness of investigation

TV MARTI — NEWS
RESEARCH

could do justice to all the parties involved."

As a result, Duffey said, he intends to "bring the conduct of this investigation to the attention of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency," a government-wide ethics panel.

Mas Canosa, in a fax sent to The Herald Tuesday, denied the report's allegations: "These charges are baseless, and I challenge anyone to provide proof to the contrary," said the chairman

of the Radio Marti advisory board. The station operates under USIA control.

Jim Roberts, the special agent at the USIA Inspector General's office who is in charge of the Radio Marti investigation, confirmed Tuesday that the final report on the inquiry "has not been released. The investigation continues."

Roberts said the inspector general sent a draft report to a member of Congress at the request of

the lawmaker, whom he declined to identify.

On Tuesday, four members of the Radio Marti advisory board wrote to President Clinton urging him to dismiss Bennett for "breach of professional ethics... We believe she is incapable of conducting an impartial, fair and professional investigation," they wrote.

They were Tony Costa, Joseph Glennon, Salvador Lew and Christopher Courson.

USIA flap heats up with call for IG's jot

Leak of Radio Marti probe criticized

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The U.S. Information Agency's deputy inspector general yesterday called for the inspector general to resign, accusing her of compromising and "politicizing" a probe of the agency's broadcasting to Cuba.

USIA Director Joseph D. Duffy also issued a public statement denouncing Inspector General Marian C. Bennett's release of raw depositions and other documents from an unfinished investigation to Rep. David E. Skaggs, Colorado Democrat, a vigorous critic of the government's broadcasts to Cuba over Radio Marti and TV Marti.

Last weekend, The Washington Post and the New York Times reported on the IG's praise of Cuban-American leader Jorge Mas Canosa's influence over Radio and TV Marti. Mr. Canosa chairs Radio Marti's advisory board.

A Radio Marti research analyst whose job was threatened in a staff reduction pressed for the probe a year ago, the Times reported.

"Although these materials raise serious allegations, they represent only one side of what will surely prove to be a complex issue," said Mr. Duffy, who called for a second ethics probe of Mrs. Bennett by the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency, which oversees presidentially appointed inspectors general.

Mr. Duffy said he was concerned that Mrs. Bennett had compromised the fairness and impartiality of the investigation through the "premature release" of depositions by USIA employees from the IG's case file.

He said the documents contain allegations of "violations of government procedures, inappropriate influences and violations of professional guidelines of the charter of the International Bureau of Broadcasting."

"The issues involved are of a most serious nature and only an investigation conducted with the highest degree of professionalism and fairness can do justice to all parties concerned," Mr. Duffy

said in his statement.

The USIA director previously prompted an FBI criminal investigation of charges by Deputy Inspector General Bernard C. Dowling that Mrs. Bennett had covered up an internal probe of government credit-card misuse by six her staff members, including senior investigator.

Yesterday, Mr. Dowling said Mrs. Bennett threatened to terminate a meeting with her top assistants when he called on her to sign for releasing the files.

"She has compromised the entire investigation," Mr. Dowling said in an interview. "Whatever you send to the Hill, they interpret it as a report. This office has never done this on an investigation. It has politicized it by giving it to minority member" of Congress opposed to Cuba broadcasting.

Mrs. Bennett declined to comment yesterday.

John Sinclair, assistant IG investigations, said only a "summary of some information" was sent in response to a request from Mr. Skaggs and the staff of Rep. Harold Rogers, Kentucky Republican and chairman of a House Appropriations subcommittee that funds USIA.

However, congressional and USIA sources said Mr. Rogers did not request the investigative file and was not provided the documents by the inspector general's office.

"Rogers got his copy from Skaggs, and he was livid," a senior USIA official said.

Mr. Rogers could not be reached for comment.

In a telephone interview yesterday, Mr. Skaggs said USIA's appropriation bill was "on the [House floor right now]" and he believed "the inspector general has a responsibility ... to inform interested members of Congress concerned about the use of taxpayer money and to inform us where this investigation stood right now."

He said Mrs. Bennett stated in her cover letter "that this [file material] was to be kept confidential and I have abided by that."

He had nothing to do with press leaks from the files, he said.

The Washington Times
7/26

JUL 26 '95 10:34AM

10A THE HERALD, WEDNESDAY, JULY 26, 1995

The Miami Herald

HOLLYWOOD

— 11MYR AJ

JOHN S. KNIGHT (1904-1991)

JAMES L. KNIGHT (1904-1991)

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EditorDOUGLAS C. CLIFTON
Executive EditorMARTHA MUSGROVE and TONY PROSCIO
Assistant EditorsSAUNDRA DEYES
Managing Editor

A question of conflict

Jorge Mas Canosa has been accused before of meddling in Radio Marti's news coverage, slanting it to his special-interest group's advantage, and retaliating against officials and employees who counseled. "This isn't right."

Previously the accusations came from Radio Marti employees. But the latest is in a draft report from the inspector general of Radio Marti's parent U.S. Information Agency. Yesterday both Mr. Mas and USIA chief Joseph Duffey blasted the report, leaked over the weekend, as inaccurate and incomplete. Mr. Mas called its allegations "baseless, and I challenge anyone to provide proof to the contrary." Mr. Duffey said that he would call for an ethics investigation.

Ethics? Let's welcome them. The USIA's inspector general has been investigating accusations against Mr. Mas for more than a year. Some of these accusations have been heard for far longer.

The USIA investigation precedes by almost a year Mr. Mas's break with the Clinton administration over its May 2 decision to repatriate Cuban rafters. From last September until this May, Mr. Mas was a participant in the administration's policy on dealing with the rafters detained at Guantanamo Bay.

For some years now, insiders have told of a Radio Marti divided among *maristas* and *contra-maristas*: People loyal to, or opposed to, Mr. Mas. This from a USIA agency that, like its Voice of America model, is supposed to dis-

FROM RADIO-TV MARTI

A new internal report accuses Jorge Mas Canosa of subverting Radio Marti to suit his ends. Solution: Replace him with someone without an agenda.

seminate only facts untainted by any interest except that of the United States.

The USIA report suggests that Radio Marti departs from U.S. government policy to support Mr. Mas's personal agenda and ambitions. For a decade now, Mr. Mas has been in the hopeless conflict of heading

both the principal Cuban-American lobbying group, the Cuban American National Foundation, and the supposedly neutral advisory board that runs both Radio and TV Marti.

No human being can serve two masters without conflict, apparent or real. Yet three presidents — Reagan, Bush, and now Clinton — have allowed Mr. Mas to hold his conflicted position as head of the U.S. government's official voice of supposedly unbiased broadcasts to Cuba.

The ethical conflict isn't with the investigation — it's with Mr. Mas's untenable joint roles. The fact is, he has held for 10 years a U.S. government post that no special-interest advocate, of whatever group or belief, ever should have held in the first place.

President Clinton's course thus is clear. He should thank Mr. Mas for his service and end his reign at (and reins on) Radio and TV Marti. Then he should appoint a successor with deep interest in Cuba's future, zero ties to any group advocating that future's course, and passionate commitment to unbiased dissemination of factual news to, from, and about Cuba. Nothing less will do.

TV MARTI — WIDE
RESEARCH

Conspiracy in Washington **Against Radio Marti**

Everything indicates, or seems to indicate, that the campaign now raging against Radio Marti and its chairman in what concerns its operations, is part of what without exaggeration could be called a giant conspiracy against the cause of Cuba's freedom, since Radio Marti has been a bulwark in the defense of that cause.

Usually, in recent years when the time comes to discuss the budget for Radio Marti in Washington, there have been accusations and opinions issued against that station. But always with less force and uproar. What is happening now has other dimensions which are in line with what is taking place in Washington in favor of Castro using Cubans who pose as anti-Castro and who are working for Castro in cahoots with the White House and with the help of important organs of the U.S. media belonging to the so-called liberal camp. Cubans who openly or covertly side with Castro are now being presented by that media as if they were true leaders or voices of the exile community.

Whatever might be Radio Marti's flaws, no one doubts --and truthful sources attest to this-- that the programs broadcast by this powerful station have been decisive to orient the Cuban people inside the island who, before Radio Marti, could only learn about what was happening there and abroad through whatever Castro authorized. The Cubans who come from the island on authorized visits, or those who go into exile, clearly, candidly, explain what listening to Radio Marti meant for them, even if the programs were not vehemently anti-Castro but influenced by the restraints of American liberals who wanted those programs to have cautious tones.

Presently an official investigation of Radio Marti is under way and the office in charge is deliberately "leaking" news and commentaries that should have been private to sectors who favor the new policy that favors Castro. This is an indication --one more-- that the conspiracy against Radio Marti is part of a larger conspiracy in favor of the totalitarian tyranny of Fidel Castro. Radio Marti will perhaps survive, but possibly under guidelines to encourage this international ploy that will immensely benefit not only the communists in Cuba but all over the Western Hemisphere who are seeing with good eyes this extremely dangerous shift devoid of political morality, to say the least.

DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS

4-A - DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS - MARCO 26 DE JULIO DE 1995

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARON

Community Relations - Remittances and Charter Flights

People with questions about the new regulations regarding the stopping of remittances and charter flights to Cuba can obtain answers through the Community Relations Service (CRS) hotline in Miami at 305-536-4740.

As is always the case, people who have extraordinary humanitarian concerns and desire to apply for a waiver can also obtain information through the hotline.

Relaciones comunitarias - Envíos y vuelos comerciales

Las personas que tengan preguntas acerca de los nuevos reglamentos relacionados con la suspensión de envíos y vuelos comerciales a Cuba pueden obtener información a través del Servicio de Relaciones Comunitarias (CRS) en Miami llamando al 305-536-4740.

El Departamento de Justicia ha establecido esta línea telefonica para asistir a la comunidad en entender las nuevas restricciones. Esta medida se ha tomado como un esfuerzo para ayudar a aclarar cualquier pregunta que tenga la comunidad cubano-americana de los Estados Unidos.

Como es siempre el caso, las personas que por razones extraordinarias de tipo humanitario deseen solicitar una excepción pueden también hacerlo llamando al mismo número.

Cuba

Cuba
TBF

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TORCH

FOR THE IMMIGRANT-SERVICES AND RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITY

U.S. Cuts Deal With Cuba Over Guantanamo Bay's Refugees

The Clinton Administration has ended a 35-year-old policy of granting Cuban refugees open entry into the U.S., announcing earlier this month that it would forcibly return all Cuban boat people to their country after admitting a final group of 20,000 now being held at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Station.

According to *The New York Times*, the agreement was reached last month in secret talks between Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff and Ricardo Alarcon, the chairman of the Cuban National Assembly.

The agreement states that the two nations have a common interest in preventing unsafe departures and therefore agree that Cubans leaving in boats for the U.S. will be returned to Cuba.

Furthermore, Havana agreed that the U.S. could, on humanitarian grounds, admit Cubans currently held at the American base, although Cuba will take back former prison inmates whom the U.S. refuses to admit. Migrants who attempt to enter the Guantanamo base illegally will also be returned to Cuba under the agreement.

The decision to admit the 20,000 Cubans currently residing at Guantanamo Bay reverses a vow that Attorney General Janet Reno made last summer, promising that Cubans picked up at sea would never be allowed into the U.S. It also breaks with the nine-month-old policy to send boat people to Guantanamo Bay, as well as with a three-decade policy

POLICY WATCH

A monthly column that monitors policy affecting immigrants and refugees both locally and across the nation.

Last month, the Personal Responsibility and Welfare Reform bill that would deny most of the nation's non-citizens access to more than 60 federal programs was approved by the U.S. House of Representatives. The legislation, which targets programs such as Medicaid, food stamps, and subsidized school lunches, is the centerpiece of the Republicans' "Contract With America."

White House spokesmen, however, said that President Clinton is prepared to veto the bill in its present form, while key GOP senators, led by Bob Dole (R-KS), are attempting to soften key provisions that would deny benefits to immigrants. And on May 6, in an informal conversation with community leaders in New York's Chinatown, Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ) vowed that the Personal Responsibility Act will not pass in the Senate.

Bradley's interest in immigration has not been limited to welfare reform. In April, he introduced a bill that

Continued on page 4

Continued on page 3

JUN 26 1995



NYANA
NEW YORK
ASSOCIATION
FOR NEW
AMERICANS, INC.

RESULTS OF FLORIDA POLL (To be released 6/25/95)

Phone poll of 834 people, May 31-June 4, 3.5% +/-

IMMIGRATION/CUBA

Do you think the US should tighten the economic embargo against Cuba, continue it as it is, or should it end the embargo and allow economic trade between the US and Cuba?

--tighten embargo, 5.3%; continue embargo, 44.1%; allow trade, 34.3%; no opinion, 16.3%

How do you feel about the number of people who have moved to Florida from other countries in the past few years? Overall is this a good thing for Florida, a bad thing or doesn't it make any difference?

--good thing, 18.6%; bad thing, 41.6%; no difference, 28.1%; no opinion, 11.8%

There are pending proposals in Congress and in many state legislatures to refuse undocumented aliens access to public programs like food stamps, medical care and public school education. Do you favor or oppose denying illegal aliens access to publicly funded programs?

--favor denying access, 65.1%; oppose denying access, 28.9%; no opinion, 6%.

Of those who supported refusing such services, here is their response on the following question: Do you favor or oppose legal immigrants access to publicly funded programs?

--deny both legal and illegal immigrants, 24.2%; deny illegal only 37.7%; allow both to use services, 28.0%; no opinion, 10%

Cuba
TBF

Cuba

THE HERALD, THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1995

United Way launches Guantanamo job service

By JOHN LANTIGUA
Herald Staff Writer

Cuban refugees at the U.S. Navy Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, soon will have a resumé service at their command so they can start job hunting even before they reach the mainland United States.

The United Way of Dade County will send a team of business and legal professionals to the base today for a three-day stay to begin a job counseling program. The Cuban refugees there, almost 20,000, are mostly young men. They already have been approved for entrance into the United States.

"There are lots of refugees who arrive here and only about one out of 20 knows what is expected when he is looking for work," said United Way spokesman Tamara

Klingler. "The system they are coming from is just about the opposite of our system here. They need to know about the relationship between worker and employer here. We are trying to speed up that orientation process."

The order in which the refugees will come is determined by a lottery. Klingler said the sooner a refugee is expected to leave the camp, the higher up he will be on the list for job counseling.

The new program is called the Guantanamo Refugee Assimilation Project, or GRASP. The purpose of the first trip is organization, but volunteers hope to begin regular counseling duties in July.

Besides the resumé service, the GRASP volunteers also will conduct orientation programs that cover the legal and employment

rights of American workers and their responsibilities. GRASP will help professionals arrange for exams to validate the degrees and licenses they held in Cuba.

The volunteers will try to generate job opportunities for the refugees in South Florida and develop a job bank. They also are hoping to begin a mentoring program to match refugees who are athletes and artists with local athletes and artists.

In addition, GRASP volunteers will assist other agencies already working with more than 200 Haitian children still in Guantanamo, specifically helping them reunite with family members in the United States.

Five volunteers will fly to Guantanamo today. They will travel on a jet donated by the law firm of Steel Hector & Davis.

Cuba
Jan '95

DADE COUNTY DEMOCRATIC PARTY ★ DEMOCRATIC PRIDE

JOSEPH S. GELLER
Chair

May 12, 1995

VIA FAX: (202) 456-6218

Ms. Suzanna Valdes
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Re: Lula Rodriguez

Dear Suzanna:

Thank you for taking my call the other day. I enjoyed the opportunity to speak with you.

As I told you, one of the purposes of my call was to express concern and regret about the news that Lula Rodriguez has decided to resign her position with the Administration. I know that you share my view that Lula has been a tremendous asset to the Administration, as well as an important voice for the Miami and South Florida community regarding policy, especially in regard to Cuba. Lula is a long-time veteran of Miami politics, and has been absolutely loyal to the President and the Administration, all the way back to when she organized Cuban Women for Clinton during the campaign. Her realistic political assessment of the situation in South Florida is sometimes at odds with conventional wisdom, but always of value and frequently prophetic. Both in her current position at USIA, and in her previous service as an Executive Assistant to Attorney General Janet Reno, Lula has shown the same dedication and wisdom that she had displayed during her many years as a Senior Assistant to Senator Bob Graham.

I initiated a call to Lula recently, to check on some of the numerous rumors circulating in Miami about her pending departure. She informed me that she had reluctantly decided to leave, since she felt her credibility with the community may have been compromised. She is not terribly unhappy with many aspects of the current policy, including the fact that repatriations will be necessary, but seems to feel that her access to policy-makers and political strategists has been severely limited, and that her ability to be effective on behalf of the President, to whom she remains deeply committed, has been compromised. I certainly hope

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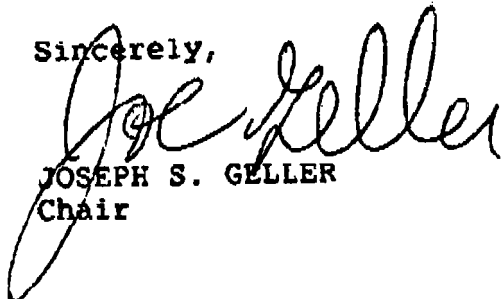
Ms. Suzanna Valdes
May 12, 1995
Page 2

that is not the case. Lula is enormously respected in this community, and not just by the Cuban-American community. I personally have benefitted for years from her advice and counsel, and have always felt more secure knowing she was in there helping to defend our President. Her loss would be a mistake. Please communicate to the appropriate people that an effort must be made to keep her aboard. I believe that Bill Mauk, our Dade County Clinton Chair in 1992, has already discussed this matter with Craig Smith. As we begin to prepare for the re-election battle, this is not the time to lose those who have been among our most stalwart and capable warriors. I would be happy to discuss this issue further with anyone that you deem advisable.

Under separate cover, I am forwarding to you the letter we discussed regarding recruitment of support among Hispanic elected officials in Dade County.

Thank you, as always, for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,



JOSEPH S. GELLER
Chair

JSG/jo

cc: Bruce Lindsey
George Stephanopolous
Bill Mauk
Craig Smith

November 16, 1994

**MEMORANDUM FOR: ALEXIS HERMAN
ROGER ALTMAN**

**FROM: SUZANNA VALDEZ
LULA RODRIGUEZ
RICK NUCCIO**

SUBJECT: CUBAN OUTREACH PLAN FOR SUMMIT

During the last two weeks, we have had a series of meetings to discuss summit outreach efforts on behalf of the Cuban American community in South Florida. Lula Rodriguez recently returned from a week long trip surveying public opinion in Miami and Rick Nuccio returned from three days in Guantanamo. The following is a comprehensive outreach plan to prepare the Cuban-American community to endorse and participate in the Summit of the Americas.

We agree that the situation in Guantanamo is the most pressing issue in the minds of Cuban-Americans. We must resolve several issues if we are to engage the community in supporting the President's efforts during the Summit. The community has mentioned several times that they believe that the migrants' human rights are being violated in Guantanamo. They're considering addressing this issue during their demonstration on December 10th. We must act immediately in addressing these concerns.

I. Recommendations

A. Name a Presidential task force to oversee the conditions of the camps and to make recommendations to the President. The idea of a community task force has very strong possibilities. We suggest that a task force be named consisting of around 10 civic leaders in South Florida. This group would serve for a period of three months, to be extended if necessary. They would serve as an advisory task force to the White House.

An independent ad-hoc committee was created a few weeks ago that has taken most of the credit for the camp improvements and humanitarian releases up to now. A task force appointed by us and selected with input from the core group would centralize information and establish accountability for the improved results.

It is important that those named to this task force be recognized for their civic involvement and contributions and not for their political profile. This would lend credibility to the social and humanitarian role they would play as part of the task force. Their role should be defined to oversee only the living conditions and social needs of the detainees, not to be confused with advocacy efforts on behalf of resettlement or changes in policy.

The Duties of the Presidential Task Force:

The primary responsibilities of the Task Force would be to advise the President on improving living conditions at Guantanamo and coordinating volunteer efforts. This would include :

- Enabling Cuban-American doctors and nurses to volunteer their services for refugees at U.S. governmental hospital ships and field hospitals in Guantanamo and Panama.
- Scheduling and recommending entertainment visits.
- Scheduling and coordinating family and civic organization visits.
- Scheduling Cuban-American churches to send clergymen and counselors to Guantanamo and Panama to provide worship services, as well as spiritual and emotional support.
- Making recommendations on the process of de-militarizing the camps.

B. Recommended Members of the Presidential Task Force

The following is a list of recommended participants for the Presidential Task Force:

Dr. Armando Santeciles

Chairman and CEO of Women's Breast Cancer Center
Chief Medical Advisor, Healeah Fire Department

Mr. Armando Gonzalez

Chairman and CEO of Women's Breast Cancer Center
Vice President, FACE (Facts About Cuban Exiles)

Mrs. Josefina Carbonell

Member, Ad-Hoc Committee
Executive Director, Little Havana Activities Center

Mrs. Lucia Rojas Butler

President, Cuban Roots (Afro-Cuban civic organization)

Mr. Simon Ferro

Attorney and Lobbyist
Member, President Clinton's Democratic Core Group

Mr. Horacio Rodriguez

Board member, Directors of the Cuban American National Foundation

Monsignor Agustin Roman

Archbishop, City of Miami Catholic Archdiocese

Mr. Osvaldo Soto
President, SALAD (Spanish American League Against Discrimination)

Mrs. Luisa Garcia Toledo
President, NACAW (National Association of Cuban American Women)

Mr. Guarione Diaz
Executive Director, Task Force
Executive Director and Civic Liaison, Cuban American National Council

Mr. Andres Vargas Gomez
President, Unidad Cubana

Mr. Miguel Angel Tudela
President, Cuban Municipalities

(We are waiting for additional suggestions from the core group.)

*At this point, we might also want to include names or members of the Haitian American community to oversee the conditions of the Haitian side of the camp.

Time Table:

- On November 18th, the President should announce the formation of and the members of the Presidential Task Force on Cuba Policy.
- On November 21st, the Task Force should visit Guantanamo.
- On November 22nd, the Task Force should send a preliminary report on their observations to the President.

II. Presidential announcement on the possible release of the children

There has been extensive speculation in the last few days about the possible release of the children (see attached articles). The Cuban American community had initially indicated support for the detention of illegal aliens as an effort to prevent another massive influx of refugees. However, the detention and extensive news coverage of children behind barbed wire has eroded that initial support.

The President should announce that he has authorized the Attorney General to evaluate, on a case by case basis, the granting of humanitarian parole to children under seventeen and their immediate family. Approximately 2500 minor children (under 17) need to be identified within the next weeks. At least fifteen additional Spanish speaking personnel are needed immediately to begin the interviewing process. Some CRS personnel currently working a

response hotline in Miami might be available on an emergency basis. This announcement should also include the Haitian children detained in the camps.

Time Table:

The President should announce the case by case review of the children in Guantanamo on **November 21st**.

III. Improve the health care conditions at the camp

Rick Nuccio has recommended that we declare a medical emergency at Guantanamo. This would flood the base with supplies of basic medicines sufficient to manage demand for one month. We cannot wait to raise donations or charter civilian aircrafts. This must be done through USG resources and with military airlift. Once that supply is established for one month, longer term solutions for financing and transport can be explored.

Time Table:

Right after the Task Force returns from Guantanamo on November 22nd, assign a Public Health Service Team to travel to Guantanamo on a sixty day detail to organize and establish A) a medical screening procedure for INS for those that will be resettled in the United States. B) Establish the appropriate level of health care for the camp population. This should include the use of Cuban migrant doctors and other health care personnel detained in Guantanamo as well as volunteer medical teams from South Florida. During the Mariel boatlift, Dr. Joe Davis of the P.H.S. in Washington D.C. was responsible for organizing such an effort within hours. He might still be available for special details.

IV. Hemispheric Summit Strategy

The following should constitute the core effort of our outreach strategy directly related to the Hemispheric Summit:

Television Interviews

On Monday, October 21st, President Clinton agreed to participate in television interviews with channels 51 and 23 in Miami. Despite broad support for President Clinton's Cuba policy, the Cuban-American community has been skeptical of the Administration's commitment to carry out this policy. This interview will give the President an opportunity to counter the negative misinformation caused by the community's limited exposure to the President. It is important that President Clinton speak directly to this constituency regarding his policy towards Cuba and his support of Radio and TV Marti.

At the request of the Core Group, this interview should be expanded to include radio and print. We should invite the following individuals from the Cuban-American community who are civic leaders as well as media representatives. They are trusted opinion makers and leaders in the community, some of whom are involved in the Summit of the Americas.

Ray Rodriguez
President, Univision in Miami

Jose Cancela
Vice President, Telemundo Station Groups

Roberto Suarez
Publisher, Nuevo Herald

Amancio Suarez
President, Viva Broadcasting

Horacio Aguirre
Publisher
Diario Las Americas

Raul Alarcón
General Manager, WCMQ

Time Table:
November 30 has been identified as the tentative date for this event.

V. Washington Briefing for Cuban American Leadership

The President agreed to follow up on his conversation with the Florida core group by meeting with nationwide Cuban-American representatives. In order to fulfill the President's initiative, we propose to host a one day briefing between Cuban-American representatives and members of the Administration on December 1st.

This meeting will fulfill several purposes:

- (a) Reiterate the President's policy towards Cuba and the Cuban Democracy Act.
- (b) Reiterate the President's support of TV and Radio Marti.
- (c) Prepare the ground for a successful Summit of the Americas in Miami.
- (d) Inform on the progress of INS talks with Cuba.
- (e) Inform on the camp situation and steps taken to improve conditions.
- (f) Solidifying the President's relationship with the broader Cuban-American community.

We have prepared the following outline as a possible agenda for the one-day briefing for a larger group.

10:00 AM	Briefing at the State Department with Dennis Hayes, Peter Tarnoff, and Alec Watson
----------	--

Nick Gutierrez
Oscar Diaz
Jose Urrechaga
Fausto Gomez
Joaquin Aviño
Maria Camila Leyva
Sergio Pino
Jorge Hernandez
Luis Botifol

Maria Arias Gonzalez
Agustin De Goytisolo
Jorge Abril

Amancio Suarez

Carlos Hernandez
Carlos Enriquez
Roberto Suarez

Cabinet participation in the briefing of Cuban-American group

In order to ensure that the one day agenda for the nationwide Cuban-American group receives adequate support, Mack McLarty or Leon Panetta should send a letter to the Cabinet Secretaries and Chiefs of Staff of the following agencies.

- Department of State Secretary Christopher
 cc: Peter Tarnoff, Alex Watson, Dennis Hayes
- Department of the Treasury Secretary Bentsen
 cc: George Muñoz, Rick Newcomb
- USIA Joe Duffy
 cc: Dr. Bonachea, Dick Lobo
- Department of Justice Attorney General Reno
 cc: Jamie Gorelick, Phyllis Coven

The letter sent to each department should request a representative from the highest possible level to brief this group.

Time Table:
November 29th, 1994.

VI. Editorial Outreach

The Cuban American community claims they are constantly assaulted by editorials and articles in local and national newspapers on the issue of Cuba, the embargo and changes in immigration policies towards Cubans.

We recommend that a set of editorial articles be written by high level Administration officials to be placed in the **Miami Herald** and **Diario Las Americas**. This effort would reiterate the President's policies on the specific issues they cover and should generate a healthy amount of positive local radio coverage.

Time Table:

November 27, 1994--Article by Dr. Joseph Huffey restating the President's policies and support of radio and T.V. marti--**Diario Las Americas**.

November 27, 1994--Article by Alec Watson restating the President's policy and support for the Cuban Democracy Act. The **Miami Herald** and **El Nuevo Herald**.

December 4, 1994--Editorial Article by Doris Meisner reiterating the President's policy and support of the C.A.A and upcoming visa efforts in Cuba. **Diario Las Americas**.

December 4, 1994--Editorial article by Dr. Bonachea describing Radio and T.V. Marti efforts during exodus crisis.

VII. Community Media Outreach

We are in the process of establishing a speakers and writers bureau in cooperation with the core group. This bureau would saturate the community during the three weeks prior to the Summit with accurate and positive information including all of the above mentioned recommendations. We are preparing information packages to be supplied to participants.

VIII. Opening announcement of OFAC office in Miami

It is still undetermined as to whether the OFAC office has been opened. It had been announced by us and lauded by the CAC that this office would oversee any violations of travel and restrictions of remittances to Cuba. The announcement of the official opening of the OFAC office in Miami would send a clear message that the President is committed to the strengthening of sanctions against Cuba. The purpose of the announcement is to generate much needed support and positive feedback as well as coverage by Cuban-American media.



FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

TO: Name Suzanna Valdez

Office _____

FAX # _____

Date 8/1 **Time** _____

FROM: B/C Rolando Bonachea

FAX (202) 401-3340

Tel. (202) 401-7013

MESSAGE: FVI

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING

COVER SHEET 9

Copyright 1995 News World Communications, Inc.
 The Washington Times
 July 30, 1995, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; WORLD; BRIEFING/THE AMERICAS; Pg. A10
 LENGTH: 3161 words
 HEADLINE: Aide sees embargo over if Cuba reforms ;
 Cuban emigre groups lose power
 BODY:

During his tenure on New Jersey Democratic Congressman Robert Torricelli's staff, Richard Nuccio won the trust and respect of the Cuban-American community as the author of the Cuban Democracy Act, which dramatically tightened the embargo on Fidel Castro's Cuba in 1992. In the wake of the controversy over the Clinton administration's Cuba policy in general and its secret immigration deal announced May 2, which reversed 30 years of U.S. Cuba policy, Mr. Nuccio was tapped to advise the administration on Cuba policy and to act as a liaison between the Cuban-American community and the White House. On May 25, Mr. Nuccio was named special adviser to the president and secretary of state on Cuba. He spoke with reporter Tom Carter this week on the Clinton administration's policy on Cuba and the Jesse Helms-Dan Burton "Libertad" bill. The bill would strengthen the embargo by penalizing countries and individuals that do business with Cuba.

Q: You became the special adviser on Cuba after the president's May 2 immigration deal with Cuba to allow the Guantanamo refugees into the United States and return fleeing refugees to Cuba. How did that come about?

A: There were a number of people who had been telling the president for sometime that there needed to be a point person in the administration who people outside the executive branch could go to to get answers about Cuba and also to coordinate and direct what the U.S. government was doing about Cuba.

In the wake of what most people thought was a good decision but which was implemented in less than an outstanding way, these arguments of a need for a coordinator became more urgent, and that resulted in my appointment.

Q: Not everyone agreed with the immigration decision. Dennis Hayes, at the State Department's Cuba desk, asked to be transferred in protest, and there were a number of protests in Miami by anti-Castro groups.

A: I didn't say it wasn't a controversial decision, but the polls in Florida are very supportive of the decision. Even about half of the Cuban-American community says they think it was the right thing to do. With time, more people think it was the right

decision than the wrong one.

Q: Could you lay out the administration's current policy toward Cuba?

A: It has three pieces: The first is the embargo; it's the most comprehensive economic embargo the United States has against any country in the world.

It's been in place for 30 years, but it really is only having meaningful effect since 1989-1990, when Soviet subsidies and the web of Eastern European economic relationships disappeared. [The embargo] clearly is part of what is driving Cuba toward the small, fairly hesitant changes that it is making, mostly in the economic arena.

The second piece is what we like to call support for the Cuban people. Telephone communications, long-distance communications between the U.S. and Cuba were licensed and have increased dramatically over the last year or so. That allows us to monitor what's going on inside Cuba. It allows families to talk to each other. . . .

We've also dramatically increased humanitarian donations to Cuba.

We only know how much we license. We don't exactly know how much has been delivered. But more than \$70 million has been licensed in the last two years. And those donations have contributed to the development of some independent nongovernmental organizations inside Cuba, most notably the Catholic Church's humanitarian organization, about half of whose budget is provided by United States donations.

The third piece of the policy is a phrase from the Cuban Democracy Act that the United States should be prepared to respond in positive and carefully calibrated ways to positive developments inside Cuba.

That's been misinterpreted a lot, including by some government officials. So let me try to clarify what I mean by it, and since I wrote the phrase, I claim a certain pride of authorship.

The idea is that there are lots of things in our relationship with Cuba that deliberately contribute to tension and hostility. There are things like the embargo, but there are also many things outside the embargo.

For example, I'm under instructions as a U.S. diplomat, if I encounter a Cuban diplomat in a reception someplace, I'm supposed to look out the window and talk about the weather and quickly move away to show my displeasure for the Castro regime.

There are lots of ways to show displeasure for the Castro regime that are more effective than that. So when we talk about calibrated responses, we're not talking about ending the embargo. What we are talking about is the chance that there are some reformers in the Cuban government, that they can convince their highest authority to permit some of those reforms to take place and that the United States is not portrayed as an obstacle to any change in our relationship.

The obstacle to improved relations between the U.S. and Cuba is what the Cuban government does to its own people. When it changes what it does to its own people, we'll be happy to improve our relationship.

Q: There have been a number of incidents that some people take as signal that the Clinton administration may be laying the groundwork for lifting the embargo on Cuba: the secret immigration deal, anti-embargo Cuban-American groups getting a hearing at the White House, the administration's opposition to

Helms-Burton, and a National Security Council memo advocating the lifting of the embargo. Is the White House moving toward lifting it?

A: Not while I'm in this job.

The world is changing. Some things are changing in Cuba, and U.S. policy should adjust to those changes in order to continue the goal, which has remained the same for the past number of administrations: achieving a peaceful democratic transition in Cuba. But the instruments that we use have to be adapted to different circumstances.

If you had followed me for the past three years, including when I worked with Congressman Torricelli, you'd have seen that I always met with these groups. It is important to understand the full range of views about Cuba. That doesn't mean that I subscribe to every person's view that I speak with.

Q: Another part of the argument is that while certain groups advocating the lifting of the embargo are being received here, other groups, in particular the Cuban American National Foundation and its supporters, are now excluded from the Washington loop. Conservative Cuban-Americans fear that Morton Halperin at the National Security Council is the real architect of U.S. Cuba policy, he wants to lift the embargo and this office is merely a front for what is going on behind the scenes.

A: It'll take time I think for people to decide who's the day-to-day person for Cuban policy. I am that person. That's the job President Clinton asked me to take on. That's the job I'm doing. But it'll be a while before that's obvious to people

outside the government as it is to people inside the government. . . . [As for Mr. Halperin] I don't want to get into commenting about other people in the government and their role in Cuban policy.

There's no doubt in my mind that the intelligent and creative policy that I think we need to deal with a very dangerous situation inside Cuba is not going to please everyone in the Cuban-American community.

I have to tell my friends in the Cuban-American community that they are out of touch to a certain degree with what's going on inside Cuba. They have been neglecting on-island activities, celebrating refugee and exile status, and ignoring the importance and significant political spaces that have been developing inside Cuba.

That is not an alternative to the embargo. Those ideas are a complement to the embargo. They make the embargo more effective.

But there is one change in policy, which is that we are going to make Cuban policy based on what's been happening inside and around Cuba, and not focus as intently on making policy according to the insights and perspectives of the Cuban-American community.

I hope that I can persuade important elements of that community that we're doing good things, worth their support. But we're not going to require prior approval by them before we do things that we think are important to do to advance the cause of making a transition in Cuba.

My door is open. I meet with everybody who asks to meet with me. The Cuban American National Foundation hasn't requested a single meeting since May 2. The only messages they have been sending to the administration have been those of protest and opposition. I have friends in the Cuban American National Foundation. I hope they're still my friends.

Q: You're satisfied that President Clinton is not, as far as Cuba policy is concerned, in flux? The embargo is going to stay?

A: Yes. The Cuban Democracy Act is the foundation of the president's policy, and that's the policy that I've been asked to implement.

Q: What is the administration doing to help human rights in Cuba? What are you doing to foster that space that they have created?

A: Not enough. Much less than the United States did in Eastern Europe in a similar circumstance. Frankly, I have a credibility gap with the people in the human-rights community inside Cuba because

they really haven't seen that much happen. One of my principal goals in this job is to deliver concretely to people on the island the kind of support they need because of the activities they are undertaking inside Cuba. I think we have a moral obligation to do more as an administration to help people on the island - not just people who are in opposition but all people on the island.

Q: I recently asked a dissident who spent 30 years in a Castro prison what the U.S. should be doing to help dissidents. His answer was to support the Helms-Burton bill. The administration is against Helms-Burton. Could you address that?

A: We embrace the objectives of the bill, but we have problems with the way that the bill goes about trying to achieve those objectives.

I would say that a vast majority of the people on the island whom I've talked with, some of them who support the embargo, some who are against it, had critical things to say about Helms-Burton.

My individual approach to Helms-Burton is that it has a cost-benefit problem. It's clear that some of the things the bill is trying to do on property, on discouraging investment in Cuba are good things to do. But the way the bill sets out to try to do them imposes tremendous costs on a lot of other interests that the United States has - relationships we have with other countries and other issues.

I'm not sure we should sacrifice every other principle that we have - from helping the democratic transition in Russia to promoting a worldwide free-trade system - to the idea of exacting an extra ounce of punishment on the Castro regime.

Q: Vietnam was a U.S. enemy. Now President Clinton has lifted trade sanctions, and now we've got diplomatic relations. Why not with Cuba?

A: I point out that it's not liberals alone who are making this argument.

A number of prominent conservatives from John McLaughlin down have made a similar argument. I don't agree with it. I think Cuba will only succeed economically if there is political change in Cuba. . . . Business people are not climbing all over each other to try and invest in Cuba. . . . Also, Cuba is part of our Western value system. We've already agreed here in this hemisphere about the importance of political and economic reform. And I think it's fair and correct to hold Cuba to that standard.

Q: Then why not a Haiti solution? Why not a full embargo? Why not threats of invasion to replace the dictators?

A: The Haiti analogy is that the U.S. sat down and negotiated with an military dictatorship to convince them to leave peacefully. We signed agreements with that government. Are people really suggesting that we should sit down with the Castro government and negotiate to see if they would be willing to leave under certain conditions? I don't think it makes any sense for Cuba.

Aside from the other minor detail that Cuba has the largest standing army in the Western Hemisphere [outside the United States], that analogy doesn't make a lot of sense.

Q: It's been reported that the administration is talking with the Cuban government about opening up news bureaus, allowing their journalists freedom here in exchange for giving our reporters freedom there. But Jesse Helms has said that unless reporters from Radio and TV Marti are allowed in Cuba, he'll scuttle the deal. Can you talk about that?

A: Let me really make news here today. The New York Times made a mistake. There are no negotiations, and there have never been any negotiations, conversations, sidebar discussions, pull-asides between the U.S. government and the Cuban government about news bureaus.

I think news bureaus would be a good idea. Having freer access for reporters to Cuba would overcome the manipulation that the Cuban government engages in with letting reporters in who are likely to write nice things about it, and denying reporters visas who tell the truth.

But I doubt very much it's going to be something we would negotiate between the two governments. There is no specific proposal [regarding news bureaus] sitting before the president right now.

Q: One of the more emotional aspects of the May 2 immigration agreement was the idea that the United States is now sending people back to an island prison. The refugees are risking their lives to escape the Castro regime, and now the U.S. is throwing them back. Also, there have been incidents where there was some question regarding Cuban government reprisals against returnees. Are you satisfied with the monitoring system that's going on there?

A: We are largely satisfied with the monitoring system, bringing to our attention problems. We're not completely satisfied with the way the Cuban government has responded to the problems that have emerged through our monitoring. . . . We are continuing to press for a solution.

Let me address the first part of what you said. The phrase is, nobody ever threw anybody back over the Berlin Wall. The fact is, people were returned who had crossed over the Berlin Wall, so even

that's not true. But this is a quite different situation. What we're doing is picking people up, making an initial judgment about whether they could leave Cuba through legal means. If we don't think that they could reasonably leave Cuba through the U.S. Interest Section, then we are prepared to take people directly into the United States.

We haven't put into effect a judgment like that yet, of the 80 or so people we've picked up.

But it doesn't mean that we think things are wonderful inside Cuba. On the contrary, we're bringing more political refugees out of Cuba this year - by a factor of four - than we have in any previous year.

Q: What about the travel restrictions? Some weeks ago, there was a flap about a group of high school kids who went to Cuba to protest the travel restrictions. Thousands of Cuban-Americans go to Cuba via Mexico or the Bahamas all the time. That seems to be overlooked. Basically, it's a law that's all but ignored unless somebody goes way out of his way to try to upset the U.S. government.

A: It isn't ignored by literally tens of thousands of people who apply and receive licenses for travel to Cuba for the purposes that are licensable - professional journalists, professional researchers, families who have humanitarian concerns.

Political groups who have their own agenda are going to continue to protest the law, and we're going to try to find ways to hold those people accountable.

One part of the Helms-Burton bill that we endorsed without hesitation set penalties, because we'd like to have more effective means to sanction people who violate the law. This is a democracy. It's a free country. We have laws in place that make it difficult to pursue those people. We are never interested in pursuing teen-agers who are being cynically manipulated by political groups.

But we would like more people to go to Cuba. That's the irony that gets lost in all of this. . . . We want more contact between the United States and Cuban people.

Q: One of the results of the Helms-Burton bill, even before it's been voted on, is that it seems to be stymying investment quite effectively. A whole group of people are saying that it is a bad bill, it will clog the courts, it infringes on another nation's sovereignty, it is bad for free trade. But it has created an uncertain climate, making businesses afraid of investing in Cuba.

A: I asked a lot of questions about European investment in Cuba when I was there a week or two ago. As you know, the Cuban

government puts on a lot of investment seminars in different countries around the world. The reports I got were that there is no decline in interest. In fact, there's an increase in interest. So I'm not sure whether the threat in the bill is having the results that people prayed for.

The second thing is that it makes the administration's point about why this should not be a mandate.

It is the threat of these sanctions that might have a deterrent effect on business investment. Once they are imposed, and we turn the United States into a lawyer's mecca for lawsuits, for every crackpot case throughout the entire world, tie up our own legal system in doing so, I'm not sure the deterrent effect will be there anymore.

Q: One last question. You're satisfied there is no back-room maneuvering going on in order to bring about the lifting of the embargo during this administration, or even after 1996, should President Clinton be elected again?

A: We believe the embargo is an effective instrument to promote change inside Cuba. It's not a totem that should be worshipped, set up in the corner and left to gather dust. It's something that should be constantly examined and adjusted to make sure it's working effectively. And if it does start to work in the area of political reform as well as deeper economic reform, we should be prepared to respond, and indicate that when Cuba is ready to make a transition, we're ready to look at the embargo.

But until we get those kinds of deep, structural economic and political reforms inside Cuba that the people in Cuba want and need to succeed in the world, the embargo will stay in place.

GRAPHIC: Photo, President Clinton's Cuba adviser, Richard Nuccio, says, "Some things are changing in Cuba, and U.S. policy should adjust to those changes.", By Kevin T. Gilbert/The Washington Times

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 30, 1995

HILL NEWS

continued from page 1

nity's unwillingness to protect them," Majority Leader Bob Dole, Kan., said, "they cannot understand the international community's unwillingness to allow them to protect themselves against genocidal aggression."

Dole, who sponsored the bill, argued that the embargo was both invalid and illegal. It was imposed in 1991 on Yugoslavia, a country that no longer exists, Dole said, and it violates Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, which states that nations have a right to self-defense.

Dole said Bosnian Muslims "have rifles to fight against tanks."

Minority Leader Tom Daschle, S.D., opposed the bill, saying it would undermine "progress made in the last few days" by international negotiators and military officials, who have vowed to step up air strikes if Serb attacks against the Bosnians continue.

"A unilateral lift means in large part a unilateral responsibility," Daschle said, warning that other nations would leave once the embargo was lifted and U.S. troops might need to be deployed as a result.

But a last-minute flurry of phone calls from Clinton did not deter many other Democrats from breaking party ranks and supporting the bill. On the final vote, 21 Democrats joined 46 Republicans in support of the legislation; 24 Democrats and 5 Republicans voted against it.

The Senate agreed, 75-23, to an amendment by Sam Nunn, D-Ga., that would require the president to make a last-ditch effort to get the U.N. Security Council to vote to lift the embargo multilaterally.

The House passed similar language earlier in the year in a foreign aid authorization bill (HR 1561).

HOUSE FLOOR

GILMAN CALLS AMENDMENT 'A POWERFUL MESSAGE TO HANOI'

In the day's second rejection of the administration's foreign policy, the House last night voted against establishing a U.S. Embassy in Vietnam. The amendment to the fiscal 1996 spending bill that covers the State Department (HR 2076) was adopted by voice vote after less than five minutes of debate.

Late last night, the House moved toward expected passage of the \$27.6 billion fiscal 1996 spending bill to finance the Commerce, Justice and State departments and the federal judiciary.

The bill would appropriate \$14.5 billion for the Justice Department, \$3.4 bil-

lion for the Commerce Department and \$5.2 billion for the State Department.

The amendment, offered by International Relations Chairman Benjamin A. Gilman, R-N.Y., would prohibit the use of funds in the bill to open or operate a new diplomatic post in Vietnam. It would also block the use of funds in the bill for any increase in the number of U.S. personnel operating in Vietnam.

President Clinton announced on July 11 that he was moving to normalize relations with Vietnam, which normally involves the opening of an embassy. Congress has been split on the issue, and this was the first opportunity that members had to address the matter on the floor.

But there was almost no debate. Gilman said his amendment "sends a forceful message to Hanoi that Congress will not just sit back and let them flip-flop us" on the whereabouts of America service personnel who have not been found since the end of the Vietnam War.

Harry Johnston, D-Fla., was the lone speaker in opposition. He said it was

"not in our best interests to take away our ability to communicate" with Vietnam.

The House also adopted, by voice vote, an amendment by William F. Goodling, R-Pa., that would prohibit U.S. forces from being placed under the command of foreign commanders in U.N. military operations.

The House voted 283-139, to gut an amendment by David E. Bonior, D-Colo., that would have killed funding for television broadcasting to Cuba, known as TV Marti.

Bonior argued that "no one sees TV Marti...it's beyond fixing."

But Gilman countered that "if we silence TV Marti, we will be handing the Castro dictatorship a victory by default."

SENATE FLOOR

PROPOSAL WOULD PUSH STATES TO NOTIFY SPOUSES OF HIV CARRIERS

Conservative Jesse Helms, R-N.C., used popular legislation that would reauthorize federal AIDS research as a

If the Lawmaker Can't Go Home... Bring Home to the Lawmaker

House Republicans are expected to release a very sensitive document today. It is not a key piece of evidence in the Waco or Whitewater investigations — it's the September schedule for the House.

House members on both sides of the aisle have been complaining about the bruising schedule the House has been keeping. And that has given the GOP leadership a tough choice: to get their lengthy agenda through the House or to give members time to spend with their families and their constituents.

While details of the September work schedule were not available yesterday, it was clear from talking to members who had seen a draft copy that September was unlikely to get any easier for members. Although they may not work five-day weeks, the days that the House is in session will be lengthy, going as late as 10 p.m.

Such late nights thus far in July have led many younger lawmakers to bring their families to the floor with them when they come for votes during the dinner hour. "This is like a Discovery Zone" for the children, said Peter Deutch, D-Fla., father of 4-year-old Jonathan and 3-year-old Danielle. Both children happily played on the House floor last Thursday night as Deutch cast his vote on amendments to the agriculture appropriations bill (HR 1976).

House rules permit children under 12 to accompany their parent on the House floor and older children are routinely permitted access, too.

Frank R. Wolf, R-Va., head of the "Family Friendly" task force created by the Republican leadership, said yesterday that he had urged "a lot more families on the floor" than before. With the many late-night sessions and long weeks, he said, it is good for members to spend whatever time they can with their children.

The schedules for September and October would provide a "real test" of whether the leadership is serious about having a family-friendly House. "The jury's still out," he said.

Republican Conference Chairman John A. Boehner, Ohio, confirmed that the leadership is concerned about members' reaction to planned sessions in September. "There is an awful lot of sensitivity about what the September schedule is going to look like," he said.

If the House continues the five-day workweek with lengthy sessions most nights, "the concern I have is that this would be institutionalized," said Wolf. "This will be the way that Congress is."

— Elizabeth Palmer

THURSDAY JULY 27, 1995 CQ's Congressional Monitor

TONY DE VELASTO

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

David Wilhelm, Chairman

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MIERCOLES 2 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1994
EL NUEVO HERALD **38**

Demócratas discrepan de Clinton sobre los balseros

Por ARIEL REMOS

El Grupo Ad Hoc sobre Cuba formado por representantes de grupos y organizaciones de base de votantes demócratas cubano-americanos del Sur de la Florida, fijaron una posición discrepante de la Casa Blanca respecto a la situación de los balseros cubanos que se encuentran detenidos en la Base Naval de Guantánamo y otros lugares.

En conferencia de prensa efectuada poco antes del mediodía de este martes 1 de noviembre en el restaurante Centro Vasco, el grupo recomendó al Presidente Clinton, que se les conceda de inmediato asilo político a los cubanos que fueron forzados a dejar la Isla por su oposición política al régimen de Castro, y expresaron su oposición a cualquier concesión económica o política al régimen totalitario de Fidel Castro.

Entre otras recomendaciones, los demócratas cubano-americanos, que dijeron representar la verdadera base de votantes de ese origen étnico, incluyeron que la Administración revisara los procedimientos de inmigración y que de ninguna manera los refugiados sean enviados a Cuba para procesar su entrada en EE.UU.

El grupo pidió también a la administración Clinton que interceda en favor de la vida de los siete luchadores cubanos por la libertad capturados en Cuba (se refiere a los comandos del PUND) que fueron apresados en la Isla, y que denuncie la constante violación de los derechos humanos y encarcelación de aquellos que se oponen al régimen totalitario de Castro.

Tanto Gustavo Marín, como Manolo Reyes y otros dirigentes demócratas, expresaron que trataban con sus pronunciamientos de establecer la posición mayoritaria de los cubano-americanos, que quienes se reunieron con el Presidente Clinton carecen de la representación necesaria, y que lo que han hecho es aceptar la luz que ponen en Washington.

28 THE HERALD, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1994

IN BRIEF

Cuban Democrats disagree about policy

A caucus of Dade Cuban Democrats, who backed President Clinton in his bid for the White House, have parted ways on the president's policy to detain Cubans in Guantanamo and elsewhere.

"We're not giving hope, we're not giving dignity, we're not giving an example," said Gustavo Marin, president of Democrats for Democracy in Cuba. "We're not doing anything on behalf of human rights, democracy and the future of Cuba."

Representatives from a dozen groups gathered Tuesday in Little Havana to voice their discontent, not only with Clinton but with a handful of Cuban democrats who met with the president late last month. That group included attorney Simon Ferro and former Dade School Board member Paul Cajas.

Marin criticized that delegation for "being cheerleaders" for the administration.

"We want increased consultation by the White House, as well as swifter measures being taken to alleviate the suffering of Cuban rafters now in detention camps," he said.

MIÉRCOLES 2 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1994
 EL NUEVO HERALD 38

Grupo de demócratas contra la detención de los balseros

Por CYNTHIA CORZO

Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

Un grupo de demócratas cubanoamericanos rompió el martes su silencio y criticó abiertamente la política del presidente Bill Clinton de detener a los balseros en campamentos estadounidenses.

Agrupados bajo el nombre Cuban American Democratic Ad Hoc Group on Cuba, este grupo de correligionarios de Clinton que lo apoyaron en su candidatura, se quejaron de no haber sido consultados al decidir el futuro de los balseros.

"Nosotros somos los verdaderos demócratas antes, hoy y mañana", dijo Gustavo Marín, miembro del grupo. "Parece que lo que funciona con cierta gente dentro de la administración es el lema de 'Lo que cuenta es el cash'".

La agrupación sostiene que algunos de los demócratas consultados por Clinton durante la crisis de los balseros no representan los intereses de esa comunidad partidista en Miami.

"El gobierno ha invitado a un pequeño grupo que no son dirigentes del partido", dijo Marín. "No estamos de acuerdo con que algunos, que representan intereses empresariales, son consultados, y los que ayudan a elegir a los candidatos son excluidos".

El grupo busca que se aumenten las consultas "entre la Casa Blanca y los líderes demócratas electos" así como medidas inmediatas para aliviar "el sufrimiento de los balseros en los campos de detención", explicó Eladio Armesto, hijo, presidente de la Liga Demócrata de Dade.

"Existe una diferencia entre los que aportan una donación económica y los



"La comunidad cubana no acepta líderes impuestos o prefabricados".

ELADIO ARMESTO, HIJO
 Liga Demócrata de Dade



"Nosotros somos los verdaderos demócratas antes, hoy y mañana".

GUSTAVO MARÍN
 Grupo Ad Hoc

que son dirigentes políticos", dijo Armesto. "La comunidad cubana no acepta líderes impuestos o prefabricados".

TO: State/Defense/JCS/Coast Guard/INS/CIA/NSC/Treasury
FROM: Anthony Lake
SUBJECT: Interagency Task Force on Cuba

The President has directed the establishment of an Interagency Task Force on Cuba (ITFC) to coordinate implementation of our policy on Cuba. The Task Force will be led by Richard Nuccio, special adviser to the President and the Secretary of State on Cuba. The chair of the Task Force will report to the President through the Secretary of State. The ITFC will be responsible for implementation of all aspects of our Cuba policy, including migration, processing of the Cuban migrant population at GTMO, in-country monitoring of returnees, legislative initiatives, and public outreach and coordination.

To expedite the activation of the task force, I request that you designate two representatives to this task force, one for policy coordination and one for outreach and submit the names to Mr. Nuccio. Please designate your agency representatives to the ITFC by Monday, June 5. The first meeting of the ITFC will take place on X. An agenda will be circulated prior to the meeting.

Departments and agencies are asked to cooperate fully with Mr. Nuccio on policy and implementation matters, and to provide appropriate support to the ITFC.

Rob Malley → statement
2 out of 4 → problems

Tues video

Heuristics nitz

OBJECTIVES FOR NEAR TERM CUBA POLICY

GTMO

Language

Technical training

Acculturation

Florida

Money

Humanitarian effort to help GTMO immigrants

Bob Graham and Florida Delegation

Hill Constituency Building

Satisfy Graham

Bob Menendez and NJ delegation

Brief key members on Nuccio Cuba trip

Identify and cultivate broader Hill constituency

Helms/Burton — *state*

Name negotiation team

Develop legislative strategy

Determine White House bottom line

Public Constituency Building

Publicize Tarnoff testimony

Media hits post-Nuccio announcement

Bring groups to White House for briefings

POTUS statement on Cuba

Support for the Cuban People

June 2 Civil Society conference

AID memo on civil society

AID mission to Cuba re Title II of Helms/Burton

Bilateral Migration Talks

Memo on agenda for next round of talks

*This is
too big
bureaucracy*

Name new head of delegation

Monitoring Returnees

Role of Catholic Church

Cuban American delegation to visit Cuba to assess in-country refugee processing and monitoring

Interdiction

Improve on-board processing along UNHCR guidelines and make process more transparent

Investigate possibility of returning through GTMO instead of cutters entering Cuban waters?

Radio/TV Marti

Miami relocation issue

Funding

Blue Ribbon Commission

Rationale

Objectives

Membership

OPL

NOVA HOME HEALTH CORP.

5870 S.W. 8th. St. Suite 7

Miami, Florida 33144

Phone: 305-261-2600, Fax: 305-262-8802

Fax Cover Sheet

DATE: 6-1-95 TIME: 9:35 am.
TO: Susana Oakes FAX: (202)-456-6218
FROM: Jorge L. Bolaños PHONE: 305-261-2600
FAX: 305-262-8802
RE: To your information

Number of pages including cover sheet: 2

Message:

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May 24, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: Suzanna Valdez, Peggy Lewis, Vicki~~R~~ Rivas-Vazquez

RE: Cuban and Haitian Outreach in South Florida

In an effort to reach out and unify an often hostile community in South Florida, a media roundtable with the President would serve to dispel rumors and misinformation, and clarify the Administration's position on sensitive issues affecting the entire South Florida community.

SUGGESTION: President ought to use the news regarding the release of Haitian children from Guantanamo as a "good" news entry into South Florida.

The release of the children is the final step to closing Guantanamo's refugee camp..which was a necessary humanitarian undertaking to cope with two major disasters; people fleeing from Haiti and Cuba.

Actions of this President not only restored democracy to Haiti, virtually ending the dangerous voyages of refugees in unseaworthy vessels, but also allowed Cubans to come to the U.S. in a safer, more orderly fashion.

This roundtable would be a good opportunity to announce the release of Haitian children from Guantanamo and reiterate our position regarding Cuba.

The following points should be strongly reiterated in the roundtable:

- *There has not been a change in U.S. policy toward Cuba;
- *Steps have been taken to stop another mass exodus;
- *We cannot allow Castro to dictate the immigration policy of the U.S.;
- *We continue to strongly support sanctions against Cuba;
- *We continue to believe democracy is the only answer.

The media roundtable ought to include:

*English language television

- WPLG-TV, ABC affiliate
- WTVJ-TV, NBC affiliate
- WSVN-TV, FOX independent
- WCIX-TV, CBS affiliate

*Spanish language television

- WSCV-TV, Telemundo local affiliate
- WLTW-TV, Univision local affiliate

*Spanish language radio

- Radio Mambi

*Haitian Radio

- WKAT
- Radio Communication

*Haitian Newspapers

- Haiti En Marche

*English language Newspapers

- Miami Herald
- Sun Sentinel (Ft. Lauderdale)

*Spanish language Newspapers

- Diario de las Americas
- El Nuevo Herald

TELEFAX MESSAGE



U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
301 4TH ST., SW - ROOM 255
WASHINGTON, DC 20547
PHONE (202/619-5217)
FAX (202/205-0792)

FROM: LULA RODRIGUEZ, DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

DATE: 6/14

TO:

Suzanne Valdez

SUBJECT:

The machine became stuck

Zoydel
+
Article in Diario

PAGE #1 OF 4

Letter from Havana

just about everyone selling or trading goods and services, Cuba has become a land of amateur entrepreneurs. Most *habaneros* say there is more food available this year than last and chalk it up to the very popular and successful farmers' markets. And with the government closing foreign-investment deals on everything from offshore oil drilling to cars to tourism with the Spanish, Mexican, French, English, Germans, and Canadians, few Cubans doubt that they will soon have a full-blown private-enterprise system. Even Cuba's famed health-care system has been unable to resist the siren song of capitalism. The Frank Pais Hospital, run by the legendary orthopedic surgeon Dr. Rodrigo Alvarez Cambras—who counts 14 world leaders, including François Mitterrand, Saddam Hussein, and Muammar Qaddafi, among his patients—now offers "for pay" surgery to foreigners. Most observers believe that Fidel Castro, as he has no other cards to play, will move his country toward neo-socialism, using the Netherlands or Sweden as a model and offering health and education programs alongside a free-market economy.

Lee Iacocca spent part of July visiting the island, and Ted Turner frequently shows up. Hollywood producer Peter Guber, another recent visitor, reportedly wants to make the first American film in Castro's Cuba. For now, the Americans have to window-shop. While CANF has threatened companies who do business with Cuba that they will not be doing it after Castro, no one takes this seriously. Still, if the embargo were to end tomorrow, American business would have to scramble for its piece of the pie. Spain has invested so much money in its former colony that Cubans joke about "*la Reconquista*."

Most authorities agree that Cuba has seen its worst days and is slowly crawling out of its economic abyss. Still, misery is not in short supply: a squatters' slum of refugees from Pinar del Río huddled on the banks of Havana's Almendares River and packs of begging children (unheard of two years ago) lunging at tourists in the colonial jewel-box city of Trinidad offer evidence that these are still tough times. Doctors report desperate shortages of basic medical supplies such as aspirin, antibiotics, and insulin, and a young couple I picked up hitchhiking on



Robert Vesco, the most interesting American in Havana's fugitive crowd, on his jet in Costa Rica in 1973.

Habaneros routinely spy Vesco shopping at the dollar supermarket in Miramar, always with security guards

the *autopista* in western Cuba told me that they will risk their lives and flee next year in a boat—first to Mexico, then over the U.S. border.

Amazingly, despite all the deprivations, the majority of Cubans still stand by their man. "It's your country's embargo," a 78-year-old black woman tells me in the city of Trinidad. "We like you Americans, but your country treats us bad." Many joke about what no one will admit in Miami—that Cuba is now a black country. Seventy percent of the population is either black or mulatto—up from 40 percent before the revolution. South Florida Cubans are 95 percent white, and the Cuban blacks who have fled there have fared far worse than their white counterparts. Observers agree that if there is any single "triumph of the revolution" it is race. Fidel Castro has created a color-blind society, perhaps the only one on the face of the earth. If this was a cold-blooded calculation, as cynics suggest, then it was one which has paid off handsomely for him.

Shortly before Christmas, the first independent Gallup poll of the Cuban people confirmed the accounts of many visitors to the island. To the shock and horror of the Batistiano powers that be in Miami, 48 percent of the people

polled described themselves as "revolutionaries" in support of the government, an additional 21 percent defined themselves as Communists or socialists, and 43 percent said they were "very satisfied with their personal lives." Nearly half of those polled blamed the U.S. embargo, not their own government, for their economic woes.

"The U.S. embargo is the only reason we still have Fidel Castro," a Cuban dissident and fierce government critic who wants to be identified only as Lazaro lectured me. "It's been his excuse and safety net for 33 years. And just when it was running out of steam and people were beginning to say, 'It can't be all the Americans' fault,' they come up with the Torricelli bill. Now we'll have to wait another 33 years." According to Lazaro, the Cuban government had a field day throughout 1992 propagandizing the impending Torricelli bill, which considerably tightened the screws of the embargo. "Normally about 42 to 45 percent would have turned out for our municipal elections," moaned Lazaro, "but the Torricelli campaign brought out more than 90 percent of the vote."

Although Bill Clinton cynically threw his lot in with anti-Castro Cuban exiles for Florida votes he never got—first by championing the Torricelli bill, then by further restricting travel and remittances to the island at the behest of Mas Canosa and hard-liners—few in U.S. intelligence or the State Department have any illusions about the unmitigated folly of U.S. policy regarding Cuba. Still, with Clinton unwilling to create constructive policy vis-à-vis Cuba, the word from the White House is to do nothing and pray that nothing happens. When I asked Dennis Hays, the State Department chief of Cuban affairs, how long he expected to see Fidel around, he responded gloomily. "I saw Fidel's brother Ramón at a cocktail party last week. He's 70 years old and looks 50. That whole damned Castro family seems to live forever." I asked another former State Department veteran how long Fidel Castro would stay in power. Without hesitation he answered, "As long as he wants." □

Here
are the
last two
pages of
the previous
FAX
20/1/95

Return of Vesco
to U.S. Isn't
A Sure Thing

Cuba's announcement that Robert L. Vesco is being detained on suspicion that he is a "provocateur" and a foreign agent wrenched expectations that the Communist regime will return the fugitive financier to the U.S. anytime soon.

Cuban officials implied last week that they may be willing to extradite Mr. Vesco, who fled the U.S. in 1972 after the Securities and Exchange Commission charged him with illgaging a mutual fund he controlled.

The Clinton Administration says it will seek his return. Today, Joseph Sullivan, the chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, is scheduled to meet with Ricardo Alarcon, president of Cuba's National Assembly, to detail U.S. charges against Mr. Vesco, including a 1989 drug-smuggling indictment.

But some Cuba experts are skeptical that Mr. Vesco will be permitted to leave, particularly if Cuba builds an espionage



Robert Vesco
in the 1970s

By Wall Street Journal reporters
Jose de Cordoba in Miami, Carla Anne
Robbins in Washington and Thomas P.
Vogel Jr. in Havana, Cuba.

case against him. On Saturday, Cuba said police are investigating whether Mr. Vesco was acting as an "agent" of unspecified "foreign special services," a crime that could bring a long prison term.

"It shows they are not going to extradite him," says one longtime Western observer in Havana.

Cuban authorities have plenty of incentive to keep Mr. Vesco under wraps. If he leaves, he could testify about drug trafficking and other wrongdoing by high-ranking Cuban officials.

For Havana, which is desperately trying to get the U.S. to lift its trade embargo, having Mr. Vesco in prison instead of living a life of luxury would at least help assuage Cuba's image as a haven for U.S. fugitives. The U.S. Justice Department alleges Cuba provides refuge for 91 U.S. fugitives.

'Charm Offensive'

U.S. officials in Washington say they were taken by surprise by Mr. Vesco's arrest and assume the move is part of Havana's "charm offensive" designed to get the U.S. to soften or lift the U.S. trade embargo. "The assumption is that they're doing it for a reason other than their commitment to international law," says a senior U.S. official.

So far the Cubans haven't asked for anything in return for Mr. Vesco's extradition. One senior U.S. official is concerned that the media feeding frenzy since the story leaked on Thursday may have persuaded Havana that Vesco's an even hotter property than they originally thought.

Whatever the outcome, the developments spell trouble for Mr. Vesco, who first fled the U.S. in 1972 after the SEC charged

Welcoming Committee

If Robert Vesco is extradited to the U.S., there are several American lawyers who are anxious to get their hands on him and his assets. Article on page B7.

him and others of diverting \$224 million from Investment Overseas Services, his Geneva-based mutual fund. In 1973, Mr. Vesco was indicted for giving an illegal \$200,000 contribution to President Richard Nixon's re-election campaign.

Mr. Vesco has led a gypsy's existence, buying political protection and living at times in the Bahamas, Antigua, and Costa Rica. In 1983, he surfaced in Cuba, where the government gave him the use of a villa in the exclusive Marina Hemingway, in western Havana. He also built an expensive mansion in Cayo Largo del Sur.

At first, Mr. Vesco cut a wide social swath, giving loud parties aboard his yacht, but things changed after a U.S. television crew found Mr. Vesco at the marina, deeply embarrassing Fidel Castro, who said Mr. Vesco had been admitted to Cuba for medical reasons. Mr. Vesco moved to another, more modest house in the Tony Siboney district, about a mile from Mr. Castro's residence.

Low Profile

Known to his neighbors as Tom Adams, Mr. Vesco lived a reclusive life with his wife and two young children. He frequented Havana's one remaining golf course and sat on the parents committee of the international school where his children studied.

His service to Cuba consisted largely in advising the government on how to get desperately needed foreign exchange and on how to break the U.S. embargo. For years he was a close associate of Col. Antonio de la Guardia, who headed the elite MC unit of the interior ministry, which was dedicated to obtaining foreign currency. Its operatives were soon entangled in drug trafficking, which many believed was approved by the highest levels of the Cuban government.

Col. de la Guardia was executed on drug-trafficking charges in Cuba in 1989, along with three others. Mr. Vesco himself was indicted in 1989 in Jacksonville, Fla., on charges he allegedly smuggled cocaine in collaboration with Carlos Lehder, one of the heads of the Medellin drug cartel, who is now serving a life sentence.

Some speculate that Mr. Vesco was finally done in by his connections with Cubanacan, the Cuban state tourism agency that runs 56 hotels throughout the island and which has been the principal contact for foreign companies investing in tourism. Cubanacan's president, Abraham Maciques, was demoted recently amid reports that the agency has racked up losses approaching \$100 million. Auditors are now said to be combing the books.

Translation of an article which appeared
in *Diario las Americas* on Wednesday, June 14

RADIO MARTI'S NEW PROGRAMMING FOCUSES ON BUILDING CIVIL SOCIETY IN CUBA

By Ariel Ramos:

A new focus in Radio Marti's programming is directed at emphasizing the building of a civil society in Cuba, based on three pillars: respect for human rights, promotion of democratic values and promotion of free market economics. Thus explained the Acting Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, which supervises Radio and TV Marti, Dr. Rolando Bonachea, in a visit to this newspaper, during which he met with our Director, Dr. Horacio Aguirre, and Deputy Director, Alejandro Aguirre.

Radio Marti is the U.S. government station which broke the Castro regime's information monopoly, opening a wide window to the world for the Cuban people, with news denied to them by the official media. Radio Marti broadcasts to Cuba 24 hours a day, and includes comprehensive programming to allow the oppressed Cuban people understand life under democracy and compare the difference between both systems.

"Within the framework of what we feel should be the building of civil society, we are interested in the Cuban people knowing about the progress of democracy around the world, democratic elections, multi-party systems, and the development of independent and democratic labor unions," expressed Bonachea.

He also stated that Radio Marti had introduced programming which emphasizes the important role of private initiative in social progress and economic development. Radio Marti is also highlighting the activities of groups and individuals who struggle for human rights, as well as other dissident groups, so that those voices who disagree with the regime can reach a greater number of Cubans, who otherwise do not have adequate sources of information.

"We are also covering the many non-governmental and independent organizations, such as the Independent Association of Economists and the Independent Association of Cuban Journalists, because they will play an extraordinarily important role in the reconstruction of a civil democratic society," stated Bonachea.

Radio Marti's broadcast foundation is its news programs, which take the necessary time to keep the audience totally informed of what happens in Cuba and the world. "We have expanded all of our newscasts throughout the 24 hour day, with news briefs on all other programs, always keeping in mind the three pillars mentioned earlier: human rights, democratic values and private initiative.

Dr. Bonachea was named Director of Radio Marti in 1991 and this past May 26 was designated Acting Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting after Richard Lobo resigned.

we see from the Serbs throughout the Bosnian conflict."

Mr. McCurry jubilantly summarized the overnight operation with a flourish, reporting that the President and Mr. Lake lit up victory cigars in the early morning dark on the Truman balcony. But the earlier hours of anxiety were clear in the minute by minute details of the operation offered by Pentagon and NATO officials.

At 2:15 a.m., an AC-130 gunship codenamed Ghost 45 confirmed over Bosnia that the unexpected transmission seven minutes earlier had indeed come from Captain O'Grady. Aboard a circling AWACs intelligence gathering plane, officers reported back to their command that the pilot's condition was good, but added, "He really needs to get out tonight and radio getting weak."

The message of the captain's survival and wily evasiveness in Bosnia was relayed to Admiral Smith in London, according to one official, in the starkest sort of bulletin: "Basher-52 just checked in."

The Admiral, a NATO colleague said, bolted to attention as "every nerve in his body stood up." Executive options were measured. An order to go in with a full "TRAP" — Tactical Recovery of Aircraft or Personnel — was soon issued. About four dozen Marines sleeping aboard the Kearsarge were roused from their racks and prepared for the dawn raid.

At 6:07, as morning light spread across the Bosnian battle zone, EA6B and EF-111 "jammers" — planes specially designed for electronic warfare — began intense interference of all radar and communications in the area to foil Bosnian Serb tracking. Six minutes later, one of the planes reported ground contact with Captain O'Grady.

Across the border, in a Serb-held area of Croatia, a radar system began monitoring air activity over Bosnia. The radar site in Knin, code-named Giraffe, was turned on at 6:21 a.m., according to a NATO chronology which made it ominously plain that, if the Serbs had been initially surprised by the raid, they were in the dark no longer.

Two helicopters filled with the marines landed 20 minutes later near the captain's lookout, as yellow signal smoke led the way down. The ramp of one copter was jammed shut by a tree stump as a score of marines leapt from the other to take up cover positions on the ground.

Above them hovered two AH-1 Cobra attack helicopters, gunships bristling at the ready. A step above this force, two AV-8 Harrier jump jets patrolled nearby skies tightly, ready with even heavier firepower.

At 6:44 the fugitive pilot emerged from the treeline and was picked up, pulled through the cockpit opening of the copter with the jammed door,

firmly in the hands of Colonel Berndt.

The pilot was whisked aloft and covered with a blanket and soon was devouring emergency rations. In the trip back, rescuers took note of a ground-to-air missile that missed the convoy and some machine gun fire that grazed a helicopter rotor without effect.

It was on this leg that the radar monitoring of "possible" tracking by Bosnian Serb missile installations became troubling, according to NATO officers. At 6:58 A.M., an officer aboard one of the EA-6B jammers recommended that NATO forces destroy the radar base at Knin.

The request was rebuffed by senior officers, according to a NATO official. The tactic was deemed unnecessary as well as a potentially dangerous escalation of the confrontation with the Bosnian Serbs at a time when they were still holding United Nations troops hostage.

At 5:07 a.m., one of the helicopters reported the launch of a shoulder-fired missile. It missed.

Through most of this, the O'Grady family waited unknowing in America. "The hardest thing is, the truth is out there, but you don't know what it is and you have no control whatsoever," the pilot's sister, Stacy, 26, said about the six days the family

spent waiting for some word. "It's really frustrating. You can't do anything. But at the same time, you're his family and the ones that love Scott the most."

At 12:48 this morning, the telephone rang at the home of Dr. William O'Grady, the pilot's father, a radiologist in Alexandria, Va. "I figured it was my brother or just a relative," Dr. O'Grady said. Instead it was a military officer with news.

"He said that they had radio contact with him and that he was alive," said Dr. O'Grady, 56, who hurried to awaken Stacy and Paul to tell them. "We started jumping up and down and yelling."

At that point, the O'Gradys believed Scott was still on the ground in Bosnia. But Dr. O'Grady did not feel anxious. "They were going in, and I knew they were going to get him," he said.

A short time later, they are not sure of the time, they got a call with confirmation that Scott O'Grady was back safe in friendly hands. Shortly before 1 A.M., President Clinton was on the line. He found the family "full

**'This is Basher-52,'
came the rescue
plea. 'I'm alive and I
need help.'**

of joy and pride and gratitude," Mr. Clinton said later at the White House where he celebrated the pilot's return.

"Our country has the finest armed forces in the world and we are very, very proud of them and ecstatically happy today," the President declared, enjoying a respite on common patriotic ground despite the debate over Bosnia.

Exclaiming over Captain O'Grady, President Clinton obviously was making further plans for Washington congratulations and attention over "an astonishing story."

Dr. O'Grady said he simply wanted to kiss his son when he comes all the way home.

U.S. Says Cuba Arrested Vesco, Financier Who Fled in 1970's

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

A1

WASHINGTON, June 8 — The Cuban Government has arrested Robert L. Vesco, who fled the United States in 1973 to avoid swindling charges, and has approached Washington about returning him here, Clinton Administration officials said today.

The United States has sought the financier's extradition for years on an indictment charging him with swindling mutual fund investors of \$224 million.

American officials said they did not know what crimes Mr. Vesco had been charged with in Cuba, but they said they suspected he was arrested partly to cultivate good will with the United States as Havana seeks to improve ties and persuade the Clinton Administration to ease the economic embargo.

"He was arrested in connection to things he did in Cuba, not to things he did in the United States," said one Administration official, who confirmed Mr. Vesco's arrest, which was reported by ABC News.

Mr. Vesco has been living in Cuba since the early 1980's, and Federal prosecutors have said they suspected that he was involved in the drug trade since about that time. In 1989 he was added as a defendant in a narcotics conspiracy in Jacksonville, Fla., accused of persuading Cuba to allow planes carrying cocaine to pass over Cuba on the way to the Bahamas.

When Mr. Vesco fled the United States more than two decades ago, he began a great fugitive saga, which was marked by continuous guessing as to his whereabouts. Not only was he charged with skimming huge sums from a Geneva-based mutual fund, Investors Overseas Services, but he was also under indictment for making an illegal \$200,000 campaign contribution to President Richard M. Nixon.

Justice Department officials said tonight that the United States Government had recently received an inquiry about the possible transfer of

When he fled the United States he first went to the Bahamas, but then was granted asylum by Costa Rica. He lived there for five years but was expelled when the government there changed, and is believed to have returned to the Bahamas. Cuban officials acknowledged in the 1980's that Mr. Vesco moved to their island in 1982.

At the time, Cuban officials insisted that they had not granted entry to Mr. Vesco for him to engage in drug smuggling or to help import American goods in defiance of the trade embargo. They said he was admitted mainly because, in supporting his wife and two daughters, he was pumping a great deal of money into the Cuban economy.

During the 1980's, he divided his time among three houses at different beach resorts and in a 50-foot yacht, Western diplomats said. He

A fugitive saga spanning three decades may be near an end.

also had two private planes.

Although the swindling charges go back more than 20 years, the statute of limitations does not apply to Mr. Vesco because he has been indicted and has not been tried because he has been a fugitive.

Throughout his exile, Mr. Vesco has been accused of many things.

In 1983, a Federal prosecutor in Brownsville, Texas, linked Mr. Vesco to a conspiracy to smuggle Americans goods into Cuba.

In 1981, two senior Justice Department officials called for a special prosecutor to investigate allegations that Mr. Vesco was seeking to bribe Carter Administration officials to resolve his legal problems.

And in 1980, Government and Congressional investigators said Mr. Vesco was behind an effort to bribe officials to persuade the United States to release military and civilian aircraft that had been destined for Libya.

During the 1970's, the United States sought to extradite Mr. Vesco from the Bahamas and Costa Rica, but local courts rejected those requests.

Continued on Page A12, Column 2

Continued From Page A1

Mr. Vesco to the United States.

A law-enforcement official said the Government was still gathering information about the overtures. At the moment, he said, "no negotiations are under way" for the return of Mr. Vesco to the United States.

American officials said that over the years there had been many reports that Mr. Vesco might soon be sent back to the United States, but the reports did not pan out.

One American official said the Administration was certainly happy about Mr. Vesco's arrest, but said he was reluctant to discuss details of the case for fear of spoiling talks with Cuba about the possible return of Mr. Vesco.

Two Administration officials denied that that Washington engaged in any secret negotiations with Havana that led to the arrest.

11/19/68

is this part of
secret talks
Vesco

VANITY FAIR

FEB - APR

- immigration
- A.G.
- NSC prep for DOJ
- w/ not touch
law enforcement issue

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
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NUMBER OF PAGES (Including Cover): 3

DATE: JUNE 12, 1995

TO: S. VALDEZ

OFFICE: WHS Public Liaison

OFC TEL: _____

FAX NUM: 202-456-6218

FROM: R. Ruger

OFC TEL: _____

REMARKS: _____

WHITE HOUSE NOTEBOOK

CLINTON'S FAST BREAK ON CUBA . . .

The low, unhurried voice on the audiotape only occasionally betrays a cartoonish Boston accent. "The question really is to what action we take which lessens the chance of a nuclear exchange, which obviously is the final failure," President Kennedy was saying in the Cabinet Room on Oct. 18, 1962, as he and his advisers puzzled over what to do about the Soviet missiles that U.S. spy planes had sighted in Cuba. After the John F. Kennedy Library released the tapes of this and other such meetings this summer, historians were impressed by the aura of calm and the absence of an ideological overlay. According to Fred I. Greenstein, a presidential scholar at Princeton University, the discussions during the Cuban missile crisis counted as "exceptionally good meetings," in which assumptions were questioned and consequences were pondered.

But not all of the deliberations were so high-minded. The same day, Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon, the only Republican in the Cabinet, passed a note to Kennedy through presidential confidant Theodore C. Sorensen, asking if Kennedy had considered "the very real possibility" that letting missiles stay in Cuba might allow the Republicans to win a majority of House seats in the midterm elections that fall. "Rest assured," Sorensen told him, "that thought had crossed the boss's mind." Richard Reeves recounted in *President Kennedy: Profile in Power* (Simon & Schuster Inc., 1993).

So maybe President Clinton's style of fashioning a policy toward Cuba isn't all that different from the surefooted handling by his political icon. Cuba "is a political issue," a White House official said—"a geopolitical issue and a domestic political issue." The crucial event in the Administration's abrupt decision on Aug. 18 to bar Cuban refugees from American shores was considered to have come when Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida, who's running for reelection this year, put the screws on. The official acknowledged that Clinton's hope of taking Florida in running for reelection in 1996 was also a consideration. Clinton came within 100,612 votes (out of more than 5 million cast) of a victory in Florida in 1992.

Still, it was startling to see a policy that had been in effect for political ends—of letting Cubans flee unimpeded into the United States—turned inside out in 13

hours. "You don't reverse a policy of 35 years from one day to the next without a serious foreign policy review," Peter Hakim, the president of Inter-American Dialogue, a think tank that's urged a more dovish approach to Cuba, said.

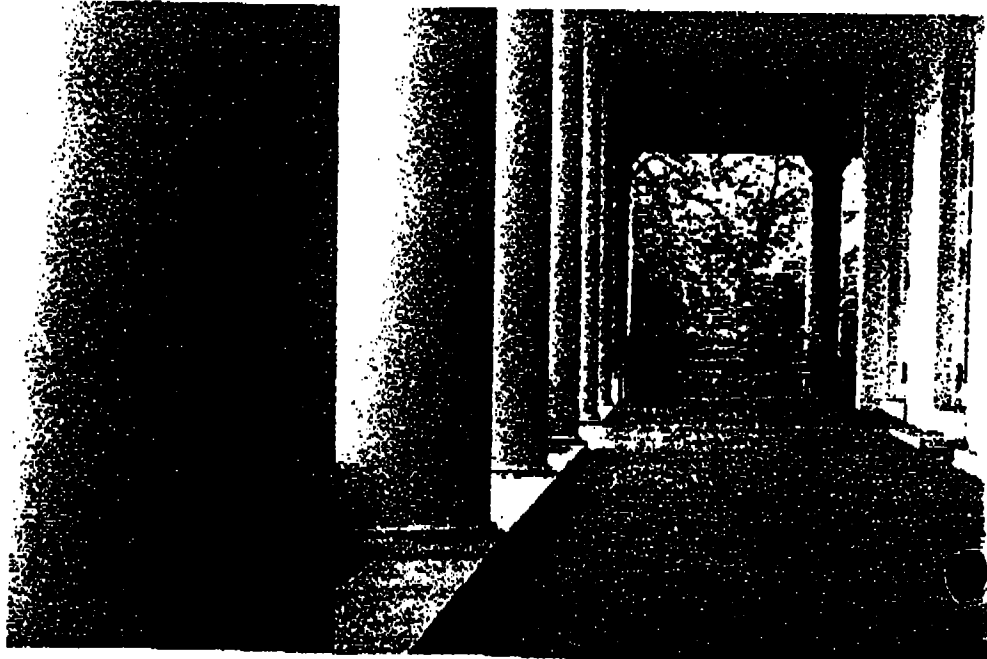
The haphazard air that attended the White House decision making left Sen. Robert Graham, D-Fla., muttering about "a policy that's being formed every 20 minutes." It also suggested that Clinton resembles his presidential prototype in another way: If anything, he seems even more disorganized than Kennedy, who began his presidency by dismantling the procedural formalities that President Eisenhower had used in making decisions on national security.

There was no indication on the morning of Aug. 18 that this would be the Thursday that the long-standing policy died. Attorney General Janet Reno, who was an elected official in Miami and thus practiced at policy and politics regarding Cuba, was asked in her weekly news conference at 9:30 A.M. if any thought was being given to reexamining the policy toward Cuban refugees. She offered a one-word reply: "No." In explaining why Florida's request for emergency aid hadn't been granted, she said that "we do not believe that this current influx has been a burden yet on the community."

Then the politicians in Florida went to

work. Around midday, Chiles made it known to Administration officials that he wouldn't allow Cuban refugees being moved from detention camps in Key West to get off the bus once they'd reached Miami. The threat "had a significant impact on the Attorney General and her position," an official said; along with her rising anxiety about the surge of refugees, it turned Reno around. She was also contacted. *The Miami Herald* reported, by Rep. Carrie P. Meek, a Democrat from Miami, who weighed in as well with Leon E. Panetta, the White House's chief of staff. Clinton was bound to be sympathetic to these appeals. He'd been a southern governor himself who was politically scalded in 1980 when a riot by Cuban refugees housed in Arkansas helped to dash his bid for reelection a few months later. The prospect of Chiles's using Clinton as a political villain in the Florida governor's campaign this fall surely focused Clinton's mind.

But already a change of policy was in the works. Less than an hour before Reno had spoken up that morning, as Clinton had his daily meeting with national security adviser Anthony Lake and his deputy, Samuel R. (Sandy) Berger, it was decided that the Administration's chief foreign policy makers would kick around the Cuba issue early that afternoon.



B1 SOLOMON

... OR FOREIGN POLICY ON THE FLY

They did so in the Situation Room, where Lake, Berger and Reno were joined by Defense Secretary William J. Perry; his deputy, John M. Deutch; Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Peter Tarnoff, the undersecretary of State for political affairs and the department's top-ranking official in town; and Morton H. Halperin, a senior director at the National Security Council (NSC). None was a specialist in Latin America, though Halperin has been handling policy toward the region for several months and Tarnoff was presumed to have conferred with the experts at State. In any event, they crafted a new policy—to send Cuban refugees picked up at sea to the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay and to keep those who make it to American shores in detention camps until their cases are processed.

Clinton wasn't at the meeting. Instead, Lake delivered the consensus recommendations to him. After conversing repeatedly with Lake, Clinton endorsed the reversal in policy—"without any real meetings," a senior adviser said—at around 7 P.M. The State Department's experts on Cuba were shocked when they learned of the decision, a well-connected outsider said.

An ad hoc gathering later that evening in Halperin's office (with Reno and Dennis K. Hayes, the Cuba desk officer at

State, attending) led to an announcement by Reno to a handful of reporters at the White House around 10:30 P.M. that U.S. officials would indefinitely detain all Cuban refugees.

But Clinton and his crew hadn't accounted for the reaction of the politically active Cuban-American community. Its members were of various minds about the Administration's new stance but united in outrage that they hadn't been consulted. On Friday, Chiles sought a meeting for Cuban-American leaders that evening at the White House, to which Clinton agreed. Clinton also asked for what an official described as "an expanded piece of paper" that would detail ways to punish the Cuban authorities as well as deter the refugees. No meeting of the principals was deemed necessary because Administration officials had been working on such things for months, and, a senior aide said, the policy had been actively in the works during the previous few days. Lake and Halperin labored at the White House that Friday to finish getting it in shape and called on Tarnoff, who in turn conferred with Hayes and Alexander F. Watson, the assistant secretary for inter-American affairs. The policy makers agreed by phone on a memorandum that Lake delivered to Clinton, suggesting a ban on sending cash and charter flights to Cuba. Around noon, Cuba was

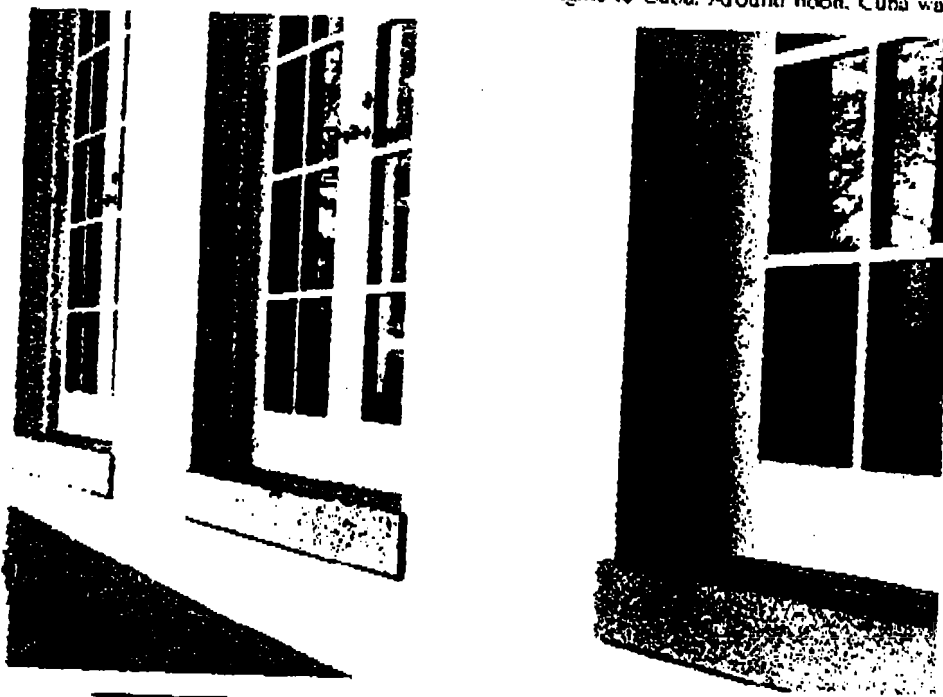
discussed at the regularly scheduled Friday meeting of Clinton and his top foreign policy advisers. (Lake, Berger, Perry, Deutch, Tarnoff, Shalikashvili and Panetta were there.) During the afternoon, Lake met with Clinton and obtained his approval for the sanctions, then left on vacation. Clinton divulged them to Chiles and Cuban-American leaders that night and to the rest of the nation the next day.

There's little evidence, though, that Clinton was deeply involved in the unsystematic process by which the policy toward Cuba was dramatically reshaped. It doesn't appear that he ever heard his advisers debate the pros and cons of his choices in a structured setting. Critics found the Administration undisciplined in its public utterances, pointing to Panetta's offhand remark on ABC News on Aug. 21 that a blockade was "obviously one of the options that we would look at."

Nor was it clear that much groundwork had been laid for such a sudden turnabout in policy. Officials said that an interagency group headed by the Justice Department had been examining since early last year how to react to another Mariel. But a Washington expert on policy toward Cuba said that officials had confined their planning to how to distribute the refugees around the country, not how to discourage them from coming.

Maybe most disturbing, it's far from obvious how the pieces of the new policy will work as a whole. Richard N. Haass, a key NSC official for President Bush, said he saw an inconsistency in simultaneously intensifying the pressures inside Cuba while making it harder for the discontented to flee, unless Clinton and his advisers think that Fidel Castro needs only a nudge to be toppled from power. "Clinton," he said, "seems more interested in balancing the various interests rather than deciding between them."

The result is a policy that seems fuzzy when it comes to framing a future. After Perry, at an Aug. 24 news conference at the White House with Reno and Tarnoff, offered an empathetic description of the Cuban refugees in their "makeshift, homemade rafts," an exasperated wire-service reporter asked if the new policy meant that they'd be kept in detention camps until Castro was gone. There was a pause before Tarnoff said only, "Our policy is that they are to be detained for an indefinite period of time." The other principals could find nothing to say. ■





Stanley K. Sheinbaum

MEMO TO: President Bill Clinton

SUBJECT: The President's Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting

DATE: 8 June 1995

As I think you know, I've just taken a trip to Cuba and for the purposes of this note, however, I want to share with you my brier thoughts on why now would be a propitious time to remove Jorge Mas Canosa as chairman of the President's Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting which oversees the USIA's Radio and TV Marti programs.

My reasoning is the following:

*

It strikes me--and many others--as politically incongruous to have Mas Canosa remain your appointee as Chairman of the President's Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting. He is, after all, the individual who, in testimony before Congress is viciously attacking you as having "lied" and "deceived" the American public. His Cuban American National Foundation has called you "an accomplice of Fidel Castro," and his followers are organizing major demonstrations in front of the White House.

To the degree that Mas Canosa uses this important presidential post to influence the broadcasts of Radio and TV Marti, he can advance his own agenda and attack and undermine your new immigration policy with Cuba. I have learned that officials at the US Interest Section have complained bitterly about Radio Marti's anti-administration coverage of the repatriation program, and Congress has obtained a State Department cable detailing their criticism of Radio Marti broadcasts.

The USIA Inspector General is investigating this complaint, as part of a year long investigation into unprofessional conduct and conflict of interest at Radio Marti. Removing Mas Canosa will address many of those problems.

You have the political cover to remove him from this position that he has occupied for over ten years. In March 1994, a special USIA advisory panel, established by Congress to address charges of conflict of interest and unprofessional conduct at Radio and TV Marti noted that the legislative charter of the advisory board, whose members are appointed by the president, mandated a term limit of three years. Let me quote their recommendations:

UN 08 95 09:47 FR S. K. SHEINBAUM
S12 478 5555 15 000000
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The Panel believes such a rotation would help eliminate any appearance of improper influence and strengthen the diversity of our Cuba broadcasting efforts. Consistent with the spirit of that legislation, the Panel recommends that the chairperson (Mas Canosa) also be rotated every three years. *The administration should begin deliberately instituting such rotation. (emphasis added)*

Now would be a good time to implement the rotation of the chairmanship, and put your own person in place.

Mas Canosa is neither a friend or ally of yours. Nor is he someone you want to be associated with, if you don't have to be. He is the subject of the first America's Watch human rights report ever to be focused on a US city--Miami. His Foundation has been repeatedly accused of intimidation, and suppression of free speech in the Cuban American community. FBI documents record that he is "a friend" of the anti-Castro Cuban who placed a bomb aboard a Cuban airliner in 1976, killing seventy-three passengers. He put two of the anti-Castro Cubans who participated in the 1976 car bombing of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier and an American woman, Ronni Moffitt, in Washington, DC on a special advisory board of his Foundation. The *New York Times* ran an editorial about that.

These are several political, pragmatic and moral reasons why the White House should take quick steps to remove Mr. Mas Canosa from this significant position. Until you do, he maintains the imprimatur of the Presidency on his words and conduct.

- Must be done in complete secrecy. Fl. friends will leak
- until discussed in depth

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Translation of an article which appeared
in Diario las Americas on Wednesday, June 14

RADIO MARTI'S NEW PROGRAMMING FOCUSES ON BUILDING CIVIL SOCIETY IN CUBA

By Ariel Remos:

647 9301
A new focus in Radio Marti's programming is directed at emphasizing the building of a civil society in Cuba, based on three pillars: respect for human rights, promotion of democratic values and promotion of free market economics. Thus explained the Acting Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, which supervises Radio and TV Marti, Dr. Rolando Bonachea, in a visit to this newspaper, during which he met with our Director, Dr. Horacio Aguirre, and Deputy Director, Alejandro Aguirre.

Radio Marti is the U.S. government station which broke the Castro regime's information monopoly, opening a wide window to the world for the Cuban people, with news denied to them by the official media. Radio Marti broadcasts to Cuba 24 hours a day, and includes comprehensive programming to allow the oppressed Cuban people understand life under democracy and compare the difference between both systems.

"Within the framework of what we feel should be the building of civil society, we are interested in the Cuban people knowing about the progress of democracy around the world, democratic elections, multi-party systems, and the development of independent and democratic labor unions," expressed Bonachea.

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He also stated that Radio Marti had introduced programming which emphasizes the important role of private initiative in social progress and economic development. Radio Marti is also highlighting the activities of groups and individuals who struggle for human rights, as well as other dissident groups, so that those voices who disagree with the regime can reach a greater number of Cubans, who otherwise do not have adequate sources of information.

"We are also covering the many non-governmental and independent organizations, such as the Independent Association of Economists and the Independent Association of Cuban Journalists, because they will play an extraordinarily important role in the reconstruction of a civil democratic society," stated Bonachea.

Radio Marti's broadcast foundation is its news programs, which take the necessary time to keep the audience totally informed of what happens in Cuba and the world. "We have expanded all of our newscasts throughout the 24 hour day, with news briefs on all other programs, always keeping in mind the three pillars mentioned earlier: human rights, democratic values and private initiative.

Dr. Bonachea was named Director of Radio Marti in 1991 and this past May 26 was designated Acting Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting after Richard Lobo resigned.

DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS

Por la Libertad, la Cultura y la Solidaridad Hemisférica.

NÚMERO 290

Miami, Florida Miércoles 14 de Junio de 1995

EDICIÓN DE 24 PAGINAS — 2 SECCIONES

Nueva programación de Radio Martí dirigida a la construcción de la sociedad civil en Cuba

Por ARIEL REMOS

Un nuevo enfoque en la programación de Radio Martí, está encaminado a enfatizar la construcción de la sociedad civil en Cuba, basado en tres pilares: la observancia de los derechos humanos, la exaltación de los valores democráticos y la iniciativa privada en la economía. Así lo hizo constar el Director Interino de la Oficina de Transmisiones a Cuba, que supervisa a Radio y TV Martí, Dr. Rolando Bonachea, en visita a este periódico, donde fue recibido por el Director, Dr. Horacio Aguirre, y el Subdirector, Alejandro J. Aguirre.

Radio Martí es la emisora radial del gobierno de EE.UU. que rompió el monopolio informativo del régimen de Castro, abriéndole al pueblo cubano una amplia ventana al mundo con las noticias de que lo priva la prensa oficial. Radio Martí transmite hacia Cuba las 24 horas del día, con una amplia programación que permite al pueblo esclaviza-

do percibir cómo se vive en la democracia, y comparaf la diferencia entre los dos sistemas.

"Dentro del marco de lo que entendemos debe ser la construcción

de la sociedad civil, nos interesa que el pueblo en Cuba sepa el avance de la democracia en el mundo, lo que son elecciones democráticas, el sistema pluripartidista, el desarrollo de sindicatos

obreros libres y democráticos", expresó el Dr. Bonachea.

Dijo también que se habían introducido programas que enfatizan el papel primordial que para

el progreso de las sociedades y el desarrollo de la economía, tiene la iniciativa privada. Se está insistiendo asimismo en destacar las actividades de los grupos e individuos que luchan por los derechos humano y de los grupos disidentes, para que, de esa forma, la voz de los que discrepan del régimen pueda llegar al mayor número de cubanos, que no cuentan obviamente con los medios adecuados para informarse.

"Estamos dándole exposición también a las incipientes organizaciones de carácter no gubernamental o independientes", como los Economistas Independientes y la APIC (Asociación de Periodistas Independientes de Cuba) entre otras, "porque van a jugar un papel de extraordinaria importancia en la reconstrucción de una sociedad civil democrática", afirmó Bonachea.

El pie de resistencia de Radio Martí puede decirse que son los programas noticiosos, que consumen el tiempo necesario para mantener a la audiencia totalmente informada de lo que pasa en Cuba y en mundo. "Hemos expandido todos nuestros noticieros a lo largo de las 24 horas del día, con síntesis espaciadas entre programas de otra índole, teniendo siempre en cuenta los tres pilares mencionados: derechos humanos, valores democráticos e iniciativa privada".

El Dr. Bonachea fue designado Director de Radio Martí en 1991 y el 26 de mayo pasado fue designado Director Interino de la Oficina de Transmisiones a Cuba, al hacer efectiva su renuncia ese día, el señor Richard Lobo.