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### **News Clips**

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# For Cuba, a voyage of peace and sadness

By **FRANCES ROBLES**  
And **MARTIN MERZER**  
Herald Staff Writers

**KEY WEST** — A girl asked: Must you go? They said: Yes, we must. A man issued a single request: Bring me some sea water. Water that touched my homeland. They said: Of course. They huddled in prayer. Then, they left.

On one side, American warplanes pulsed on alert Saturday. On the other, Cuban military vessels mustered for sentinel duty. Between the two floated the catalyst of crisis: Cuban exiles engaged in a peaceful protest on the edge of Cuban waters.

Escorted by private planes, monitored by U.S. radar installations, nearly 200 Cuban exiles aboard 19 boats cruised without



**HECTOR GABINO** / Herald Staff

**GESTURE TO CUBA:** Joji Shelton of Miami tosses flowers into the water during Saturday's flotilla.

incident to within sight of the land they yearn to reclaim.

They returned deep into the night, after a 15-hour, 160-mile round trip. They declared it a success, though the Havana skyline aroused an unsettling mixture of triumph and melancholy.

"It was very emotional because I thought I wouldn't see it again," said Elsa Herrera, 50, of Miami.

"That's where I belong."

The latest in a series of seaborne protests organized by the Democracia Movement, Saturday's flotilla marked the second anniversary of the sinking of the tugboat 13 de Marzo. Cuban boats rammed and sunk the vessel after it was commandeered by disaffected Cubans. Forty-one people drowned.

**PLEASE SEE CUBA, 15A**

# Knocking on Cuba's door

Protest voyage ends in peace, sadness

CUBA, FROM 1A

"This is a sad trip," said Chuny Montaner, who works with the protest group Concilio Cubano. "This is not one of happiness. Hopefully, the eyes of the world will open."

Someone asked her: Is the world paying attention?

"One day it will," she said. "We have to knock on every door as many times as possible."

## Reaching destination

Knocking on Cuba's door once again, the flotilla reached its destination at midday Saturday, a point 13 miles from Cuba, just outside the territorial limit.

The exiles recited prayers, tossed wreaths of red and white carnations, and spread the ashes of Juan Bernardo Varela. A young man who survived the tug-boat incident, he finally arrived in Miami last year but died of cancer in May. He was 28.

"He participated in the first flotilla," said Guillermo Castillo of Democracia, "and he asked that when he died, his ashes be scattered in the sea off Cuba."

And so, they were.

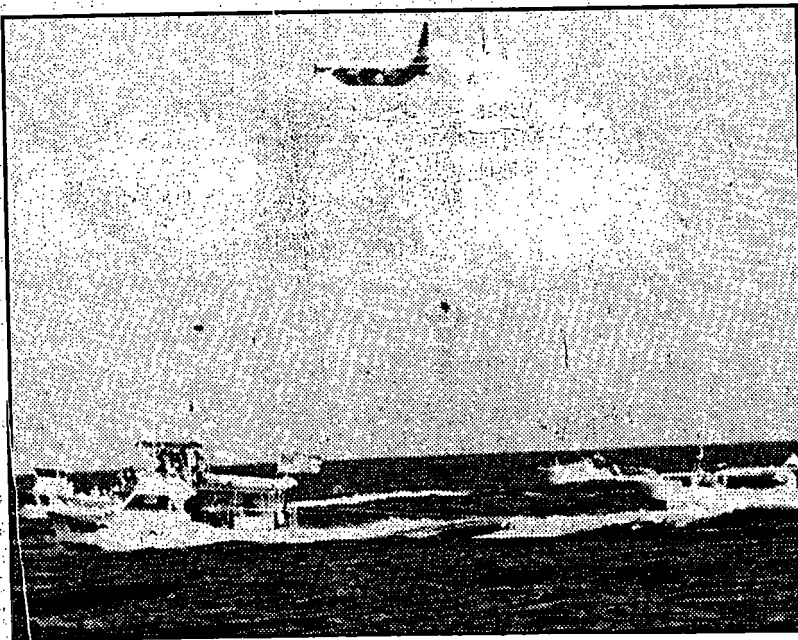
Launched five months after Cuban MiGs shot down two private American planes and killed four people, the voyage of protest provoked security alerts on both sides of the Straits of Florida.

A fighter squadron stood ready at Homestead Air Reserve Base in case MiGs neared the vessels. An AWACS military surveillance plane flew high over the flotilla. Radar installations on the mainland monitored the sky.

In Cuba, Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina said his nation was "ready to protect the sovereignty of its air and sea space, no matter what the price."

## Hinted at showdown

Flotilla leader Ramon Saul Sanchez had hinted that the boats would enter Cuban waters, inciting a showdown, but he backed away after the Clinton administration expressed support for his overall campaign — though opposition to any intrusion into Cuban territory. The White House also authorized the Coast Guard to block



HECTOR GABINO / Herald Staff

**KEEPING WATCH:** A plane escorts the nearly 200 Cuban exiles aboard 19 boats during the trip to just outside Cuban waters.

*'There will come a time when we will land in Cuba. We were born there, but we are not able to go back.'*

**RAMON SAUL SANCHEZ,**  
flotilla leader

any flotilla vessel heading into Cuban waters. Violators faced confiscation of their boats, fines and prison terms.

"There will come a time when we will land in Cuba," said Sanchez. "We were born there, but we are not able to go back."

"But this is something that has to be conducted step by step. We will be patient, as much as possible."

In the end, the voyage proceeded virtually without blemish, though several vessels reportedly ran out of fuel or turned back after encountering engine trouble. It also proceeded under the watchful eyes of American authorities.

A Coast Guard cutter monitored the flotilla's progress and safety. To prevent vessels from inadvertently entering Cuban waters, Coast Guard personnel stationed in a small rubber boat bobbed at Cuba's 12-mile limit.

Before departure, Coast Guard officers inspected the flotilla's boats at a Key West marina and confirmed their seaworthiness. Coast Guard Lt. Mike Loy said they found only minor violations like expired flares.

Loy is stationed on the Nantucket, a cutter cruising the straits Feb. 24 when the planes from the humanitarian group

Brothers to the Rescue were shot down in international airspace.

"We were the first on that scene," Loy said. "We know why they're out there today."

## Unable to make trip

At about the time he said that, Agustin Garcia addressed a group of friends. Garcia helped with flotilla logistics but was unable to join his colleagues at sea.

"Bring me a container of water," he said. "If I can't go this time, at least I'm going to pour the water over my head and bathe in it."

Nearby, Democracia's Leon Rozio darted from boat to boat, delivering pastries and soda. During a break, he recalled a luminous moment from the group's final pre-launch meeting.

Rozio asked for questions. A young girl raised her hand. The room hushed.

She asked: "Do you have to go?"

He answered: "Yes. It is my duty."

She asked: "But do they all have to go?"

He answered: "Yes. It is all our duties."

"It is, you see, our obligation."

Herald staff writers Cynthia Corzo and Elaine de Valle contributed to this report.

## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

A story on Page 1A Saturday incorrectly said the Cuban protest flotilla that sailed from Key West would stay within U.S. territorial waters. It should have said flotilla organizers promised to stay within international waters.

## American scene

### Anti-Castro lawmakers fume over videotape

A videotape showing high-ranking Cuban and U.S. military officers chatting between the U.S. base at Guantanamo Bay and Cuban territory has four lawmakers demanding an explanation.

After all, the United States and Cuba are barely speaking terms, officially.

On the tape, a Cuban general is seen praising an American admiral for his "intelligence and dedication."

The general also receives from the admiral two gifts, one a plaque with a message extolling cooperative relations. In addition, the Cuban was presented with a detailed map of the base.

Cuban-American members of Congress and a key House subcommittee chairman want an explanation.

In identical letters to the top three U.S. officers at the meeting, the four lawmakers said they were "shocked and disgusted" at the tape and requested an immediate meeting.

The highest-ranking U.S. officer at the November 1995 meeting, held in a tent, was Gen. John Sheehan, commander of the U.S. Atlantic Command in Norfolk.

The videotape was taken by an unidentified soldier at the base who was unhappy with the year-old U.S. policy of repatriating boat people to Cuba.

### Army reverses wrongful discharge

ADA, O'...  
sergear...  
ch...

# Nuevos testigos llevan a reabrir pesquisa de comicios de Hialeah en 1993

Por FRANCISCO GARCIA AZUERO  
*Redactor de El Nuevo Herald*

Amigos y parientes del alcalde de Hialeah Raúl Martínez participaron en una operación de fraude de boletas de ausentes, para garantizar la apretada victoria de Martínez sobre su rival Nilo Juri en las elecciones de 1993, según declaraciones de dos testigos, que han dicho a los investigadores que participaron en el presunto plan.

Martínez derrotó a Juri por 273 votos.

Las denuncias están ahora bajo investigación de un fiscal especial del Condado de Palm Beach.

El fraude en las boletas de ausentes de la elección de Hialeah fue confirmado en 1994 después que Juri puso una demanda. En ese entonces, el juez Sidney B. Shapiro



ROBERTO KOLTUN / El Nuevo Herald  
**Raúl Martínez y su esposa, Angela, tras el segundo juicio nulo.**

anuló la elección, citando la existencia de un fraude "sustancial", perpetrado por partidarios "inescrupulosos" y "desmesuradamente entusiastas" de ambos bandos. El juez, sin embargo, no discutió casos específicos y no se formularon cargos.

Pero el año pasado, un individuo que

VEA BOLETAS, 10A

# Reabierto pesquisa de com

## BOLETAS, DE 1A

asegura ser testigo ocular de maniobras internas de la campaña de Martínez, dio a los investigadores un relato detallado de cómo hubo fraude en las firmas de votantes y testigos. Un segundo testigo se presentó después, para corroborar el relato del primer testigo. Los nuevos testigos también han confesado haber participado personalmente en la operación.

Los testigos ofrecieron entrevistas a El Nuevo Herald, a condición de que sus identidades permanezcan en el anonimato. El Herald ha confirmado con autoridades federales y estatales que las declaraciones hechas por los testigos a este diario coinciden con las que han dado a los investigadores.

"Lo que yo hice fue una de las cosas más crueles y bajas que he hecho en mi vida", dijo uno de los testigos.

Fuentes oficiales han dicho al Herald que los investigadores consideraron fidedignos a los testigos.

Uno de los testigos describió una operación, en la que las boletas de ausentes eran procesadas por una especie de línea de ensamblaje de trabajadores de alto rango de la campaña de Martínez, que falsificaron firmas y firmaron como testigos, aun cuando los votantes no estaban presentes, como requiere la ley.

Según los testigos, entre los organizadores y participantes en la operación estuvieron Angela Martínez, esposa del alcalde; Lula Rodríguez, hermana de Angela y directora de la Oficina de Visitantes Internacionales de la Agencia de Información de Estados Unidos (USIA); Mabel Mizrahi, secretaria del alcalde, e Ivonne Soler, directora ejecutiva de la junta asesora de Radio y TV Martí.

Raúl y Angela Martínez no contestaron las llamadas de un reportero del Herald. Soler se negó a hacer comentarios, a través de un portavoz.

"Estas son mentiras insensatas que continúan arruinando la vida de personas", dijo el viernes Lula Rodríguez. "Cualquiera que me conozca, cualquiera para quien haya servido o trabajado durante los últimos 20 años sabe que yo no podría involucrarme jamás en algo falto de ética o ilegal".

Mizrahi rehusó hacer comentarios.

"No voy a hacer ningún comentario porque hay una investigación, para que esa investigación pueda tomar su curso", dijo la semana pasada.

Los testigos han dicho a los investigadores que parientes y amigos de Martínez lanzaron la operación durante la semana previa a la reñida segunda ronda electoral, porque temían una derrota.

La Oficina Federal de Investigaciones (FBI) y la Fiscalía Federal en Miami iniciaron una investigación de las denuncias como parte de una ofensiva contra el fraude electoral, denominada Operación Libre y Justa. Pero los agentes federales tuvieron que ceder la investigación a las autoridades estatales tras determinar que la jurisdicción estatal era la más adecuada.

Paul Zacks, director adjunto de la fiscalía estatal del Condado de Palm Beach, confirmó recientemente que Moira Lasch ha sido nombrada fiscal especial a cargo de investigar las denuncias contra ambos bandos, en la elección por la alcaldía de Hialeah de 1993. El gobernador Lawton Chiles envió el caso a Palm Beach en febrero, después que la fiscal estatal del Condado de Dade, Katherine Fernández Rundle, se recusó.

Fernández Rundle dijo que se retiró del caso porque conoce a varios de los involucrados y quería evitar "una percepción de conflicto".

Los testigos dijeron que participaron en el fraude porque estaban cegados por el carisma de Martínez.

"Lo seguíamos como si fuera parte de un culto", dijo uno de los testigos. "Yo no pensaba que él pudiera hacer nada equivocado".

Pero ahora los testigos dicen estar arrepentidos. Los testigos no implicaron directamente al alcalde. Uno de ellos dijo que Martínez se asomó brevemente al área de la sede de la campaña donde se trabajaba en las boletas y dijo: "Oh, creo que no se supone que esté aquí".

## Dirección de la operación

Desde su inicio, la contienda por la alcaldía de Hialeah de 1993 pareció estar colmada de fraudes.

En las primarias, el Departamento de Elecciones rechazó numerosas boletas de ausentes que no se ajustaban a las leyes electorales. David Leahy, supervisor de elecciones, dijo recientemente que no podía precisar cuántas boletas fueron anuladas porque la fiscalía se las llevó.

Martínez y Juri surgieron de la primaria y se prepararon para la segunda vuelta.

Llegar a la segunda vuelta era una victoria para Martínez. El resultado confirmaba que era políticamente viable, a pesar de haber sido declarado culpable en 1991 de extorsión y pandillerismo. (Ese veredicto fue anulado en una apelación y el gobierno desestimó el proceso después de la anulación de otros dos juicios).

Pero Martínez afrontaba una dura batalla en la segunda vuelta. Una encuesta realizada por el analista político Sergio Bendixen entre los votantes de la primera ronda, una semana antes de la segunda vuelta, pronosticó que Juri ganaría con el 51 por ciento de los votos. Bendixen llamó personalmente a ambos candidatos para comunicarles los resultados.

"La noticia atemorizó a Martínez", dijo Bendixen recientemente.

Después que Bendixen hizo su pronóstico, Angela Martínez dio una orden a los trabajadores de campaña, dijo uno de los testigos a los investigadores.

"Necesitamos las boletas de ausentes porque si no lo hacemos, Nilo Juri nos va a ganar", dijo Angela Martínez, según uno de los testigos.

La orden aceleró la campaña, dijo el testigo.

"Esa semana fue mortal", dijo uno de los testigos, que admitió haber firmado como testigo en más de media docena de boletas, aunque ninguno de los votantes estaba presente. Admitió además que falsificó las firmas de otros votantes.

"El temor de perder era tan grande que todo valía", dijo el testigo.

Los testigos dieron la siguiente versión de cómo estaba organizado el fraude:

Después que Angela Martínez dio su orden, trabajadores de campaña de Martínez recogieron boletas de ausentes en el Departamento de Elecciones.

Según regulaciones electorales entonces vigentes, cada trabajador podía recoger hasta tres boletas de ausentes, para votantes que no pudieran ir a las urnas. Las boletas eran emitidas con el nombre del

# licios de Hialeah de 1993

votante ausente. Eran entregadas a los trabajadores de campaña cuando éstos presentaban una identificación del votante, generalmente la cédula electoral, y un formulario firmado por el votante. Para ser sometida a la elección, la boleta debía tener la firma del votante y de dos testigos.

Tantos partidarios de Martínez fueron en busca de boletas de ausentes que se necesitó una flotilla de autobuses privados de Conchita Bus Service.

Los trabajadores de campaña llevaban entonces las boletas a la sede de la campaña de Martínez, en el 975 W. 49 St.

Ahí, las boletas eran llevadas o a una pequeña oficina en la parte trasera del local ocupado por Raúl y Angela Martínez o a una área privada cerca del panel de fusibles. Ese tranquilo lugar tenía una mesa y sillas, ocupadas por un pequeño y confiable círculo de trabajadores de campaña.

La mayor parte del fraude con las firmas falsificadas y los testigos se produjo en esa área, según uno de los testigos.

Los testigos dijeron que, a veces, Angela Martínez llevaba personalmente las boletas de ausentes que recibía en su oficina a los trabajadores, en esa área retirada. Ahí trabajaban: Mabel Mizrahi, Lula Rodríguez e Ivonne Soler.

La operación funcionaba de la siguiente manera, dijo el testigo: usando una presilla para papeles, una persona perforaba la boleta, haciéndola aparecer como si el votante hubiera hecho su selección. Una segunda persona falsificaba la firma, usando como modelo la firma auténtica que aparecía en la cédula electoral. Una tercera persona firmaba como testigo.

Muchas de las boletas eran llevadas al área de trabajo con las firmas de los votantes, pero sin las firmas de los testigos. Uno de los testigos dijo que fueron menos de 100 las boletas en que se falsificó la firma de los votantes, mientras varios cientos recibieron firmas falsas de testigos.

"Mabel y Lula estaban a cargo de servir como testigos de las firmas", dijo el testigo. "Angela era sutil. No se ensuciaba las manos. Mabel no era así. Mabel se hacía llamar 'la Reina de los Testigos'. Se jactaba de ello". ATRIBUCION??

Angela Martínez dijo a los trabajadores de campaña que no hacían nada indebido, porque las boletas adulteradas coincidían con los deseos de los votantes.

"No hay ningún problema, porque esta gente sabe que estamos haciendo esto", dijo Angela Martínez, según un testigo.

## in de boletas

El afán de obtener boletas de ausentes llevó a los activistas de Martínez hasta Our Dream Retirement Home, centro para personas que sufren de adicción al alcohol o las drogas, o enfermedades mentales.

"Esa gente no puede darse cuenta de si es de noche o de día", explicó uno de los testigos.

La demanda de Juri y el juicio revelaron que por lo menos 20 boletas de ausentes se llenaron con nombres de residentes de Our Dream.

El plan de Our Dream fue desfachatado, dijo el testigo. Our Dream está ubicado justo frente a un recinto de votación en un local de la Legión Americana. No era necesaria ninguna boleta para cualquier persona capaz de cruzar la calle y escribir su nombre.

Uno de los nuevos testigos dijo al Herald que las boletas firmadas en Our Dream fueron llevadas a trabajadores de campaña de Martínez sin las firmas de testigos, que fueron agregadas posteriormente.

Algunas de las boletas de Our Dream fueron "firmadas como testigo" por Milagros Abaroa, empleada del semanario de los Martínez *El Sol de Hialeah*, y por Glenn Rice, policía de Hialeah. Rice y Abaroa han negado haber hecho algo indebido.

## Margen de victoria

Las boletas de ausentes dieron el margen de victoria en la contienda.

Aunque Martínez perdió en las urnas (obtuvo 13,714 votos frente a los 13,819 que obtuvo Juri), ganó la alcaldía después de obtener 826 votos de personas ausentes contra los 448 que recibió Juri: El margen final fue de 273 votos.

Juri entonces lo demandó en una corte estatal, alegando fraude.

Durante el juicio, 12 personas del bando de Martínez rehusaron testificar, acogiéndose al privilegio de no incriminarse recogido en la Quinta Enmienda de la Constitución.

Los investigadores contratados por Juri utilizaron computadoras y peritos en caligrafía para hallar boletas falsificadas. Compararon las listas de votantes con bancos de datos que contenían cuentas de electricidad, agua, certificados de propiedad y licencias de conducir.

Un perito contratado por Juri concluyó que al menos 263 boletas tenían firmas falsificadas. Se usaron varios métodos, dijo el perito, desde el papel carbón hasta la tinta borrrable.

Una de las boletas identificadas como una falsificación fue firmada por Lula Rodríguez como testigo. La boleta ausente tenía el nombre de Mercedes Rodríguez, con la que Lula no tiene ninguna relación familiar. Durante el juicio, Mercedes Rodríguez testificó que su firma había sido falsificada. El 5 de noviembre, cuando la boleta de ausente fue firmada en Hialeah, ella estaba en la República Dominicana.

Lula Rodríguez renunció al cargo que ocupaba entonces como asistente de la secretaria de Justicia, Janet Reno, poco después de hacerse pública su participación en la campaña de Martínez.

Pero Lula insistió en una entrevista con un reportero el viernes que ella no hizo nada indebido.

"Esas personas que piensan que yo renuncié porque tenía algo que esconder están equivocadas", dijo Rodríguez.

"Cuando estaba trabajando para la secretaria de Justicia me sentí avergonzada de haber creado una situación incómoda para ella y renuncié a mi cargo. Esta vez voy a luchar, porque he trabajado muy duro para permitir que las calumnias y las insinuaciones de la gente sigan arruinando mi vida".

Para Juri, las denuncias de fraude organizado en la campaña de Martínez no fueron una sorpresa.

"Esto comprueba lo que siempre he dicho. Me robaron la elección del 93", dijo recientemente al Herald. "Eso fue un golpe de estado al estilo estadounidense".

El juez ordenó que se realizara una nueva elección en 1994, y esa vez Martínez ganó convincentemente en las urnas con un margen de 1,181 votos.

El redactor de *El Nuevo Herald* Jeff Leen contribuyó a esta información.

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# Aznar echa por tierra vínculo de UE con Cuba

Por CYNTHIA CORZO  
y ROSA TOWNSEND  
*Redactoras de El Nuevo Herald*

Las posibilidades de que Cuba logre renegociar un congelado acuerdo de cooperación económica con la Unión Europea (UE) se han reducido considerablemente con la llegada de un nuevo gobierno a España.

Representantes del flamante gobierno del Partido Popular, presidido por José María Aznar, han

manifestado en distintas tribunas su posición firme frente a La Habana, condicionando toda posible cooperación a un cambio democrático y al respeto de los derechos humanos.

"Queremos lo mejor para el pueblo cubano y que tengan el derecho a elegir libremente a sus dirigentes."

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**Destituyen a hija de vicepresidente cubano, 12A**

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tes", dijo recientemente Abel Matutes, ministro de Asuntos Exteriores. "Habíamos considerado positiva la posición de la Comisión Europea. El eventual tratado de cooperación con Cuba comportaba la exigencia de la democracia y derechos humanos, pero hemos constatado la falta de voluntad del régimen cubano de acometer reformas".

La actitud de los nuevos gobernantes españoles contrasta con la que el gobierno socialista de Felipe González mantuvo durante casi 13 años. González defendió en foros internacionales el acercamiento a La Habana, con modestos pedidos de apertura que nunca fueron correspondidos. Incluso en su último Consejo de Ministros, los socialistas otorgaron a la isla un crédito de 61 millones de pesetas, a pesar de

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VEA ESPAÑA, 14A

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# Nuevo gobierno de España reduce el margen para Cuba

REPÁRA, DE 1A

la oposición del ya triunfador Partido Popular.

Cuba es el único capítulo de la política exterior española en el que no habrá continuidad.

"Desearíamos que las autoridades cubanas se decidieran a iniciar con líneas de reformas, en cuyo caso España unilateralmente, y la UE, estarían siempre dispuestas a apoyar estos procesos de reforma y apertura", dijo Matuzas. "Es difícil que la UE pueda firmar un acuerdo de cooperación con Cuba".

Malas noticias para el gobierno de Fidel Castro en momentos en que la UE se negó a firmar un acuerdo de cooperación económica a menos que se produjeran en la isla las solicitadas reformas. El acuerdo fue patrocinado ante la UE por Manuel Marín, comisario español en ese organismo y vicepresidente de la Comisión Europea. La negativa llegó precisamente cuando el tratado era más necesario para los cubanos, que enfrentan un recrudecimiento del embargo estadounidense tras la aprobación de la Ley Helms-Burton.

Para el embajador Carlos Abella, cónsul español en Miami, ha cambiado el acento en la política hacia Castro y se apoyará con mayor énfasis a las fuerzas democráticas dentro y fuera de la isla.

"No visualizo que en un encuentro internacional a donde acuda Castro, Aznar pudiera abrazarle con la simpatía que lo ha hecho González", dijo Abella. "Probablemente, haría sólo lo protocolariamente necesario".

Agregó que España no va a hacer inversiones públicas en Cuba que no sean de carácter humanitario.

Cuba es el único país de América Latina que no tiene un acuerdo de cooperación económica con la UE. A pesar de

siderablemente el final del gobierno de Castro".

"La política europea hacia Cuba pasa por Madrid", dijo, "y allí tenemos un gobierno amigo".

negociar a las circunstancias, la UE no ha cerrado las puertas a futuras negociaciones y mantendrá la ayuda humanitaria a la isla. El año pasado esta ayuda ascendió a \$30 millones. De igual modo, Europa seguirá siendo su principal socio con el 33 por ciento de su comercio exterior.

Económicamente, Cuba necesita el acuerdo para recibir créditos a corto plazo. Una vez que España ha adoptado una política más exigente, no cabe vislumbrar una reapertura de las negociaciones en el futuro inmediato.

"Le va a ser más difícil cultivar a países europeos para que inviertan en Cuba e lo extiendan crédito", dijo Antonio Jorge, profesor de economía de la Universidad Internacional de la Florida.

La imagen internacional de La Habana también se ve afectada, añadió, al quedar claro que no está dispuesta a iniciar reformas.

"Ahora, quieras o no, han tenido que reconocer que las razones que aduce Estados Unidos son válidas", dijo.

Sin embargo, Cuba probablemente siga siendo un punto de discordia entre estadounidenses y europeos, incluidos los españoles, respecto a la Ley Helms-Burton, una compleja legislación que establece sanciones y expone a demandas ante tribunales de este país a las empresas extranjeras que comercian con la isla.

Representantes del Partido Popular han declarado su oposición a la ley Helms-Burton, alegando que restringe de forma unilateral y con carácter extraterritorial las libertades de comercio y comunicación de otros países.

"España no apoya a La Habana, pero se opone a una restricción del derecho internacional", dijo Abella.

España es el principal socio de la UE en Cuba, con una inversión de 12.000 millones de pesetas. Sus exportaciones a la isla en 1995 llegaron a 45.000 millones de pesetas, 33 por ciento más que en 1994.

En opinión de Abella, la ley Helms-Burton detendrá futuras inversiones, pero esas que no se debe aplicar con carácter retroactivo a empresas que estaban establecidas con anterioridad.

Para Jorge Mas Canosa, presidente de la junta directiva de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, la congelación del acuerdo con la UE y el cambio de gobierno en España, "acerca con-

**No visualizó que en un encuentro internacional a donde acuda Castro, Aznar pudiera abrazarle.**

CARLOS ABELLA  
Cónsul español en Miami

## Destituida de su cargo en España hija de líder cubano

Por ROSA TOWNSEND

Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

En un gesto que marca un giro rotundo de la política española hacia Cuba, el gobierno de José María Aznar ha destituido a la hija del vicepresidente de la isla como asesora ejecutiva de la Secretaría Exterior de Estado para Iberoamérica, cargo que Annabelle Rodríguez ocupó hasta el lunes.

El cese de Rodríguez ha sido la primera decisión relacionada con Cuba del nuevo secretario español de Estado para Iberoamérica, Fernando Villalonga. En círculos políticos se ha interpretado como una clara señal a La Habana de que se inicia una nueva era en las relaciones con Madrid.

"El criterio del gobierno es de no establecer cooperación económica a menos que Cuba dé pasos de democratización y apertura política y económica, y de respeto a los derechos humanos y las libertades fundamentales", dijo el embajador Carlos Abella, cónsul español en Miami.

Rodríguez fue contratada por la administración socialista en 1992 para un puesto considerado de confianza y por el que percibió un salario de alrededor de \$70,000 al año, con categoría de subdirectora general, máximo rango en la administración española.

Durante esos años Rodríguez viajó varias veces a Cuba con pasaporte español para visitar a su padre, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez.

"Se la contrató por su capacidad y lealtad en cuanto al trabajo que desarrollaba", dijo José Luis Dicenta, secretario de Estado para Iberoamérica hasta hace cinco meses. "En ningún caso ha estado relacionada con temas que afectan la seguridad nacional".

Dicenta respondía así en 1994 a preguntas parlamentarias del hoy gobernante Partido Popular (PP), que infructuosamente pidió al gobierno de Felipe González que la despidiera.

Al ganar las recientes elecciones generales el PP ha llevado a cabo su propia petición.

Alimentadas por distintas versiones sobre el papel de Rodríguez en la cancellería de Madrid, en la prensa española se han suscitado especulaciones sobre su posible acceso a información delicada relacionada con la seguridad del estado español.

La Oficina de Información Diplomática (OID), que actúa de portavoz del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, dijo a El Nuevo Herald que no podía afirmar ni negar si la nueva administración había abierto alguna investigación al respecto.

La OID añadió que Rodríguez era una de las dos asesoras ejecutivas de la Secretaría de Estado con Iberoamérica y que la otra ha sido reconfirmada en su cargo por Villalonga.

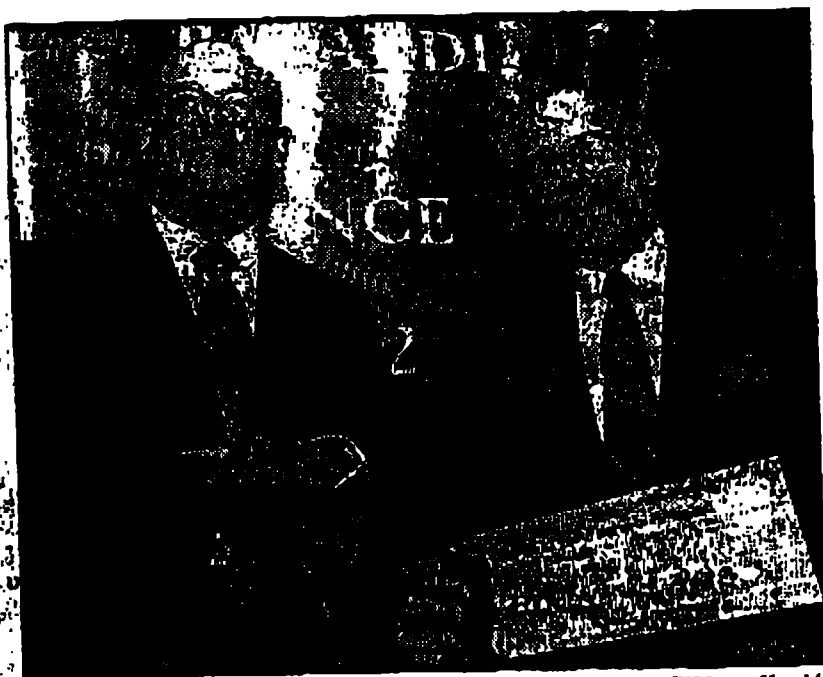
No fue posible hablar con Rodríguez el jueves por la tarde.

En sus primeras declaraciones como presidente del gobierno, Aznar dijo la semana pasada que España "syndará a los demócratas cubanos".

En una reciente visita a Miami, Aznar dio señales de la dirección política que tomaría de llegar a ser presidente de gobierno al reunirse con todo el espectro político del exilio.

Entonces y ahora ha dejado claro que las relaciones de cooperación con Cuba están condicionadas a las reformas democráticas.

Por su parte, el ministro de Asuntos Exteriores, Abel Matutes, dijo en Bruselas la semana pasada que "el pueblo de Cuba debe tener el derecho de elegir libremente a sus dirigentes y España está dispuesta a apoyar los procesos de reforma y apertura".



ROBERTO KOLTUN / El Nuevo Herald

## Homenaje de Bacardí a Luis Aguilar León

La empresa Bacardí rindió el jueves un emotivo homenaje a Luis Aguilar León, director de Opiniones de El Nuevo Herald, por su larga y brillante trayectoria académica y periodística. Manuel J. Cutillas (izq.), presidente de la empresa Bacardí, aparece con Aguilar León luego que una de las columnas del periodista, titulada 'El vuelo del murciélago', pasó a formar parte de la colección del Museo Bacardí, donde se realizó el evento.

# Cuba retira invitación a misión siquiátrica de EU

Por JUAN QUINTANA  
de El Nuevo Herald

Los siquiatras cubanos han retirado una invitación a sus colegas norteamericanos para investigar las acusaciones de que las fuerzas de seguridad cubanas abusan de los disidentes políticos con electrochoques y sicofármacos, afirmando que la investigación se ha "politicizado".

La Comisión sobre el Abuso Internacional de la Siquiatría de la Asociación Norteamericana de Siquiatras (APA) trataba de organizar una visita de principios del año pasado, atendiendo a una invitación hecha en 1993 de la Sociedad Cubana de Siquiatría, y de su presidente, el doctor Ricardo González.

Pero cuando el grupo, a solicitud de su rama del Sur de la Florida, añadió un siquiatra cubanoamericano a la misión y puso algunas otras condiciones para garantizar la credibilidad de cualquier informe final, se canceló la invitación. Los términos establecidos en su último fax ... reflejan que el proyecto original ha estado inevitablemente coloreado por "intereses políticos", escribió González, doctor

Ray Freebury, de Ontario, director del panel de la APA sobre abusos internacionales.

"Los requerimientos ... son absolutamente inaceptables para nosotros, considerando que la visita abandonaría su naturaleza científica", afirmó González en un fax dirigido el 31 de enero a Freebury. El cambio de opinión cubano no se había hecho público hasta la presente semana.

El gobierno cubano ha sido acusado en muchas ocasiones de utilizar la siquiatría para reprimir a los disidentes políticos, acusándolos de locos, enviándolos a hospitales mentales y aplicándoles innecesariamente electrochoques y sicofármacos.

En el último caso que recibió publicidad, un teniente coronel retirado de las fuerzas de seguridad, que el pasado julio lanzó a la calle su uniforme y sus medallas y colgó carteles antigubernamentales en el balcón de su casa en La Habana, fue llevado por la policía a un hospital siquiátrico.

En un libro titulado *La Política de la Siquiatría en la Cuba Revolucionaria*, publicado hace cuatro años por Freedom House, grupo independiente pro derechos de Washington, se

## NOTICIAS DE



## CUBA

documentan 38 casos de supuestos abusos.

"Es el mismo abuso de la siquiatría con objetivos políticos que fue usado en la Unión Soviética muchos años", dijo Frank Calzón, dirigente de la sección cubana de Freedom House.

En una entrevista telefónica, Freebury afirmó: "Mi percepción es que los dos sistemas son muy similares" en términos de la amplitud y dureza de los supuestos abusos. "Yo diría que son bastante comparables".

Un panel de la APA que realizó una rigurosa investigación de las prácticas soviéticas en 1989, con el consentimiento soviético y una donación de \$300,000 del gobierno norteamericano, concluyó que realmente se habían cometido abusos. Los soviéticos rápidamente renunciaron a la Organización

## Mundial de Siquiatría.

La regla de procedimiento establecida por la APA para su investigación cubana "ciertamente eran menos exigentes" que la investigación soviética, explicó Freebury a la presidente de la APA, Mary Jane England, en una carta informándole sobre la cancelación cubana.

Entre las condiciones iniciales del panel estaba el acceso a cualquier hospital y paciente identificado por los investigadores; acceso a los expedientes médicos del paciente; inclusión de las notas de los médicos y expedientes de tratamiento; acceso a los parientes de los pacientes y al personal implicado.

Los funcionarios cubanos habían estado de acuerdo y un panel de la APA dirigido por Freebury y constituido por cinco o seis miembros estaba listo para volar a La Habana el verano pasado, cuando un número de siquiatras cubanos intervinieron para recomendar controles más estrictos.

Basado en dos páginas de recomendaciones de los médicos del Sur de la Florida, grupo de Freebury envió nue-

VEA CUBA,

## Siquiatras de EU ya no irán a Cuba

CUBA, DE 18

vas condiciones a La Habana, entre ellas la inclusión en la misión de un siquiatra cubanoamericano, la inclusión de hospitales fuera de La Habana y entrevistas con siquiatras disidentes.

Inicialmente, el panel de la APA estimó que la inclusión de un cubanoamericano "podría perjudicar" la investigación, dijo Freebury en una entrevista tele-

fónica. Pero siquiatras rusos exiliados habían sido incluidos en la investigación en la Unión Soviética, añadió, por lo que el panel estuvo de acuerdo.

Las condiciones iniciales de la APA "no tenían suficiente rigor", dijo el doctor Rigoberto Rodríguez, director del Equipo Especial sobre Derechos Humanos y Abusos Políticos de la Siquiatría de la Sociedad Siquiátrica del Sur de la Florida.

**CUBA****EU limpiará de minas la base de Guantánamo***Servicios cablegráficos combinados*

**Washington —** La base naval de Estados Unidos en Guantánamo, Cuba, será limpiada de minas como parte del esfuerzo que hará este país para eliminar más de cuatro millones de sus minas, informó el jueves el Departamento de Defensa.

El presidente Bill Clinton ordenó el jueves al Pentágono que limite el uso de minas personales y se comprometió a promover una prohibición permanente de este tipo de armas para el año 2001.

# Cuba, la Iglesia y el diálogo



**MIQUEL ÀNGEL  
TUDELA**

Resientemente la Peña Vareliana fue escenario de un acontecimiento verdaderamente extraordinario, donde se discutió con una amplitud nunca antes imaginada —y menos tolerada— lo que es considerado el tema de nuestros tiempos: el diálogo.

El invitado por la Fundación Padre Félix Varela, precisamente para presentar el tema de la Peña, lo fue nuestro querido Obispo Agustín A. Román. Podría decirse que la sola presencia de este magnífico ser humano, nuestro pastor y guía espiritual, era una especie de garantía para el éxito de tan elevado cometido o gestión ecopolítica.

¿Qué es dialogar? Buscar la verdad.

¿Qué es el diálogo? Un compromiso con la verdad.

¿Cuáles son las precondiciones para el diálogo? ¿El diálogo debe comenzar desde arriba o desde abajo?

Con estas y otras premisas el obispo Román incurrió con verdadera maestría, patriotismo y tacto político —él, que es todo un religioso— escuchando en la audiencia (muy variada por cierto) un inusitado interés al mismo tiempo que una muestra de gran civilidad y madurez política. Comparando lo dicho por el Papa Pablo VI y Félix Varela sobre el tema, el Obispo nos recordó lo que la Iglesia sostiene como "las cuatro precondiciones para el diálogo: claridad, prudencia, confianza y mansedumbre."

¿Existen estas precondiciones en Cuba?

Uno a uno, escuchamos las intervenciones de los brillantes

expositores de la Peña, Rogelio A. de la Torre, Angel Castillo, Luis Gómez Domínguez, Quidina Menocal, magistrado Ros, Pablo Acosta, Mercedes García Tudelá, Armando Cobelo, Violeta Pintado, José Ignacio Rasco, Luis Fernández Caubí, Francisco Muller y Rafael Abislatman.

Para todos era evidente que no ha habido "claridad" en lo que queremos ni en lo que la otra parte está dispuesta a conceder.

Al no poder los cubanos definir los objetivos alcanzables, no

*Al no poder los cubanos definir los objetivos alcanzables, no podemos tampoco ejercitar la prudencia con el adversario victimario.*

podemos tampoco ejercitar la prudencia con el adversario victimario, lo cual nos lleva a la falta de confianza.

Sin claridad, sin prudencia y sin confianza, la mansedumbre sería una aberración... Este cuadro sintomático bastaría para concluir que el diálogo está muerto y enterrado. El diálogo político, por supuesto.

El Padre Félix Varela no solamente nos enseñó a pensar, "nos enseñó también a ser intransigentes". Coinciden Angel Castillo y Fernández Caubí: Entiéndase por intransigencia la firmeza en los principios.

Varela devino el primer intransigente —enemigo del diálogo— en la lucha por nuestra independencia cuando, lleno de ilusión, en su afán por reformas pacíficas y reconciliación con la madre patria, va a las Cortes Españolas a pedir autonomía, justicia, cambios, y España le responde con la soberbia, la persecución, el exilio... Félix Varela se hace separatista y decide que no hay otro camino que abogar por la total independencia de Cuba.

¿Por qué Varela renuncia al diálogo? Porque ayer, como hoy, no existían las precondiciones enunciadas.

La brutal arremetida contra Concilio Cubano y el cobarde derribo de las avionetas de Hermanos al Rescate, con sus cuatro vidas inocentes tronchadas en flor, sellan nuestro divorcio definitivo con el tirano Castro, su camarilla y los que ingenuamente todavía alimentan la idea de un diálogo imposible o mendigan cambios a la tiranía.

Pero eso sí, en la Peña Vareliana, entre la vibración patriótica y el razonamiento mesurado, se invitaba al diálogo entre nosotros mismos los exiliados, tan diversos y tan dispersos, a quienes nos juntan las grandes tragedias y nos separan las pequeñas querellas. Mientras escuchaba a mis compatriotas sentía en el aire el espíritu de Elpidio, el personaje creado por Varela, símbolo de la fe, de la esperanza, de la constancia. y me decía en voz baja: ¡Fidel! Elpidio vive! ¡Fidel! Elpidio vive!

*Miguel Ángel Tudela es miembro del Colegio Nacional de Periodistas de Cuba en el Exilio.*

# Un invisible laberinto



JORGE  
DÁVILA MIGUEL

Héroe durante 30 años para la mitología revolucionaria. Daniel Alarcón Ramírez, "Benigno" en la guerrilla boliviana de Guevara, es ahora para Castro un traidor. Hablando sólo más o menos eso durante aquellos mismos años para el exilio, ¿se nos convertirá ahora Benigno en un héroe? Tal vez, por obra y gracia de una especie de espejo burión que hace aplaudir por acá lo que allá se niega y que allí demoniza, por decreto ministerial, nuestras bondades. Los defectos reales de las dos caras de Cuba son magnificados por esa luna y las cosas buenas —no vamos a contar cuántas menos hay allá— se atomizan en su particular mercurio.

En el mar que rodea a la isla hay un laberinto de espejos. Es invisible, pero está ahí, la circunvala en una muralla perfecta y falazmente translúcida. Nadie la nota, pero para entrar o salir de la isla o de su exilio, de sus realidades, que son lo mismo, hay que atravesar sus pasillos. Lo primero que encuentra el viajero es una puerta, pero a dos pasos existe un cristal, o hay un espejo o un marco vacío que entonces le permite adelantar. Pero sólo dos pasos. De nuevo se encontrará un espejo que le refleje, un marco vacío, o un cristal que le detenga. El golpe, a veces, es grosero. Al final se sale a la otra realidad, pero cuán limpio llega a la otra orilla, no sólo de culpas ciertas, sino de falsas imágenes multiplicadas por el tramposo reflejo?

El efecto general del laberinto es que los viajeros, ya entren o salgan —imaginariamente claro— se llevan consigo la imagen del paisaje que han dejado atrás. Es la sentencia calculada de los primeros espejos, que muestran levemente al transiente su imagen, pero que también le suman el entorno que ha querido dejar. Vemos pues a Cuba en su realidad, pero cargada de nuestro propio entorno, y viceversa.

Por eso dicen a veces que los que vienen de allá y los de acá hablamos un idioma diferente. Por eso a veces parece que hay dos Cuba y dos exilios, tanto para los de la diáspora como para los del país territorial. De una parte la Cuba real o su emigración, de otra las que nos imaginamos, violadas por ese muro de espejismos, en que, mezcladas, se refleja la distorsión de aquello que ensimismos, con nuestra propia realidad. ¿Somos un solo pueblo? Creo que sí, pero separados por esa sutil y a veces implacable muralla que por tiempos nos confunde.

Benigno no es un héroe. No puede serlo. Es más, casi seguro, por acción u omisión, ocasionó mis-

tas noches de dolor, sabe Dios si últimas noches, a quienes calladamente sí lo fueron. Benigno no es ni siquiera un arma limpia utilizable contra el enemigo. Si bien su libro *Ídolo y amante de la revolución* cubre perjurios al régimen y todo lo que resta a Castro suma fuerzas, hay que esperar que el tiempo dé certificado de autenticidad a sus relatos. El rosario de espejos a menudo nos complace, pero ¿también nos guía? Miramos a la isla y allá la vemos, pero junta a nuestras criminalizadas opiniones. Dicho más sencillo, cuidado con lo que nos gusta oír.

Pero ¿es Benigno veraz o no: haya entendido pronos o no: haya vivido cómodo en su posible privilegio o incómodo con su conciencia, hay algo que incluso el laberinto de lunas y cristales no puede cambiar: es un cubano que se vio envuelto —victimario y víctima en abrazo seco— en la triste historia reciente de su patria. Una buena pregunta sería, para que el reflejo no nos tuya, hasta el momento en que decidís dentro de sí renegar de Castro, ¿es honesto Daniel Alarcón Ramírez, pensaba que luchaba por una causa justa? Porque lo que puede evincirnos una distorsión capital del laberinto —esa misma que confundió a muchos Benigno, que miraron a través de la comercialización caudina de la historia y no vieron más que un reflejo distorsionado de su propia dignidad— es la triste pero cruda realidad de cómo se veía al guerrillero guevarista, incluso el lamentable Jefe de Prisiones, y de por qué acunaba en conciencia.

Nada de eso justifica la noche triste o mortal que cualquier Benigno pudo darle a su débil enemigo, pero abunda en la verdadera naturaleza y tenacidad de ese sordo conflicto civil, ideológico y social que aún asresa a Cuba.

Mientras por la engañosa magia del espejo no entendamos que equivocados sí, pero convencidos, hubo quienes pensaron que hasta lo correcto y se sumieron en el horror de una imitativa dictadura por un presunto amor hacia la patria, no podremos entender la dolorosa vigencia del drama nacional. No podré el sano exilio opositor tampoco, al tiempo que no confunde un nuevo compañero de ruta con un héroe, salta y saltadamente, al cable, penitenciaro. La buena noticia es que por allá hay cada vez menos convencidos, indigestos de dictadura vieja: la mala es que para romper el acolligido del engaño hay que mirarnos al cual vamos en el primer espejo que encontremos. Y si nos distanciamos, romperlo. Aunque duela.

Jorge Dávila Miguel es periodista cubano.

# La semana de los ingenieros

Por MANUEL CERELIO

**E**sta semana se celebra en Estados Unidos la Semana del Ingeniero. En el Condado de Dade hay más de 9,000 ingenieros cubanoamericanos, de todas las edades, graduados tanto en este país, como en Cuba o en otros países. Una celebración más en el exilio, sin poder cooperar al desarrollo de una Cuba democrática.

Vivimos en una época tecnológica, y si deseamos que nuestra sociedad progrese, muchos de nuestros líderes deben ser ingenieros, y muchos de nuestros ingenieros deben ser líderes. Y esto se aplica no sólo a este país, sino a los ingenieros cubanoamericanos y a los ingenieros en una Cuba de derecho, en un período de reconstrucción futuro.

Sin embargo, el público reconoce más la labor y la importancia de la ciencia y de los científicos que de la ingeniería y la de los ingenieros y su papel en nuestra sociedad.

## La prensa ante la ingeniería

La prensa en general raramente presenta los logros de la ingeniería, y muestra un interés muy limitado en los hombres y mujeres que tienen como profesión la ingeniería. Como resultado, el público no aprecia en forma debida a los ingenieros, que diseñan, fabrican, o mantienen sistemas muy complejos y que tocan todos los aspectos de nuestra vida.

¿Es importante que el público cambie esta actitud? Creo que sí. A corto plazo quizá no, pero a largo definitivamente sí debe cambiar, y por dos razones importantes. Primero, la sociedad recompensa a aquellos que son reconocidos y apreciados. Las recompensas atraen al talento, que puede trabajar entonces por el bien de la sociedad. Sólo si la ingeniería, como profesión, puede atraer a jóvenes talentosos, podrá la vida moderna y nuestra sociedad, mantener su nivel tecnológico y de bienestar. La segunda razón es que un público bien informado tomará decisiones mejores en esta sociedad tan tecnológica en que nos desarrollamos.

La rapidez con que han aparecido sistemas, equipos, procesos, técnicas, en este siglo, y sobre todo en los últimos 30 años, es la causa de la gran diferencia entre la ingeniería en 1900 y la ingeniería en 1996. Y el crecimiento, el cambio, será aún mayor en los próximos años. La informática, las telecomunicaciones, la microelectrónica, los nue-

vos materiales, la genética, la biotecnología, las computadoras, el microcosmos en general, van a resultar en grandes e importantes cambios en nuestra vida diaria.

## Razones de peso

Pero la razón, la fuerza motriz mayor en estos momentos, la que ejerce una presión mayor, es la necesidad de aumentar la productividad del país. Y esto será vital también para una Cuba futura, de libre empresa, democracia, propiedad privada, derechos, donde el bienestar material del pueblo será una tarea ardua y primordial. Un énfasis nuevo y total en la ingeniería es la única forma de aumentar la productividad, y por consecuencia, mejorar la competitividad en el mercado internacional. El futuro de esta nación, como miembros de la misma que ahora somos, y de Cuba en un futuro, depende de cómo la ingeniería pueda lograr este objetivo.

La habilidad para competir eficientemente en el mercado global dependerá de los recursos que un país tenga en ingeniería, es decir, en su capital intelectual. El capital intelectual, como todo capital, requiere renovación, mantenimiento, modernización. Y el *status* de la ingeniería, y de los ingenieros, en nuestra sociedad tiene que mejorar notablemente y ser debidamente reconocido.

Al mismo tiempo que estamos estimulando que hayan líderes dentro de la profesión de ingeniería, creo que debemos tratar de atraer líderes a la profesión. Creo que todos en la profesión debemos hacer un esfuerzo para promover el liderazgo y la excelencia dentro de la profesión. Mis felicitaciones a todos los ingenieros, y muy en especial a los ingenieros cubanoamericanos, por sus logros y éxitos, así como a los ingenieros cubanos de la isla, les envío un mensaje de esperanza, de fe y ánimo. No tengan miedo. Ya está cercano el día que Cuba será libre, y donde todos podamos colaborar por una rápida recuperación con nuestro aporte tecnológico, científico y económico.

MANUEL CERELIO, ingeniero cubano, es profesor de la Facultad de Ingeniería de la Universidad Internacional de la Florida.

**WHO'S IN CHARGE?** The long-running saga of Radio Marti is at an impasse.

Marian Bennett, inspector general of the United States Information Agency, is blocking the release of an 18-month investigation into charges of cronyism and political reprisals at the U.S. government facility that broadcasts to Cuba, colleagues say.

"She's having some misgivings about the potential for publicity and an outcry from Congress," said one colleague. "It's all political."

Bennett, who was appointed by the president to maintain federal standards at the agency, has received a report of about 45 pages from her investigators that allegedly documents cases of political harassment and reprisals against station employees by conservative Cuban exiles.

But she is stalling its release for fear she will endure another round of harsh criticism and scrutiny from such leaders as Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, who also is chairman of the president's advisory board on Cuban broadcasting. Bennett declined to speak to The Herald Wednesday.

Mas Canosa and others cried foul last year after Bennett released partial results of her investigation to selected members of Congress, including lawmakers who oppose further funding for the station. He and Radio Marti's acting director, Rolando Bonachea, accused Bennett of bias and refused to cooperate with her.

USIA Director Joseph Duffey claims he is powerless to make the report public. He has taken no action against Bonachea, who is one of his subordinates.

Meanwhile, legislation to move Radio and TV Marti is going forward. Congressional conferees are expected to approve the move soon.

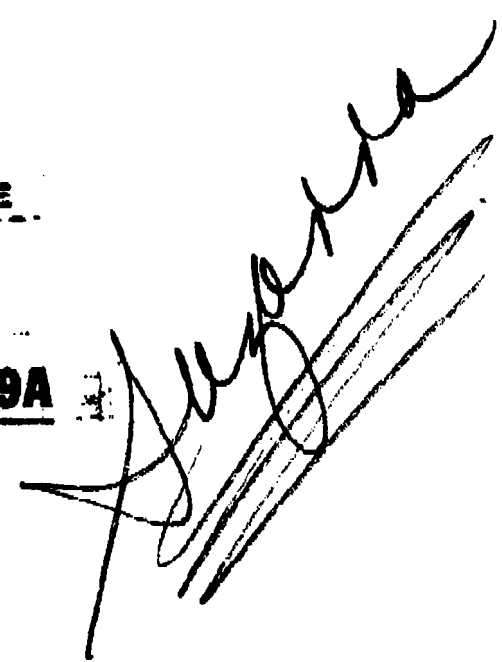
Critics say the move would deal a mortal blow to Radio Marti's credibility in Cuba and invite further pressure from exile groups. But the White House, which already has ceded control of a large part of its Cuba policy to Congress and exile leaders, is quietly telling lawmakers it will not block the move.

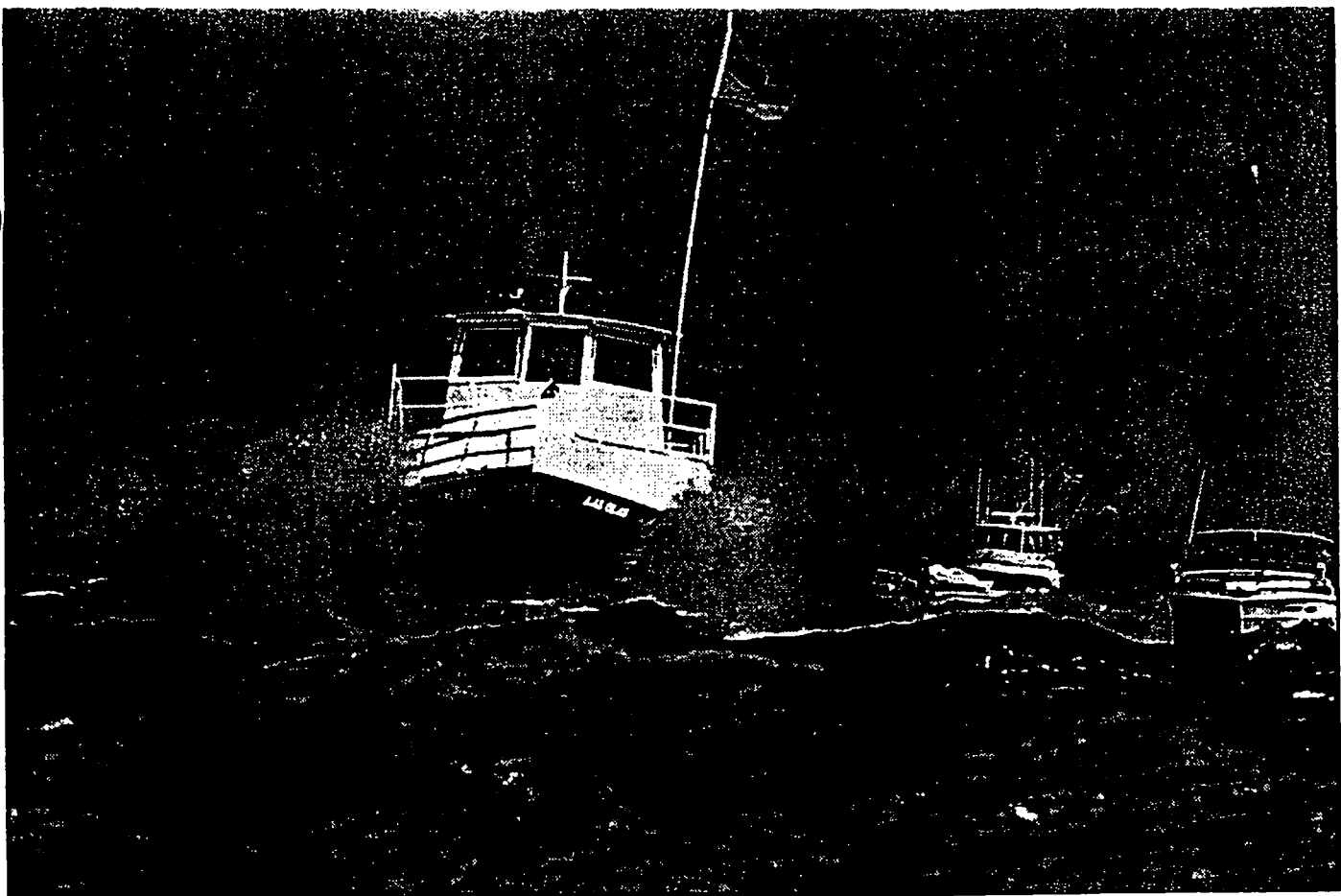
TV - MARTI - MIAMI OFFICE

WIDEWIRE

THURSDAY, APRIL 11, 1996

THE HERALD 9A





MIKE STOCKER / Herald Staff

**ROUGH GOING:** The Las Olas and other vessels churn through choppy seas Saturday while heading south toward Cuba.

## Six Cuban refugees come ashore in Keys

Herald Keys Bureau

**KEY COLONY BEACH —** Four men and two women from Cuba came ashore in the Middle Keys on Friday night and have been transferred to Krome Detention Center in West Dade.

Lemar Wooley, a spokesman for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Miami, said he is not aware of a link between their flight and events of the weekend.

Wooley said the group left Cuba about 3 a.m. Friday and arrived about 7 p.m. They swam ashore, leaving their boat drifting in the shallows at the west end of the island of Key Colony Beach, near Mar-

athon.

Sgt. Robert Petrick of the Key Colony Beach Police Department said the Cubans apparently crossed the Florida Straits in a 20-foot fishing boat — "a little, tiny wooden vessel."

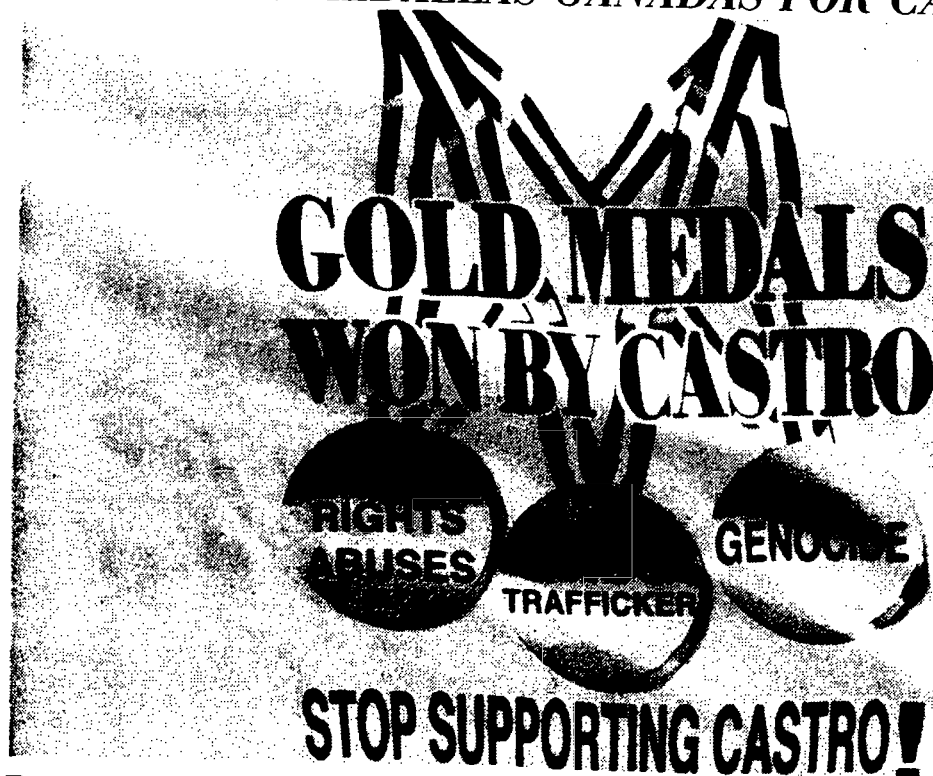
Their names were not released.

The refugees were turned over to INS officials. The group told authorities there were two more people with them.

"We looked. We couldn't find them. Who knows?" Petrick said. "It's a tiny island. They couldn't have gotten away — there's only one way in and one way off."



## **LAS MEDALLAS GANADAS POR CASTRO**



Esta valla que vemos en la fotografía, es parte de la campaña iniciada por Cuban Civic Council Inc, para desplegar en las carreteras de Estados

Unidos para dar a conocer al mundo los horrores cometidos por la tiranía castrista a lo largo de 37 años.

## **Los crímenes de Castro se verán en los Juegos Olímpicos**

Más de mil millones de personas de 196 países del mundo, que de una forma u otra podrán presenciar los juegos olímpicos de Atlanta a partir del 19 de julio, tendrán la oportunidad de ver la espléndida valla anunciadora que aparece en una de las carreteras que llevan a la ciudad de Atlanta donde se exponen las tres medallas de oro que se ha ganado el tirano Fidel Castro: crímenes contra la humanidad, abusos de los derechos humanos y Genocidio.

Esta valla es parte de la campaña iniciada por Cuban

Civic Council Inc, para desplegar en las carreteras mas transitadas de Estados Unidos. El Cuban Civic Council está integrado por el coronel Luis Orlando Rodríguez, Mario A. Martínez-Malo, Jorge R. Herrera y Hugo Sueiro, todos ellos veteranos de la invasión de Bahía de Cochinos.

Los interesados en informarse o contribuir con este proyecto, deben dirigirse a Cuba Civic Council, 12973 S.W. 112 Street, No 102, Miami, Florida. 33186. El teléfono a donde se puede llamar es (305) 670-3860.

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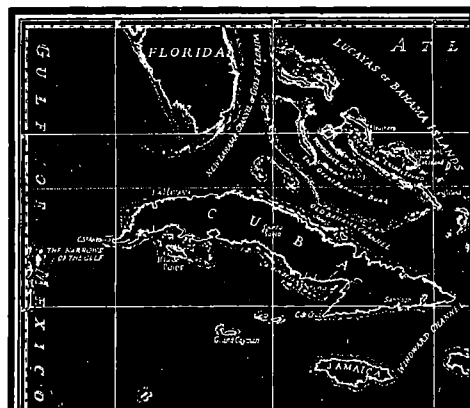
# Cuban Affairs

## Asuntos Cubanos

Published by the Cuban Committee for Democracy/Comité Cubano por la Democracia

VOLUME II NUMBERS 3-4

FALL 1995/WINTER 1996



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### SHIFT IN US POLICY TOWARD CUBA

By Mauricio A. Font  
CUNY

The prediction made since late 1995 of a long period of hibernation in US policy toward Cuba lasting until the November 1996 elections certainly proved wrong. Congressional activity around the Helms-Burton bill kept open a vigorous debate about Cuba policy in the first part of 1996. And then, against a background of seemingly improving prospects, the February 24 shutdown of two small planes flown by Cuban-American civilians opened a new crisis in US-Cuba relations and rapidly led to the signing of the Helms-Burton bill on March 11. This law has truly major implications for US-Cuba relations and will define their tone and content for years to come. It also affects US economic partners, particularly Canada, Mexico, and Spain.

What to make of this outcome and how to explain it? First, this is a major shift. US policy toward Cuba was on a rather different course before the February 24 incident, as confirmed by a late January probe of Cuba policy in the US conducted by *Cuban Affairs/Asuntos Cubanos*. Interviews with two prominent Washington political figures—Richard Nuccio (Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State on Cuba) and Congressman Bill Richardson (D-New Mexico)—strongly suggested that contacts and negotiations between the governments of the US

and Cuba were taking place and even making some progress. Nuccio articulates Cuba policy for the Clinton administration, taking responsibility for directly advising the president and the secretary of state. A new face in US-Cuba relations, Richardson is a rising star in the Democratic party, having performed salient roles in the process leading up to the adoption of NAFTA and in several difficult international negotiations.

**US-Cuba Relations.** Nuccio emphasized in his interview that the US was actively responding to US-Cuba issues on three arenas. Demands

from a growing number of interested groups in the US was one. Internal developments in Cuba—including a more vocal and organized dissidence under the umbrella of Concilio Cubano—were posing challenges which the administration also felt the need to address. Third, the US government was increasingly active in the international area, reacting to growing concerns with Cuban issues from the European Community and various countries in the hemisphere. With indications that Cuba was still very much in the midst of an economic crisis, and with past lessons showing that neglect of Cuban policy could be disastrous, the US government appeared poised to a broadly proactive stance with respect to Cuba-related issues. Nuccio even hinted that Cuba had become the central Latin American concern at the White House.

Richardson's January 1996 trip to Cuba, his first ever, focused on what he called the beginning of a discussion on humanitarian issues. His meetings with Castro and other government figures resulted in a fifty percent reduction in the rather high migration fees the Cuban government charges roughly one thousand financially hard-pressed migrants. Additionally, it led to the



Congressman Bill Richardson



M. Font and Richard Nuccio, 1/27/96

# Questionable content

*An inquiry charges corruption and influence peddling at Radio Martí*

**A**fter President George Bush singled out Cuban-American leader Jorge Mas Canosa from a crowd of supporters on a 1992 visit to Miami, Radio Martí, the U.S.-funded station that broadcasts to Cuba, played up the moment as a major event. Radio Martí broadcasts are supposed to be objective and untainted by special influence, but even many in the Cuban exile community have raised questions about the wealthy Miami businessman's sway

could not understand English." After Alles was hired, the personnel director said, "I began to see a change in the news coverage of Mas Canosa."

■ Alles repeatedly produced coverage of Mas at Mas's behest, according to an affidavit sworn by the station's deputy director, Bruce Sherman: "Mr. Mas would often call Mr. Alles directly to request news coverage of Mr. Mas's own activities or those of [his] Cuban American National Foundation." Alles has

been done for any other exile leader." ■ In another apparent reprisal, Kristin Juffer, director of audience research, was forced out after her surveys showed declining audiences in Cuba. A memo from station director Rolando Bonachea ordered the surveys suppressed. In an affidavit, Juffer says more than 100 computer files were erased, adding, "I believe I was removed from my position so that [Mas associate Antonio] Rivera could once again control and 'cook' the

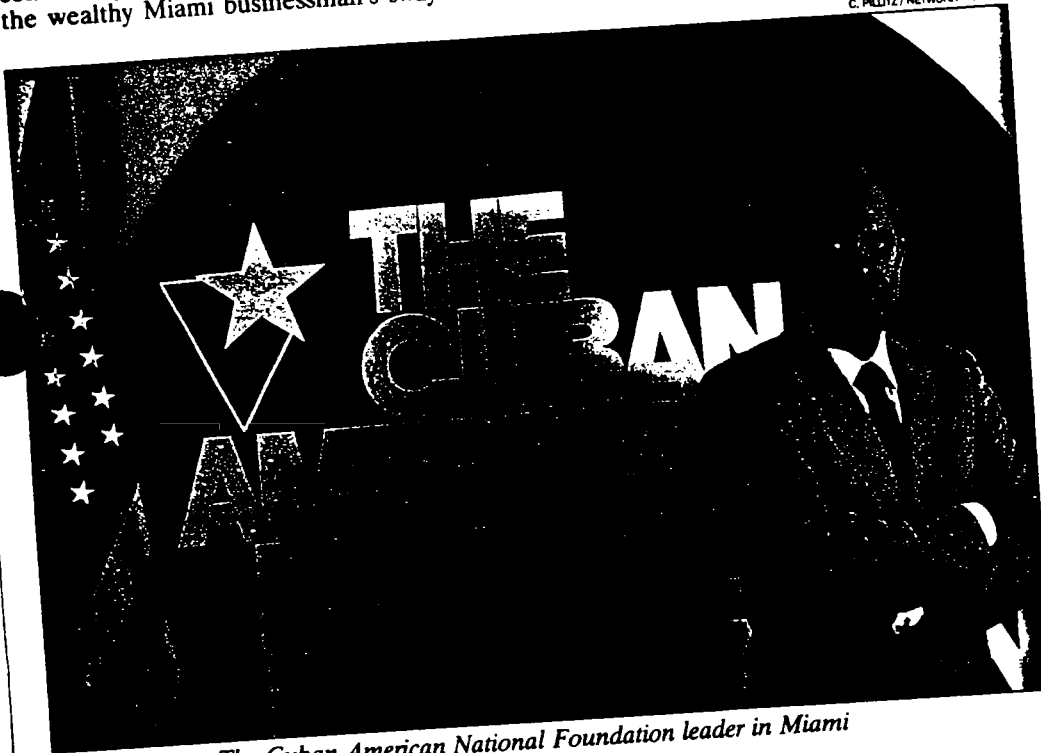
Cuban audience data and mislead the Congress." Rivera wouldn't comment.

The documents obtained by *U.S. News* were generated during a two-year investigation by the inspector general of the U.S. Information Agency, which oversees Radio Martí. The inquiry now is in limbo because Congress merged the USIA inspector general's office into the State Department. The White House and Congress could force the investigation to be completed, but Republicans and Democrats are both loath to antagonize Mas and his supporters in the Cuban-American community. Mas and Bonachea declined to comment on the USIA inquiry, despite repeated requests. Joseph Duffey, the USIA director, believes the investigation should be completed. "A host of serious charges were raised," Duffey says. "The fact that the report

was not brought to closure is unfortunate. The station deserves better."

With Radio Martí now moving from Washington to Miami, the result of a quiet push by several members of Congress, Mas's influence over the station's operations is certain to grow. "Mas has taken practical control of the station away from USIA management," says Radio Martí's first director, Ernesto Betancourt. "Should a new crisis develop in Cuba, the voice of the U.S. reaching the Cubans will not reflect the national interest but that of Mr. Mas." ■

BY LINDA ROBINSON IN MIAMI



**Chairman Mas.** *The Cuban American National Foundation leader in Miami*

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■ Mas pushed to hire a news director, Agustín Alles, who was not fluent in English and who repeatedly violated journalistic standards, current and former Radio Martí employees say. In an affidavit, the station's personnel director says he was told to fill out Alles's job application because Alles "could not respond to my questions because he

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■ Reprisals apparently were taken against Sherman, which he says occurred because he cooperated with an investigation into the hiring of Alles. Sherman's affidavit says: "I believe Mr. Mas has applied pressure on . . . management to remove me from any meaningful role at Radio Martí." The 11-year Martí veteran has been stripped of his duties.

■ Mas ordered Radio Martí to send a reporter to cover his interview with former Colombian President César Gaviria. "This was done in secret," a station official says. "There was no reason to provide this coverage. It would not have

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GOVERNOR

STATE OF FLORIDA

# Office of the Governor

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## LIZ BALMASEDA

# Military talks ignored plight of repatriated

**T**hey call it a dialogue, but I'm not so sure.

A video depicting friendly talks between U.S. and Cuban military officials at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base last year has set off a fury that extends from Miami to Washington, D.C., where lawmakers are calling for an investigation into the "secret talks."

But it didn't look like a dialogue to me, not a real one.

Granted, the sequences on the video, which arrived on my desk attached to an anonymous note, looked like the Mutual Admiration Society plays Guantanamo. The brass exchanged honors, commendations of some sort, after chatting cordially about implementing the U.S.-Cuba migration accord of May 2, 1995.

The U.S. military lineup included some heavy names — Marine Gen. John Sheehand, who is chief of the U.S. Atlantic Command, the outgoing joint task force commander, Navy Rear Adm. Michael Haskins, and the incoming commander, Marine Col. John McKay. The Cubans brought a general of their own to the table, Carlos Perez Perez.

Those who are angered by the footage, played on local newscasts, scoff at the gracious displays, the gifts, the way McKay calls Perez Perez "Mi General." My general.

That's not my problem with the video. That sort of diplomatic courtesy is just part of the military culture, which leaves the hard words to the politicians.

These were not heads of state, or policymakers. These were not influentials taking on the critical issues affecting Cuba. These "dialoguers" didn't dialogue about free elections or human rights, or the swell of Fidel Castro's power.

They were soldiers, those who implement policy regardless of their own private ideologies.

No one talked about trade, not in the economic sense. No, they talked about luggage, how many pieces a repatriated Cuban can bring back. They were there to dissect the minutiae of repatriation. The trade of the day involved people.

What was really on the table? Human lives. But the officers did not discuss their welfare, or whether they would land in prison upon their return, whether their jobs were lost, their houses snatched, their relatives harassed.

The grainy tape makes something painfully clear: The disregard for the lives of Cuban refugees doesn't stop on Castro's side of the border.

Here was the government Cubans run away from talking to the government they run to. Enemy governments. But that day in that tent, both agreed on something: forcing refugees back, no matter what.

Clinging to the Cuban government's promises of protected status, the U.S. government has routinely repatriated refugees with solid fears of persecution. The Cubans, of course, have not kept their part of the deal. Some returned refugees have been jailed.

Still, Cuba's breach of accord hasn't halted the repatriations.

The video also depicts scenes from inside a bus carrying handcuffed refugees from the base to the Cuban border. One refugee weeps. Another asks why, after a year of peaceful work on the base, he is being sent back.

It ends with a poignant family portrait on Christmas Day. The mother, Geisi Rodriguez, swam to the base with her 4-year-old daughter on her back to join her husband, Reinaldo Roblejo Martin. In spite of their fears of persecution, the three were repatriated in April. Human rights advocates believe the husband is in detention, as are other returned refugees.

That is the real consequence of the joint migration accord. That is what we should think about the next time we watch U.S. and Cuban military officials toast to the "spirit of cooperation."

*Surzanna  
Valdez*

*Miami  
Herald  
7/10/96*

# '94 rafter exodus was end of an era

by ANDRES VIGLUCCI  
Herald Staff Writer

It wasn't so long ago that any Cuban brave or desperate enough to jump on a raft, and lucky enough to survive, was sure to get a helping hand from the United States: rescue at sea and a fast lift to Florida.

Those days are unquestionably over.

For Cuban refugees, the end of 5 years of special treatment by U.S. authorities began in the summer of 1994, with a rash of thefts and hijackings of Cuban government boats and ferries to Florida.

A key incident occurred when a group of Cubans tried to escape the island in a tugboat, the 13 de Marzo, which was sunk by pursuing vessels that rammed it and flooded its decks with water from high-pressure hoses. More than 100 people drowned in a tragedy whose second anniversary will be marked today by an exile flotilla. An angry President Fidel Castro then allowed more than 10,000 rafters to take to the seas unhindered.

To end the influx, the Clinton administration began detaining Cubans who arrived illegally on U.S. soil, and placed 32,000 rescued rafters in camps at the U.S. Navy base at Guantanamo Bay. The caper came May 2, 1995. After long insisting that most Cubans at Guantanamo would be not allowed to enter the United States, the administration reversed itself. The bad news

## DECLINE IN RAFTERS

Since the rafter crisis of August and September 1994 was ended by the Cuba-U.S. migration accord, the number of rafters rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard has dropped dramatically.

1993: 3,656

1994:

Aug. '94: . . . 21,300

Sept. '94: . . . 11,085

Oct. '94: . . . 20

Nov. '94: . . . 3

Dec. '94: . . . 0

1994 total: 37,139

1995: 626

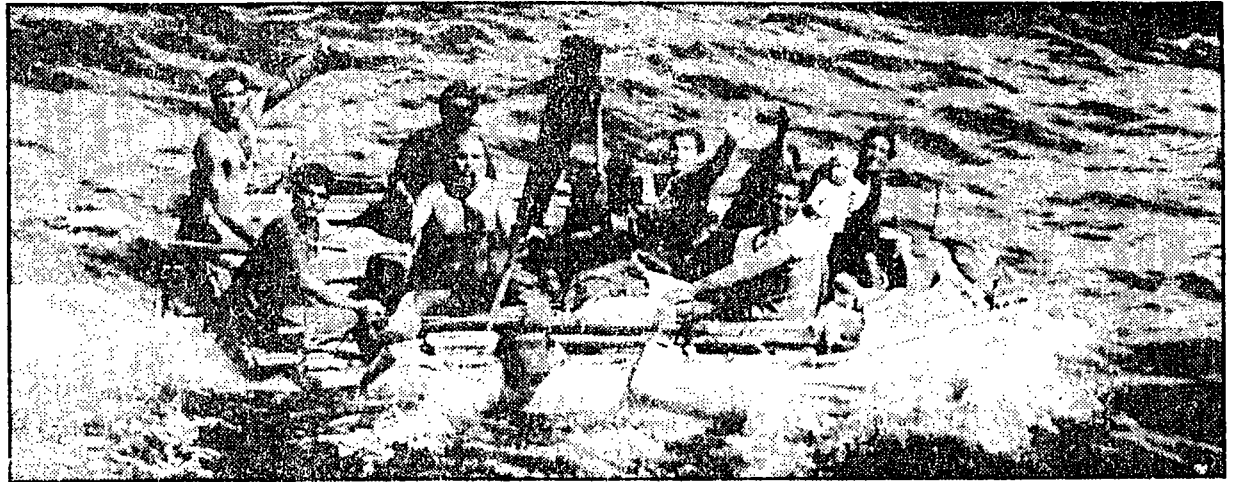
1996 to date: 179

Source: U.S. Coast Guard

for Cubans was that all rafters stopped at sea after that would be automatically taken back the island.

Since then, exiles long accustomed to a special status as refugees from communist repression have witnessed the unthinkable: about 350 rafters repatriated, and the first deportation of a Cuban from Miami in memory, a man sent back to Venezuela last month after entering the United States without documents.

"It's no longer a given that Cubans are fleeing persecution, and that in itself is a major, major change," said Maria Dominguez, executive director of the



CANDACE BARBOT / Herald file

**FLEEING THE ISLAND:** Nine Cubans await rescue aboard a makeshift raft off the northern coast of Cuba during the height of the refugee exodus by sea in August 1994.

Human Rights Institute at St. Thomas University. "It's gone from one extreme to the other. Now the presumption is the opposite.

"I believe in orderly procedure," she said. "But in pursuit of that orderly procedure, we are sending back some people who are going to be persecuted."

On balance, though, Cubans may have come out ahead.

Under the migration accord with Cuba that put an end to the rafter influx, about 35,000 Cubans have received visas to settle in the United States, and about 20,000 more will do so every coming year.

Those who can't get visas continue to try an old route out of Cuba — to third countries, and from there to the United States on an airplane. After initially detaining Cubans who reached U.S. soil following the policy change, sometimes for months, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has quietly and unofficially relaxed its stance.

Though a few Cubans are still detained for periods of several months, and many face a harder time than before obtaining work permits and other legal papers, most are released within days or weeks and eventually win legal status, activists and immigration attorneys say.

"I don't notice any real difference," said veteran Miami immigration lawyer Bob Boyer. "INS runs hot and cold, depending on the tide of the times, depending on whether they want to present a tough public posture.

"They have to juggle political considerations. Occasionally, they may get tough on a Cuban who has really no family here, maybe a male in his 20s. Maybe they're sending a message to the families and the community not to bring these people in who are flying in from third countries. Or they're sending a message to the public in general, that they're being tough. And maybe the following week the focus is off."

The reason: Despite all the poli-

icy changes and tough rhetoric, Cubans are still the beneficiaries of a unique privilege under the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act. Under it, most Cuban refugees qualify to apply for permanent U.S. residency after a year and a day on U.S. soil.

"From a legal perspective, their situation is still much better than anyone else's, and that's because of the Cuban Adjustment Act," said Joan Friedland, an attorney with the Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center in Miami. "Nobody else has that."

So even though the INS now puts most Cubans who arrive at the airport through court hearings called exclusion proceedings, the results are usually moot, because there is no way for the government to send them back home.

"It's an act that makes no economic sense," Friedland said. "It costs money to put people through the exclusion process, and in the end the result is the same."

# DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS

Por la Libertad, la Cultura y la Solidaridad Hemistérica.

NUMERO 306

Miami, Florida Jueves 27 de Junio de 1996

EDICION DE 28 PAGINAS - 2 SECCIONES

## Conmoción por un vídeo

*Altos militares estadounidenses y cubanos intercambian regalos y comparten cordialísimamente en Guantánamo*

Por ARIEL REMOS

Gran conmoción ha causado en el exilio cubano el video de una reunión secreta efectuada en la Base Militar de Guantánamo, al parecer en noviembre o diciembre de 1995, entre altos jefes militares estadounidenses y cubanos, noticia que ocupó los espacios de los noticieros de radio y televisión, cuando los Representantes a la Cámara, Heana Ros-Lehtinen y Lincoln Díaz-Balart, dieron la noticia el martes por la tarde. El video fue enviado desde Cuba en forma clandestina.

**"Es una señal confusa al dictador Castro. O somos enemigos, o no somos enemigos": Heana Ros-Lehtinen**

### Conmoción por un video

(Viene de la pág. 1-A)

Por declaraciones sobre el asunto. Por declaraciones que hizo Ros-Lehtinen de que habían recibido pocas respuestas al cúmulo de preguntas que tenían para hacerles a ambos funcionarios, parece que no salieron muy complacidos. Ninguno de los dos fue expuesto por tratarse de una conversación "clasificada".

El video fue transmitido por las dos emisoras de televisión de Miami Canal 23 y Canal 51, y en él pudieron verse los intercambios jocosos entre los oficiales de ambos países. La reunión parece obedecer a la celebración del acuerdo migratorio logrado entre Cuba y EE.UU., y en el video puede verse al jefe de la Base Naval de Guantánamo, coronel McKay, diciéndole al cubano Pérez y Pérez: "Mi General". El jefe de la Base de Guantánamo que se retiraba, Almirante Haskins, declara que una placa recibida por el General Pérez y Pérez será puesta en "un lugar de honor". Y un mapa militar detallado de la Base, es entregado a Pérez y Pérez por los militares norteamericanos, y es calificado por éste de "un regalo muy serio".

"El video refleja la intimidad de la Administración Clinton con el régimen de Castro, las reacciones de dicha administración de que si las Fuerzas Armadas cubanas deciden ayudar a liberar a Cuba, EE.UU. NO las

"El video refleja con toda su ignorancia -declaró también Díaz-Balart- "la inmoralidad de la política de la Administración Clinton, de repatriar forzosamente a los refugiados cubanos. Pérez y Pérez, un conocido asesino, recibe en el video una placa de reconocimiento de parte del Almirante Haskins, pagada por el contribuyente americano".

El video de Guantánamo que ha sido hecho público, demuestra una tradición en las relaciones de las distintas administraciones estadounidenses con la tiranía castrista de realizar este tipo de intercambio amistoso con ella, precisamente en los momentos en que aparentemente las relaciones están más al rojo vivo.

Díaz-Balart pedirá este miércoles a la Cámara de Representantes que se cite a los altos oficiales de las Fuerzas Armadas de EE.UU. que halagaron o entregaron pergaminos a asesinos de la tiranía de Castro, como muestra el video.

El video muestra un cordialísimo intercambio entre los oficiales de ambos países, en el cual, estuvieron presentes el Jefe del Comando Atlántico, General Sheehan, y el General cubano Pérez Pérez. "Refugiados emocionalmente destruidos, se ven cómo son informados que serán devueltos a las fuerzas de seguridad de Castro", dice Díaz-Balart. Pero no sólo eso, sino que en el video ofrecido por el Canal 23 se pudo ver también la forma violenta en que fueron reducidos a la obediencia los balseros que se negaban a ser esposados para devolverlos a

las autoridades cubanas, y cómo los militares estadounidenses procedían a entregarlos. "Da asco e indignación ver ese sentido de amistad y respeto entre personas a las que no se les debe", dijo Ros-Lehtinen.

Tanto Díaz-Balart como Ros-Lehtinen participaron en una reunión "clasificada" con el Director de la Agencia Central de Inteligencia (CIA), John Deutsch, y con el Subsecretario de Estado para Asuntos Políticos Peter Tarnoff, pidiendo ex-

(Pasa a la Pág. 13-A Col. 1)



**"El video refleja la intimidad de la Administración Clinton con el régimen de Castro": Lincoln Díaz-Balart**

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NOTE FOR LEE WILLIAMS

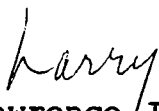
My information is that Ms. Christine Ellerby (sp?) is handling Cuban/Haitian Immigration and Cuban Refugee issues for the White House. The telephone number given me is (202) 395-4486.

I've given this information to Silvia Wilhelm, who brought some 15 letters back from her recent visit to relatives in Cuba, the letters having to do with participating in the "lottery" for entry into the USA.

A year or so back, you and I had lunch with Silvia's husband, Charles (Chuck) Wilhelm, MD, who is currently the Chief Medical Officer for The Principal HMO, headquartered in Rockville. During their recent 10-day Cuban visit, Chuck drew lots of attention because of the rarity of seeing a Norte Americano in Cuba these days.

These two extraordinarily fine people want to help see Cuba evolve in constructive ways, particularly in the organization of its medical and health care service system. It would be very helpful if they could spend some time with Ms. Ellerby in the coming weeks, - perhaps a lunch meeting - and your assistance in making this possible will be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

  
Lawrence J. O'Brien  
1200 N. Nash St. #535  
Arlington, Va. 22209

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO: Karen Hancox**  
**FR: Richard Sullivan**  
**RE: Cuban Issues Correspondence**  
**DT: March 5, 1996**

**We would like to have the following people included in any meetings or on any correspondence lists that are being set up in order to discuss current Cuban issues:**

**Vivian Mannerud**  
**President**  
**Airline Brokers Company, Inc.**  
**3971 S.W. 8th Street**  
**Suite 307**  
**Miami, FL 33134**  
**305-871-1260 phone**  
**305-447-0965 fax**  
**305-868-0199 home**

**Jorge Perez**  
**President**  
**The Related Companies**  
**2828 Coral Way**  
**Penthouse 1**  
**Miami, FL 33145**  
**305-460-9900**  
**305-460-9911**

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON**  
**RADIO ACTUALITY FOR CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY**

**(TAPED ON MAY 17, 1996)**

Greetings to all listeners of Radio Marti. I bring the warm wishes of the American people on this Cuban Independence Day. Today, we renew our common commitment to bring democracy to Cuba, and stand as one with all who strive to build a better future for its people.

Earlier this year, the Cuban government's downing of two American aircraft revealed the regime's brutality to the world. The planes were unarmed, the pilots unwarned. They posed no threat to Cuba's security. And the recent crackdown on human rights leaders and independent journalists is further proof of Cuba's contempt for basic human rights.

Today, the pressure for change in Cuba comes from around the world. Last month, the United Nations Human Rights Commission adopted a resolution condemning human rights abuses. The European Union has halted plans for a trade agreement with Cuba -- until the regime moves toward democracy, opens its economy, safeguards human rights.

For three and a half years now, our administration has encouraged Cuba's peaceful transition to democracy. We are working hard to implement the "Libertad" Act, which tightens our economic embargo against the Castro regime. We have promoted the free flow of ideas into Cuba, and will continue to keep faith with the courageous individuals who are struggling for liberty in their land -- often at great personal risk.

In our time, democracy has swept the globe -- from Central Europe to South Africa to all but one nation in our hemisphere. The Cuban people must receive the blessings of freedom they have been so long denied. I will continue to stand by you as you make that dream a reality.

###

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                  | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001. list                | re: White House Helms-Burton Signing [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (6 pages) | 03/12/1996 | b(6)        |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Public Liaison  
Suzanna Valdez  
OA/Box Number: 9446

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba File 1996 [Binder 2] [2]

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### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

WHITE HOUSE HELMS-BURTON SIGNING LIST

[001]

| NAME                        | S.S.# | D.O.B |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|
| 1. Paul Cejas               |       |       |
| 2. Maria Elena Torano       |       |       |
| 3. Simon Ferro              |       |       |
| 4. Alfy Fanjul              |       |       |
| 5. Jorge Bolanos            |       |       |
| 8. Carlos Portes            |       |       |
| 9. Herminio San Roman       |       |       |
| 10. Wilfredo Braceras       |       |       |
| 11. Luis Aguilar Leon       |       |       |
| 12. Luis Lauredo            |       |       |
| 13. Alejandro Aguirre       |       |       |
| 14. Adalberto Tosca         |       |       |
| 15. Huber Matos             |       |       |
| 16. Julio Estorino          |       |       |
| 17. Juan Reinerio Gonzalez  |       |       |
| 18. Silvia Iriondo          |       |       |
| 19. Elena D. Amos           |       |       |
| 20. Frank Calzon            |       |       |
| 21. Marlene Alejandre       |       |       |
| 22. Jose Collado            |       |       |
| 23. Eugenio Llamera         |       |       |
| 24. Rafael Morales          |       |       |
| 25. Mirta Mendez            |       |       |
| 26. Juan Suarez Riva        |       |       |
| 27. Carlos Alberto Montaner |       |       |
| 28. Sebastian Arcos         |       |       |
| 29. Mario Chanes            |       |       |
| 30. Berta Milian            |       |       |
| 31. Luisa Garcia Toledo     |       |       |
| 32. Agustin Garcia          |       |       |
| 33. Jesus Permuy            |       |       |
| 34. Andre Vargas Gomez      |       |       |
| 35. Antonio Jorge           |       |       |
| 37. Manolo Reyes            |       |       |
| 38. Maurice Ferre           |       |       |
| 39. Dennis Hayes            |       |       |
| 40. Joe Pena                |       |       |
| 41. Carlos Herrera          |       |       |
| 42. Carlos Perez            |       |       |
| 43. Juan Amado              |       |       |
| 44. Rolando Bonachea        |       |       |

(b)(6)

REP. MENENDEZ LIST

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Eladio Valdez-Cuellar   |  |
| 2. Ricardo Fernandez-Llosa |  |
| 3. Rigoberto Peguaro       |  |
| 4. Luis Israel Abreu       |  |
| 5. Angel M. Alfonso        |  |
| 6. Fausto Castro           |  |
| 7. Mario Rodriguez         |  |
| 8. Otto Reich              |  |
| 9. Camilo Fernandez        |  |

(b)(6)

55. Wilfredo Ferrer
56. Leticia Callava
57. Ivonne Soler
58. Joseph Ginarte
59. Tomas Garcia Fuste
60. Miriam De La Pena
61. Arturo Aloma
62. Jay Fernandez
63. Ricardo Mendez
64. Edilfa E. Perez
65. Mario T. de la Pena
66. Elio Muller

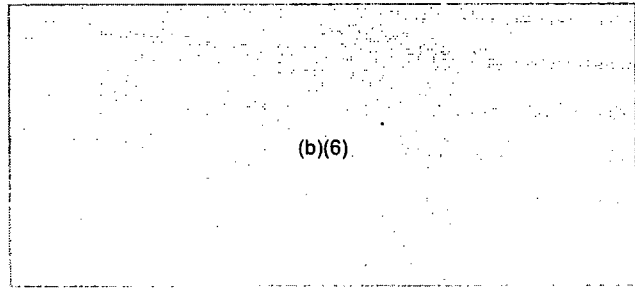
(b)(6)

**REP. MENENDEZ LIST**

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3. Rigoberto Peguaro
4. Luis Israel Abreu
5. Angel M. Alfonso
6. Fausto Castro
7. Mario Rodriguez
8. Otto Reich
9. Camilo Fernandez
10. Rene Abreu
11. Angel Estrada
12. Dr. Orlando Edraira
13. Jose Selaya
14. Arnaldo Monzon
15. Rafael Fragueta
16. Eneida Cardozo
17. Lazaro Alvarez, Sr.
18. Lazaro Alvarez, Jr.
19. Medardo Perez
20. Horacio Garcia
21. Julia Valdivia
22. Marcial Alvarez
24. Jose Manuel Alvarez
25. Antonio Acosta
26. Oswaldo Cano
27. Ricardo Montero Duque
28. Estela De La Cruz
29. Virgilio Cabello
30. Julio Sabatar
31. Zulina Farber
32. Manuel Ruiz
33. Oreste Perez
34. Berrabe Cabrera
35. Nelson Sobrino
36. Manolo Perez
37. Manuel Alcobar
38. Albio Sires
39. Raul Garcia
40. Carlos Rubio
41. Paquito D'Rivera

(b)(6)

- 42. Guillermo Estevez
- 43. Pedro Perez
- 44. Alicia Morejon
- 45. Jorge Mas Canosa
- 46. Francisco Jose Hernandez
- 47. Esther Montero
- 48. Alberto Hernandez



EVENT: CUBAN BILL SIGNING WITH POTUS, ROOM 450  
DATE: 12 MARCH, 1996  
TIME: 10:00 AM

| LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | DOB | SSN |
|-----------|------------|-----|-----|
|-----------|------------|-----|-----|

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|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| ABREU         | LUIS ISRAEL |
| ABREU         | LUIS        |
| ABREU         | RENE        |
| ACOSTA        | ANTONIO     |
| AGUIRRE       | ALEJANDRO   |
| ALCOBAR       | MANUEL      |
| ALCOBAR       | MANUEL      |
| ALEJANDRE     | MARLENE     |
| ALFONSO       | ANGEL       |
| ALVAREZ       | LAZARO      |
| ALVAREZ       | MARCIAL     |
| ALVAREZ       | JOSE MANUAL |
| ALVAREZ       | LAZARO      |
| AMIGO         | MARGARITA   |
| AMOS          | ELENA       |
| ARGOTE FREYRE | FRANK       |
| AVILA         | RENE        |
| AVILA         | ALINA       |
| BETANCOURT    | ERNESTO     |
| BOLANOS       | JORGE       |
| BONACHEA      | ROLANDO     |
| BRACERAS      | WILFREDO    |
| CABELLO       | VIRGILIO    |
| CABRERA       | BERRABE     |
| CALLAVA       | LETICIA     |
| CALZON        | FRANK       |
| CANO          | OSWALDO     |
| CARDOZO       | ENEIDA      |
| CASTRO        | FAUSTO      |
| CEJAS         | PAUL        |
| CHANES        | MARIO       |
| CHRISTIANSEN  | JODI        |
| COLLADO       | JOSE        |
| D'RIVERA      | PAQUITO     |
| DE LA CRUZ    | ESTELA      |
| DECARDENA     | JORGE       |
| DEL VALLE     | CLARA       |
| DELA PENA     | MIRIAM      |
| DONES         | OFELIA      |
| EDRAIARA      | ORLANDO     |
| ESTEVEZ       | GUILLERMO   |
| ESTORINO      | JULIO       |
| ESTRADA       | ANGEL       |
| FARBER        | ZULINA      |

(b)(6)

FERNANDEZ  
FERNANDEZ-LLOSA  
FERNANDEZ-LLOSA  
FERRE  
FERRER  
FERRO  
FISK  
FONT  
FRAGUELA  
FREER  
FUSTE  
GARCIA  
GARCIA  
GARCIA TOLEDO  
GARCIA  
GINARTE  
GONZALEZ  
HAYES  
HERNANDEZ  
HERNANDEZ  
HERRERA  
HUTTON  
IRIONDO  
JORGE  
KARATNYCKY  
KHULY  
LAUREDO  
LEON  
LEWIS  
LLAMERA  
MAS CANOSA  
MATOS  
MEDINA  
MELUZA  
MENDEZ  
MILIAN  
MONTANER  
MONTERO  
MONTERO DUQUE  
MONZON  
MORALES  
MOREJON  
NORIEGA  
OLIVA  
OTERO  
PALOMARES  
PANDO  
PARKER  
PEGUARO  
PEGUARO  
PENA  
PEREZ  
PEREZ  
PEREZ

CAMILO  
RICARDO  
RICARDO  
MAURICE  
WILFREDO  
SIMON  
DANIEL  
JOSE ANTONIO  
RAFAEL  
ROBERT  
TOMAS  
AGUSTIN  
RAUL  
LUISA  
HORACIO  
JOSEPH  
JUAN REINERIO  
DENNIS  
ALBERTO  
FRANCISCO  
CARLOS  
MICHAEL  
SILVIA  
ANTONIO  
ADRIAN  
PATRICIA  
LUIS  
LUIS AGUILAR  
RETA  
EUGENIO  
JORGE  
HUBER  
MANUEL  
LOURDES  
MIRTA  
BERTA  
CARLOS ALBERTO  
ESTHER  
RICARDO  
ARNALDO  
RAFAEL  
ALICIA  
ROGER  
ENEIDO  
JOAQUIN  
CARLOS  
ALBERTO  
MARILYN  
RIGOBERTO  
RIGOBERTO  
JOE  
ORESTE  
PEDRO  
CARLOS

(b)(6)

PEREZ  
PEREZ  
PERMUY  
PERMUY  
PORTES  
REICH  
REYES  
REYNERI  
RODRIGUEZ  
RODRIGUEZ  
ROMAN  
ROMERO  
RUBIO  
RUIZ  
SABATAR  
SELAYA  
SIRES  
SOBRINO  
SOLER  
SUAREZ RIVAS  
TENRIERO  
TORANO  
TOSCA  
VALDEZ-CUELLAR  
VALDEZ-CUELLAR  
VALDIVIA  
VARGAS GOMEZ  
VILLALBA  
WILSON

MANOLO  
MEDARDO  
PEDRO  
JESUS  
CARLOS  
OTTO  
MANOLO  
NELSON  
JUAN AMADOR  
MARIO  
HERMINIO SAN  
KIKI  
CARLOS  
MANUEL  
JULIO  
JOSE  
ALBIO  
NELSON  
IVONNE  
JUAN  
JOSE  
MARIA ELENA  
ADALBERTO  
ELADIO  
ELADIO  
JULIA  
ANDRES  
JORGE  
SCOTT

21

6/10/11/11

11/11/11

*Claudio Benedi*

(b)(6)

from: Harold Ickes

**JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY**

9TH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

**COMMITTEE ON RULES**  
RANKING DEMOCRATIC MEMBER

JOHN WEINFURTER  
CHIEF OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON

FREDERICK W. CLARK  
DISTRICT DIRECTOR  
BOSTON

E-mail: [jmoakley@hr.house.gov](mailto:jmoakley@hr.house.gov)

URL: <http://www.house.gov/moakley/welcome.html>



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**

**Washington, DC 20515-2109**

June 7, 1996

**PLEASE RESPOND TO:**

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WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
(202) 225-8273  
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(617) 565-2920  
(617) 439-5460  
FAX: (617) 439-5157
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(508) 824-6676  
FAX: (508) 880-3520
- ☐ BROCKTON FEDERAL BUILDING  
166 MAIN STREET  
BROCKTON, MA 02401  
(508) 586-5555  
FAX: (508) 580-4692

The Honorable Anthony Lake  
National Security Advisor  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Tony:

Recently officials in the State and Treasury Departments have been discussing the humanitarian, economic and enforcement problems occasioned by the current ban on direct charter air service between the United States and Cuba.

Constituents, members of the Cuban American community and humanitarian organizations active in providing support for the Cuban people have communicated to me the difficulties inherent in the current policy.

The policy of banning direct charter air service between the U.S. and Cuba substantially increases the hardship and expense for Cuban Americans to visit their families. One practical effect is the increased hard currency for the Cuban government resulting from more passengers using their airline. Another result is additional costs for the U.S. taxpayer and complications for the Treasury Department in trying to enforce the policy.

The United States should permit direct air service between the United States and Cuba.

In refining this policy, the U.S. should be especially concerned about the Cuban American families and the humanitarian organizations who have accomplished so much in alleviating the suffering of the Cuban people.

In refining this policy, the U.S. should be especially concerned about the Cuban American families and the humanitarian organizations who have accomplished so much in alleviating the suffering of the Cuban people.

Please keep me advised of the Administration's deliberations on this important issue and anything I can do to assist in this process.

Sincerely,

*Joe Moakley*  
JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY  
Member of Congress

JJM:sl

cc: Mr. Harold Ickes

Dear Ms. Mannerud:

Thank you for your recent letter. As you know, the Cuba issue is a complicated one, but it is good to know that you are in agreement with the President's policies in the wake of the Cuban Government's shootdown of the two Brother to the Rescue airplanes.

You have outlined a variety of issues in your letter that should be addressed by the appropriate agencies whom have jurisdiction over such issues. I will ensiure that your concerns are addressed by the appropriate officials in the administration.

5/24 Send copy to  
Suzanna Valdez and ask  
her to draft a response  
for Harold.

# A.B.C.

P.O. BOX 997328 • MIAMI, FLORIDA 33299  
TELEX 408379 • FAX (305) 447-0965

May 23, 1996 **Airline Brokers Co. Inc.**

Mr. Harold Ickes  
Assistant to the President and  
Deputy Chief of Affairs for  
Policy & Political Affairs  
Office of the President  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
First Floor, West Wing  
Washington, D.C. 20500

I am writing to request your assistance in resolving some of the problems that have arisen from the new policy on flights to Cuba.

There is no doubt in my mind that President Clinton had to do something to protect U.S. citizens after the shoot down of the two civilian aircraft, and I understand that direct flights between the two countries were banned for safety reasons. Thankfully, in establishing the ban, the President recognized the importance of family reunification and did not prohibit Cuban Americans from visiting their family in Cuba. Cuban Americans and other licensed U.S. persons, under the new policy on the flights, may travel to and from Cuba via third countries.

Unfortunately, the new policy appears to contradict the very purpose of the embargo -- to deny the Cuban Government money. While the new policy permits my company, Airline Brokers ("ABC"), to operate charter flights between the U.S. and a third country for authorized travelers, it does not permit ABC to charter aircraft between the third country and Cuba. Rather, ABC must reserve seats for authorized travelers on existing flights between the third country and Cuba, provided the aircraft that operates the third country-Cuba flight is not the same as the aircraft ABC chartered for the U.S.-Cuba flight (this is the change in aircraft requirement). Because of scheduling and other problems, most of the travelers must now travel on Cubana Airlines flights operating between Cancun and Havana. The result of U.S. policy on the flights, therefore, is that a significant amount of money is now paid to Cubana -- the Cuban Government -- rather than to the U.S. airlines that previously operated my direct charter flights.

The new flight policy, moreover, has reduced the ability of our government to enforce the embargo. The Office of Foreign Assets Control ("OFAC") did not impose the change in aircraft requirement on authorized travelers or on foreign carriers operating between the U.S. and third countries. Authorized travelers, therefore, may purchase tickets on scheduled flights that foreign carriers operate via third countries, regardless of whether there is a change in aircraft. These travelers (as well as unauthorized travelers) naturally prefer to travel on foreign carriers' flights, which are not subject to OFAC's jurisdiction, than to travel on ABC's highly

regulated and monitored flights. Because OFAC does not have the manpower to monitor every flight departing the U.S., it cannot prevent U.S. persons from violating the embargo.

In addition, the new flight policy has isolated the U.S. Interests Section ("USINT"). The USINT cannot arrange for the transportation of diplomatic pouches and other embassy goods on flights operated by Cubana or any other Cuban carrier. Because ABC is precluded from operating charter flights between the third country and Cuba, and because, for operational and other reasons, ABC has been limited to placing passengers and cargo on Cubana flights, ABC cannot transport USINT diplomatic pouches and embassy goods. With the USINT unable to receive or send important papers and goods, the ban on direct flights has virtually isolated our own government's outpost in Cuba.

The new flight policy also has jeopardized the U.S. refugee program. Prior to the ban on direct flights, ABC transported to the U.S. Cuban nationals, immigrating to the United States under the program established by the International Organization for Migration ("IOM"). These immigrants, however, cannot travel on Cubana. Because ABC has been limited to placing authorized passengers and cargo on Cubana flights, ABC cannot arrange the transportation of Cuban refugees to the U.S.

I recently requested that OFAC reconsider its one aspect of its new policy on the flights. I enclose a copy of my letter to OFAC for your review. In this letter, I proposed a solution that would require the least amount of change in the current policy with respect to the Cuba flights: I would like ABC to be able to operate charter flights between the U.S. and a third country and to place ABC passengers on continuing flights to Cuba. Ideally, I would like to be able to charter flights between both the U.S. and a third country and between the third country and Cuba, but I did not specifically request authority to do that because I was trying to find the simplest way to resolve the problems with the indirect flights.

I understand that while OFAC and the Department of State find my solution acceptable, others question ABC's proposed solution. I believe that the proposal will not only benefit the passengers by reducing their travel time and costs, but it will reduce the amount of money being paid to Cuba for the transportation of authorized travelers, increase enforcement of the embargo, permit the transportation of USINT cargo, and permit the transportation of Cuban refugees to the U.S. I hope you agree, and I respectfully request your assistance in sharing this information with the appropriate decision-makers.

Sincerely,

  
Vivian Mannerud

Enclosure

# A.B.C.

*Copy of letter  
to DUC*

P.O. BOX 997328 • MIAMI, FLORIDA 33299  
TELEX 408379 • FAX (305) 447-0965

**Airline Brokers Co. Inc.**

TRACY:

MAY 22, 1996

I WILL ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN THIS SITUATION WITHOUT GETTING INTO A LONG DRAWN OUT LETTER.

SINCE THE SHOOTING DOWN OF THE TWO CIVILIAN AIRCRAFTS BY THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT, THE PRESIDENT CONTINUED TO PROTECT FAMILY TRAVEL, ALTHOUGH PASSENGERS MUST NOW TRAVEL THROUGH A THIRD COUNTRY.

I HAVE CONTINUED MY FLIGHTS TAKING MY PASSENGERS TO CANCUN, HOWEVER, I AM NOT ALLOWED TO CHARTER THE CANCUN/HAVANA PORTION OF THE FLIGHT. I MUST PUT MY PASSENGERS ON EXISTING FLIGHTS OR FLIGHTS CHARTERED BY A FOREIGN COMPANY. WHAT THIS HAS DONE IS THAT NOW MY PASSENGERS TRAVEL TO CUBA FROM CANCUN ON CUBANA AIRLINES. IN OTHER WORDS, ALL THE MONEY THAT MY COMPANY AND THE U.S. CARRIERS THAT I UTILIZED, IS NOW BEING PAID TO CUBA. I DO NOT THINK THIS IS WHAT THE PRESIDENT INTENDED TO DO. IN ADDITION TO MY PROBLEMS, U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT HAS VIRTUALLY LOST CONTROL OF ENFORCEMENT. WHILE AUTHORIZED CHARTER OPERATORS, LIKE MYSELF, HAD CONTROL OF THE FLIGHTS, TREASURY WAS ABLE TO ENFORCE PROPERLY. NOW TREASURY HAS NO CONTROL.

WE GAVE TREASURY AND STATE A PROPOSAL ON HOW TO FIX THIS PROBLEM AND BENEFIT BOTH THE CHARTER COMPANIES AND TREASURY. WE UNDERSTAND THAT BOTH TREASURY AND STATE HAVE NO PROBLEMS, BUT NOW IT IS STUCK AT THE WHITE HOUSE POLITICAL DESK.

THE PROPOSAL WOULD ALLOW US TO CHARTER BOTH LEGS OF THE FLIGHT, GIVE TREASURY CONTROL OF THE PASSENGERS AND NOT HAVE TO PAY CUBA FOR THEIR FLIGHTS. THESE FLIGHTS WOULD STILL OPERATE THROUGH A THIRD COUNTRY.

I MUST REMIND YOU, THAT WE ARE STILL OBJECTING TO HAVING TO HAVE OUR PASSENGERS TRAVEL THROUGH A THIRD COUNTRY. WE UNDERSTAND THE PRESIDENT HAD SOME DIFFICULT DECISIONS TO MAKE, BUT QUITE HONESTLY IT SEEMS THAT MY PASSENGERS ARE THE ONES THAT ULTIMATELY PAY THE PRICE. IF THIS TRULY IS A SAFETY ISSUE, WHY IS IT THAT ALL U.S. CARRIERS ARE STILL ALLOWED TO FLY OVER CUBA.

WE HAVE PREPARED A FAIR PROPOSAL THAT TREASURY AND STATE SEEM TO AGREE WITH AND WE HOPE THAT THIS DOES NOT GET HELD UP AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

THANK YOU,

VIVIAN MANNERUD  
PRESIDENT

from: Harold Ickes

**JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY**  
9TH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

**COMMITTEE ON RULES**  
RANKING DEMOCRATIC MEMBER

JOHN WEINFURTER  
CHIEF OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON

FREDERICK W. CLARK  
DISTRICT DIRECTOR  
BOSTON

E-mail: [jmoakley@hr.house.gov](mailto:jmoakley@hr.house.gov)  
URL: <http://www.house.gov/moakley/welcome.html>



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515-2109**  
June 7, 1996

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☐ BROCKTON FEDERAL BUILDING  
166 MAIN STREET  
BROCKTON, MA 02401  
(508) 586-5555  
FAX: (508) 580-4692

The Honorable Anthony Lake  
National Security Advisor  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Tony:

Recently officials in the State and Treasury Departments have been discussing the humanitarian, economic and enforcement problems occasioned by the current ban on direct charter air service between the United States and Cuba.

Constituents, members of the Cuban American community and humanitarian organizations active in providing support for the Cuban people have communicated to me the difficulties inherent in the current policy.

The policy of banning direct charter air service between the U.S. and Cuba substantially increases the hardship and expense for Cuban Americans to visit their families. One practical effect is the increased hard currency for the Cuban government resulting from more passengers using their airline. Another result is additional costs for the U.S. taxpayer and complications for the Treasury Department in trying to enforce the policy.

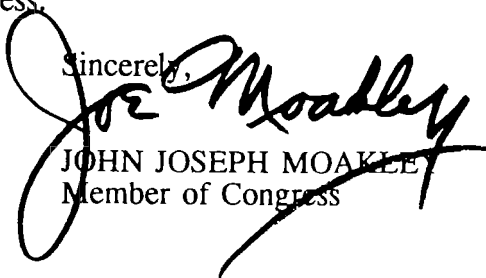
The United States should permit direct air service between the United States and Cuba.

In refining this policy, the U.S. should be especially concerned about the Cuban American families and the humanitarian organizations who have accomplished so much in alleviating the suffering of the Cuban people.

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Please keep me advised of the Administration's deliberations on this important issue and anything I can do to assist in this process.

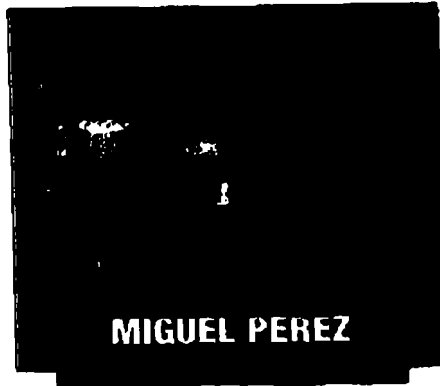
Sincerely,

  
JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY  
Member of Congress

JJM:sl

cc: Mr. Harold Ickes

## THE RECORD



MIGUEL PEREZ

## Our man in Geneva

**B**ack from Switzerland, where he headed the American delegation at a meeting of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, Rep. Robert Menendez, D-Union City, conveys a sense of accomplishment. In Geneva, he got a 20-6 vote on a harshly worded U.S. resolution condemning Cuba's human rights violations, including jailing dissidents and downing civilian planes.

But there is another vote in question here: the vote of the Cuban-American community in New Jersey and Florida, where President Clinton's critics believe he is using Menendez to neutralize what would otherwise be an overwhelming rejection of his presidency in November. Menendez also stood next to the president March 12, when Clinton signed the Helms-Burton bill into law, reinforcing the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

From Menendez's perspective, however, he would be foolish to pass up an opportunity to convey the horrific truth about the Fidel Castro regime to the most naive or leftist members of the Clinton administration. Indeed, Menendez, the son of Cuban parents, would be derelict in his duty to his constituents and his own family if he were to miss a chance to sway the administration toward a harder line against Castro.

By signing Helms-Burton and sending Menendez to Geneva, skeptics believe Clinton is being politically expedient, pretending to care for Cuban-Americans because this is an election year — trying to soften the impact of the vote of many Cubans who strongly resent his administration.

Many Cubans had vowed to vote against Clinton since he overturned long-standing U.S. policy of granting political asylum to Cuban exiles and cut secret deals with the Castro regime to forcibly return refugees to Cuba, becoming an accomplice of Castro's repression.

But Menendez quotes his deceased father — "There is nothing more beautiful than to be grateful" — to argue that Clinton's recent actions can get him Cuban-American votes if he continues to follow "the hard-line path against the [Castro] regime, recognizing that it's the only way we will achieve change."

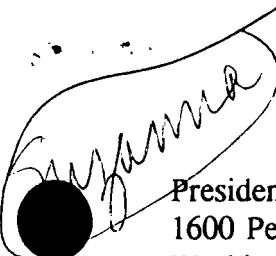
Menendez said he has been critical of the administration when it has taken the wrong position on Cuba, but he has "always said that the best friend the Cuban community has in this administration is the president himself."

"I have always believed that the president is the one who has been most sincerely and honestly on our side, and that his advisers have done a poor job and a disservice to the president. Thank God there has been a cleanup of all those advisers at the White House," he said.

Menendez dismissed rumors that he would leave Congress to become a full-time White House staffer. "But we hope we can continue to have a voice within the administration for it to continue on the right path, so that it can do what I believe the whole world and this whole country wants: to bring Cuba within the family of democratic nations in this hemisphere."

Menendez challenged Cuban Republicans to hold their party leaders accountable when they fail to take the right position on Cuba, including leading Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole. And yet a year ago, when Menendez initially supported the president's decision to repatriate Cuban rafters trying to reach Florida, he was accused of placing his party over his people.

But it was refreshing to see how quickly Menendez rectified his apparent mental lapse and became critical of that policy. He said Cuban-Americans should look at all politicians "and not act blindly, as I have not been blinded when President Clinton has been wrong." In the meantime, Cuban-American voters have six more months to determine whether the new anti-Castro Clinton is the real Clinton.



President Bill Clinton  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton:

We write as deeply committed interreligious leaders to urge you to release a quantity of medical aid for Cuba which has been detained by the US Treasury Department.

We understand that an ecumenical group of Cuban religious organizations has requested a donation of used computers -- 286s which are practically obsolete by US standards -- to help build a medical information network which was founded with support from the Pan American Health Organization and the United Nations. US and Canadian citizens, under the auspices of the project Pastors for Peace, responded to that call. They were met with brutal treatment by US Treasury officers, and the used donated medical computers they attempted to take to Cuba were all seized.

We are writing to urge that these medical computers be immediately released to go to their intended destination.

Whatever the politics of US/Cuba relations, our government's restriction of the free flow of food and medical aid violates international conventions and the precepts of the religious bodies which we represent. A nation as powerful as ours can easily afford to be generous with respect to this outdated equipment which will clearly be put to humanitarian use.

The World Council of Churches has offered to assume responsibility for delivering and monitoring this medical aid, to be sure that it is used for its intended humanitarian purpose.

Your leadership, as our President and as a man of faith, would be well expressed in this instance in the scriptural mandate given in Matthew 25 -- to heal the sick, feed the hungry, give a cup of cold water to those who thirst.

We are deeply concerned for the health of the five fasters who represent the Pastors for Peace project of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization. As they enter the eighth week of their fast of repentance, their dedication to this cause is an inspiration. We are equally concerned for the health of the Cuban people, many of them members of our denominations, who have suffered needlessly under a policy which denies them countless necessities for their daily lives.

We urge you to act quickly to release the medical computers for shipment to Cuba. We await your reply.

Sincerely,

APR 23 1994

Sister Dianna Ortiz, OSF; Ursuline Sister of Mount Saint Joseph  
 Rev. Elvina Giddings Ivory, Director, Washington Office, Presbyterian Church, USA  
 Rev. Jay Lintner, Director, Washington Office, United Church of Christ Office for Church and Society  
 Rev. Paul Ojibway, SA, Interfaith Impact for Justice and Peace  
 Jaydee Hanson, Assistant General Secretary, General Board of Church and Society, United Methodist Church  
 James H. Matlack, Director, Washington Office, American Friends Service Committee  
 Terence W. Miller, Director, Justice and Peace Office, Maryknoll Society  
 Anna Rhee, Office of Public Policy, Women's Division, United Methodist Church  
 Michael J. Dodd, Director, Justice and Peace Office, Columban Fathers  
 David Saperstein, Director, Religious Action of Reform Judaism  
 Jane Hull Harvey, Assistant General Secretary, Ministry of God's Human Community, General Board of Church and Society, United Methodist Church  
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 Ned Stowe, Friends Committee on National Legislation  
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 Marilyn B. Clement, Director, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Philadelphia, PA  
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 Thomas W. Olcott, Executive Director, Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland  
 The Rev. Max B. Surjadinata, Pastor, Mount Vernon Heights Congregational Church (United Church of Christ), Mount Vernon, NY  
 The Rev. Elice Higginbotham, Director, AIDS Interfaith New York  
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 Sister Amy Kistner, Congregational Minister, Sisters of St. Francis, Oldenburg, IN  
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Ms. Kathleen L. Sullivan, Canterbury Episcopal Student Center, DeKalb, IL

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Lucy Jones-Voisey, Ph.D., Campus Christian Center, Tucson, AZ

Rev. Regis Ryan, Executive Director, Focus on Renewal, McKees Rocks, PA

Rev. Donald C. Fisher, Pastor, Parish of St. Peter, Slippery Rock, PA

Rev. Linda S. Slabon, Unitarian Universalist Fellowship, DeKalb, IL

Sister Nancy Wellmeier, S.N.D.de N., Advisory Board, Valley Religious Task Force on Central America, Mesa, AZ

The Rev. Dr. Raymond G. Manker, Minister Emeritus, First Unitarian Universalist Church of Phoenix, Paradise Valley, AZ

The Rev. John W. Monroe III, Pastor, Heritage Baptist Church, Glendale, AZ

The Rev. Leslie S. Argueta-Vogel, Pastor, Covenant Presbyterian Church, Phoenix, AZ

The Rev. Margaret Lindamood, Pastor, Palo Cristi Presbyterian Church, Paradise Valley, AZ

The Rev. Al Gephart, Pastor, University Presbyterian Church, Tempe, AZ

The Rev. Ian N. McPherson, Covenant Presbyterian Church, Phoenix, AZ

Donald E. Yoder, Area Minister, Pacific Southwest Mennonite Conference, Tempe, AZ

Dr. Warren H. Stewart, Sr., Pastor, First Institutional Baptist Church, Phoenix, AZ

Dr. Hefin Jones, Secretary, Christian Citizenship Division, Union of Welsh Independents (Congregational), NERC Centre for Population Biology, Imperial College at Silwood Park Ascot, Berkshire, Wales

Gunter Pistorius, Berlin, Germany

Mary Webber, Director, Center for Religion, Ethics, and Social Policy, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY

The Rev. William Clay Parnell, Rector, Christ Episcopal Church, Hackensack, NJ

Vicki Capestany, Los Gatos, CA

Rev. Paul Collinson-Streng, Lutheran Pastor, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA)

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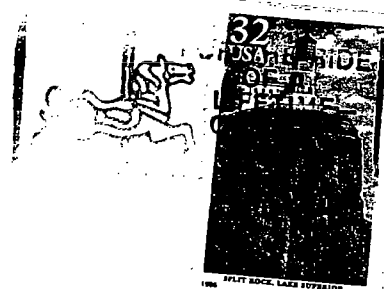
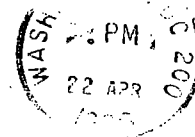
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