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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 28, 1994

Joe ✓
FYI
Reta

UNCLASSIFIED
MEMORANDUM

TO: Ricki Seidman
C Reta Lewis
Richard Feinberg

FROM: Charles A. Gillespie, Jr. 

Here is the Miami package. It is heavy in every sense of the word.

If it will help, here's a summary:

The Herald published a story based on a Spanish newspaper's interview with Jorge Mas Canosa, head of CANF. That elicited a strong response from Mas and a number of his supporters and critics. Mas went on local radio and, among other things, accused Lawrence of a vendetta. (There is a lengthy history of bad blood between Mas and Lawrence, including threats against Lawrence's life by people who claim to be on Mas's side.) Now there is the CANF ad and Lawrence's op-ed. Apparently there will be more tomorrow from the Herald's owners.

Based on today's conference call, I am concerned about spillover in our direction. It sounds like Luis is moving away from any earlier objectivity on the whole Cuba issue. I could use some careful analysis and interpretation. We should have a talk with Buddy MacKay before going much further.

Gillespie

you are correct,
JMC & D.C. have had disagreements
for a long time. This ^{is a} ~~fact~~ ~~is~~ we should
keep out of. It has nothing to do with
the ^{Administrative} ~~Summit~~ ~~agreements~~. Further more if we are viewed
as taking sides, with D.C. for example, the
will mercifully attack the President and
~~will affect the re-election of Gov. Chiles.~~
We don't need this.

JMC is concerned but regarding to our
domestic politics. He should be given the
same respect we give other political and
community leaders. The same goes ^{is true of our relationship w/} ~~for~~ D.C.

The Gov & Buddy McGee can decide if they
want to respond to D.C. ~~It's none of our~~
~~business~~ The N.H. ^{however} must not get involved.

1

The Miami Herald

A Knight-Ridder Newspaper

David Lawrence Jr.
Publisher and Chairman
(305) 376-3525
Fax: (305) 376-8950

July 22, 1994

The Hon. Buddy MacKay
Lieutenant Governor
The Capitol
Plaza Level
Tallahassee, Fla. 32301

Dear Buddy:

This is all quite painful, and something you need to see. Please let me have your wisdom.

You asked me back in March to chair the local arrangements for the Summit of the Americas. Subsequently, I suggested, in the spirit of the diversity and of the future of this community, that a more diverse set of co-chairs be named. Indeed, I suggested the names of the co-chairs who were ultimately selected. And you and I agreed, at my request, that my responsibilities would not include "media," "politics" or "fund-raising" as a matter of my own credibility and newspaper responsibilities.

Eight days ago, on July 14, we ran a story about an interview that Jorge Mas Canosa had in El Pais, the Spanish newspaper. The story was on the bottom of the Local front with a two-column headline. You will find that story attached, as well as three editorial pages where letters on this topic ultimately appeared. (Those letters included a prominently displayed one from Mr. Mas.) We also have run two columns; those are attached as well.

That has led to a series of attacks on Spanish-language radio this week. I have included the Spanish-language texts from two radio segments yesterday, and the translations. The first part of one tape is missing. And there may be other portions, too, that were not taped. This is all we can locate. I think it important that you read these. There are a great many untruths, not to mention slanderous personal attacks. I can detail those untruths as you need, but I think you will recognize most of them.

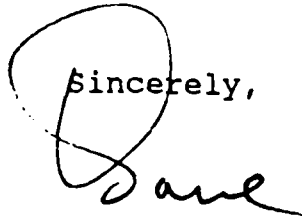


Anyone who knows me well knows that I do not conduct "vendettas" and that I work hard to be fair -- to everyone.

Your counsel would be valued. Indeed, I need it.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Dave Lawrence". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Dave Lawrence

P.S.: I am sharing this with my co-chairs, the top two on-site state people, Ambassador Gillespie (because he is at the center of the State Department planning effort), and the Governor (since his name is used within).

cc: Joaquin Aviño, Gov. Lawton Chiles, Ambassador Charles A. Gillespie, Marilyn Holifield, Luis Lauredo, Jorge Perez, Susan Vodicka

Mas Canosa: U.S. won't be able to run Cuba

By ALFONSO CHARDY
Herold Staff Writer

In an interview published on the Fourth of July, the chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation suggested that Cubans and not the United States would set the course for a post-Castro Cuba.

Asked by El Pais, one of Spain's leading newspapers, whether he believed Americans would take over Cuba if Fidel Castro fell, foundation Chairman Jorge Mas Canosa replied: "That's bulls—. They haven't even been able to take over Miami! If we have kicked them out of here, how could they possibly take over our own country?" That was one of Mas Canosa's

most striking comments in a wide-ranging interview. Among them:

■ A Castro proposal to meet with Mas Canosa, that Mas Canosa rejected. "Fidel Castro has asked me ... to meet with him outside Cuba, but I'm not going to meet with him," Mas Canosa told El Pais. "My meeting with Castro would create false expectations among the Cuban people."

■ A Mas Canosa counter-proposal promising that if Castro goes into exile abroad, the foundation will leave him alone. "We won't persecute him," Mas Canosa told El Pais.

■ A foundation plan for a post-Castro Cuba under which original owners of Castro-confiscated homes and small businesses would be barred from recovering them.

■ Under another post-Castro plan, the Cuban army would be



Mas Canosa



Herold Staff

phorhood
Northwest
48.

Más Canosa: U.S. won't be able to claim Cuba

MAS CANOSA, FROM 1B

dissolved. "Cuba doesn't need an army," Mas Canosa told El Pais. What it needs, he added, is an economic miracle. "I assure you that the German miracle is going to be puny compared with the Cuban miracle. In five or 10 years, we will turn Cuba into one of the most prosperous countries in the Western hemisphere, in competition with the United States and Canada."

Wouldn't return calls

Neither Mas Canosa nor any of his aides returned telephone calls. The Herald faxed to Mas Canosa's business office and the foundation copies of the interview.

Antonio Cano, the El Pais correspondent who interviewed Mas Canosa last month in Miami, said he taped the interview but has since deleted it. Cano also noted that a few days after El Pais published the article, he faxed it to Mas Canosa's office and Mas Canosa did not complain.

Mas Canosa's remarks on Miami came in

a segment of the interview in which the foundation chairman harshly criticizes Spaniards for investing in Cuba and visiting the island as tourists.

"To give aid to Fidel Castro, to help prop up an economy that doesn't benefit the people is an act of unjustifiable collaboration," Mas Canosa told El Pais.

'Economic apartheid'

"Nowadays, the most hated person in Cuba is the Spaniard, because he has helped create a policy of economic apartheid. Cubans are not permitted to enter the grand hotels built by Spaniards. . . . The day Castro falls, the people are going to raid those hotels."

At this point, the El Pais correspondent interjected the following comment: "Some say that, when Castro falls, Americans are going to take over Cuba again."

According to El Pais, Mas Canosa replied the following:

"That's bulls---. They haven't even been able to take over Miami! If we have kicked

them out of here, how could they possibly take over our own country? Americans don't have to be Cuba's owners. We have the money, the ability and the knowledge. I also favor giving the island Cubans a major share. We have to move from a nation of proletarians to a nation of proprietors.

"And we have the simplest formulas to accomplish this. The day after Fidel Castro falls, we will turn four million Cubans into landowners" by allowing current owners to keep their property."

'1,000 ways to eliminate Castro'

Mas Canosa also outlined for El Pais a plan he said he has broached with his contacts in the Cuban government to terminate Castro — without killing him.

"What I favor, and what I've told them, is that when Castro leaves the country for the next [international summit], they should not let him return. There's a thousand ways to eliminate Castro without bloodshed."

Herald Staff Writer Renato Perez contributed to this report.

Jorge Mas: 'This is my true thinking'

Once again, you have tried to distort my thinking and misinform the public about the Cuban American National Foundation and my own personal feelings and thoughts.

The latest attack tries to portray me as a racist, and I flatly deny that. The truth about my feelings concerning Miami and the American people is best exemplified in a videotape of my testimony before Congress earlier this year, seen by thousands of South Floridians.

In that testimony, I not only defend the American dream and express my gratitude to the American people, but

I also state that the success of the Cuban American community in the United States is a "tribute to this country (and the American people), the most generous people on the face of the earth and the best system that ever mankind has conceived."

This is what I believe, and what I am about. This is my true thinking.

JORGE MAS CANOSA
Chairman,
The Cuban American
National Foundation
Miami

[Editor's note: The article to which Mr. Mas refers is based on an interview that he gave to *El Pais*, one of Spain's leading newspapers. Before the article ran, *The Herald* faxed the text of the *El Pais* interview to Mr. Mas and the foundation, but neither responded.

Mr. Mas refers to a portion of the interview in which he was asked whether he believed that Americans would take over Cuba if Fidel Castro fell. Mr. Mas responded: "That's bull— They haven't even been able to take over Miami! If we have kicked them out of here, how could they possibly take over our own country?"

Re the July 14 *Herald* article Mas Canosa: U.S. won't be able to run Cuba, based on an interview that Cuban American National Foundation Chairman Jorge Mas Canosa gave to a Spanish reporter:

I would appreciate a clarification of Mr. Mas's statement "That's bull— They haven't even been able to take over Miami. If we have kicked them out of here, how could they possibly take over our own country?"

Is Mr. Mas speaking of the government of the United States when he refers to "they" and "them"? Is "here" the new country of Miami-Dade County? Is Mr. Mas its head of state?

If there has been a change of government where I reside, then there are issues and questions for which I need immediate answers.

Am I no longer a citizen of the

United States because I reside in Miami? If so, will I no longer have to pay federal taxes? Can I now consider myself a minority citizen of Miami-Dade, with all the benefits that accrue to that classification? Will Spanish be the "official" language of this new country?

I sincerely hope that both Mr. Mas and *The Herald* will further clarify these issues that are of immediate concern to me as a citizen of . . .

ROSE FRIEDMAN
Miami Beach

Finally Mr. Mas shows his true colors! The only difference between him and Fidel Castro is that Fidel stole Cuba through government intervention, while Mr. Mas wants to buy it with American-made dollars and divide it between himself and his cronies at the foundation.

Apparently he thinks that he owns Miami ever since he "kicked the Americans out," so why not own the island, too? While he's at it, why not buy the Vatican and become the next pope?

He's not only arrogant and tacky, he's dumb, dumb, dumb.

Somebody please tell him that he hasn't been elected president of Cuba yet, or of anything else for that matter.

MARTA FERNANDEZ
Miami

Disgusted! Who is Mr. Mas? Does his opinion reflect that of most Cuban Americans here in Miami? I hope not.

Such flattery will get him nowhere. My hope is that Mr. Mas is on the first boat back to Cuba!

ROSEMARY MALONEY
Miami

I didn't realize that Miami was a sovereign entity ruled by Cubans. Does the stars and stripes still fly in front of our government buildings, or is it the "Foundation" banner?

The self-appointed real president of Cuba and spokesman for Cuban-Americans in Miami seems to have crossed the line from reality to fantasy.

Do you really believe that Cubans kicked Americans out of Miami? Do you really believe that Mr. Mas was asked by Castro to meet with him?

Mr. Mas has not been elected (except in his own mind) to any position that I am aware of and his ideas are not the consensus of the Cuban-American community.

ANTONIO SANTEIRO
Miami

It's a real shame that Mr. Mas didn't have the courage to stay and fight for his own country instead of running away to the United States and insulting the people who took him in.

NANCY GORMLEY
Miami

How are the wounds of divisiveness in this city ever going to be healed when we have the chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation rubbing salt into the festering sore? I wish Mr. Mas were more concerned about bringing peace and harmony to Miami, making it possible for its citizens to live and prosper, than in creating a climate for continuing the antagonism of longtime Miamians toward the people who "have taken over our city."

GEORGE BERNSTEIN
South Miami

Cable fees go just one way

Can someone explain to me why when the cable is out for hours on end there is no adjustment on my bill, but when the cable company offers an additional service we are assessed more money?

Is this fair to the consumer?
DONALD G. KANN
Miami



Bravo Shula!

Don Shula is a classy guy. His acceptance of the Jim Thorpe Award on July 11 was a class act. I sure was proud of our coach!

VIC GRIFFITH
Miami Shores

Jorge Mas Canosa: Just what did he mean?

After reading The Herald's July 14 article *Mas Canosa: U.S. won't be able to run Cuba*, a reader would have the impression that Mr. Mas is a staunch anti-American Cuban exile who left his homeland and single-handedly "kicked out" all non-Cuban citizens from Miami.

After coming here from Indiana to work for the summer at the Cuban American National Foundation, I have learned firsthand that nothing could be farther from the truth. Mr. Mas is a symbol of the unlimited opportunities that this great country guarantees all its citizens. He has not "kicked them out of here" as written in the translated article.

If you have any doubts about Mr. Mas's respect for the United States and all Americans, I suggest that you view his passionate testimony before Congress, in which he was one of the few who defended the U.S. government.

Unfortunately, not only were the accurate comments and sentiments

lost in The Herald's translation, but also in Antonio Caño's article in the Spanish newspaper *El País*. As a Cuban American raised in the Midwest, I have been involved in a most American experience at the foundation here in Miami by having the freedom to work toward the democratization of Cuba, and I owe it all to the hard work of a most respectable American citizen: Mr. Mas.

TIM BOWER
Miami Springs

Mr. Mas is an affront to every American, and a special embarrassment to the loyal, appreciative citizens of Cuban heritage. His comment in *El País* — "They (Americans) haven't even been able to take over Miami! If we kicked them out of here, how could they possibly take over our own country?" — is unbelievably ungrateful, arrogant, and divisive, coming from a person who serves as the leader of what passes for one of the most powerful ethnic organizations in the United States.

I am sure that I speak for all of the native-born persons in our country when I demand that he furnish an immediate full apology to the nation that not only took him in as a refugee but also provided him the opportunity to become a multimillionaire.

PHILIP A. THOMAS
Coral Gables

Mr. Mas's opinions definitely do not reflect those of many Americans born on Cuba.

If ever Cuba is free again, the Cubans there would not tolerate a transfer of power from someone bad (Castro) to someone *mas* (Canosa). No matter how many millions Mr. Mas has, it would never be enough to buy himself Cuba, least of all the hearts and votes of the people whom he has shamed with his remarks.

VIRA PEREZ
Miami

P.S.: If some ethnic group "owns" Miami, please tell me. I might pick up the flag and re-exile.

I was hurt and angry when I read about Mr. Mas's interview with one of Spain's leading newspapers.

Mr. Mas should apologize to Americans who gave him the opportunity for freedom and wealth that now he enjoys in Miami.

HAROLD M. GARRATON
Miami

Does Mr. Mas think that he is going to be the next Fidel Castro? If so, then history may show that Castro was the savior whom he has always claimed to be, and Mr. Mas is the second coming of Fulgencio Batista. How soon we forget history's lessons!

Are Mr. Mas and Miriam Alonso related? They seem to have a great deal in common, not only in their approach to fame but in their sympathy with other noted Americans of the right, such as David Duke. Does Miami need this? Does Cuba need this?

D. SORRETT DUTTENHOFFER
Miami

I can't believe Mr. Mas's obnoxious comment. It certainly was a slap in our face. Doesn't he feel any gratitude toward the United States and Miami for being able to build a new life and raise his family in freedom?

SHERY RIGGS
Miami

My question to Mr. Mas is: Why have all the Cubans not been able to take over Cuba if they are so powerful that they have taken over Miami?

ELIZABETH PARKS
Miami

When Cuba does become liberated, Mr. Mas should please do America a favor and be the first to leave and not return.

M. MARKOVIC
Miami

Mr. Mas's views are not mine nor those of most Cubans in Miami. Since the beginning of the Cuban exodus in the late 1950s, and to this very day, Americans and especially Miami have welcomed Cubans with open arms, and we are very grateful. Unlike Mr. Mas, I can speak only for myself when I say that I am a Cuban American and not a Cuban invader.

I hope that my fellow, non-Cuban Americans will understand that Mr. Mas is from the old school of Cuban politics, which is willing to use any means it can to accomplish its goals.

It is sad that Mr. Mas is the chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, an organization that has helped countless Cubans in this country.

It is sad that he uses such an organization for his own political advancement. I hope that in time all will realize, including Mr. Mas, that the old ways will no longer fool the majority of the people, and that his plans for being Cuba's next president-for-life will fade away with him.

GERARDO R. ESTRADA
Miami

Although I am very proud of what my people have accomplished in the United States, I am also very proud to be an American citizen. I know that we could not have done it without the kindness and brotherhood that only Americans can show people yearning to be free, to start a new life.

Mr. Mas and his self-elected government speak only for a small, narrow-minded minority of the Cuban-American community.

JORGE D. PHARES
Miami

In the late '70s I laughed when I saw the first bumper sticker that read "Will the last American to leave Miami please take the flag?" Little did I think that it was serious political irony. Mr. Mas shows the same disdain for people and the same kind of convoluted nationalism as the communist Cuban regime that he so bitterly opposes.

With Mr. Mas for a leader, Miami is becoming "Montreal South." Perhaps it is time for our government in Washington to realize that they are aiding and abetting a potentially dangerous influence. Maybe we Americans who own stock in Mastec should withdraw our support from a man who cannot seem to remember where his bread has been buttered.

JOSEPH HART
Miami

Kind Coast Guard at work

Re Tony Richardson's June 14 Readers' Forum letter [about the photo of Coast Guard personnel wearing masks and gloves while rescuing Haitian refugees]: What newsworthy purpose is served by letting someone obviously insinuate discrimination with no more proof than a single, poor-grade photo?

I see the photo entirely differently from Mr. Richardson. I see a concerned young American carefully lifting a tiny baby from a bouncing boat on the open sea; his every movement followed by other American hands and eyes above and below making sure that the infant is transported safely aboard the Coast Guard craft.

The young men aren't white, and the baby is not black; they are all God's children.

JOHN M. GILBERT SR.
Tavernier

Fine World Cup coverage

Before the World Cup started, I was not sure that you would give the coverage that it deserved. The Herald proved me wrong. Your excellent coverage was as good as any that I have seen abroad. It helped me enjoy the cup that much more.

GONZALO LATOBBE
Miami



ROBERT L. STEINBACK

Mas Canosa should defuse flap over quote

I intended to write about the Cuban American National Foundation's splendid offer two weeks ago to bring to the United States 28 Haitian-American children stranded in Haiti.

The gesture captured Miami's bright promise: an organization transcending its own interests to aid children of another ethnic background. It reaffirmed that the potential of intercultural cooperation far exceeds the aims of cultural antagonism.

But the glow was dimmed by a comment by foundation Chairman Jorge Mas Canosa which seemed to slap the faces of all who have championed understanding over contentiousness. The quote, carried in the Spanish newspaper *El Pais*, suggested a cultural arrogance which embarrassed South Florida and bruised the multicultural experiment under way here.

Mas Canosa was asked if the Americans would "take over" Cuba after Fidel Castro's fall. Mas Canosa replied: "That's bull—. They haven't even been able to take over Miami. If we have kicked them out of here, how could they possibly take over our own country?"

Validating fears

It's hard to imagine a more poisonous comment in South Florida, where irrational fears about the Hispanic presence abound. Mas Canosa's words validated every Hispanophobe's fear that America is under siege by invaders. Worse, they stabbed the heart of every Cuban American who appreciates and honors U.S. citizenship.

Mas Canosa's weekend letter to the editor of *The Herald* shed little light on the *El Pais* interview. Mas Canosa instead cast himself as the victim. "The latest attack," he wrote, "tries to portray me as racist . . ."

He cited the ardently pro-America comments he recently made to Congress as his "true thinking." That may be the case, but it didn't address the matter at hand. Was the *El Pais* quote accurate or was it taken out of context? If accurate, what did he mean to say? Why shouldn't Cuban and non-Cuban Americans take offense?

Mas Canosa declined, through a representative, to speak with me about the article. He recommended that I review a video of his congressional remarks.

Testing respect

The spirit of multicultural respect and cooperation that is finding its wobbly beginnings in South Florida is constantly being put to the test. Pessimists and cynics are quick to denounce the effort as naive, misguided or historically doomed. The sad truth is that just one act of cultural insensitivity can offset 10 or even 100 acts of intercultural respect, kindness or generosity.

The region's next test is likely to be the July 31 speech by Nation of Islam Minister Louis Farrakhan. Farrakhan's self-love message for African Americans has, unfortunately, been soured by bursts of racial antagonism.

I doubt any group has exhibited a stronger circle-the-wagons instinct than African Americans — none with better historical justification. We've long been reluctant to openly criticize influential black figures, even when they utter damnable words. But there remains a larger goal. Transcultural understanding challenges reasonable people not to overreact to hurtful comments tossed, deliberately or inadvertently, into the open forum.

It is possible Mas Canosa doesn't realize how his comment sounds to others. Perhaps he was playing for deliberate effect on readers in Spain. Maybe he just miscalculated a dumb reaction.

One more time: Just what did Mas mean?

Re The Herald's July 14 story *Mas Canosa: U.S. won't be able to run Cuba*.

The Herald blindly accepted without proof a so-called article from Spain's El Pais newspaper claiming words never "really" spoken by Mr.



Barney the beloved

The thinkable didn't happen

Just think! If Comet Shoemaker-Levy were to strike Earth instead of Jupiter, Barney would become extinct!

R.W. BOWEN
Key West

Mas. Nonetheless, The Herald believes and prints that garbage, while ignoring what is obvious and close to home. There are no recorded speeches or interviews of Mr. Mas speaking against Americans.

However, if you watch Channels 23 or 31, you will find records of a speech given by Mr. Mas — in support of the U.S. embargo — in which he praises the United States and its people, calling them "the most generous people on the face of the Earth."

My family and I are Cuban American National Foundation members, and proud to be both Cuban and American.

Please, in the future, use reliable records and quote unsubstantiated sources with caution.

MAYTE LOPEZ
Miami

Why is The Herald now making an issue about an article published in a foreign paper (El Pais of Madrid)? When Carlos Alberto Montaner, whose column appears in The Herald, fell out of sorts with the Puerto Ricans for his unfortunate commentary regarding that community's women and the social issues that it faces, The Herald did not go out of its way to fan the divisive fires in Miami.

When Puerto Ricans protested those statements at Univision's Channel 23, The Herald did not plant it on the first page with pictures of Mr. Montaner. Why the double standard?

I feel for my U.S. compatriots who have been injured by these quotes. But I would ask them to ponder what purpose is served by The Herald's milking of this story. Everyone knows that there is no love lost between Mr. Mas and The Herald. It seems to me this is yet another case where The Herald

adheres to the adage that the end justifies the means.

EDITH ALMANZA
Miami

Mr. Mas's comments are extremely offensive to his host country. This galling egocentric needs an attitude adjustment. If he can think, maybe he should do so before he speaks.

B.J. BRIDGE
Fort Lauderdale

Let me remind Mr. Mas that it was my country that took him in when he deserted his own. When the going gets tough, the tough get going! He was welcomed in this country and made all of his money here. He has not been elected anything in Cuba, and I feel for the people of Cuba if he is.

He makes Castro look like an angel.
BETSY WHITE
Miami

*In this novel constitution
(sprightly, like a mimosa),
Miami is an institution
That belongs to Mas Canosa.*

ROBERTO LLANAS
Miami

Jorge Mas Canosa did not kick me or my family out of Miami. Neither did his Cuban brothers. His comment is a disgrace and an insult to every person — Anglo, Hispanic, or African American — who has welcomed and supported Cubans in this city.

In the '60s, when thousands of Cubans arrived with little more than the clothes on their backs, we did not "kick you out," as he says. The Cubans have done to Americans in Miami.

I, for one, became bilingual and embraced a culture and customs that are still with me. My parents practically raised a large group of teenagers in Opa-locka whose parents were in Cuba. They remembered their birthdays, taught them to drive, and played chauffeur for many years.

Mr. Mas owes his community an apology for his ignorant remarks, and he should thank God and this country that for 30 years we have been more tolerant and gracious than he apparently will ever be.

KATHLEEN ROBERTSON YATES
Miami Springs

I understand Mr. Mas's state of mind. After two events of the last months — Nelson Mandela as president of South Africa, and Yasser Arafat as head of government of Gaza and Jericho — it's difficult to behave otherwise. Those leaders achieved their aims in less than 30 years, against all odds, even against the United States, which backed them only at the last moments.

Naturally they are real leaders.
ARDELKADER MARQUEZ
Miami

Mr. Mas's is the kind of aggressive banter that leads to polarization among the races. He is an immature, insecure bully who has secured a following of like-minded individuals who appear mean-spirited.

Personally, in my 40 years of close relations with Cubans, this has not been the case. When the Cuban people have the opportunity to regain control of their country, it is my earnest wish for them that the likes of Mr. Mas are not going to be their leaders.

DENNIS JENKINS
South Miami

I know that I am not the most perceptive person in the world, but when were we kicked out of Miami? I mean, were we kicked out of Greater Miami or just Miami? And was Miami Beach affected?

This is important, as we have friends who'll be visiting this winter. Will they need passports? Also, can we still drink the water?

LARRY MAGER
Miami Beach

An emperor without clothes

JORGE Mas Canosa suffers from logorrhea. The affliction is characterized by excessive, often incoherent wordiness. Whenever it possesses Mas, he rants, making truly astonishing comment.

He treated Antonio Caho of the Spanish daily *El Pais* to a display of this logorrhea some days ago.

After *The Herald* published Mas's prattle for *El Pais*, the Cuban American National Foundation chairman sought the safe haven of victimhood. He usually files for victim status when it is publicly pointed out that he's an emperor without clothes. This time around, Mas opted for a laconic rejoinder that implicitly accepted the accuracy of the published remarks.



RAMON MESTRES
EDITORIAL BOARD

During his tenure as the CANF's leader, Mas has been a fertile source of false statements, accusations, calumnies. Curiously, he keeps his twaddle to himself in Washington corridors and offices. But whenever he addresses a Cuban (or Spanish) audience, he shows scant respect for the distinction between publicity stunts and substance.

Mas almost never faces any serious consequences for his imprudent remarks because, in his role as an anti-Castro chief, no one holds him accountable. To this extent, he is a living refutation of Argentine dictator Juan Domingo Peron's observation that "a politician will be forgiven anything except his foolishness."

It appears that Mas's admirers do forgive everything. The beneficiaries of his magnanimity in Washington and elsewhere maintain a code of silence about Mas's foul-ups. Similarly, his numerous detractors among prominent Miamians criticize Mas in private but are usually shy away from criticizing him in public, though many of them are quick to praise Mas's accomplishments.

Led by Mas, his admirers attribute criticisms of him to his adversaries' envy, the "long arm" of Castro's regime, or in my case, to *The Herald's* alleged vendetta against him. Such a "vendetta" simply does not exist.

Many *masistas*, or Mas followers, remind us untiringly that Mas's accomplishments are far greater than his errors. They don't seem troubled by Mas's logorrhea or by his authoritarian streak. For them, he deserves the unconditional support of the exile community because he is Castro's most powerful enemy.

I'm not convinced by Mas's passionate sympathizers who only laud the foundation's achievements. I've heard analogous arguments justifying

'They [Americans] haven't even been able to take over Miami! If we have kicked them out of here, how could they possibly take over our own country?'

JORGE MAS CANOSA

In an interview published in the Spanish daily *El Pais*

Castro, Peron, Kim Il Sung, even Pablo Escobar. I'm also not convinced by the histrionic anti-Americanism that Mas displays in his interview with *El Pais*.

On the contrary, I believe that Mas is a genuine, full-blooded American jingoist. Never mind that his ideal is closer to Boss Tweed than to Thomas Jefferson: Mas shows off his American jingoism with gleeful pride.

He has been an energetic Republican Party activist, identified with politicians such as Ronald Reagan and former Florida Sen. Paula Hawkins. How can a man whose pride so obviously swells with his every appointment to presidential and gubernatorial advisory boards, and who has made his fortune working hand in hand with American utilities, be accused of crass anti-Americanism?

He can't be. That's one reason to read the *El Pais* interview with cautious irony.

He doesn't represent Cubans

Also, I'm bothered as much by Mas's counterfeit arrogance about "kicking out Americans" from Miami as by the barrage of boorish anti-Cuban sentiments that Mas's remarks have unleashed among *Herald* readers. Erroneously, they attribute Mas's staged opinions to all Cubans. Such accusations are as unjust as the suggestion that Rabbi Meir Kahane, Minister Louis Farrakhan, or the Rev. Pat Robertson reflect the sentiments of their respective groups.

Lamentably, Mas's logorrhea has incited the sort of bigoted anti-Cubanism that began to manifest itself publicly in Dade after the Mariel boatlift.

This time Mas's logorrhea betrayed him because he forgot about faces and about Spanish dailies sold in downtown Miami — and because he was eager to impress a Spanish journalist whom he had perhaps pegged as an anti-American hack.

Mas's prattle cannot be confused with the beliefs of a majority of Cuban emigres, many of whom reject the CANF chairman with justified passion. But the twaddle that appeared in *El Pais* shouldn't be confused with Mas's real opinions either.

9

Part of the program was not taped...

MAS: See...I believe that when I answered the Spanish journalist, I did it defending this country, because I told him, look at the kind of respect there is for private initiative, and even more, there is a testimony that I offered before the Congress the other day. I spoke full of passion. I am a man full of passion, I don't try to hide that, I am a very passionate man. To do the things that I do, I have to be motivated by that passion. And within my passion and enthusiasm, I improvised a speech to Congress where I think I defended this country splendidly.

I have not defended this country more than anyone else, but no one else has defended this country more than me. Nobody is willing to die for this country more than me. I volunteered for the armed forces of this country, to fight for the liberty of this nation.

My children are North Americans. They were born in this country. I have an enormous debt of gratitude to this country. And I said this in that speech. And I say it here, in La Cubanisima, and I have always said it. We have to be grateful. This country is the most generous in the face of the earth. It has the best political system ever invented by the human mind. Everything I have for this country is gratitude and recognition.

For that reason, these types of accusations cannot be ignored. Besides, I did it as a testimony of my recognition to this country. We came here, to a country that is definitely not ours, that adopted us, that opened its doors to us, that has permitted us to prosper, to gain political influence. How then, when we go back to Cuba are they going to take over our country?

Then, that was enough, in the mental fixation, in these types of aberrations that are totally unjustified. Because there is a subject so precious as is the defense of Cuba's liberty. Then, seeing the important and significant things that are occurring in this community, I don't have a problem with their printing the story, even with their twisting it to whatever turn they wish to give it. This is a country of freedom. We have to respect it. I am in exile. One of the reasons that I am here, and that I was here when I was 14 or 15 years old, is that during Batista's government, I was not able to speak my mind, and when I was 14 years old, coming out of a radio station in Santiago de Cuba, I said some things against Batista, (I didn't even know what I was saying) and I got pushed around. My father then sent me here. To the United States.

So then, I believe in freedom of speech, I also believe in the right of the press to give it a twist, like the North Americans say. But what I do not believe is that they have the right to publish three days of all that mail full of hate, because there is, like I was saying in the commercial, a lot of resentment in the community. It is there, alive, even if it did not flourish, but it was there because of what Miami is in reality. So many different communities, so many diverse interests, etc.

So what they have done is nourish the division in Miami by publishing letters in which I have been insulted by North Americans. And the worst is that the letters in favor of the foundation, because a lot of people send us copies of their letters to the paper, whenever they publish one letter in favor, they publish ten against. That is the balance. Ten to one. Even more, the letter they publish in favor, is immediately changed, the content is changed, and we have proof of this. So it is all uphill. But that is not important.

Definitely, this is a personal matter. It is a matter of a person who is mentally sick, this man is not mentally well, and that is a shame because he drags the community with him. The significant thing here, the important thing is Cuban suffering. It is the massacre. And even though the newspaper covered the story, they covered the news, they don't follow up, they don't look for an alliance, for communication with the rest of the media in this country. Like they have to condemn and criticize the exiles, to attack the foundation and to attack me personally. But again, I repeat, beside the personal issue, which is funny because it also helps me since the Spaniards and the Europeans have accused me of being pro-American, this newspaper this time said, well, this man is not that pro-American, he seems to be Cuban, which politically helps. We have received 110 new members in the foundation.

I guess some other people also believed I was pro-American. I believe that the important and significant thing here is that Cubans are not represented, we do not have a way to penetrate that American world that is so important because from there it is conveyed to the foreign ministry, to the United Nations Security Council.

I believe that if we had in Miami, for example, that same issue of the summit, an allied group with which we could work, Monday, instead of President Clinton meeting with the Miami Herald editorial board, wasting all his time, all morning, talking to the Miami Herald editorial board, reading about all the accusations against the exile community and against me personally, we could have had a meeting with President Clinton in Miami and told him, look Mr. President, this is what the Cubans are worried about.

You did not choose this city fortuitously. You chose it because it also had a political advantage for Clinton, because you are interested in the Cuban community, because you want to send Castro a message, because you want to send the rest of the world a message, because you want to ratify your isolation policy to Castro, and to complement that and to be able to achieve that mission, we could do something effective to promote those principles that you sustain are important, as is important that the Cuban issue be brought up.

The issue should be raised, even if not in the official agenda, but in any moment when all the presidents are together drinking some champagne, show them a five minute video showing who the Cubans in exile are, what is happening in Cuba and showing some of the videos that we have that show all the terrible things taking place in Cuba.

But we have to include the Cuban issue. Even if not in the official agenda, we have to include it because there will be ample opportunities when all the presidents are meeting, to present videos, we have to present a video of Cuba, about the Cubans and what we want.

PARDO: But if the Cubans that are in the coordinating committee are excluded, if they were excluded from the meeting with Clinton, how is this message going to get through to him? That is the source of my worries, in that meeting, did the Cuban Americans have access to talk about...

MAS: I think that at the end Luis Lauredo had access to him.

PARDO: Was he given a letter?

MAS: I don't know if he got a letter. I, for example, am in the committee and did not have access to Clinton. More so, my name was in the list and someone came and crossed it out.

PARDO: I think it was counter-productive for the president himself to be in a city disturbed by these events, and that nobody told him what had happened.

MAS: It was regrettable that Jorge Perez, a young man, very intelligent, a decent person, main contributor to Clinton's campaign, main fundraiser for Clinton, and he was deleted from the list. I was also officially in the committee, they crossed me out and excluded me. Then I had to limit myself to speaking to Joe Velasquez and Susana...I don't remember her last name. I told Joe, it's important that the President, before he leaves Miami, talks about this massacre. It is important because the Cubans need that, and it would show his sympathy with Cuban's suffering.

We'll talk more when we return.

Program continued with foundation problems...

10

Jorge Mas Canosa
Page 1

MP: Our guest tonight is Jorge Mas Canosa and ... our guest, I repeat, is Jorge Mas Canosa, but, we've got him on the telephone because, I understand, he's going to arrive a little late. Hello?

JMC: Hello, Martha, my dear.

MP: How are we doing, Jorge?

JMC: Fine, it's a pleasure to speak to you. Listen, I plan to be there with you in just a few minutes ...

UFV: Ah, ha...?

JMC: ... because, you know, with all this complicity by the international press that has totally ignored this massacre that has been committed against us Cubans ...

MP: Exactly.

JMC: ... now, over at the Ermita, well, Siglos invited us to make a nationwide program that will air I think at twelve-thirty in the morning and they're going to have me on satellite in a few minutes ...

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 2

MP: Uh-huh.

JMC: I think we can go ahead with the program in the meantime and talk about this outrageous business that's taking place. How can you hide the truth of what's going on in Cuba for so long? And while, for instance, the tragedy of the Haitians captures the headlines of all the international press, of all the world's governments, complaining before the United Nations and the foreign ministers protesting and getting the United Nations to issue condemnatory resolutions, the massacre Fidel Castro has committed against our people, this genocide, remains completely ignored. It's an adulatory press that acts as an accomplice of what's going on in Cuba.

MP: That's right, and not only that, but we also keep getting more details about the horrible thing that happened, and, still, the U.S. TV stations don't accord us any type of coverage and even we, ourselves, don't give it enough.

JMC: That's true, and I believe that it's indispensable that we give it our full attention, Martha. Cuban exiles and people such as yourself who form public opinion, who have a program and enormous influence to pressure other media on what is

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 3

important, what's indispensable, you should convey the tragedy of the Cuban people. You can't continuously ignore an outrageous situation. Because I have never, in the entire history of the Western Hemisphere, seen anything like what has happened with the Cubans; or what happened on the high seas. This has never happened before; Haitians, for instance, have to fight against foul weather, they have to fight against the waves, they have to fight against the current, but Cubans, aside from having to fight against the elements, also have to fight against the orders of Fidel Castro, who has ordered they be killed in the face of an indifferent world, because you practically saw what happened in this massacre they did.

MF: Uh-huh.

JMC: The newspaper, for instance, which really could reach, which really could win international solidarity, somehow, a paper such as The Miami Herald, convoking other papers so those papers all together unite in a national protest, as they have done in the case of the Haitians ...

MF: Uh-huh.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 4

JMC: ... those papers use the editorial page four days in a row to get at the exile, to get at me, and, yet, they deny all that space to a situation like ours, like that of the Cubans, which really does deserve that sort of attention. When they began to attack me years ago, Martha, they summoned the Washington Post, The New York Times, all those great newspapers, and all those great newspapers had a swell time telling horror stories about the Foundation and against us. Now, they publish the news, you have to admit it and acknowledge it. They publish it, but they don't follow up, they don't analyse the news. They haven't reported, for instance, that Castro has now jailed the parties guilty of these killings, because this gentleman uses people one day and has them shot the next. There haven't gotten together or made a call to the other media to examine this matter, which is unprecedented in the history of our Western Hemisphere. That's why it's indispensable that we mobilize ourselves, that our allies, our friends, programs like yours, which has the largest radio audience in Miami, could somehow mobilize the Cuban exile so they send telegrams to President Clinton, so they send faxes, so they call by phone, because it's indispensable that this country denounce this new attack, this new crime, this new massacre that has been committed against the Cuban people.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 5

before the National [Security] Council, before the Security Council of the United Nations ...

MF: Jorge, there's so much to talk about regarding that, the newspaper, that I ... when you are here on the program, I want to see you, because it seems to me, and I said it here because I don't say one thing when you're not present and something else when you are. I have my opinion and I state it, and you know it. I once said that I found it very strange that Jorge Mas Canosa -- who moves public opinion, a person who moves in so many spheres and has been here for so many years -- can say in a newspaper, as The Herald says you say, that, well, that you are crudely anti-American, that you are going to give Americans a kick in the ass, that they can't be in Cuba, well, all sorts of things ...

JMC: All sorts of silliness, Martha.

MF: ... It's just that I can't conceive of Mas Canosa using those methods, simply because, well, intelligently, because it's stupid to say that, even if you think it, to say it publically, I think, it's such a ...

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 6

JMC: Listen, that's all a lot of foolishness and a desire to harm and twist the facts. When I talked with the Spanish reporter, whom I was telling that Spaniards were the most hated persons in Cuba because they build hotels where Cubans can't stay, build restaurants where Cubans can't eat, take over the beaches where Cubans go swim ... Then, he asked me, "Fine, and you, what is it you want? To give Cuba to the Americans?" And I told him, "Listen, friend, if in Miami -- in Miami where we Cubans live, where we have enormous economic and political influence -- the Americans have virtually been unable to take this town, we make sure our voice is heard. How do you think they're going to take over Cuba? And this, said in Spanish terms, including the use of the word "echado" which you know is not a term we Cubans use. Now, how do you explain to an Anglo mentality the word "echado," which is not a word that Cubans tend to use ...

MF Uh-huh ...

JMC: ... firm and forceful, in favor of the Americans, who aren't going to take over Cuba because Cuba was never an American colony and it won't be one again. So, then the pounced upon and distorted all that to make it come out this way, and we

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 7

end up dedicating three days, or four days on the editorial page, hurling insults. When Magda Montiel went to Cuba, they published three letters a day, and even Mr. Dave Lawrence published a column defending Magda Montiel.

MF: Yes ...

JMC: They dedicated the editorial page for three days in a row ...

MF: Uh-huh ...

JMC: That is to say, there you see the intention, the evil, of wanting to do harm, to injure and above all to divide the community, Martha ...

MF: Listen, I'll tell you something, and this has got to be said because you're not telling me this, I'm saying it, but someone told it to me who ensured me of all sorts of credibility, and since the person told it to me, I repeat it, and if it's true, I congratulate you because a person definitely has to take a stance. They told me than in a ... a short while ago, in the past few days, you met with David Lawrence and he wanted to ... he came to shake your

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 8

hand and you did like this and kept walking and cut him completely.

JMC: Yes, it's true, it's true, because I ...

MF: Is it true that it happened?

JMC: I shake hands with friends, no one else.

MF: Ah, well, that's what they told me ... Man, alive! That's great, because it means that ...

JMC: That is my privilege and right, to shake hands with whomever I want. Martha, they're calling me at the studio ...

MF: OK.

JMC: Thanks, my dear.

MF: All right, then, while Jorge Mas Canosa goes over to the American station, here comes Emilio Vazquez, the son of Emilito Vazquez, to greet us ...

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 9

JMC: Ha, ha. Ah, that's the one before the latest because there's another one that says: once again, that is...

MF: Exactly, I have that somewhere around here.

JMC: ... never, in the history of this newspaper, had they done this before. I mean, look at the amount, the amount of square inches, it's the whole editorial page that they could have used to cover what happened with this massacre in... in... in Cuba.

It's a horrible massacre...ahh...ahh ...Marta. This shows you that this newspaper is run by a man, who, as the Americans would say, is unfit, I mean, who has no capacity to run a newspaper.

Let me tell you something, these things are somewhat tragic because they divide the community, and in every community there is like a kind of... of... underlying resentment, especially in a society like this one, in which there are so many ethnical groups, so many contrasting opinions which is nobody's fault, it's just typical of the community, and there's always a bunch of resentful people.

Then this a way to let loose all that begrudging, that hatred,

Jorge Mas Canosa

that division. Because, hey...look Marta, ahh, first off, we're nobody's fool, and besides, we Cubans, in many cases, love this country even more than the Americans themselves, because we feel and enjoy so much this freedom that we breathe in every day, because when you have lost it and then you recover it, like we did in this country, then you value it more, you feel it closer to ... to... to your heart.

Besides, I don't think I have defended the United States more than anyone else, but no one has defended it more than I. And I served in its armed forces and have been willing to die for this country and do whatever I had to for this nation.

Besides, how are we going to throw the Americans out of here if my three kids are Americans and my grandson is American, man... but... but... who can think of such a thing as that. Then, when there's a Spanish citizen who wants to portray you like they'veve portrayed me, because that's another ironic thing: This newspaper for years has been portraying me like the pro-American, like Washington's instrument, like the one who is too... ah... too Americanized, too Americanized to play any role in the future.

Well, and, now, all of a sudden I'm anti-American; they don't know what to accuse me of next.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 11

MP: Oh yeah..., I was talking about this the other day, I was saying: Well, but, up to now, among the things they accuse Jorge Mas Canosa of... of... is that the man has the key to get into anywhere in Washington, with any... government, to get into to the Capitol, to have doors open and then... these things have been said that's he's the man that has schemed so much in Washington with ... extraordinary success. And now, it ends up, you're anti-American, but I don't understand that if you're really anti-American, how come the Americans, themselves, are the ones who've given you the chance to get where you've gotten with this...

JMC: No, besides, look. We have the only organization called the National Cuban-American Foundation. We're the only Cubans who've entered into the American system, who have an office in Washington, who have established a connection and a substructure within the United States Congress, within the White House, within American society.

And, then .. and, besides, when friends, allies, enemies and opponents -- all of them -- have accused us of being too pro-American, and now they are out of, Martha, they are out of, the... the... the excuses and they're out of reasons, now the accusation is that of being anti-American. It's true that we

Jorge Mas Conosa

Page 12

Cubans have total independence here in... in Miami, and we haven't let anybody push us around. Then, I was telling this Spaniard: how are we going to let ourselves be pushed around in Cuba, how are we going to let the Americans step all over us and turn us into a colony in Cuba, in our country, when here in Miami, they haven't been able to do so?

Then... and they haven't been able to because it's a system that protects those who work and struggle, like us. That respects the investments of decent men, that respects those who work, that respects those who study... and those who lift themselves up.

I said all that to the Spaniard, and that's a way to defend the United States, that testimony of mine before the U.S. Congress, improvised, full of anger and passion, because I was insulted by the things that were said there in Congress.

And I believe it was an honest defense and I... I... I... invite you, there are thousands of Cubans here who have watched that video.

MF: I have it.

JMC: I believe... believe that it's one of the defenses, maybe, I'm not going to tell you anything more... I... [stuttering] among the world's best, but among the most heartfelt and the most

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 13

profound that have ever been made on behalf of this country. But, then, look Marta if there is... if there is... if there is in this a... a malicious intention...

This is an article that was published in a newspaper that everyone knows is left-wing, socialist, published in Spain, Felipe's Socialist Party's newspaper. The paper's published in Madrid, it's written by a Spanish journalist. He re-wrote it, a rehash, like good journalists say, a rehash written by a Mexican-American.

It already comes from a Spanish newspaper, published in Madrid, written by a... Spaniard who lives in Washington, re-written by a Mexican-American here, possibly edited by someone with another nationality. Imagine what comes out of all of this... this rehashing! .

So, they take advantage of that, because they go around with a microscope. Notice, they can't accuse me because we've launched a lobbying campaign and set up an organization at the national level to do business.

You know that I'm the most investigated man in the United States, more than President Clinton. Why? Why Jorge Más Canosa? Because of the obsession of this gentleman, since this gentleman is crazy, he is fixated on me... [laughter] and let me... I'm laughing, Marta, because one has to laugh, this is

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 14

something that is a... a... half in jest, as we say, but at the same time it is also very serious.

MP: ... yes, it's very serious.

JMC: ... because this guy is ob... obsessed. Moreover, uh... eh... he sees me and he stiffens up and a special gleam comes into his eyes and... and it's an obsession, and a madness, and he investigates me, investigates my children, investigates all the businesses.

We have made this organization and we have made it to fight for Cuba. We have not made a single political deal, we haven't used any of these relations for any effort in in Washington, to make any ef ... uh... deal with the federal government, nor any government.

In short, they... they don't know what angle to attack me from any more. And so, since they... it's not Más Canosa, it is the Cuban who stood out, the Cuban who gained international prominence, the Cuban who does not bow down his head before these gentlemen, because we Cubans do not bend to the will of others, that is why 20 percent of us are here in exile and have been fighting 34 years, and we do not give up our principles.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 15

And you know it's true, because how much haven't we gone through here these past 34 years? But... se... [stutters]... and how many pangs of hunger haven't we had to withstand here, and they haven't made us bend.

So, all I've done, I believe, is reflect the character of where I come from, from a people who are rebellious and who do not submit, and they won't forgive that.

So, look: Magda Montiel goes to Cuba and Magda Montiel knows, and [look at] how all Cubans reacted to her. This gentleman, Dave Lawrence, published three pa... three letters uh... against... uh... one day... in the newspaper. In my case, they published eleven letters, the average is ten, and eleven against one or against two, that is... or is that what they call objective balance. But not just one day, but three consecutive days. They meet with President Clinton last Monday, the editorial board of the Miami Herald, they handed him the editorial page with all the letters insulting me, to President Clinton...

MF: Oh, really...?

JMC: Yes, sir. And I, who was on the list to see President Clinton, together with Joaquin Aviño, the County Manager and Mr. Jorge Perez, who is the person who has raised the most funds for

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 16

is an excellent lady, but this gentleman continues manipulating and handling all that, and he excluded these two gentlemen, the two co-chairmen, Joaquin Aviño and Jorge Perez, from the meeting with the President.

So, that's a problem and a problem we have to handle, because we need the topic of Cuba to somehow be covered at this summit meeting. It's impossible to talk of democracy without talking about Cuba.

So, this gentleman perhaps is paying me back also because I diluted his responsibility, he was all by his little self up there, the supreme chief and they put three others around him, when I protested to Governor Lawton Chiles.

That is true, I do not deny it, and I told him, and he knows it, and he is going around protesting about it, but I did talk to Lawton Chiles, I am a citizen who has the right to call the governor and tell him that this is well or poorly done, and he will agree with me or not or tell me I'm right or not, that is correct or not correct.

But, then they pay you back like this. Three days of insults, unleashing hatred, resentment and the rift in the Cuban community and then it's a laughing matter because I -- on the last day, the third time, they printed it, it said: one more time, one more time...

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 18

MF: So, he said one more time.

JMC: [UI]... "one more time" and then "boom" all those insulting letters against... besides, gentlemen, but where is the crime? So, a gentleman who wrote a Sunday column defending Magda Montiel, whom we had to call from the Foundation, this Mr. Dave Lawrence, and tell him, "But mister" -- but referring to the case of the Cuban women, who have suffered so much, with so many mothers who have lost their children, their husbands, with so many political prisoners, that the history of the political imprisonment of the Cuban women is something to be written about because it's one of the most horrifying things in the history of the Western Hemisphere and here you come to write about and defend Magda Montiel.

So, then, he spoke with Cary Roque, and he wrote an article about Cary Roque on this, I mean

and you decide to write about and defend Magda Montiel.
Then he spoke to Cary Roque, and he wrote an article about Cary Roque about this, that is...

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 18

MF: Yes.

JMC: Beacuse, he's a guy who has his head screwed on backwards, he can't get along with this community...

MF: The thing with Cary was just an excuse to say to us, "Look, I can do it, too." It wasn't spontaneous.

JMC: Of course, that's why Martha, I accept the right of the Miami Herald and any other newspaper to criticize me, not to agree with my ideas and decisions or a stance taken by the Foundation, to write an article -- in fact, that's what freedom of speech is all about, that is the right to... and those of us who don't choose public life, because even though they say I am a ... they call me a...public official...a public figure...

MF: A public figure's what they say.

I'm just a guy that's fighting for Cuba, just like you, just like all Cubans.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 19

But, well, when I decided to fight for Cuba's freedom, OK, I assume these responsibilities and I also accept criticism because I make mistakes, I'm not perfect. Besides, I'm a person full of passion, if I didn't have this passion for Cuba, this flame that's been lit inside me since I was a child, I wouldn't do the things I do; and today I was listening to this radio listener who called you and said, "It's time for Mas Canosa to get tired."

Let me tell you, there are times one says, well...let me not say the bad word that I would like to say to you right now: But God! Why so much sacrifice...

MF [Unintelligible]

JMC: ...and all the rest, instead of enjoying what's been so hard to earn, of staying peacefully with my wife in my home with our children and this craziness of...because they also affect your reputation, which affects your family, and my children in the morning look at me with sad faces when they read this... the newspaper, and they ask me, "Daddy, what is this?" It's a sad thing Martha, and then one feels like sending all of this to hell, but I'm not going to do it. Listen to me, you guys there at The Herald, those of you who are recording this

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 20

program so all those brown nosers can take it over to Dave

Lawrence:

Well, I'm not getting tired, they're not going to defeat me, they're not going to... and you know what, because, see here, Martha, there is nothing like stable conduct always based on the truth.

Act correctly, don't hurt anyone, don't do wrong and keep up your good conduct, and don't worry about the attacks.

Martha, why this declaration of war against me? Look...

MF Oh...that comes from way...

JMC: ...they have Joe Gerstein sleeping in a car somewhere in Spain, they have Dick [unintelligible] in Hong Kong, this other guy they have in Australia. And me, now they want to banish me from here and I'm not leaving, I'm not leaving. I'm going to keep on fighting, and when I'm in a crisis I'll call my friend Martha Flores and tell her I'm going over to her program and I'm...

This time you called me, you called me, that's how Martha Flores is, listen to what's going on, you know I'm on your side.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 21

Because this is insulting. Then, if they publish an article about me and then they publish four letters in favor and another four against, well that's the free game of ideas.

MF: Of course, of course.

JMC: But it's a systematic scheme. Then, what I don't accept...

MF: It's what draws my attention, that it's a very systematic campaign.

JMC: It's systematic, it's something you see clearly that has its intention, a purpose, and if you said, "Look, Martha, when I had the run-in with this gentleman, who is obsessive, there's a paranoia behind all this, and you know that the beginning of madness is mental fixation. This is a mental fixation this man has with me.

If these gentlemen, when I had the first meeting with them...they brought in the Washington Post, don't you remember they wrote 20 horrendous articles in the Washington Post, in the New York Times.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 21

MF: Yes, yes. Also in the New York times...

JMC: In the Chicago Tribune, in the Wall Street Journal. Why? Because they have friends, this is a fraternity, the same way you have yours in your circle of newspapermen ...you go and tell them, "Hey, there is someone who is bothering us and..." and they really said frightful things about us.

Now, they are using the same thing for this massacre. Now, that we need international pressure to get this genocider against the wall. Because that is what he is, a genocider, and that is exactly what he has done to the people of Cuba. Oh, no! They did publish the news, that I'll have to admit.

MF: They did publish the news.

JMC: The news they published. But they have not followed up on it, and they could have done an analysis of the news and now publish that Castro has arrested those whom he had previously rewarded with medals of heroism...and published what referred to the Pope and called their friends. Because, much to our regret, the only spearhead we have here in Miami is this newspaper.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 23

Then, instead of doing these things, using their resources, their time, their energy and their space ... Ah, no, it all goes to attack Mas Canosa!

In the midst of a massacre, in which Fidel Castro is killing and murdering Cubans. Oh, no, because Jorge Mas Canosa said in a newspaper in Spain that he didn't like Americans, etc!

Gentlemen, nobody is going to believe that, nobody at all. I am the most American of all the Cubans who are here, and not because I am less of a Cuban but because I am deeply grateful to this country and to those who have heard my speeches. Martha, you have listened to many of them, and you know that I open all my speeches expressing my gratitude to this country.

All that we Cubans have achieved in this country hasn't been so much a result of our effort as a tribute to the best system that the human mind has ever developed, the democratic system of this nation.

And, they are just wasting their time, because in the long

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 24

run, they are just hurting themselves. They are not hurting me, because "soon" people forget, and since I have so much work and so much to fight for. For instance, next Monday I'll have Adam Clinton Powell, the candidate running against Charles Rangel in [unintelligible] and in a couple of days, I'll go and meet with three or four presidents, and all of a sudden, everything is forgotten, and this issue is closed.

The harm they do unto themselves, because readers realize what's happening. A large number of Americans have called me and said to me, "When is this campaign in the newspaper going to end? All they're looking for is to get us against the Cuban community".

There's a letter written by a lady whose name is Edith Almanza; well she sent us a copy of a letter in favor of the Foundation, which she had addressed to the Herald.

It even got to the point where they took letters that were in our favor and they changed them, they changed the...

MF: The text ...

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 25

JMC: They changed the text so that it could be interpreted by the readers in a different way. So, not only have they carried on systematic campaigns with the purpose of destroying an organization such as the Foundation and its leaders, but they have also altered, changed, and lied: that is inconceivable.

And it is very sad, Marta, but I want to say this: I don't even care, I don't pay any attention to them, I practically don't read the paper, there is a black newspaperman, Robert Steinback, who writes there, and he visited with me in my office.

I told him, "I'll get together with you because you have never met me and I want you to do just that, I want you to look me in the eye, to speak to me, and I'll tell you what I feel, and what I think, and at the same time I want to listen to you.

But this cannot be done with Dave Lawrence, because I have gotten together with this man at least 20 times, I opened to him the doors to my house, I even had my wife prepare dinner at home for him, to see if we could come to an agreement, to be able to talk; because Cubans are like this, we solve our differences over a cup of coffee, with an embrace, and that sort of thing.

Jorge Mas Canosa

Page 26

But when this man arrived, he was so tense, I wish you could have seen him that Monday in the meeting with the President, he was so irate, it's just hate in his eyes, it's something terrible, it frightens you; there are many instances in which, if you aren't really sure of what you are, you could even say, "What is this madness that has unravelled here? How is it possible that there is so much resentment and so much hate?"

MF: And how can he explain his scratching off the list the names of people who could meet with Clinton, ah, you were on the list, but what about the rest who will be in touch with the President when he comes to the presidents' visit, which is to be held here.

JMC: Marta, I don't know, I don't even know if it was he who scratched it off. I take it he's the boss, perhaps he scratched it off, perhaps he didn't, I have no clue as to who did it.

MF: But they didn't allow you to get there.

JMC: But, the bottom line is, I wasn't able to see Clinton. And I was on that list to see Clinton I wanted to mention this issue

Please ensure that this fax gets to Joe Velazquez as soon as possible.

TELEFAX MESSAGE



**U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
301 4TH ST., SW - ROOM 265
WASHINGTON, DC 20547
PHONE (202/619-5217)
FAX (202/205-0792)**

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

DATE:

7/19/94

TO:

Joe Velazquez

SUBJECT:

Joe: This letter should only be answered by
one person and everyone on the cc list
should be informed and cc on our answer.
I think it should be answered by
Dennis Hayes so that it has the
least amount of political implications

PAGE #1 OF

6

We'll talk, Kisses
Lucia

Mr. Jorge R. Roblejo-Lorie
P.O. Box 140313
Miami, FL 33114-0313

Dear Mr. Roblejo-Lorie:

Thank you for your letter to President Clinton, regarding humanitarian relief to the Cuban people.

President Clinton's policy towards Cuba has been clearly articulated during ~~our~~ ^{the} campaign and reiterated in his recent trip to Miami.

Our policy is based on the enactment of the Cuban Democracy Act. While this law is designed to tighten the economic embargo, its humanitarian aid provisions demonstrate that the United States is not attempting to hurt the Cuban people. The Department of Treasury will oversee the appropriate handling of the relief effort to ensure it complies with our laws.

Sincerely,

Joe Velazquez / *or Dennis Hayes*

Comité Familiares de los Cien

FEDERACION DE SOLIDARIDAD MUNDIAL POR LA PAZ Y JUSTICIA
FEDERATION OF WORLD SOLIDARITY FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
FÉDÉRATION DE SOLIDARITÉ MONDIALE POUR LA PAIX ET LA JUSTICE

RUSH

Ref-Cu/04
Human Rights

To the President of the United States of America
William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Our Comité Familiares de los Cien, Inc. (Committee of Relatives of the One-Hundred [Political Prisoners]) was created in 1964 under United States Laws (Tallahassee, Florida) to work toward obtaining the release of relatives in Cuba suffering very long jail terms as a result of the climate of oppression that has existed in our beloved Island during the last three decades.

Mr. President: Recently, upon the occasion of your visit to Deerfield Beach in Florida, where you met with retired folks, some of us had the pleasure of greeting you personally. We seized this opportunity to hand deliver to you a letter that carried our appeal to you regarding the issue of human rights in Cuba. Now, we would like to request that you take into consideration our opinion as to how any relief to the Cuban people, who are suffering the greatest hardship in their history --both physically and morally speaking-- might best be delivered:

We believe, Mr. President, that all relief assistance that you are able to channel through to the Cuban people should be sent to, and administered by, the various Churches both inside and outside of Cuba, regardless of their denomination or specific creed, rather than through any of the vast number of exile organizations existing outside the Island. We feel strongly that this would be the best way to ensure that the assistance is properly and effectively distributed among the neediest (children, the elderly, and the men and women suffering inside Cuban jails) and to cut short any attempt by the various exile factions to profit politically or otherwise from this humanitarian effort in which we now seek to engage you.

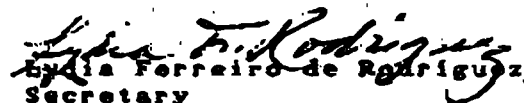
Praying that your office will find the most intelligent, compassionate and effective way to deal with the prevailing situation in our native homeland, we remain

Respectfully yours,



Jorge R. Roblejo-Lorié
President

Former political prisoner
of Bay of Pigs invasion;
Candidate to Nobel Peace Prize, 1988)



Lydia Ferreira de Rodriguez
Secretary

June 1st, 1994

UNIDOS POR UNA PAZ Y JUSTICIA PARA TODOS
P.O. Box 140313 Miami, Florida 33114-0313 U.S.A.

Comité Familiares de los Cien

FEDERACION DE SOLIDARIDAD MUNDIAL POR LA PAZ Y JUSTICIA
FEDERATION OF WORLD SOLIDARITY FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
FÉDÉRATION DE SOLIDARITÉ MONDIALE POUR LA PAIX ET LA JUSTICE

Ref-Cu/94
Human Rights

Additional signatures to the letter addressed to United States President William Jefferson Clinton by Jorge R. Roblejo-Lorié, President of the Comité Familiares de los Cien. Date: 6/1/1994

Joaquín C. Arteaga
Executive Director

Sylvia Maria Valls
Sylvia Maria Valls, Ph. D.
Advisor
Director, Instituto Simone Weil

Juan Rodríguez Esquíu

Juan Rodríguez Esquíu
Former Cuban political prisoner, twenty-four years in jail.

José Enrique Vázquez Rosales
José Enrique Vázquez Rosales
Former Cuban political prisoner, twenty-three years in jail.

Rodolfo Nápoles Miranda
Rodolfo Nápoles Miranda
Former Cuban political prisoner, twenty years in jail.

Enrique Domenech Bertot
Enrique Domenech Bertot, Ph.D.
Director

Maria Elena T. Hidalgo Gato
Maria Elena T. Hidalgo Gato
Director

Copies to:

Mr. Al Gore, Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Mr. Warren Christopher, Secretary of the State Department.

Mr. Alexander Fletcher Watson, Sub-secretary of State for Interamerican Affairs, Washington D.C.

Mr. Richard Feinberg, National Security Council for Latin America, the White House.

Mr. John Howard Francis Shattuch, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Dept. of State.

Mr. Graig Smith, White House Assistant to Pres. Clinton.

Mr. Denis Hayes, General Coordinator Cuban Affairs, Dept. State.

Senator George J. Mitchell, Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate, Democratic Party.

Mr. David Wilhelm, Chairman, Democratic National Committee.

Dr. Joseph S. Geller, Chairman, Dade County Democratic Party.

UNIDOS POR UNA PAZ Y JUSTICIA PARA TODOS
P.O. Box 140313 Miami, Florida 33114-0313 U.S.A. FAX-305-441-0433

JRL.ng

07/19/94

09:32

202 456 7929

WH POLITICAL AFF

005

3r2

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I HEREBY AUTHORIZE THAT THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON DATED JUNE 1ST, 1994, BE PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS WITH MY SIGNATURE SUPPORTING THE STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF 100.

NAME:

June Delaney JORGE ROBLERO LORIA

DATE:

6/1/1994

SIGNATURE:

June Delaney

Sylvia Maria VALLS

6/1/1994

Sylvia Maria Valls

MARIA ELENA T. HIDALGO SOTO 6/1/94

Maria Elena T. Hidalgo Soto

Lidia Ferrero de Rodriguez Lidia Ferrero 6/1/94

Lidia Ferrero de Rodriguez

JOAQUIN C. ARTEAGA

07/19/94

09:32

202 456 7929

WH POLITICAL AFF

004

such things in this hemisphere."

But he repeated his insistence that the only way the standoff can be resolved will be for the military rulers to leave.

"All I can say today, all I can responsibly say, is that [military action] is something that I cannot rule out," Clinton told the editors. "We've bent over backwards to try every other alternative."

"And I think it's apparent now that something is going to be worked out sooner or later — sooner rather than later."

In the wide-ranging interview, Clinton also:

■ Stood by the Cuban Democracy Act, which has tightened the economic embargo around Cuba and has been blamed for the island's rapidly deteriorating quality of life. The president said the measure's humanitarian aid provisions demonstrate that the United States is not attempting to hurt the Cuban people.

■ Praised the efforts of Lee Brown, the administration's anti-drug chief. But Clinton conceded the drug war has been

overshadowed in priority by more recent concerns over youth violence. He said he needed to find a way to re instill fear in the minds of youths who, new statistics show, may be turning again to cocaine and other drugs.

■ Said he was eager for this fall's election campaigns to begin because they will provide an opportunity for voters to learn of the administration's accomplishments in repairing the economy, cutting the deficit, shrinking the federal bureaucracy and shifting the tax burden away from poor and middle-class Americans. He said if Democratic candidates run on this record, "We'll win."

■ Shrugged off personal attacks, describing them as part of the "ebb and flow" of American history. He said the Republican Party has mastered the use of the mass media to spread its criticisms. "There's no sense in complaining about it. What I have to do is master it," he said.

Herald Staff Writer Peter Slevin also contributed to this report.

Herald

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1994

Mr. Jorge R. Roblejo-Lorie
P.O. Box 140313
Miami, Florida 33114-0313

Dear Mr. Roblejo-Lorie:

Thank you for your letter to President Clinton, regarding humanitarian relief to the Cuban people.

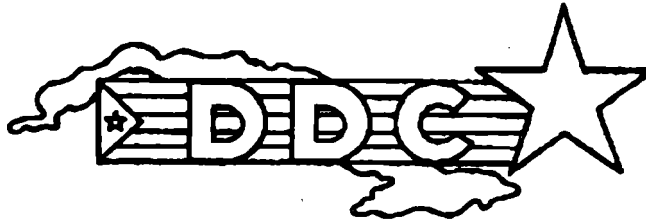
President Clinton's policy towards Cuba has been clearly articulated during the campaign and recently during his trip to Miami.

Our policy is based on the enactment of the Cuban Democracy Act. While this law is designed to tighten the economic embargo, its humanitarian aid provisions demonstrate that the United States is not attempting to hurt the Cuban people. The Department of the Treasury will oversee the appropriate handling of the relief effort to ensure it complies with our laws.

Thanks again for your letter and your comments. Both are appreciated.

Sincerely,

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



July 22, 1994

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D. C.

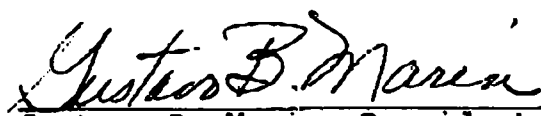
Dear President Clinton:

We, members of the Executive Committee of Democrats for Democracy in Cuba, were indeed very honored to be invited once again to greet you at the Sheraton Bal harbor Hotel this past Monday. Your presence in Miami for the Hemispheric Summit Committee, as well as for La Raza Convention, as always, was a heartwarming experience.

We fully appreciate your leadership and commitment to social justice and human rights issues. It is precisely due to that fact that we raise a serious concern regarding the delay by your administration in condemning the massacre of Cuban men, women and children by members of the Cuban government last week. An immediate public statement by you, denouncing the massacre upon your arrival in Miami, or during both public events of that day would have been not only the timely, but definitely the right thing to do. Not only was Miami awaiting to hear you speak out against a horrific action we know you condemn, but an entire nation, as well as the democratic nations of our hemisphere, needed to hear you take the leadership in this denunciation.

We applaud your diplomacy with very sensitive areas around the world and can only urge your advisors to give you the right counsel on seizing the moment to demonstrate the same leadership in your own back yard. We remain,

Respectfully yours,


Gustavo B. Marin, President
DEMOCRATS FOR DEMOCRACY IN CUBA

cc: Reta Lewis
Joe Velasquez
David Wilhelm

Democrats For Democracy in Cuba.

600 N.W. 35th Ave., Suite 202 • Miami, FL 33125 • (305) 649-9440

The Miami Herald

JOHN S. KNIGHT (1894-1981)

JAMES L. KNIGHT (1909-1991)

DAVID LAWRENCE JR., *Publisher and Chairman*JOE NATOLI
*President*ROBERTO SUAREZ
*President Emeritus*JIM HAMPTON
*Editor*DOUGLAS C. CLIFTON
*Executive Editor*MARTHA MUSGROVE and TONY PROSCIO
*Associate Editors*SAUNDRA KEYES
*Managing Editor*PETE WEITZEL
Senior Managing Editor

CANF ad 'demagoguery at its worst'

Yesterday's statement published by the Cuban American National Foundation as an advertisement in The Miami Herald and in El Nuevo Herald calls upon Knight-Ridder — "its management, directors, and shareholders" — to bring to an end "this senseless confrontation."

We agree that the confrontation is senseless. We deeply disagree as to where the responsibility lies.

We particularly object to the wildly intemperate attacks on The Miami Herald and its publisher, David Lawrence. These scurrilous accusations of McCarthyism and fanning "the flames of racism" are, of course, patently absurd.

David Lawrence is one of Knight-Ridder's — and American newspapering's — most admired executives. To accuse him and his newspaper of fanning "the flames of racism" and engaging in "modern-day McCarthyism" — in a statement headed "Why so much hate, Mr. Lawrence?" — is demagoguery at its worst.

No one has worked harder in recent years to encourage a gathering sense of

community among Dade County's diverse population groups than David Lawrence. His good-hearted efforts have been widely recognized and appreciated.

We look forward to the day — for our community's sake — when these periodic uproars fade into Miami's history. In the meantime, we anticipate that The Miami Herald will continue to do its journalistic job with integrity, and under the sensitive and thoughtful leadership of Publisher David Lawrence, a colleague of whom we are very proud.

JAMES K. BATTEN
*Chairman and CEO,*P. ANTHONY RIDDER
President,
Knight-Ridder, Inc.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1994

8/4
to Joe

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY SODERBERG

FROM: JOE VELASQUEZ

SUBJECT: Radio and TV Marti and the Cuban Community

Just a note to say thanks for giving us a heads up on the Radio and TV Marti letter last week. A simple thing like that got us front page coverage and good press in Miami.

I've attached the articles, *cuales son en Español, para su información.*

We should keep this success in mind.

Thanks.

To Joe -

What ever happened to
the push for another statement
for the Cuban tyghood?

This is great press- let us know
how we can help anytime!
Nancy

**Samper anuncia que
encarcelará a los jefes del
"cartel" de Cali**

Página 2-A

**Vigilia patentiza el luto por
las víctimas del castrismo**

Página 1-B

**Instituto Cervantes
abrirá tres centros en la
Europa del Este**

Página 14-B

CERRAR
A EDICION

Departamento de
Estado desmiente
versión publicada en
Argentina sobre aviso
de actos terroristas

WASHINGTON, D.C. (Especial para DIARIO LAS AMERICAS) En vista de que algunos diarios argentinos se han hecho eco de una supuesta conversación entre el Embajador Robert Gelbard, Subsecretario de Estado de los Estados Unidos con el Embajador argentino Jorge Vázquez, en el sentido de que el Embajador Gelbard advertió en el pasado mes de marzo al Secretario de Estado para Seguridad e Inteligencia de Argentina, Dr. Hugo Anzorreguy, sobre la posibilidad de un acto terrorista como el acaecido en Buenos Aires, el Departamento de Estado de los EE.UU. ha informado que no concuerda con los informes ni-

Apoyo incondicional de Clinton a Radio y TV Martí

Por RAUL VERRIER

El presidente de Estados Unidos, Bill Clinton en una carta enviada al presidente del Senado reiteró su apoyo incondicional a la continuación de las actividades de Radio y Televisión Martí. En su carta Clinton expresa:

Estimado presidente:

Le estoy escribiendo para exponerle mi apoyo a Radio y Televisión Martí. Durante mi campaña presidencial, activamente apoyé el buen trabajo de Radio y Televisión Martí, ahora como Presidente he asegurado que mi administración respaldará firmemente a la oficina de transmisiones a Cuba en sus esfuerzos por llevar la verdad a esa nación. Estimo que tanto Radio Martí

• *Facilitó la intervención presidencial el rechazo de una enmienda reduciendo los fondos para Radio y TV Martí.*

• *Aprueba el pleno del Senado enmienda condenando al régimen cubano por el hundimiento del remolcador "13 de Marzo".*

• *Poema "Barbarie", de Luis Mario, inspirado en el hundimiento del remolcador "13 de Marzo", en la página 14-B.*

como Televisión Martí han hecho una genuina contribución a la causa de los derechos humanos y la democracia en el hemisferio. Ambas emisoras han promovido los objetivos a corto y largo plazo de la política de Estados Unidos.

Apoyándolas a ambas será enviar un fuerte mensaje de solidaridad a esos que luchan en cualquier parte contra la tiranía. Quiero agradecerle su apoyo en este avance de nuestros intereses nacionales asegurando que el

pueblo cubano debe tener libre acceso a noticias no manipuladas e informaciones cuyo represivo régimen le niega. Estoy urgiendo al Congreso para que apoye mi petición en favor de Radio y Televisión Martí.

Sinceramente,
Bill Clinton

La carta está dirigida al honorable Ernest F. Hollings, presidente del Comité de Apropiaciones del Senado.

La carta del Presidente fue enviada al senador Ernest F. Ho-

llings, presidente del comité senatorial de apropiaciones en ocasión de discutirse el proyecto de enmienda a los fondos de Televisión Martí recientemente aprobado por el Senado.

El senador republicano Bob Dole, en su defensa de mantener esos fondos dijo: "Este no es un asunto de partidos, la Administración quiere dinero para Radio y Televisión Martí, ya que las mismas defienden los intereses de Estados Unidos, apoyo al Presidente y apoyo TV Martí" agre-

(Pasa a la Pág.13-A Col.1)

En el aniversario 41 de DIARIO LAS AMERICAS

**"DIARIO LAS AMERICAS
es un magnifico ejemplo de la noble
tradición periodística estadounidense"**

Ordena Clinton "aumento inmediato y masivo" de

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(Pasa a la Pág.13-A Col.1)

En el aniversario 41 de DIARIO LAS AMERICAS

umento vo" de nda

**"DIARIO LAS AMERICAS
es un magnífico ejemplo de la noble
tradición periodística estadounidense"**
*Dice el Presidente Clinton con motivo del
aniversario cuarenta y uno de este periódico*

El Director de DIARIO LAS AME-
RICAS ha recibido del presidente
de los Estados Unidos, Bill Clinton,
en ocasión del cuarenta y un an-
iversario de la fundación de este
periódico, el siguiente mensaje cu-
yos honrosos conceptos publica-
mos con agradecimiento:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, 15 de julio de 1994

Felicidades a los escritores,
personal y a todos los que dan
su respaldo al DIARIO LAS
AMERICAS en ocasión de ce-
lebrar ustedes su aniversario
cuarenta y uno.

Su periódico es un magní-
fico ejemplo de la noble tra-
dición periodística estadou-
nidense. Ustedes son un mensajero para las comunidades
de habla española a través del Hemisferio, comunicando
fielmente algunos de los más dramáticos e inspiradores acon-
tecimientos de la historia de nuestra nación. Su periódico
contribuye mucho a la comunidad cubanoamericana y es
parte integral del rico ancestro cultural de nuestra nación.

Deben de sentirse orgullosos de producir una publicación
tan exitosa y tan leída. La longevidad del Diario es un tributo
a la calidad de su personal y de los lectores que han apoyado
a este excelente periódico desde 1953.

Mis mejores deseos por su éxito continuado.

Bill Clinton

A continuación publicamos con agradecimiento el texto de otra carta
recibida con motivo del aniversario 41 de DIARIO LAS AMERICAS
celebrado el lunes 4 de julio de 1994.

NESTOR CARBONELL CORTINA

22 de julio de 1994

Dr. Horacio Aguirre
Director
DIARIO LAS AMERICAS

Mi distinguido amigo:

...tivo del cuadragésimo primer aniversario de la fundación
... sus hijos y a

1 por la vida

una de sus manos una botella de
plicado a su esposa en el campo
tras que la enferma da el pecho a
. Más de un millón de ruandeses
dos en Zaire y según las Naciones
de ellos. (Telefoto AFP).

Ordena Clinton "aumento inmediato y masivo" de la ayuda

(Viene de la Pág.1-A)

to de EE.UU. también aumentará la capacidad de recepción de ayuda en la zona del este de Zaire, donde están los campamentos de refugiados, y les abastecerá de agua potable para combatir el brote de cólera que se ha declarado en la región.

Como medidas más urgentes, Clinton anunció el envío, de 20 millones de bolsas individuales que contienen un tratamiento para hidratar a la población afectada.

Según fuentes del gobierno, en estas operaciones participará un millar de militares estadounidenses procedentes de las bases

de EE.UU. en Europa, pero el Pentágono ha precisado que su misión será sólo humanitaria.

El Presidente indicó que Estados Unidos apoyará el inmediato despliegue de una misión de paz de la ONU en Ruanda, de modo que la situación política del país se establezca y los refugiados puedan regresar a sus lugares de origen.

"El doble objetivo de esta misión es, primero, ayudar a los refugiados, y después crear las condiciones de seguridad para que puedan regresar a sus lugares de origen", dijo.

Asimismo, en su mensaje a las nuevas autoridades de Kigali, Clinton dijo que su reconocimiento por parte de la comunidad internacional, incluido Estados Unidos, "depende de la formación de un gobierno de amplia base, del respeto a la ley y de sus esfuerzos por promover la reconciliación nacional".

La grave situación de los refugiados ruandeses comenzó en abril, al desencadenarse una guerra civil entre los miembros de las tribus tutsi y hutu, a raíz de la muerte en atentado del presidente del país, Juvenal Habyarimana, de la etnia hutu.

Apoyo incondicional de Clinton a Radio y TV Martí

(Viene de la Pág.1-A)

gando: "No enviemos una señal a Castro en el sentido que su resistencia es la razón para terminar nuestros esfuerzos en apoyo a la libertad. Nosotros no terminamos Radio Europa Libre o Radio Libertad, porque la Unión Soviética interfiriera sus transmisiones. Radio y Televisión Martí son la única forma para que el pueblo en la isla pueda escuchar sobre sus compatriotas muertos mientras trataban de encontrar la libertad la semana pasada. No demos una victoria a Castro una semana después del asesinato de inocentes mujeres y niños cubanos".

La enmienda de Bob Dole restaurando los fondos cortados por la Cámara de Representantes fue copatrocinada por el senador

republicano por la Florida, Connie Mack, que en su mensaje al Pleno del Congreso dijo: "La TV Martí envía un importante mensaje de libertad al pueblo de Cuba, ella debe continuar transmitiendo ese mensaje de la esperanza".

Seguidamente al retiro de la enmienda del senador Max Baucus, se procedió a la lectura y aprobación por amplio margen de una enmienda conjunta de los senadores Dole y Mack donde se condena al hundimiento del remolcador "13 de Marzo" por agentes del gobierno de Cuba. La enmienda en su apéndice B establece que:

1.— El Senado de Estados Unidos condena al gobierno de Cuba por el deliberado hundimiento

del "13 de Marzo" que provocó la muerte de alrededor de 40 cubanos entre ellos 20 niños.

2.— El Senado urge al Presidente para que solicite del representante permanente de Estados Unidos en las Naciones Unidas para que pida una resolución del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas que:

a) Condene el hundimiento del "13 de Marzo".

b) Facilite una investigación total supervisada internacionalmente sobre el incidente y

c) Urge al gobierno cubano a dejar en libertad y cesar de intimidar a todos los sobrevivientes del hundimiento del "13 de Marzo".

Explotación petrolera en Cuba podría dañar a playas de la Florida y a Varadero

(Viene de la Pág.1-A)

agua, con una plataforma (jack-up) denominada *Stainton Atena*, que no aparece registrada en ninguna de las publicaciones técnicas de la materia, y un equipo inadecuado podría provocar un derrame de petróleo que las corrientes marinas pudieran llevar no sólo a Varadero, sino a las playas de la Florida, con sus desastrosas consecuencias ambientales".

Las posibilidades de un derrame y sus consecuencias en caso de volver a encontrar petróleo en la zona que están perforando, fueron sugeridas

pozo Cupey 1, que fue perforado por la *Canadian Northwestern*, subsidiaria de la compañía *Sherritt, inc.*, que importa y asesora la producción de nickel de Cuba.

Estas informaciones sobre el trasiego de compañías extranjeras que están lucrando con los recursos y riquezas de Cuba -aprovechando esta especie de liquidación que les está ofreciendo Fidel Castro en su desesperada apuesta por la supervivencia- son parte del cuadro total de la explotación petrolera como parte del proyecto mediante el cual el tirano Castro está entregando el país

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

PHONE: (202) 456-6257
FAX: (202) 456-7929

JOE VELASQUEZ **TOM EPSTEIN** **RETA LEWIS** **LINDA MOORE**
PETER SHAKOW **JOE TRAHERN** **KAREN ANDERSON** **MAUREEN ATTA**
OTHER _____

To:

Lula Rodriguez

Date:

Fax Number:

205-0792

Office Number:

Message:

FYT

of Pages 2
(including cover)

ANTONIO NAVARRO
151 CRANDON BLVD. #600
KEY BISCAIYNE, FL 33149

TO: PETER SHAKOW
THE WHITE HOUSE
FAX # (202) 456-7929
DATE 7/19/94 TIME 8:15 AM

FROM: ANTONIO NAVARRO

FAX # (305) 361-3836 TELEPHONE # (305) 361-5163
MOBILE TELEPHONE # (305) 282-1890

NOTES: GOOD MORNING, PETER & STAFF
THE MIAMI PAPERS REPORTED
FAVORABLY ON THE PRESIDENT'S
VISIT; CLIPPING ATTACHED.
'SEE YOU TOMORROW, GOD WILLING.
CORDIALLY, TONY

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 5

ANTONIO NAVARRO

Effective July 15, 1990, Antonio Navarro was appointed Director of the United States Information Agency's Office of Cuba Broadcasting, which oversees the operation of Radio and TV Marti, the official U.S. government broadcast services to Cuba.

Mr. Navarro served as a consultant, advising the Voice of America Director on TV Marti, from January of 1990 until his appointment to oversee the Office of Cuba Broadcasting. Prior to his work on TV Marti, he had served from 1985 to January 1990 on the Presidential Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting.

After eight years with Shell Chemical Corporation in California, Mr. Navarro returned to his native Cuba. There he served, respectively, as assistant to leading sugar industrialist Julio Lobo, to the president of Cuban Atlantic Sugar Company, and in his family's textile business.

Subsequently, Mr. Navarro spent 26 years with W.R. Grace & Co., an international diversified chemical company. He retired in 1989 as senior vice president of the corporation and group executive of the Corporate Relations Group, responsible for public relations, press relations, advertising, shareholders relations and government relations.

A chemical engineer, Mr. Navarro joined Grace in 1961 as manager of the company's sugar and chemical businesses in Peru and ended his service there as general manager of Grace's operations. In 1973, he transferred to New York to manage the company's Corporate Communications Division and assisted company chairman J. Peter Grace on special projects, such as the presidentially-appointed Grace Commission (now Citizens Against Government Waste) to control spending in the federal government, and travelled with Mr. Grace on special missions to South America.

Mr. Navarro was elected a corporate vice president in 1978, senior vice president in 1982, and promoted to group executive in October of 1986. Mr. Navarro was a spokesman for Grace on communications and advocacy advertising and now addresses professional, business, and minority groups on topics related to success in corporate America.

In 1981, Mr. Navarro published Tocayo, a book describing his experiences during and after the Cuban Revolution. He has written on Inter-American relations and his October 1986 speech, Hispanics and Corporate America, was reprinted by Vital Speeches of the Day.

Mr. Navarro's trade affiliations included the Americas Society, where he served on its Advisory Board. He also served as a director of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Fund, Inc., and was a director of Accion International.

In July, 1986, Mr. Navarro received the New York City Liberty Medal, awarded to foreign-born citizens who have made a contribution to the City. In 1993, he received the USIA's Superior Honor Award and the Director's Award for Superior Achievement. He is a member of the American Chemical Society's Panels on Minority Affairs and on Industry Relations. In January, 1994, he was named Cuban-American Engineer of the Year in Miami, Florida. And, in April of 1994, he was elected to the Engineering Hall of Fame of his Alma Mater, Georgia Tech.

Mr. Navarro resides in Miami, Florida with his wife, the former Avis Hedges. He was graduated from the Georgia Institute of Technology with a Bachelor of Science Degree in chemical engineering.

Top c A for Clinton: Haiti

le sees action coming 'sooner rather than later'

The Herald

THE PRESIDENT'S DAY

TUESDAY, JULY 19, 1994

ANTONIO NAVARRO

3613836

P. 04

TOM FIEDLER
aid Staff Writer

resident Clinton said Monday he has "bent over backwards" to avoid military action against Haiti to dislodge the ruling dictatorship, but he suggested his patience was nearing an end and military action would be necessary sooner rather than later.

During a busy day in South Florida, the president said he believed the economic sanctions imposed against Haiti last month were having an effect. But he said he was not sure if the military rulers who over-

HEALTH CARE IN FLORIDA

■ The president predicted Florida will win federal permission to offer government-subsidized health insurance, 5A.

threw President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991 have resisted the pressure to step aside for reasons both greedy and fearful.

"For one, they're making too much money," Clinton told The Herald's editorial board during a

S. FLORIDA'S HOMELESS

■ Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros praised Dade County's efforts to help the homeless, 1B.

morning interview at the Sheraton Bal Harbour Hotel. "It's difficult for people to give that up."

In addition, however, the president said he agreed with media reports that mid-level military officers and soldiers also fear rei-

tribution against them and their families by other Haitians if they surrender power.

As a result, Clinton said the United States had a "grave responsibility" to ensure that such acts of violent retaliation didn't occur. That entailed getting guarantees from Aristide that he will abide by the human rights guarantees outlined in the so-called Governors Island agreement, he said.

Also, the president said it

PLEASE SEE CLINTON, 5A



STEPHANIE SINCLAIR / Herald Staff

PAUSE: President Clinton with La Raza's Audrey Alvarado after gives his speech at the Miami Beach Convention Center.



AND HERE HE IS: President Clinton is introduced to the La Raza convention by Audrey Alvarado

JON KIRAL / Herald Staff

CLINTON, FROM 1A

would require the presence of a "robust" United Nations force — made up of U.S. and other troops — to act as a police force guarding against violent reprisals.

Keynote address

Clinton's visit to South Florida also included a keynote address to the National Council of La Raza, the nation's largest and most influential organization of Hispanic Americans, which is holding its annual conference in Miami Beach. And he met with community leaders organizing events around the Summit of the Americas, which will bring 34 heads of state from throughout the hemisphere to Miami to discuss political and economic interests.

He gave a public summit pep talk to an audience of 160 that included politicians and business people and civic personages. He called it "a simple thank-you-and-go-get-'em."

It took eight minutes.

"We must make these nations feel that we are their true friends and partners," the president said, "and that we are going into the next century together, not just for our children, but for their children."

Two exceptions

He painted a portrait of new-found hemispheric cooperation and said that the United States needs "to find a way to capitalize on the fact that all but two countries in the hemisphere are governed by democracy."

The two exceptions are Haiti and Cuba.

At the La Raza luncheon later, the president cited his administration's record in appointing Hispanics to government posts, headed by Henry Cisneros, the Housing and Urban Development secretary, and Federico Peña, secretary of transportation.

In the 19 months of his administration, Clinton said he had appointed more than twice as many Hispanics as either of his Republican predecessors, George Bush and Ronald Reagan.

"If you ask me do we need to do more, I would say yes," the president told the group at the Miami Beach Convention Center luncheon. "But we're doing better than anyone who has come before."

At both the luncheon and the meeting with Herald editors, the

president sought to rally support for two programs pending in Congress — the anti-crime bill, which provides for 100,000 community police and bans assault weapons, and health-care reform. Both measures are mired in debates facing staunch and mostly partisan opposition.

Health-care costs

Clinton warned that if something wasn't done to restrain health-care costs, such programs as Medicare and Medicaid will continue to gobble up increasing shares of the federal budget until all other discretionary programs are choked off.

"Within 10 years, if we don't do something, going to Congress will mean going to Washington and writing a check for health care, then going home," Clinton said.

Although he repeated statements that he was open to compromises in the health-care plan he submitted last fall, the president said he would stick by his insistence that any program move toward covering all working Americans and curb costs. He said he was confident that an impending fight over the inclusion of abortion benefits in the bill could be resolved to satisfy abortion-rights advocates and opponents, led by the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Although he avoided commenting on Haiti in prepared remarks, Clinton fielded questions about the crisis at every stop.

Sidesteps questions

As he has since the beginning of the Haitian crisis, he sidestepped questions about whether he was preparing for imminent military action. He conceded to Herald editors that an invasion lacked broad support in Congress and among the American people, in part "because of the history of

such things in this hemisphere."

But he repeated his insistence that the only way the standoff can be resolved will be for the military rulers to leave.

"All I can say today, all I can responsibly say, is that [military action] is something that I cannot rule out," Clinton told the editors. "We've bent over backwards to try every other alternative."

"And I think it's apparent now that something is going to be worked out sooner or later — sooner rather than later."

In the wide-ranging interview, Clinton also:

■ Stood by the Cuban Democracy Act, which has tightened the economic embargo around Cuba and has been blamed for the island's rapidly deteriorating quality of life. The president said the measure's humanitarian aid provisions demonstrate that the United States is not attempting to hurt the Cuban people.

■ Praised the efforts of Lee Brown, the administration's anti-drug chief. But Clinton conceded the drug war has been

overshadowed in priority by more recent concerns over youth violence. He said he needed to find a way to rekindle fear in the minds of youths who, new statistics show, may be turning again to cocaine and other drugs.

■ Said he was eager for this fall's election campaigns to begin because they will provide an opportunity for voters to learn of the administration's accomplishments in repairing the economy, cutting the deficit, shrinking the federal bureaucracy and shifting the tax burden away from poor and middle-class Americans. He said if Democratic candidates run on this record, "We'll win."

■ Shrugged off personal attacks, describing them as part of the "ebb and flow" of American history. He said the Republican Party has mastered the use of the mass media to spread its criticisms. "There's no sense in complaining about it. What I have to do is master it," he said.

Herald Staff Writer Peter Slevin also contributed to this report.



FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE: 7-15-94 OUR FAX NO. (305) 592-7889TO: Mr. Peter Shalew

YOUR FAX NO. ()

CC:

CC:

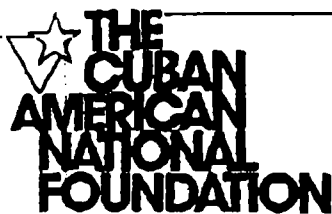
FROM: Fernando RoffeNUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW, EXCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET: 1

SUBJECT:

COMMENTS:

I understood the President
will be in Miami on Monday;
I just wanted to make sure
you were aware of this issue.

Thanks!



PRESS RELEASE NOTA DE PRENSA

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
July 15, 1994

FOR INFORMATION CONTACT
Fernando Rojas (305) 592-7768
(305) 276-4552

CANF CONFIRMS CASTRO REGIME MASSACRE OF CUBANS ATTEMPTING TO FLEE ON TUGBOAT / FAMILY OF VICTIMS STEP FORWARD TO TELL OF HORROR / TAPED TESTIMONY OF SURVIVORS TO BE RELEASED AT CANF PRESS CONFERENCE

The Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) has confirmed today the Castro regime massacre of approximately 31 Cubans attempting to flee the island aboard a tugboat earlier this week. The immediate family of victims will join the CANF today at a press conference to denounce the incident and provide taped testimony by survivors of one of the most brutal attacks on Cuban rafters recently documented.

Mr. Gerardo Perez, family of the victims and resident of New Orleans, will be arriving to Miami this afternoon to attend the press conference and tell of the loss of his ex-wife, Marta Tacoronte, age 32, and his son, Josel Perez, age 11. Ms. Tacoronte perished along with her two other children, Marjolis Mendez (age 17), and Caridad (age 4).

The CANF will release taped testimony from survivors in Cuba, received late this afternoon via telephone, in which the survivors confirm the attack by Cuban gunboats against the embarkation carrying approximately 70 Cuban refugees attempting to reach freedom. According to their testimony, 3 Cuban gunboats rammed the group of helpless refugees, and used fire hoses to sweep the refugees off the deck and into the ocean. The boat sank as it filled with water, killing men, women, and approximately twenty children on board.

The survivors also confirm that other survivors remain under arrest at Villa Marista (headquarters of Castro's secret police), while Cuban authorities have refused pleas by families in Cuba to retrieve the remains of their loved ones who perished in the ordeal. The Castro regime has told them that they do not have permission to retrieve the corpses. Most of the victims are from the municipality of El Cotorro, in Havana.

LOCATION: Cuban American National Foundation (CANF)
7300 N.W. 35th Terrace
Miami, Florida

DATE: Friday, July 15, 1994

TIME: 7:15 p.m.

ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN

18TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEES:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

PLEASE RESPOND TO:

☐ 127 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0918
(202) 225-3931

☐ DISTRICT OFFICE:
5757 BLUE LAGOON DRIVE
(NW 11TH STREET)
SUITE 240
MIAMI, FL 33126
(305) 262-1800

August 1, 1994

Mr. Joe Velasquez
White House Political Affairs
Old Executive Office Building, Room 115
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Velasquez:

I am writing you on behalf of Antonio Navarro and his candidacy for membership to the Board of Advisors of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB) of United States Information Agency (USIA).

There is not a person more qualified than Antonio Navarro for this particular position. Mr. Navarro has extensive experience with Cuban affairs. Between 1990 and 1993, Mr. Navarro did an excellent job as Director of the USIA's office of Cuba Broadcasting, which oversees the operation of Radio and TV Marti. From 1985 to 1990, Mr. Navarro served on the same board for which he is now a candidate. He has also published a book describing his experiences during and after the Cuban Revolution.

Having won a number of awards, Mr. Navarro is continually honored for his breadth of accomplishments. He has demonstrated that he has extraordinary qualities of leadership and character that make him the perfect candidate for this position. I hope you will strongly consider him. He will bring a great asset to the Board and to all freedom loving people.

Sincerely,

Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Member of Congress

IRL/jea/ae

cc: Mr. Antonio Navarro
151 Crandon Blvd. #600
Key Biscayne, Fl 33149

*Joe -
noway*

- SV



PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

june 10, 1994.

Mr. Graig Smith _____
Deputy Personnel Director
Asistant to the President.

Lcdo. Jorge R. Roblejo Lorie

Dear Mr. Smith: I'm enclosing
this letter for the President,
and I would appreciate if you
could deliver it personally

to the President .

Cordially yours.

Jorge Roblejo Lorie
Lcdo. Jorge Roblejo Lorie
President.

copy. Dr. Joseph S. Geller
Dr. Paul Cejas.

phone-305- 442-1967
844-7423 beeper

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR LULA RODRIGUEZ

FROM: Joe Velasquez
SUBJECT: Attached Letter

Craig Smith asked me to handle the attached. Can you suggest action?

Please advise. I think you know the number.

Thanks.

Comité Familiares de los Cien

FEDERACION DE SOLIDARIDAD MUNDIAL POR LA PAZ Y JUSTICIA
FEDERATION OF WORLD SOLIDARITY FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
FÉDÉRATION DE SOLIDARITÉ MONDIALE POUR LA PAIX ET LA JUSTICE

RUSH

Ref-Cu/04
Human Rights

To the President of the United States of America
William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Our Comité Familiares de los Cien, Inc. (Committee of Relatives of the One-Hundred [Political Prisoners]) was created in 1964 under United States Laws (Tallahassee, Florida) to work toward obtaining the release of relatives in Cuba suffering very long jail terms as a result of the climate of oppression that has existed in our beloved Island during the last three decades.

Mr. President: Recently, upon the occasion of your visit to Deerfield Beach in Florida, where you met with retired folks, some of us had the pleasure of greeting you personally. We seized this opportunity to hand deliver to you a letter that carried our appeal to you regarding the issue of human rights in Cuba. Now, we would like to request that you take into consideration our opinion as to how any relief to the Cuban people, who are suffering the greatest hardship in their history --both physically and morally speaking-- might best be delivered:

We believe, Mr. President, that all relief assistance that you are able to channel through to the Cuban people should be sent to, and administered by, the various Churches both inside and outside of Cuba, regardless of their denomination or specific creed, rather than through any of the vast number of exile organizations existing outside the Island. We feel strongly that this would be the best way to ensure that the assistance is properly and effectively distributed among the neediest (children, the elderly, and the men and women suffering inside Cuban jails) and to cut short any attempt by the various exile factions to profit politically or otherwise from this humanitarian effort in which we now seek to engage you.

Praying that your office will find the most intelligent, compassionate and effective way to deal with the prevailing situation in our native homeland, we remain

Respectfully yours,



Jorge R. Roblejo-Lorié
President
Former political prisoner
of Bay of Pigs invasion;
Candidate to Nobel Peace Prize, 1988)



Lydia Ferreiro de Rodríguez
Secretary

June 1st, 1994

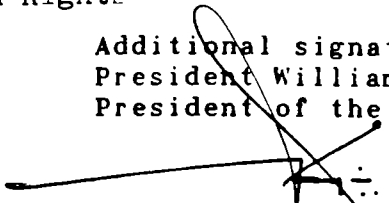
UNIDOS POR UNA PAZ Y JUSTICIA PARA TODOS
P.O. Box 140313 Miami, Florida 33114-0313 U.S.A.

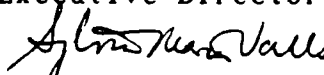
Comité Familiares de los Cien

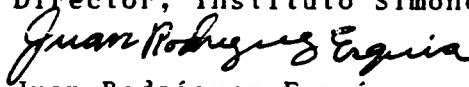
FEDERACION DE SOLIDARIDAD MUNDIAL POR LA PAZ Y JUSTICIA
FEDERATION OF WORLD SOLIDARITY FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
FÉDÉRATION DE SOLIDARITÉ MONDIALE POUR LA PAIX ET LA JUSTICE

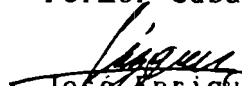
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Human Rights

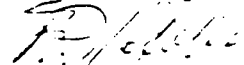
Additional signatures to the letter addressed to United States President William Jefferson Clinton by Jorge R. Roblejo-Lorié, President of the Comité Familiares de los Cien. Date: 6/1/1994

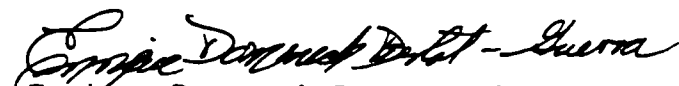

Joaquín C. Arteaga
Executive Director


Sylvia María Valls, Ph. D.
Advisor
Director, Instituto Simone Weil


Juan Rodríguez Esquía
Former Cuban political prisoner, twenty-four years in jail.


José Enrique Vazquez Rosales
Former Cuban political prisoner, twenty-three years in jail.


Rodolfo Nápoles Miranda
Former Cuban political prisoner, twenty years in jail.


Enrique Domenech Bertot, Ph.D.
Director


María Elena T. Hidalgo Gato
Director

Copies to:

- Mr. Al Gore, Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate.
- Mr. Warren Christopher, Secretary of the State Department.
- Mr. Alexander Fletcher Watson, Sub-secretary of State for Interamerican Affairs, Washington D.C.
- Mr. Richard Feinberg, National Security Council for Latin America, the White House.
- Mr. John Howard Francis Shattuch, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Dept. of State.
- Mr. Graig Smith , , White House Assistant to Pres. Clinton.
- Mr. Denis Hayes, General Coordinator Cuban Affairs, Dept. State.
- Senator George J. Mitchell, Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate, Democratic Party.
- Mr. David Wilhelm, Chairman, Democratic National Committee.
- Dr. Joseph S. Geller, Chairman, Dade County Democratic Party.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I HEREBY AUTHORIZE THAT THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON DATED JUNE 1ST, 1994, BE PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS WITH MY SIGNATURE SUPPORTING THE STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF 100.

NAME: *Jorge Roberto Lorie* JORGE ROBERTO LORIE

DATE: 6/1/1994

SIGNATURE: *Jorge Roberto Lorie*

Sylvia Maria Valls

6/1/1994

Glenn McDowell

MARIA ELENA T. HIDALGO GATO 6/1/94

Clarita Elena T. Hidalgo Gato

Lidia Ferreira de Rodriguez Lidia Rodriguez 6/1/94

JOAQUIN C. ARTEAGA

JUAN RODRIGUEZ ESQUIA

Juan Rodriguez Esquia 6/1/94

Jose Enrique Vazquez 6/1/94

Rodolfo D. J. M. Miranda 6/1/94

R. J. M.

ENRIQUE DOMENECH BERTOT-GUERRA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To Joe Valasquez -
Craig Smith does
not know what to
do with this. Could
your office please
handle it?

Thanks -

Dana Singer

619-
5217
205-
0792
Rodriguez

6-7733
To Lulu
what do we do
w/ this

FAX MESSAGE

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
OPERATIONS CENTER

301 4th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547
Fax. No. (202) 260-8740
Confirmation No. (202) 619-6194

DATE: July 7, 1994

TO: Mr. Joe Velazquez

TEL. NO: 456-6257 fax 456-7929

FROM: Mary Ellen Connell *MEC*
Executive Secretary

Attached is a copy of USIA Director Joseph Duffey's Response to the Report of the Advisory Panel on Radio and TV Marti which was delivered to the Hill this afternoon. Dr. Duffey was required to report his finding and recommendations pursuant to Title V, Television Broadcasting to Cuba Section of the Department of State and Related Agencies Appropriation Act 1994 (Public Law 103-121).

USIA DIRECTOR'S
RESPONSE TO THE
REPORT OF THE ADVISORY PANEL ON RADIO MARTI AND TV MARTI

The following response has been written after several readings and a careful consideration of the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti. This included review and consideration of the extensive and wide ranging testimony of those whom the Panel consulted during the course of their deliberations.

In addition, this report is written after consultation with the Interagency Working Group on US - Cuban policy which includes representatives of the Department of State (Office of Cuban Affairs and Office of the Legal Adviser), the National Security Council, and the Department of Defense. The findings are also guided by statements of the President and legislative actions by the United States Congress.

- - - - -

In 1983 the Congress enacted the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act which declares "it the policy of the United States to support the right of the people of Cuba to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers, in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The Act of Congress further states that "consonant with this policy, radio broadcasting to Cuba may be effective in furthering the open communication of accurate information and ideas to the people of Cuba, in particular information about Cuba."

In 1990 the Congress ordered the inauguration of television broadcasting, declaring "there is a need for television broadcasts to Cuba which provide news, commentary, and other information about events in Cuba and elsewhere to promote the cause of freedom in Cuba." This policy, reiterated in subsequent Acts of Congress, is the current law and legacy that has come to USIA in the form of Radio and TV Marti.

Members of this Committee have asked that I review this legacy, specifically the purposes, policies, and practices of radio and television broadcasting to Cuba. Members of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti engaged in a thorough process of wide consultation and careful deliberation in making recommendations on these issues. I want to express my thanks to them for their excellent work in seeking to determine whether such broadcasting consistently meets the standards for quality and objectivity established by law and by the USIA; whether such broadcasting is cost effective; the extent to which such broadcasting is already

being received by the Cuban people on a daily basis from credible sources; and whether TV Marti is technically sound and effective and is consistently being received by a sufficient Cuban audience to warrant its continuation.

The Panel's review of Radio Marti cites "unanimous agreement" as to evidence of its widespread role as a unique source of trustworthy, uncensored information for significant numbers of Cubans. The Panel's recommendations which we have already begun to put into effect will help bring greater professionalism, diversification, and balance to Radio Marti's programming and enhance its already established credibility.

Generally speaking, the Panel found TV Marti's broadcasts technically proficient and meeting established USIA standards of quality. "Jamming" by the Cuban Government, and the inconvenience of its broadcast hours -- between 3:30 and 6:00 AM¹-- have kept audiences small. It does seem clear, however, that a significant number of Cuban citizens have attempted to tune in to these broadcasts and are interested in their content.

In response to the Committee's directives, I have determined the following:

(1) The best interests of the United States are being served by maintaining TV broadcasting to Cuba.

Our U.S. Government radio and television services to Cuba, providing news, commentary and other information about events in Cuba, in accordance with standards of independent broadcast journalism, serve the cause of free expression within that country and contribute to the goals of the United States. The capacity to communicate such news along with explanations of American policy and intentions to the largest number of Cuban people is enhanced by the use of television technology.

¹ When TV Marti began in 1990, broadcasts were authorized on Channel 13 any time between midnight and 6:00 AM so as not to conflict with then scheduled Cuban local programming. At that time, Cuban television went on the air with a test pattern at 6:00 AM, although its regular broadcasts began later. Today, for the most part, Cuban television only transmits between about 6:00 PM and 10:30 PM. The Channel 13 transmitter in Havana, reported by actual monitoring, carries the programming of the Tele Rebelde network during those hours. The schedule is consistent with that carried by other network transmitters in Havana.

(2) Maintaining television broadcasting to Cuba is technically sound and effective.

Our engineers, working with their colleagues in the National Telecommunications and Information Administration of the Department of Commerce, the Department of Defense, the Department of State, and the Federal Communications Commission, have developed and tested a system that allows us to deliver a Grade-A broadcast signal directly into the City of Havana without violating international telecommunications policies or the treaty obligations of the United States, and without interfering with U.S. domestic broadcasters.

(3) TV Marti broadcasting is consistently being received by a sufficient Cuban audience to warrant its continuation.

Cubans, like most people throughout the world, turn to television as their first source of news and information. Despite black-outs, growing poverty, and a workday leaving little time for leisure, a large majority of Cubans regularly watch television. At present despite jamming by the Cuban Government, some Cuban citizens can and do view TV Marti's broadcasts.

Audience measures in closed societies like Cuba will always be imperfect. Without the ability to work freely on the ground it is impossible to select a sample of the population that meets conventional standards of social scientific surveys.

In December 1993 the USIA Office of Research surveyed 763 Cubans from among the approximately 400 Cubans who visit the U.S. Interests Section in Havana each day. This attempt to "measure" audiences to Radio and TV Marti was the first ever study by a foreign broadcaster to be carried out in Cuba. (Previous studies by the Office of Cuba Broadcasting surveyed Cubans arriving in Miami.)

Interviews were conducted on the grounds of the U.S. Interests Section after the Cuban Government turned down a Department of State request to interview a nationwide representative sample of the Cuban population. Efforts were made to "factor in" aspects of these responses that might account for bias -- respondents' fear of retaliation by the Cuban Government or respondents' desire to "please," etc.

Four percent of Cubans interviewed in Havana last December, under these special circumstances, reported regularly watching the signal for more than five minutes, though many more (38%) reported attempting to tune in.²

² In addition, we have reason to believe that TV Marti audiences include a significant number of key individuals in the Cuban Government and military.

Last May, on Cuban Independence Day, the President of the United States told the people of Cuba that the United States would continue to support Radio and TV Marti. By continuing Radio and TV Marti despite Castro's jamming, we send the people of Cuba a clear message -- this country is prepared to make reasonable efforts to insure that the people of this hemisphere have access to basic human rights. I believe that this message was one the Congress intended to convey by the legislation that now governs broadcasting to Cuba, both radio and TV.

TV Marti's inability to reach larger audiences in Cuba is not the result of any deficiency on the part of TV Marti, but rather the political decision on the part of the Cuban regime to deny the Cuban people access to free news and information. Research shows that TV Marti would be seen by a larger audience were it not for Castro's violation of their basic right to receive this information. There are also those who argue with some validity that the jamming is the best proof that TV Marti does indeed have a present and potential audience. Under these circumstances, the present audience seems sufficient to continue television broadcasting and, with some innovations, attempt to increase the audience.

The Cuban Government's jamming of Radio and TV Marti is a constant reminder to the Cuban people of the nature of dictatorship and of the United States' refusal to bend to censorship. I ask the Congress, therefore, to continue to support these efforts to provide a source of objective news and commentary on U.S. policy through the use of radio and limited television broadcasting. We will continue to search for efficient technologies to provide for such communication knowing as we do so that ultimately political will and not technology will bring change for the people of Cuba.

It is the hope of the United States that changes will come soon in Cuba which will result in a free and representative government and society. We are committed to encouraging that change in a peaceful manner. Some of those knowledgeable experts on Cuban society who were consulted by the Advisory Panel speculated about the possibility that such change might involve upheavals and uncertainty for a significant period of time.

These witnesses pointed out that, under such circumstances, the ability of our government to communicate American policy and intentions directly and quickly to the largest number of Cuban people would be enhanced by the use of television technology. They further pointed out that, under such circumstances, this ability could result in preventing potential disasters and the loss of lives.

In the remainder of this report, I will respond to specific recommendations of the Advisory Committee.

1. Down-size management

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"The Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB) should move to a 'leaner' management and production process. The management of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting should review whether it is necessary to expend in excess of one million dollars per year to compensate officials whose function in the hierarchy is to supervise, review, and evaluate -- but never become involved directly in the production of material for air."*

OCB has proposed reducing management and production ranks for savings of \$4 million by the end of FY 95. Supervisory positions in Radio and TV Marti are being reduced by approximately 20 percent. Reductions will be accomplished through a combination of attrition and elimination of encumbered positions.

2. Review Personnel Standards

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"The Office of Cuba Broadcasting needs to review personnel recruitment and supervision policies to ensure that appropriate professional standards be consistently met."*

I attach a copy of the Report of the Office of Inspector General (OIG) on this matter, containing the specific measures underway within the Bureau of Broadcasting.

3. Clarify Editorial Decision-making

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"The Office of Cuba Broadcasting should simplify its currently cumbersome 'editorial guidelines.' It should develop a clear, concise and practical list of rules and regulations, including a statement of when and to whom difficult policy decisions need to be referred."*

I have established a single line of authority for editorial decision. Newly appointed OCB Director Richard Lobo, who comes to OCB with 35 years of professional experience in private broadcasting, has made it clear to all employees that his office is responsible for enforcing editorial guidelines and decisions. Employees in news and programming have assigned editors. Editors report to the heads of the news and programming departments. Editors and department heads participate in the daily editorial meeting. Mr. Lobo directs the daily editorial meeting where he makes decisions on the news of the day. OCB directors are available 24 hours a day for immediate editorial consultations.

4. Broadcast Daily Editorial

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: "Both Radio and TV Marti should consider the addition of clearly identified editorials. These would present U.S. Government views on Cuban issues. They could replace or supplement the VOA editorials currently being aired."

Decisions on selection of editorials are made in OCB Director Lobo's daily editorial meeting. Editorials are clearly identified and separate from newscasts. I am reviewing the possibility of strengthening VOA's production of editorials³ about Cuba and U.S.- Latin American relations for use by the OCB.

5. Broadcast Corrections

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: "A brief announcement of 'corrections' would be a healthy supplement to daily broadcasts. A brief item reporting, for example, that 'yesterday we erred in characterizing...' could only enhance the credibility of all the material broadcast, as well as provide a regular recognition that no reporting can ever be totally error-free."

As with other VOA programs, errors of fact in a news item or report will be corrected on air as soon as possible after the error is discovered. This usually will occur within the same or next broadcast cycle.

6. Balance Programming

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: "The Director of USIA should consider instructing the Office of Research to prepare more extensive quantitative analyses of Cuban broadcasting. On the basis of such analysis, the Office of Cuba Broadcasting should review and adjust the proportion of programming devoted to the Cuban-American community and to local and regional news from Cuba. In addition, notwithstanding the fact that under current Cuban conditions radio and television are among the few remaining sources of recreation and relaxation, the OCB should review the proportion

³ The VOA Programming Handbook states: "Editorials explaining official United States policy positions are conceived, prepared, edited and cleared in a separate office at VOA and are clearly labeled at beginning and end as statements of U.S. Government policy each time they are broadcast. By identifying editorials as explanations of U.S. official policy, VOA distinguishes clearly between news reporting and official government views. However, VOA has a responsibility to report official statements and opposition to the policies of any administration accurately and fairly."

of programming devoted to entertainment. Broadcasts to Cuba should concentrate on news and information."

Since taking charge of OCB, Richard Lobo has introduced programming changes to achieve greater balance. For example, on March 17, Radio Marti provided live coverage with simultaneous translation of ten hours of the hearings on the "Free Trade with Cuba Act," sponsored by Congressman Rangel presenting in full this delicate issue and the various points of view represented in the discussion. The Marti also provided extensive coverage of the recent Ibero-American Summit in Cartagena. Reports on the speeches made by heads of state including an unedited speech by Fidel Castro was broadcast back to Cuba via Radio Marti. Testimony programs on the Cuban black experience and roundtables on the Cuban feminist point of view are being initiated. Bi-weekly visits to the daily OCB Editorial Board by special guests representing the gamut of political organizations in the Cuban-American and exile community have included among the first guests Marcelino Miyares of the Cuban Committee for Democracy, based in New York and Chicago, and Carlos Alberto Montaner of the Cuban Liberal Union, based in Madrid.

The VOA Handbook establishes requirements regarding balanced reporting that will be applied by OCB: "Balancing material must be sought in all news items or backhalf programming segments -- about events in the U.S. or overseas -- where fairness requires that other viewpoints be represented. When an individual, political party, or representative of one organization makes a charge against another, a response or balancing material will be sought urgently. It must be included in the first use of a news item or feature containing the original charge. VOA editors, writers, producers and broadcasters have a professional obligation to keep their own personal political views out of the copy they prepare, to carefully balance press roundups they write, and to be dispassionate and objective in presenting material they voice."

A program reviewer is being assigned specifically to review the content of Radio and TV Marti, including news about Cuba, the Cuban-American community and the United States, and other parts of the world.

I recognize the special difficulties for a surrogate service to report news from Cuba. Radio and TV Marti are denied access to most on-the-ground reporting and make the best possible use of wire, print, radio, and TV reports from other sources, working where possible with a small group of Cuban journalists.

Roughly 50 percent of Radio Marti's broadcasts are dedicated to news and information. The other 50 percent are dedicated to entertainment programming which includes magazine-style formats with a mix of music and information. In the last three years

Radio and TV Marti have increased the amount of news and informative programming, the proportion of news from and about Cuba, and participation in programs by Cubans living on the island.

7. Modify External Review Panel Procedures

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"External Review Panels and the materials they review should not be selected by the Office of Cuba Broadcasting."*

We are currently reviewing our process for program selection for the Radio Marti External Review Panel and are developing an action plan to ensure the independence of that program selection process. Completion date for this action plan is September 30, 1994.

Each External Review Panel has five members, three professional radio or television broadcasters and two academic specialists on Cuba. They are selected by the Director of the Bureau of Broadcasting, on the recommendation of the Director of OCB, and serve a one-year term. These procedures fall under the context of a larger initiative to respond to GAO recommendations for strengthening internal controls. They include the creation of the Office of Program Review, reporting directly to the Director of the Bureau of Broadcasting, which regularly evaluates programming from Radio and TV Marti, as well as VOA and Worldnet. Panel selection procedures were approved by the Bureau of Broadcasting and USIA and satisfied the GAO, which has "closed its recommendation" on strengthening review processes.

8. Reduce Live Broadcasting

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"Radio Marti should reduce its present 24-hour schedule of live broadcasting to 18 hours. Off-peak hours should rebroadcast the most important program material produced during the rest of the day. Compressing the hours of live broadcasting would both reduce costs and the opportunity for editorial error without substantially limiting the information made available to listeners."*

Although the Panel correctly states that Radio Marti broadcasts 24 hours a day, it does not broadcast live 24 hours a day. Live programming is limited to seven hours a day with the exception of brief hourly newscasts which run from 5:00 AM to 2:15 AM the following day. The rest of the programming is pre-recorded. During the off-peak hours -- from midnight to 5:00 AM -- there is a minimal standby staff of six employees on duty.

It has been understood as the intent of Congress since 1985 that Radio Marti expand its broadcasting hours to reach 24 hours per day. Radio Marti first achieved this by programming repetition. Audience research revealed that Cuban listeners wanted fresh programming even during off-peak hours. Radio Marti has expanded its offerings of original programming in off-peak hours to meet the understood desires of Congress and to gain audience share. A reduction of broadcast hours by Radio Marti would effect very little savings.

9. Convert TV Marti to UHF

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"TV Marti should convert to UHF transmission."*

Cuban jamming of TV Marti denies many potential viewers their right to receive the signal. The Advisory Panel, like others in the past, suggests that UHF technology might provide greater opportunities to break through this information barrier. Their arguments that a UHF signal is more difficult and expensive to jam and the fact that, with UHF, TV Marti's broadcast hours and frequencies could be increased because of the absence of Cuban broadcasters on UHF frequencies, are worthy of further study.

We will continue to explore the future benefits of conversion of TV Marti transmissions to UHF. Before investing one to two million dollars to change the technology of TV Marti, we should have, if possible, more precise technical judgment on a number of issues: (1) that the UHF frequencies are operated in a manner consistent with applicable regulations of the Federal Communications Commission and will not affect the quality of U.S. domestic broadcast transmission or reception; (2) that a multi-frequency approach is in keeping with statutory intent; (3) that UHF transmissions will be more difficult and expensive for the Cuban Government to jam; and (4) that sufficient television receivers equipped with UHF exist in Cuba to warrant conversion.

As this information becomes available, I will examine costs and alternatives. If the conversion to UHF is shown to have a demonstrable advantage we will request the support of the Congress for such a conversion. Meanwhile, we will attempt to shift the hours of television broadcasting to include more reasonable time slots for VHF transmissions, and seek to employ increased signal mobility to cover a wider geographical area.

10. Reduce TV Marti Broadcasting during Transition to UHF

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"While UHF is being explored, TV Marti should reduce its on-air time to one hour. During this period, a single fifteen-minute newscast should be broadcast four times."*

If this recommendation was made in order to decrease costs, the impact would be small. The net savings of producing a single fifteen-minute newscast would be negligible, as the costs to produce a half-hour newscast are virtually the same, requiring the same amount of equipment and personnel.

At present, on weekdays, TV Marti repeats its one-half hour newscast three times over its two-and-a-half-hour daily time slot. The remaining time is filled with a half-hour discussion program or documentary, broadcast twice on the hour at 4:00 AM and 5:00 AM. Saturday programming consists of a half-hour news roundup, repeated twice, a Worldnet discussion program, also repeated twice, and a sports program. Sunday programming consists of a program on Cuban music, a news roundup, and a U.S. or Hispanic historical drama. This schedule has been operating since early 1992.

Contrary to some misperceptions, TV Marti broadcasts are almost exclusively news and information. TV Marti does not and never has broadcast cartoons. In 1990, during its first year of operation, TV Marti used nonpolemic acquired programming, including some U.S. TV series. TV Marti rarely broadcasts lighter entertainment fare or U.S. television series but has increased its use of educational and "how-to" practical programming.

11. Produce Video-reports

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"During the interim period, TV Marti should explore the possibility of producing videotape documentaries and features for distribution in Cuba."*

The Programs Department of TV Marti is presently producing and has produced several documentaries for broadcast on TV Marti. We are taking no action on distribution of these or other videotapes in Cuba. Consultation by the USIA Office of American Republics Affairs has determined that Cuban recipients of these tapes run a serious risk of prosecution under the Enemy Propaganda Act of the Cuban Government.

12. Broadcast News at Prime Time

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"TV Marti should consider broadcasting its hour of newscast on satellite during prime time."*

I am exploring the possibility of this scheduling change with our Telecommunications Directorate.

13. Rotate Chairperson and Members

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"The Chairperson as well as the members of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting should be rotated every three years."*

The nine members of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting are appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The President designates one member of the Board to serve as chairperson. The term of each member of the Board is three years. Any member whose term has expired may serve until a successor has been appointed and qualified.

I endorse this recommendation to follow the statutory terms. There has not been significant turnover of the Board under the past three administrations. Since 1986, 14 persons have served on the Advisory Board, including its current members. Within the present calendar year, the terms of all nine current members of the Board will have expired.

14. Limit Scope of the Advisory Board

From the report of the Advisory Panel on Radio Marti and TV Marti: *"The Advisory Board should be a consultative body and not involve itself in day-to-day broadcasting operations or in the recruitment or promotion of personnel."*

I expect the Board to follow its mandate and work through the appropriate channels to implement any of its recommendations. The Radio Broadcasting to Cuba legislation, enacted by the Congress, states that the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting "shall review the effectiveness of the activities carried out under the Act and the Television Broadcasting to Cuba Act and shall make such recommendations to the President and the Broadcasting Board of Governors as it may consider necessary."