

# FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

Cuba-Policy Options

Staff Office-Individual:

Inter-American Affairs-Hollis, Caryn

Original OA/ID Number:

2925

| Row: | Section: | Shelf: | Position: | Stack: |
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| 37   | 2        | 11     | 3         | V      |

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                     | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001a. memo               | To: POTUS; From: Phillip Caplan; Re: Next Steps on Cuba (1 page)                                  | 12/29/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 001b. memo               | To: POTUS; From: Samuel Berger; Re: Next Steps on Cuba (5 pages)                                  | 12/23/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 002. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: Cuba Policy Options (5 pages)                      | 12/10/1996 | P1/b(1)     |
| 003. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: Cuba Policy (5 pages)                              | 05/22/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004a. memo               | To: Samuel Berger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: Cuba Options (6 pages)                             | 07/23/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004b. list               | Tab A - Humanitarian Steps (4 pages)                                                              | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |
| 004c. list               | Tab B - Incremental Steps (4 pages)                                                               | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |
| 005. paper               | Cuba (7 pages)                                                                                    | 01/02/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 006. memo                | To: Jim Steinberg; From: Rob Mally/ Fulton Armstrong; Re: Impact of Embargo on Cuba (3 pages)     | 04/04/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 007. memo                | To: The Secretary; From: Jeff Davidow; Re: Next Move on Cuba (1 page)                             | 01/24/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 008. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Jeffrey De Laurentis; Re: Cuba: Follow-Up to Cuba Options Paper (1 page) | 10/23/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 009. paper               | Ramon Castro [with Fax Cover Sheet] (2 pages)                                                     | 02/04/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

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Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F

sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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| 010. note                | [Recent Developments] (3 pages)                                                         | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |
| 011. cable               | Re: U.S. Policy Towards Cuba (1 page)                                                   | 11/03/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 012. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: [Cuba] [with Cover Sheet] (2 pages)      | 07/01/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 013a. note               | Cuba: General Overview (6 pages)                                                        | 11/20/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 013b. draft              | List of People Met (3 pages)                                                            | 11/20/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 014. cable               | Re: Papal Visit Preparations (4 pages)                                                  | 11/20/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 015. cable               | Re: [Meets with Local Businessmen] [Incomplete Message] (2 pages)                       | 11/26/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 016. cable               | Re: Meeting with A/S for Latin America [with handwritten notes] (3 pages)               | 11/15/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 017a. memo               | Duplicate of 004a (6 pages)                                                             | 07/23/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 017b. list               | Duplicate of 004b (4 pages)                                                             | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |
| 017c. list               | Duplicate of 004c (4 pages)                                                             | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |
| 018. email               | To: Malley, Robert; From: DeLaurentis, Jeffrey; Re: Cuba: Responding to Rangel (1 page) | 01/14/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

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| 019. memo                | To: POTUS; FFrom: Samuel Beger; Re: Update on Cuba Initiatives (3 pages)                          | 09/28/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 020. list                | Possible Candidates [Non-selection] (1 page)                                                      | 00/00/0000 | b(6)        |
| 021. email               | To: Dobbins, James; From: DeLaurentis, Jeffrey; Re: Cuba: [Gitmo] (1 page)                        | 04/14/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 022a. email              | To: Gerth, Thomas; From: Hamilton, John; Re: [GTMO] (1 page)                                      | 04/13/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 022b. email              | To: Hamilton, John; From: Gerth, Thomas; Re: [GTMO] (1 page)                                      | 04/13/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 022c. paper              | Proposed Initiative [COMNAVBASE Guantanamo Bay] (2 pages)                                         | 04/13/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 023. memo                | To: POTUS; From: Madeleine Albright; Re: Cuba in 1998 (7 pages)                                   | 03/05/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 024. letter              | To: Jim; From: Fulton (2 pages)                                                                   | 08/30/1998 | b(6)        |
| 025. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: Cuba Policy (5 pages)                              | 05/22/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 026. memo                | To: Samuel Beger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: Cuban Allegations (4 pages)                         | 05/30/1997 | P1/b(1)     |
| 027. list                | Duplicate of 020 (1 page)                                                                         | 00/00/0000 | b(6)        |
| 028. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Jeffrey De Laurentis; Re: Cuba: Follow-Up to Cuba Options Paper (1 page) | 10/23/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

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Cuba paper

~~ICAO REPORT/STUDY~~  
CUBA POLICY 6PT10N5

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 12/24ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: 12/26Subject: Next steps on Cuba**SECRET**

|                | ACTION                              | FYI                      |            | ACTION                              | FYI                      |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | NASH       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| PODESTA        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | REED       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ECHAVESTE      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | RUFF       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| LEW            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | SMITH      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BEGALA         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | SOSNIK     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BERGER         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | SPERLING   | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BLUMENTHAL     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | STEIN      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| FRAMPTON       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | STERN      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| IBARRA         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | STREETT    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| KLAIN          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | TRAMONTANO | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| LANE           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | VERVEER    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| LEWIS          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | WALDMAN    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| LINDSEY        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | YELLEN     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| LOCKHART       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MARSHALL       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MOORE          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|                |                                     |                          | _____      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTSInitials: ADS Date: 8/17/18

2016-0920-F

REMARKS:

Please advise

RESPONSE: \_\_\_\_\_

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| 002. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: Cuba Policy Options (5 pages) | 12/10/1996 | P1/b(1)     |

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

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                       | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 004c. list               | Tab B - Incremental Steps (4 pages) | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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TO: MR/JdL/SS  
RN/BH  
JL/JR

3/18

## Major Provisions

|                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Remittances                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- New general license to expand \$300/quarter/family to include all US persons, except to senior officials</li><li>- Continue specific licenses for remittances to independent NGOs</li></ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Travel (all except fully hosted) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Spending limit pegged to USG per diem</li></ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Family Travel                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Continue general license one/year family visit based on humanitarian need</li><li>- Continue expanded specific license for family travel when chronic illness or similar long-term need is present.</li></ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Research/Academic Travel         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Restore 1994 general license for professional research and similar activities, and allow these persons to attend qualifying conferences in Cuba.</li><li>- Continue specific licenses for meetings hosted by organizations not headquartered in U.S. or Cuba.</li><li>- Disallow travel for meetings that have as primary focus biotechnology, nuclear science, and other areas governed by Commerce tech-transfer restrictions.</li></ul> |
| Educational Travel               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Expand specific licensing for educational travel (students and teachers) within structured credit programs, including high school, to allow 1) multiple visits over a 1- or 2-year period, and 2) licensing of institutions/programs to "assign" use of license by qualified participants as long as institution/program vouches for their activities.</li></ul>                                                                           |
| Journalist Travel                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Expand general journalist license to</li></ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

|                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                       | <p>include news crews</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expand specific license for freelance journalists to allow multiple trips</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Religious Activities  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expand specific licenses to allow qualified groups to make multiple visits over 1- to 2-year period.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Public Performances   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- New general license for both amateur, semi-pro and professional athletes for competitions under auspices of international sports federations</li> <li>- Continue specific license for range of other amateur sports/performances/clinics including for multiple trips.</li> <li>- Clarify that when profits are generated, they go to Cuba- or US-based charities/NGOs, with objective of promoting people-to-people contacts and benefiting Cuban people.</li> </ul>                                              |
| Food/Ag Sales         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- DOC establishes licensing procedures.</li> <li>- Disallow normal bank credit/financing (as permitted for medical sales) and permit only standard limited-time "open account" arrangement by U.S. supplier/vendor, payable in 30, 60 or 90 days.</li> <li>- New specific licenses (by OFAC) for exploratory and followup travel</li> <li>- "Independent nongovernmental entities" are defined to include religious groups and private-sector undertakings such as family restaurants and private farmers</li> </ul> |
| Humanitarian projects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expand specific licenses to allow multiple trips for projects that benefit Cuban people (medical, environmental, non-formal training, ag and rural development)</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Foundation and        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expand specific licenses to allow</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

|                             |                                                         |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Educational<br>Institutions | multiple trips, in accordance with<br>existing criteria |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE  | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------|------------|-------------|
| 005. paper               | Cuba (7 pages) | 01/02/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

---

**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

---

**FOLDER TITLE:**

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

---

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

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                 | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 006. memo                | To: Jim Steinberg; From: Rob Mally/ Fulton Armstrong; Re: Impact of Embargo on Cuba (3 pages) | 04/04/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

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Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
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### FOLDER TITLE:

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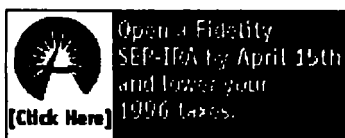
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# Cuba, Food, Medicine

## America should not be in the business of inflicting pain.

*By Stephen S. Rosenfeld*

Friday, April 4 1997; Page A21  
The Washington Post

Off hand, it is hard to think of any single foreign policy act by the United States that is meaner, more demeaning and altogether less defensible than the American embargo on medicine, medical supplies and food to Cuba. Added in 1964 to the broader anti-Castro embargo begun in 1960, the ban on foods and medicines is now a largely unnoted fixture of the hemispheric landscape.

Unnoted but not ineffective. The ban is in fact continually cutting deeper, making the United States a party -- to a degree that needs some sorting out -- to the infliction of pain and suffering on an unoffending civilian population. The toll is newly documented by a report a year in the making by nine experts organized by the American Association for World Health (1826 K St. NW, Washington 20006). Its honorary chairman is Jimmy Carter.

The end of Soviet subsidies and the passage of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 and the Helms-Burton Act of 1996, the report states, have done heavy damage that the island nation's world-hailed primary health care system has been able to limit only in part. Malnutrition, deterioration of water quality and sometimes fatal deficits in medicines, equipment and medical information are the results. It is detailed and dramatic stuff.

When the report came out last month, the Albright State Department was ready with a rejection of "any allegation that the United States government is responsible for the deplorable state of health care in Cuba." Of its \$2 billion in foreign-exchange purchases, Cuba spent only \$6 million on medicine, said the spokesman, observing that the embargo allows humanitarian shipments to Cuba and that "the United States" remains the largest donor. Fidel Castro chooses to spend not on his own

people but on the "little toys" of his military and a nuclear power plant, he jeered.

Look closely here: The United States determinedly squeezes the medical sector and the whole Cuban economy, harasses the Cubans for trying to compensate and then blames Havana for failing to lighten the impact. The American government then boasts of opening the very humanitarian loophole it strives in practice to narrow. In fact, the fount of charity is not "the United States" but private donors who must conquer the obstacles their government has strewn in their path.

Note that at the United Nations the Clinton administration has just gotten Saddam Hussein to use the humanitarian loophole written into the sanctions constricting Iraq. It is a loophole substantially more generous and more accessible than the one affecting Cuba. Its use serves the people of Iraq and makes the other sanctions pressing on the Iraqi economy politically more sustainable. The same could be made true in Cuba.

From the feel of things, the group that has done this new study is sympathetic to the Castro government's campaign against the whole American embargo. The group's evident liberal leanings can be pounced upon by those who believe that against Castro anything goes.

My own view is that at this late date the general embargo has a modest but lingering utility as a card to play in a negotiated windup of the Communist regime. But the medical embargo is different. It mocks the notion that the purpose of medicine is to heal. It employs a technique of war against civilians. It separates Americans from the practice and belief of our closest friends. If it is an increment in the power equation, it is a dubious one, less the source of leverage than shame.

In the Cold War, we might have asserted a higher priority, the survival of our civilization. Does someone still need to be reminded that the Cold War is over? That Castro's days as a threat to our security and global poise are gone? No doubt he would try to profit if the medical embargo were lifted. But this is not going to be the measure by which he and his police state survive.

The question spins on as to whether engagement or isolation best erodes the mischief and the power of revolutionary regimes. We need not be the slaves of a foolish consistency. But if we have decided that engagement suits China and isolation suits Cuba, we are obliged to ask why.

One reason for the inconsistency arises from Cuba's visible

presence in the neighborhood and from the seeming feasibility of engineering change in a small close-by place. A second reason is the startling readiness of the hard-line Miami Cubans to inflict pain upon their kin. Another is a historical rage at what some Americans perceive as Castro's insolence in maintaining his power over our teeth-gnashing. But none of these considerations can possibly rise to a level justifying the denial of American medicines to Cuban children.

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ARMSTRONG

3394

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

May 16, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JAMES F. DOBBINS *fk*  
FROM: FULTON T. ARMSTRONG *fk*  
SUBJECT: POTUS Message to Cuban People on Cuban  
Independence Day

At Tab A, for your approval, is a POTUS message to the Cuban people to be broadcast over Radio Marti on **Cuban Independence Day, May 20**. The President has taped these messages each year. They are an important signal to the Cuban people and the Castro regime of the President's commitment to promote democracy in Cuba.

A Schedule Proposal requesting the taping is at Tab I. Should the President's schedule not permit taping the message between now and Tuesday, we recommend providing the statement to Radio Marti for reading by an announcer.

Concurrence by: Dan Benjamin *fk*; Tony Blinken *fk for*

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the Schedule Proposal to Stephanie Streett and authorize Glyn Davies to forward the statement to James Dorskind.

Approve *P*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Should the President's schedule not permit taping the message, that you authorize Glyn Davies to forward it to James Dorskind for approval as a Presidential statement.

Approve *P*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Schedule Proposal

Tab II Davies-Dorskind Memo

A Proposed Presidential Message

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**

**Schedule Proposal**date 05 / 17 / 97

|                      |                      |                       |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>      </u> ACCEPT | <u>      </u> REGRET | <u>      </u> PENDING |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|

TO: Stephanie Streett

FROM: Samuel Berger *SB*

REQUEST: Recording of taped message.

PURPOSE: To mark Cuban Independence Day, May 20, and reiterate U.S. commitment to promote peaceful transition to democracy.

BACKGROUND: POTUS each year has taped a national day message to the Cuban people, broadcast on Radio Marti. It is an important signal to the Cuban people and the Castro regime of the President's commitment to promote democracy in Cuba. The message is greatly appreciated by Cuban-American groups and interested Members of Congress as well.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: Annually.

DATE AND TIME: As soon as possible

BRIEFING TIME: None required

DURATION: Two- to three-minute message

LOCATION: TBD

PARTICIPANTS: None

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Presidential recording

REMARKS REQUIRED: Draft attached

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House recording

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not Required

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Not Required

RECOMMENDED BY: Department of State, USIA, Office of  
Cuba Broadcasting, NSC

CONTACT: Fulton Armstrong, NSC (6-9137)

ORIGIN OF THIS PROPOSAL: USIA

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not Required

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

3394

May 16, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JAMES F. DOBBINS *fk*  
FROM: FULTON T. ARMSTRONG *fk*  
SUBJECT: POTUS Message to Cuban People on Cuban  
Independence Day

At Tab A, for your approval, is a POTUS message to the Cuban people to be broadcast over Radio Marti on Cuban Independence Day, May 20. The President has taped these messages each year. They are an important signal to the Cuban people and the Castro regime of the President's commitment to promote democracy in Cuba.

A Schedule Proposal requesting the taping is at Tab I. Should the President's schedule not permit taping the message between now and Tuesday, we recommend providing the statement to Radio Marti for reading by an announcer.

Concurrence by: Dan Benjamin *fk*; Tony Blinken *fk for*

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the Schedule Proposal to Stephanie Streett and authorize Glyn Davies to forward the statement to James Dorskind.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Should the President's schedule not permit taping the message, that you authorize Glyn Davies to forward it to James Dorskind for approval as a Presidential statement.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Schedule Proposal  
Tab II Davies-Dorskind Memo  
A Proposed Presidential Message

S.S. *adm* 5/17

TAB 1

## Schedule Proposal

date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

☐ ACCEPT☐ REGRET☐ PENDING

TO: Stephanie Streett

FROM: Samuel Berger

REQUEST: Recording of taped message

PURPOSE: To mark Cuban Independence Day, May 20, and reiterate U.S. commitment to promote peaceful transition to democracy.

BACKGROUND: POTUS each year has taped a national day message to the Cuban people, broadcast on Radio Marti. It is an important signal to the Cuban people and the Castro regime of the President's commitment to promote democracy in Cuba. The message is greatly appreciated by Cuban-American groups and interested Members of Congress as well.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: Annually.

DATE AND TIME: As soon as possible

BRIEFING TIME: None required

DURATION: Two- to three-minute message

LOCATION: TBD

PARTICIPANTS: None

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Presidential recording

REMARKS REQUIRED: Draft attached

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House recording

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: No

RECOMMENDED BY: Department of State, USIA, Office of  
Cuba Broadcasting, NSC

CONTACT: Fulton Armstrong, NSC (6-9137)

ORIGIN OF THIS PROPOSAL: USIA

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

3394

TAB II

May 16, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES DORSKIND

FROM: GLYN T. DAVIES

SUBJECT: Message to Cuban People on Cuban National Day

Attached is a proposed Presidential message to the Cuban people on Cuban Independence Day, May 20.

The message will either be taped by the President or read by an announcer for broadcast over Radio Marti. The President has taped these messages each year. They are an important signal to the Cuban people and the Castro regime of the President's commitment to promote democracy in Cuba.

Please return the signed message to my office for appropriate disposition.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed message

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
RADIO ACTUALITY FOR CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY  
MAY 20, 1997**

Greetings to all listeners of Radio Marti. On behalf of the American people, I bring you the warmest wishes on this Cuban Independence Day.

America remains determined to help bring a peaceful, democratic transition in Cuba. In the last year, we have worked hard for this goal. Today, the international consensus to promote democratic change in Cuba is stronger than it has been in the 38 years of the Castro regime. The nations of the European Union have made it clear that better relations with Cuba can only come when the regime takes concrete steps toward democracy and respect for human rights. Latin American leaders have stated more explicitly than ever their hope that a democratic Cuba will rejoin our hemispheric family as we prepare to enter the new millennium. The United Nations Human Rights Commission has again adopted a resolution condemning human rights abuses in Cuba.

Our message to you at this important juncture in Cuban history is one of hope. The tide of democracy that has swept our hemisphere will reach Cuba's shores -- and the Cuban people will be free to choose their own leaders and enjoy the blessings of prosperity they have so long been denied. The United States is determined to help you and Cuba's courageous democracy and human rights activists as they work for a brighter future. And we will not rest until that new day dawns, and Cuba takes its rightful place alongside its democratic neighbors.

Thanks for listening.

###

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

BROADCAST ON RADIO MARTI

MAY 20, 1997

Greetings to listeners of Radio Marti. I bring you the best wishes of the American people on this important day -- Cuban Independence Day. You know how deeply I and the people of the United States share your desire for a peaceful, democratic transition in Cuba. Only one government in the entire hemisphere has not chosen the route toward democracy and economic prosperity -- a distinction unbecoming a proud nation with a rich history such as yours.

The international consensus to promote democratic change in Cuba has grown steadily stronger over the past year. The European Union has conditioned its relations on concrete steps toward democracy and respect in human rights in Cuba. Latin American leaders have stated more explicitly than ever their hope that a democratic Cuba could rejoin our hemispheric family as we prepare to enter the new millennium. The United Nations Human Rights Commission again has adopted a resolution condemning human rights abuses in Cuba.

Our message to you at this crucial juncture in Cuban history is one of hope -- that the Cuban people will soon be free to choose their own government and enjoy a better standard of living. I would like to restate our firmest commitment to do what we can to help you and Cuba's courageous pro-democracy and human rights activists reach that great moment -- when you will stand proud once again with your democratic neighbors.

Thanks for listening.

**Schedule Proposal**

date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ ACCEPT

\_\_\_\_ REGRET

\_\_\_\_ PENDING

TO: Stephanie Streett

FROM: Samuel Berger

REQUEST: Recording of taped message

PURPOSE: To mark Cuban Independence Day, May 20, and reiterate U.S. commitment to promote peaceful transition to democracy.

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DATE AND TIME: As soon as possible

BRIEFING TIME: None required

DURATION: Two- to three-minute message

LOCATION: TBD

PARTICIPANTS: None

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Presidential recording

REMARKS REQUIRED: Draft attached

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House recording

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: No

RECOMMENDED BY: Department of State, USIA, Office of  
Cuba Broadcasting, NSC

CONTACT: Fulton Armstrong, NSC (6-9137)

ORIGIN OF THIS PROPOSAL: USIA

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No.

**DRAFT**

*Jim - OK?*  
*John*  
*3394*  
*XXXX*

**Schedule Proposal**

date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ ACCEPT      \_\_\_\_ REGRET      \_\_\_\_ PENDING

*[Signature]*

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FROM: Samuel Berger

REQUEST: Recording of taped message

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✓

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Thanks for listening.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                         | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 007. memo                | To: The Secretary; From: Jeff Davidow; Re: Next Move on Cuba (1 page) | 01/24/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

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2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                        | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 008. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Jeffrey De Laurentis; Re: Cuba: Follow-Up<br>to Cuba Options Paper (1 page) | 10/23/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 1998

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have stated many times that, while tough economic sanctions are necessary to promote peaceful change in Cuba, they alone are not enough. Change in Cuba must come from within, led by Cubans on the island who recognize the problems and injustices of the current system and challenge them. Increasing the flow of information to, from and within Cuba is essential to fostering this dynamic, as is outside support and advice to independent groups trying to carve out space for their activities. My Administration has made this a priority, initiating measures to permit groups in the U.S. to begin developing new kinds of contacts on the island. Since 1993, we have licensed dozens of trips, programs and other activities by NGOs and institutions in the U.S. aimed at establishing positive working relationships with counterparts in Cuba.

These ties have not been government to government but people to people, and convey to ordinary Cubans that Americans are poised not to invade or annex Cuba, but rather to help it rejoin our family of democracies and realize its full potential. An important element of this support over the last four years has been private humanitarian aid from U.S. non-governmental organizations to the people of Cuba totaling \$227 million.

His Holiness John Paul II made an historic visit to Cuba last week. At the request of Catholic Church authorities in the United States and the Holy See, we made a number of exceptions to our policy regarding travel and shipment of humanitarian supplies to Cuba to coincide with the visit. We permitted direct passenger flights to Cuba for pilgrims to attend Papal services. We permitted the Archdiocese of Miami to lease a cruise ship to transport and lodge 1,300 pilgrims during the visit. We also facilitated shipment of \$\$ worth of humanitarian assistance to assist with the visit. End use monitoring mechanisms were in place to ensure these exceptional deliveries reached the people they were intended for.

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The Pope's visit gave an important psychological boost to the Catholic Church and other religious institutions on the island, and to the Cuban people. During the preparations for the visit, however, the dire needs of the Cuban people became all too clear. (Anecdote of needy individual receiving some kind of assistance for the first time.) The struggle of the Cuban people for daily survival and human dignity is well known. Most Cubans do not get enough to eat and must scramble constantly to feed their families and themselves as best they can. Medical supplies are extremely scarce and hospital conditions deteriorating. The Pope has called on all of us to do what we can.

Like millions of other Americans, I was moved by the Pope's visit, by his message of hope and the need for respect of human rights. And I was moved by the way the Cuban people responded to him. The United States has long stood for the promotion of human rights, economic reform and the development of civil society in Cuba and elsewhere. We have also done our best to help relieve the suffering of neighbors in distress. In the case of Cuba, we have not stood idly by. But, we can do more to meet the humanitarian needs of the Cuban people. I believe the time is right to do just that.

Therefore, I am formalizing the humanitarian steps taken, on an exceptional basis, since last August, to assist the Pope's visit to Cuba. Based on the clear humanitarian needs of the Cuban people demonstrated during the visit, I also intend to explore ways to provide additional relief to the Cuban people.

This afternoon, I am taking the following actions:

- First, I am lifting the ban on direct humanitarian aid flights to Cuba. # such flights were authorized in connection with the Pope's visit. (elaborate on nature of supplies shipped). Effective end-use verification mechanisms, ensuring these vital supplies continue to reach the people they were intended for, are now in place.
- Second, I am lifting the ban on direct passenger flights to Cuba. I know that Americans with family in Cuba have suffered because of the extra cost and inconvenience of having to visit relatives on the island through third countries.
- Third, I have directed the Commerce Department to further facilitate the granting of licenses for sale of medical supplies to Cuba by U.S. firms or foreign affiliates. Based

on our recent experiences during the Pope's visit, I am confident that end-use verification requirements can be met.

- Fourth, I have ordered the Treasury Department to adjust licensing practices to restore remittances by Cuban-Americans to Cubans on the island to pre-July 1994 levels, that is to \$1,200 per year.
- And fifth, I have ordered the Commerce Department to adjust its licensing practices to allow commercial sales of food to non-governmental organizations or private entrepreneurs. In addition to meeting the humanitarian needs of the Cuban people, the engagement of non-governmental organizations or private enterprises would contribute to the development of civil society on the island.

These measures are consistent with the Cuban Democracy Act and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. They also reflect the traditional American values of helping our neighbors help themselves.

The package I have announced today is a logical next step. My message to the people of Cuba, including individuals in the Cuban government who support democracy, is that the U.S. stands ready, along with other democratic nations, to help Cuba overcome the challenges it will face in the future. The Cuban people ought not suffer unnecessarily. The United States - far from threatening Cuba's sovereignty as the Castro regime alleges - wants to assist Cubans in the peaceful transition to a free, independent and prosperous country.

# # #

The White House  
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 1998

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT (2)

His Holiness John Paul II made an historic visit to Cuba last week. Like millions of other Americans, I was moved by the Pope's visit, by his message of hope and the need for respect for human rights. And I was moved by the way the Cuban people responded to him.

At the request of Catholic Church authorities in the United States and the Holy See, my Administration has made a number of exceptions to our policy regarding travel and shipment of humanitarian supplies to Cuba to coincide with the visit. We permitted direct passenger flights for pilgrims to attend Papal services. We permitted the Archdiocese of Miami to lease a cruise ship to transport and lodge 1,300 pilgrims during the visit. We also facilitated the shipment of \$\$ worth of humanitarian assistance. End use monitoring mechanisms were in place to ensure these exceptional deliveries reached the people they were intended for.

These measures were consistent with the Cuban Democracy Act and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, which, in addition to applying tough economic sanctions to promote peaceful change in Cuba, also enable us to conduct a program of support for the Cuban people.

The overarching goal of our policy toward Cuba is to promote a peaceful transition to democracy on the island. Such a transition must stem from the successful initiatives of Cubans on the island who seek to build a strong, independent civil society and promote respect for human rights. Moreover, it requires that Cubans develop the means to peacefully reconcile differences during the transition - be they economic, social or political.

The presence of His Holiness John Paul II in Cuba gave an important psychological boost to the Catholic Church, to Cuba's nascent civil society, and to the Cuban people. The response of the people to the Pope's visit tells me that we must do more to support them, to provide additional humanitarian relief, and

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continue helping them create the conditions for a smooth and peaceful transition to a free, independent and prosperous nation.

Consistent with our actions over the last eight months and in order to sustain an increased level of support to the people of Cuba, I have decided to formalize the steps we took to support the Pope's visit:

I am lifting the ban on direct passenger and humanitarian aid flights to Cuba. I have asked the Commerce Department to continue granting licenses for the sale of medical supplies to Cuba by U.S. firms or foreign affiliates. I have ordered the Treasury Department to adjust licensing practices to restore remittances by Cuban-Americans to Cubans on the island to pre-July 1994 levels, that is to \$1,2000 per year. And I have ordered the Commerce Department to adjust its licensing practices to allow commercial sales of food to non-governmental organizations or private entrepreneurs.

These steps will enhance our program of support to the Cuban people and help prepare them for a peaceful transition to democracy.

I have stated many times that, while tough economic sanctions and targeted humanitarian assistance are necessary to promote peaceful change in Cuba, they alone are not enough. Change in Cuba must come from within, led by Cubans on the island who recognize the problems and injustices of the current system and challenge them. Increasing the flow of information, to, from and within Cuba is essential to fostering this dynamic, as is outside support and advice to independent groups trying to carve out space for their activities. My Administration has made this a priority, initiating measures to permit groups in the U.S. to begin developing new kinds of contacts on the island. Since 1993, we have licensed dozens of trips, programs, and other activities by NGOs and institutions in the U.S. aimed at establishing positive working relationship with counterparts in Cuba.

These ties have not been government to government but people to people, to convey to ordinary Cubans that Americans are poised not to invade or annex Cuba, but rather to help it rejoin our family of democracies and realize its full potential.

The time has come to do more, to further engage the Cuban people and organizations, to provide increased relief, and, where

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appropriate, to begin to cooperate with Cuban authorities when direct national interests are served. Closer contact with the Cuban people, including individuals in the Cuban government who support democracy, will energize development of an independent civil society -- giving the Cubans a stake in their future -- and free enterprise.

Therefore, I am also announcing today a series of steps designed to produce deeper engagement with the Cuban people. To this end, I am taking the following steps:

First, we must build our people to people ties by increasing the number and level of cultural, academic and sports exchanges with the people of Cuba. This will strengthen Cuba's nascent private sector, build an entrepreneurial spirit, and foster development of civil society.

Second, I have authorized the Treasury Department to begin granting licenses for U.S. commercial sales to Cuban private farmers and entrepreneurs. At the same time, Cuban-Americans will be permitted to remit funds to pay for such sales. Such a step will empower the growing number of independent farmers, tradesman and small entrepreneurs. In addition, it will address meet humanitarian needs.

Even as we expand contact with the Cuban people, we need to sustain our pressure on the Cuban regime to institute meaningful democratic reforms. To the extent that the Cuban government shows itself prepared to move in this direction, I am prepared to reciprocate.

Finally, I am prepared to directly address the issue of compensation for confiscated properties with the Cuban government. One of the principles behind the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act was to seek enhanced protection for the property interests in Cuba of U.S. citizens. The Castro regime has precluded negotiating a settlement to these properties, claiming that we owe \$\$\$ billion because of our embargo. If the Government of Cuba is prepared to make an offer without such a claim, I am prepared to negotiate in good faith.

As we approach the new millennium, I want to build on the expanding relationship between the people of Cuba and the United States. A stable, open, and prosperous Cuba is important to the United States and to our friends and allies in the region. A stable and democratic Cuba is more likely to work cooperatively with others and to contribute positively to peace in the region

and to respect the rights and interests of its people. We have a profound stake in helping to ensure that Cuba rejoins our family of democracies and realizes its full potential. And we must do all we can to support the island's transition to democracy and a free market economy. The great question remaining for us as a nation is whether we have the vision and the heart necessary to imagine a future relationship with Cuba that is different from the past.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                 | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 009. paper               | Ramon Castro [with Fax Cover Sheet] (2 pages) | 02/04/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                   | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
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| 010. note                | [Recent Developments] (3 pages) | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

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Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                         | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 011. cable               | Re: U.S. Policy Towards Cuba (1 page) | 11/03/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                      | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 012. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: [Cuba] [with Cover Sheet] (2 pages) | 07/01/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
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| 2         | ARMSTRONG   | 6/30/97     | fkr             |
| 3         | DOBBINS     | 6/25/97     | fkr for         |
| 4         | DANVERS     |             |                 |
| 5         | DAVIS       |             |                 |
| 6         | BENDICK     |             |                 |
| 7         | BEERS       | 6/21        | BB              |
| 8         | BAKER       | 7/1         | JEB             |
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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                    | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 013a. note               | Cuba: General Overview (6 pages) | 11/20/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 013b. draft              | List of People Met (3 pages) | 11/20/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                          | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 014. cable               | Re: Papal Visit Preparations (4 pages) | 11/20/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                     | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 015. cable               | Re: [Meets with Local Businessmen] [Incomplete Message] (2 pages) | 11/26/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                             | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 016. cable               | Re: Meeting with A/S for Latin America [with handwritten notes] (3 pages) | 11/15/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

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

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# DRAFT

## ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Papal Visit to Cuba: An Opportunity

## Purpose

To decide on humanitarian steps that might help break the impasse in the U.S.-Cuban bilateral relationship, using the January 21-25 Papal visit to Cuba as a milestone to launch new U.S. policy initiatives in the future.

## Overview

We have been considering alternative long-term options regarding Cuba. Our current "pressure-cooker" policy does not appear likely to expedite change in Cuba, nor to increase the likelihood that it would take place peacefully and result in a post-Castro situation characterized by calm, democratization, economic growth and low immigration pressures. The Helms-Burton Act and traditional bipartisan consensus behind our current policy leave relatively little room for major policy shifts as long as Fidel Castro remains in power.

Nonetheless, there are steps we can take, in the context of the Pope's upcoming visit, to reduce bilateral tensions, to increase our support to the Cuban people through humanitarian actions, to build small bridges to elements of the Cuban government likely to survive a transition, and to increase the chances that we can re-position the static bilateral relationship into a "gradually evolving one." Tensions and mistrust have kept both sides in a reactive mode for decades and given the GOC ready excuses to shun reform and crack down on pro-democracy opponents. The Catholic Church and practically all dissidents have repeatedly urged us to move toward a less confrontational stance.

## Background

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

The Papal visit provides an opportunity to carry out our goal of support for the Cuban people and hopefully begin breaking the impasse. At the request of Catholic Church authorities in the United States and the Holy See, we have been making a number of exceptions to our policy regarding travel and shipment of humanitarian supplies to Cuba to coincide with the visit. We have authorized a handful of direct passenger flights to Cuba for pilgrims to attend Papal services. We have permitted the Archdiocese of Miami to lease a cruise ship to transport and lodge 1,300 pilgrims during the visit. We have also authorized Catholic Relief Services to make a direct flight to Havana with humanitarian goods. In making these exceptions, we have stated publicly that the Pope's visit is something we very much support -- an important event in bringing to the Cuban people a message of hope and, at least implicitly, the need for the respect of human rights.

We have encountered no significant criticism -- except from extremists in Miami -- of these actions and see an opportunity to take another step forward by formalizing them prior to the Pope's visit. Catholic Church leaders have urged us to take these steps for some time and, following consultations with the Vatican, we could announce them as a further contribution to the message of hope the Pope will bring to Cuba. In discussing our intentions with Vatican officials, we would also encourage them to strengthen the Pope's message in Cuba regarding human rights and fundamental freedoms.

These changes would essentially be the restoration of humanitarian measures in place before the migration crisis of summer 1994 and the shutdown in February 1996. At the same time, these steps could help blunt some criticism of the U.S. embargo, which would remain firmly in place, and our overall policy toward Cuba.

Specifically, we would announce our intention to:

1. Restore direct passenger flights to Cuba. The prohibition -- based on your statement after Cuba shot down two U.S. aircraft in February 1996 -- could be lifted without legislative or regulatory change. You have indicated a desire to do so in the past.
2. Restore direct aid flights. Shipping through third countries has quadrupled costs and forced groups to significantly reduce donations. Several dozen Members of the House and Senate have urged a permanent resumption of direct aid flights.

3. Loosen control on medical exports by adjusting licensing practices. The Catholic Church has called for a loosening of restrictions on commercial sales of medicine and medical supplies to Cuba, and the Cuban branch of the Catholic NGO "Caritas" can provide the required end-use verification (to ensure the GOC does not funnel the goods away from the needy). Congressional Democrats are also urging that we loosen up the verification procedures that exporters find most onerous.

4. Restore remittances by Cuban Americans to Cubans on the island to pre-August 1994 levels. This measure would strengthen embargo enforcement by moving cash transfers, estimated at \$600 to 800 million a year, back into legal channels that U.S. law enforcement can monitor.

5. Alter policy discouraging food sales. The commercial sale of food to Cuba is permitted by law but subject to Commerce's standing "presumption of denial." As an initial step, we would approve the sale of food to private entrepreneurs, who represent a tiny but growing part of the economy.

6. Permit higher-profile, long-term cultural and academic exchanges. Cubans in the arts, sciences and sports are already gaining some independence, are eager for change, and seek interaction with U.S. counterparts.

Although these steps are consistent with the Cuba Democracy Act and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, some hard-line leaders of the Cuban-American community and allied Members of Congress will probably oppose them in principle. We face the renewal of Helms-Burton Title III in January and do not want give further ammunition to hard-core supporters of the law who will seek to oppose another suspension or worse. With Jorge Mas Canosa's passing, however, the community faces a leadership vacuum. The majority of Cuban-Americans would most likely support these measures although may not say so publicly out of fear of appearing soft on the regime and of drawing condemnation from the Community's extremist leaders. U.S. and Cuban Catholic Church officials will laud the move as will many democratic (and some republican) Members of Congress and friends and allies abroad. Tying implementation to the Papal visit, moreover, would give us some political cover, particularly if we can point to the fact that the Pope or senior church officials not only explicitly called for the expansion of religious rights in Cuba but for civil and individual rights as well.

### Looking to the Future

This initiative could conceivably be part of a larger strategy toward deeper engagement with the Cuban people and, on a conditional basis, with elements of the GOC. Based on our preliminary thinking, the next phase could entail encouraging more direct contact with the Cuban people and organizations; providing relief from selected aspects of the embargo to the Cuban people; and formalizing cooperation with the GOC in areas of mutual interest. We would inform the GOC of our willingness to undertake these measures with certain realistic, achievable conditions directly related to each action. Such an incremental, calibrated approach would build on your recent public statements for a "gradually evolving relationship" if the GOC first demonstrated a willingness to open up politically. The successful implementation of our humanitarian initiative in connection with the Pope's visit could soften the tense atmospherics which exist in the bilateral relationship and encourage forward movement. Castro is already reportedly encouraged by your public comments that he is a highly intelligent man who spends a lot of time thinking about the future.

### Next Steps: A Timeline

The Pope will visit Cuba on January 21-25. We would envision an announcement regarding this initiative around Christmas. Subject to your concurrence, I would propose the following preparatory steps between now and then:

1. Review initiative with Secretary Albright and Undersecretary Eizenstat;
2. Approach the Vatican -- directly or via the U.S. Catholic Church officials (e.g. Cardinal Law);
3. Following consultations with the Vatican, flesh out proposal and brief the Core Group and key members of Congress prior to announcement.

### RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to the above-mentioned strategy and time line to advance U.S. objectives in connection with the Pope's upcoming visit to Cuba

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

**Rain**

HERALDLINK FULL STORY

*Published Monday, November 10, 1997, in the Miami Herald*

## Clinton wants ongoing Cuban ties -- with an `if'

WASHINGTON -- (AP) -- President Clinton said Sunday he wants to develop "an ongoing relationship" with Fidel Castro's Cuba much like the one he has with China, but only after America's communist neighbor moves toward democracy.

In an interview on NBC's Meet the Press, Clinton said he had been working toward "a gradually evolving relationship" with Havana until Cuban fighters shot down two small planes piloted by Cuban Americans in February 1996. Until then, Clinton had resisted tougher anti-Cuba legislation in Congress, but he signed the so-called Helms-Burton Act after the attack.

"So, we are at an impasse now," Clinton said. "I still want that kind of relationship with Cuba, but we have to have some kind of indication that there will be an opening up, a movement toward democracy, . . . and I don't have that indication today."

Clinton stopped short of saying he wants diplomatic relations with Cuba, as his reference to China ties would imply, and White House officials said it was not his intent to indicate he wants such ties. "No," said national security spokeswoman Ann Luzatto, "not under the current circumstances."

The Cuban president himself rejected prospects for change in the near future. "In Cuba, there was, there is and there will be a revolution based on principles that are not for sale," Castro told 21 heads of government Saturday at the annual Ibero-American summit in Porlamar, Venezuela.

The president also said:

- He could not rule out a military strike against Iraq, which has refused to allow the United Nations to inspect possible weapons sites. "It's very important that the president maintain all options and signal none."
- He opposes teaching homosexuality in public schools as an acceptable alternative lifestyle, but believes children should not be taught to discriminate against or fear homosexual men and women.
- He believes the use of soft money contributions to buy television ads during the 1996 campaign "played a role in bringing down voter confidence" and underscores the need to overhaul the nation's campaign finance system.
- He doesn't believe all the scandal investigations that have dogged his presidency will stick. "When the history books are written and people look

back on it, the public will have a very different opinion . . . about the ethical performance of this administration."

Asked why the United States has active political and economic relations with vast, distant China but not the smaller, closer Cuba, Clinton said China has been willing to "open up and to work with us" on weapons proliferation, human rights and environmental issues.

"We've got this ongoing relationship" with China, he said. "That's what I wanted to do with Cuba." He was headed in that direction by supporting the 1992 Cuba Democracy Act, which toughened economic sanctions but opened the way for humanitarian contacts -- progress that unraveled when Cuba shot down the planes.

Clinton said he gets "mixed signals from time to time" from Cuba but still holds out hope for change under Castro. He complimented the Cuban ruler as "a highly intelligent man" who "spends a lot of time thinking about the future."

"I wish it could be different than it is," Clinton said. "But we have to have some basis for opening. It can't be a one-way street. There has to be some sense that there's an evolution going on in Cuba, and it can turn into a modern state."



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*Getting in touch with HERALDlink*

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE               | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 017a. memo               | Duplicate of 004a (6 pages) | 07/23/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE               | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 017b. list               | Duplicate of 004b (4 pages) | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F

sb2128

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| 017c. list               | Duplicate of 004c (4 pages) | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

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National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                              | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 018. email               | To: Malley, Robert; From: DeLaurentis, Jeffrey; Re: Cuba:<br>Responding to Rangel (1 page) | 01/14/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                           | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 019. memo                | To: POTUS; FRom: Samuel Beger; Re: Update on Cuba Initiatives (3 pages) | 09/28/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

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2/10  
Jim - per Rob's  
e-mail. First cut  
at points for  
Eizenstat.

Td I made  
George  
TDL

## Points for Conversation with Stu Eizenstat

### Background

Stu Eizenstat has objected that the proposed course of action on Cuba will upset his negotiations with the EU over the treatment of expropriated property, the success of which is dependent on the prospect of Congress revoking Title IV of Helms Burton. He believes that our initiative will cause a "firestorm" on the Hill and in the Cuban-American community, and end any incentive the EU has to continue its "Common Position" on Cuba and to negotiate a full settlement of the WTO case.

Stu has told State Department colleagues recently that he wants to re-engage on Cuba policy. The Cuban-American National Foundation (CANF) has been wooing him -- Jorge Mas Jr. wrote to him last month, looking to re-establish the relationship Stu had with Jorge Mas Canosa. Stu also has been pressing to visit Miami in the aftermath of Mas Canosa's death. He has a personal trip planned for March 9 and wanted to do some Cuba-related business. The Secretary's office turned this off last week.

- The Pope's visit presents an important opportunity to move our policy forward. We have an obligation to help sustain the momentum generated by the visit, and to respond to mounting domestic interest in loosening the harsher aspects of our policy.
- You are right to be concerned that any course of action could upset the balance you have achieved between the Congress and the EU on Helms Burton. You have poured enormous energy and imagination into this and made tremendous progress.
- At the same time, we have the chance to make some real progress on U.S.-Cuba relations. The impact of Helms Burton Title III and Title IV on relations with the EU are very important but should not drive the overall policy.
- I don't think the initiatives under consideration, particularly in the first stage, will cause a firestorm on the Hill and in the Cuban-American community.

- We are detecting the beginnings of a shift in the community in the aftermath of the Pope's visit. The Attorney General, who knows Miami well, has expressed this and does not want us to lose an opportunity to make progress. Even CANF, with Senator Helms' support, has invoked the need to back the Pope's efforts as justification for their initiative to permit the provision of food aid to Cuba.
- One way to soften the blow on the Hill may be to do as you suggest -- join Senator Helms and Senator Graham to fashion a bipartisan consensus on the CANF proposal which increases support for the Cuban people but keeps the embargo in tact.
- I also believe the EU will applaud our efforts to bring U.S. policy closer in line with the rest of the world. It would be welcomed as long overdue by allies and friends.
- At the same time, we would need to ensure that we not reduce the pressure on them to condition expansion of political and economic relations with Cuba on greater respect by the regime for human rights and democracy. I am confident we can keep the Europeans from straying from the "Common Position."
- This would strengthen the multilateral effort to promote a democratic transition in Cuba.

June 5, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JAMES F. DOBBINS <sup>kt</sup>  
FROM: FULTON T. ARMSTRONG <sup>fk</sup>  
SUBJECT: Berger-Nash Memo to POTUS on Cuba Broadcasting Board

At Tab I is a Memorandum for the President from you and Bob Nash seeking approval to start a process for renewing the Presidential Advisory Board on Broadcasting to Cuba. All of the current members are holdovers from the Reagan and Bush Administrations, and the strong interagency consensus is that it is time to replace them (or, if appropriate, renew their mandates) and to select a new chairman.

Presidential Personnel proposes replacing all five Democratic seats on the Board and appointing one of them to replace the current chairman, Jorge Mas Canosa. Mr. Mas would not necessarily be off the Board, however, as Senator Lott will nominate persons to fill four seats and could in all likelihood nominate Mr. Mas for one of them. Nevertheless, we expect a major battle from him and his supporters in the Cuban-American community. One of his top aides at the Cuban American National Foundation told the Miami Herald that replacing Mas would be an "absurdity."

We recommend that you sign the Memorandum. It is time to bring new leadership to the Board. Mr. Mas's forceful style and strong political views over his 14-year tenure as Chairman have repeatedly given rise to the impression that he has exercised undue influence over programming and personnel issues at Radio and TV Marti. A recently concluded USIA/State investigation into allegations of wrongdoing by Mr. Mas and his friends in the Office of Cuba Broadcasting did not support employee allegations of specific serious violations, but it did find "a pattern of personnel mismanagement" in the three-year period covered and urged USIA to ensure that agency management procedures are adhered to in the future. Moreover, Mr. Mas's political ambitions in a post-Castro Cuba cannot be allowed to taint, in fact or appearance, the objectivity of the Marti stations. The new director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, Herminio

San Roman, is working hard to further professionalize the stations and would benefit greatly from the fresh ideas that a new Chairman and advisory board would provide.

Concurrence by: Nancy Soderberg; Bill Danvers; Rob Malley

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Memorandum for the President.

Attachment

Tab I Berger-Nash Memorandum for the President

Tab A Miami Herald Article

Tab B Current Board Membership

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1997

746 I

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

FROM: BOB J. NASH                      Assistant to the President and  
Director of Presidential Personnel

SAMUEL R. BERGER                      Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

RE:                      **ADVISORY BOARD FOR CUBA BROADCASTING**

---

This memo seeks your approval to begin the process of renewing the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting. All six current members are holdovers from Presidents Reagan and Bush, and there are three vacancies. We propose replacing the five Democratic seats and appointing one of them Chairman to replace Jorge Mas Canosa. In accordance with our agreement with Senator Lott, we would ask him for recommendations on the four Republican seats, either to renew the current members -- including Mr. Mas Canosa -- or replace them.

We seek your approval to notify Mr. Mas Canosa and interested Members of Congress of this plan and to begin contacting possible candidates. This decision has taken on some urgency as it is already beginning to leak (see attached article). We will request your approval of the five Democratic nominees and any new Republican names from Senator Lott at a later date.

You should be aware that replacing Mr. Mas Canosa as Chairman will likely spark a major battle with him and his supporters in the Cuban-American community, as well as some Members of Congress. We are convinced, however, that it is time to bring new leadership to the Board and this decision is worth the fight.

**I. BACKGROUND**

In 1983, Congress enacted the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act for the stated purpose of supporting the right of the people of Cuba to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media, regardless of frontiers, and in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Consistent with this policy, the Act noted that radio broadcasting to Cuba may be effective in furthering the open communication of accurate information and ideas to the people of Cuba. Thus, Radio Martí and the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba was created.

Jorge Mas Canosa, President of the Cuban American National Foundation, was instrumental in developing and passing the Act. He was appointed by President Reagan in 1983 to serve as Chairman of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba, which was replaced

by the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting in 1990 (after the creation of TV Martí). Mr. Mas Canosa's second term expired in 1989, but he has served ever since in a holdover capacity.

This bipartisan Advisory Board has a total of nine voting members. The Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting and the Director of the Television Martí Service also serve as ex-officio members. Terms are for three years and members serve until a successor has been confirmed by the Senate. You select a Chairman from among the members. Currently, there are six holdovers and three vacancies among the voting members.

## II. DISCUSSION

While Mr. Mas Canosa has supported some Administration policies toward Cuba -- including our use of the waiver of Title III of Helms-Burton -- he has been severely critical of other policies of this Administration since the announcement of a new policy on Cuban immigration in May 1995. His desire to play a lead role in a post-Castro Cuba can be seen as a backdrop for his continued interest in the Board. In that light, real or perceived interference by Mr. Mas Canosa in the operations of Radio Martí, including news coverage and personnel decisions, continue to plague the Office of Cuba Broadcasting.

In March 1994, Congress established the "Straus Commission" to "review the effectiveness" of US broadcasting to Cuba. The panel concluded that the chairmanship of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting should rotate every three years. Mr. Mas Canosa has served as Chairman since the creation of Radio Martí in 1983. A new Chairman could bring a fresh start and new ideas to the Board, as well as help minimize the perception that Radio and TV Martí are the personal domain of an individual serving as Chairman for 14 years.

Our intention was to ask for your approval to name Mr. Mas Canosa to an ex-officio position of "Chairman Emeritus," thus removing him as a voting member of the Board. However, we have been advised by Counsel that it is not possible to add an ex-officio position without legislation.

## III. RECOMMENDATION

With your approval, Mr. Mas Canosa would be notified in person of the decision to replace him as Chairman of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting and of the decision to fill the vacant or expired Democratic slots and to seek Republican submissions for the remaining four slots. Simultaneously, others would notify relevant Members of Congress and ask for their guidance on possible candidates.

Approve: \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove: \_\_\_\_\_

With your approval, Presidential Personnel will suggest to Senator Lott that he consider submitting Mr. Mas Canosa's name for one of the four Republican slots. Failure to provide some official role for Mr. Mas Canosa may jeopardize the confirmation of the Democratic nominees.

Approve: \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove: \_\_\_\_\_

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 020. list                | Possible Candidates [Non-selection] (1 page) | 00/00/0000 | b(6)        |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

cc: John Podesta, DCoS  
Craig Smith, Political Affairs  
Charles Duncan, PPO

BN:sw



HERALDLINK FULL STORY

Published Wednesday, June 4, 1997, in the Miami Herald

TAB A

## White House ponders shake-up in Cuba broadcasting



By **CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS**  
Herald Staff Writer

WASHINGTON -- The Clinton administration is considering naming a new advisory board for broadcasting to Cuba, including the possibility of replacing its longtime chairman, Jorge Mas Canosa, officials said Tuesday.

The White House is pondering whether to tap Elena Diaz-Verson Amos, a Cuban-American benefactor from Georgia, to head the nine-member board, the officials said. The board oversees Radio and TV Marti, the Miami-based U.S. government broadcasts to Cuba.

Such a proposal, which has yet to reach Clinton's desk, has already stirred indignation among supporters of Mas Canosa, who also chairs the influential Cuban American National Foundation, an exile lobby.

3 years turns into 12

Mas Canosa, who has drawn praise for his role in creating the stations and criticism for allegedly using them to further his political agenda, was appointed to a three-year term by President Reagan nearly 12 years ago. He has served at the pleasure of Presidents Bush and Clinton ever since.

There are five other board members whose terms have similarly expired, but who continue to serve, station officials said. Three seats are vacant, including one due to death and two others because board members stepped down and have not been replaced.

Diaz-Verson Amos, the widow of a wealthy insurance executive, is familiar to many exiles for her aid to high-profile refugees from Cuba, including pilot Orestes Lorenzo, who rescued his family in a daring flight, and Alina Fernandez Revuelta, the estranged daughter of Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Contacted by telephone Tuesday, Diaz-Verson Amos said she would gladly accept the chairmanship, which Mas Canosa has occupied since Radio Marti was established more than a decade ago.

"I'll be ready to do whatever is necessary," Diaz-Verson Amos said. "It will be very interesting to me. I think it would be a wonderful challenge."

According to one plan, Mas Canosa would be given the title "chairman emeritus," which would recognize his pivotal role in winning political support for the broadcasts but would carry little authority.

**Leader won't go quietly**

A spokesman for Mas Canosa said Tuesday that the exile leader would not relinquish his post without a fight.

Jose Cardenas, Washington representative of the Cuban American National Foundation, said the appointment of a new director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting to oversee the day-to-day operations of the stations has spread the idea that "it's time for a quote-unquote new start."

But ousting Mas Canosa would fail to recognize his role in battling back the detractors of Radio and TV Marti, whether they be congressional critics, investigative journalists or administration inspectors, Cardenas said.

"The very idea that those who survived the wars -- bruised and bloody as they are -- are just going to walk out the door with a pat on the head for a job well done is an absurdity," Cardenas said.

#### **Advocates say it's time**

Advocates of a shake-up say it is precisely because Mas Canosa considers the stations his own personal province that a new chairman is needed. In a significant victory for Mas Canosa last year, Congress agreed to relocate the stations' headquarters in Miami, where critics feared it would be harder to maintain U.S. government scrutiny.

The need for a new advisory board is plain, said one senior U.S. official.

"People have died. People have not shown up for years. It's been an inoperative board," the official said. "And [Mas Canosa] has continued in the position to influence the [stations' managers] and wreak havoc in Congress."

White House spokesman Eric Rubin declined to comment Tuesday on what he called "a personnel issue."

Herminio San Roman, the new director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, declined to declare a position on whether Clinton should appoint a new board.

"I don't think I should be discussing things I'm not aware of," he said.

In a foretaste of a potentially larger battle, the White House last month attempted to dismiss the board's executive director, Yvonne Soler, who is seen as a Mas Canosa ally. According to Cardenas, Mas Canosa interceded with Joseph Duffey, the director of the United States Information Agency, who shelved the decision for 30 days.

Diaz-Verson Amos, who once served on the board of the Cuban American National Foundation, said Tuesday that she respects Mas Canosa.

"I think he has done a great thing in getting the Cubans influence in Washington and creating Radio Marti," she said.

She added that, while she would not shy from a contest for the post, her animosity is directed elsewhere.

``We must never lose sight that the real enemy is Fidel Castro," she said. ``I think he is quite a big enough target."



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Getting in touch with HERALDlink

TAB B

**Current Members of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting**

|                      |      |                  |                    |
|----------------------|------|------------------|--------------------|
| Mas Canosa, Jorge    | R-FL | Member and Chair | term expired 08/89 |
| Geoghegan, William   | D-MD | Member           | term expired 10/92 |
| Coursen, Christopher | R-MD | Member           | term expired 10/93 |
| Costa, Jose          | R-FL | Member           | term expired 10/94 |
| Glennon, Joseph      | R-FL | Member           | term expired 10/94 |
| Lew, Salvador        | I-FL | Member           | term expired 03/94 |

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                 | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 021. email               | To: Dobbins, James; From: DeLaurentis, Jeffrey; Re: Cuba: [Gitmo]<br>(1 page) | 04/14/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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## Comprehensive vs. Incremental Approaches

One big publicly announced plan would be doomed to failure.

- Plan would lump together two very different things -- short-term humanitarian measures and long-term engagement measures.
- Impossible to promote broad public discussion of such a plan without having it deteriorate into simplistic Castro-bashing.
- USG would feel pressure to cast as means to subvert and overthrow Castro regime -- which would foreclose any serious GOC reaction. Lesson learned from first try at Track II.
- If goal is merely to set up GOC -- go in with USG precondition that GOC must refuse -- public rollout of master plan would be costly and unnecessary.

Two-phase approach would be more likely to succeed and fits into current reality on timetable.

- Phase I would focus on humanitarian measures -- first granting exceptions for Papal visit and then formalizing them. (Would argue that second step is warranted by need, successful monitoring of exceptional deliveries, etc.)
- Phase I is already under way and cannot be stopped. To roll it into bigger strategy ending in engagement would jeopardize everything.
- Phase II--including selective embargo exceptions for Cuban people and selective contact with GOC--would logically follow and would require some momentum from Phase I.

It's not true that "thousand slashes" would be worse than one death.

- With two-phase approach, USG would be able to regularize anomalies caused by 1994 migration crisis and 1996 shootdowns -- which would draw relatively few "slashes" -- before having to fight for Phase II.
- The "slashes" wouldn't necessarily be deep. Opponents back off when Admin shows decisiveness and readiness to defend policy -- e.g., migration talks, Title III, CRS humanitarian flights, USCG regulations of flotillas.
- Unlikely that even push for Phase II would spur serious Congressional movement in favor of tougher Helms-Burton restrictions. Many members regret support for HB because of damage to US relations, international trade.
- In fact, Admin indecisiveness and lack of clear direction has worsened opponents' impact.

Success of strategy would require some redefinition of relationship with Community.

- At minimum, some distance to establish bona fides with non-Community people -- many of whom go with flow because Administration doesn't lead. (Statement condemning terrorism and calling for full investigation into possible bombing links would be enough to signal that ultraright Community members are not leading Administration by nose-ring. Also need to move sooner on removing Mas -- who has publicly endorsed bombings -- from broadcasting board.
- Core Group can create some space, tapping into large numbers in Community who want humanitarian contact restored and are disgusted with leadership and "old ways."

## **Cuba: Creating Space for Policy**

Recent actions by hard-right elements of the Cuban-American community provide an opportunity now for the Administration to get out of the political box that has constrained Cuba policy for the past 39 years.

In Argentina, the President acknowledged Cuban-Americans' influence on US policy but -- importantly -- asserted that he will break new ground, and will expect them follow, if the GOC takes steps that create such a possibility.

The Cuban-American National Foundation's endorsement of the Havana hotel bombings and circumstantial evidence that members of CANF may have sponsored them as well as a recent foiled assassination plot against Castro suggest that greater distance from the hard-right of the émigré community can now be achieved with reduced political cost.

Jorge Mas's declining health has also diminished the group's ability to react forcefully, and his death portends disunity -- and perhaps some redefinition -- in the Community

## **Contradictory Objectives**

Even modest adjustments to Cuba policy are not possible unless the Administration resolves the fundamental conflict between its commitment to peaceful change in Cuba and its responsiveness to Cuban-American groups that espouse actions that maximize polarization and prospects for violence on the island.

Since 1960, exiles have tried to provoke the regime into actions that spark US retaliation and promote bilateral conflict. The Brothers to the Rescue's penetration of Cuban airspace to drop leaflets was part of tradition (although they claimed their operations were limited to aiding seaborne migrants).

Even Freedom House's Cuba Program is tainted by its director's efforts to lead the GOC into believing he is conducting operations beyond his public mandate to distribute publications.

Although these approaches are incompatible with Administration policy, criticism of them in Washington has been muted because of the consensus of the evils of the Castro regime and because of hard-right exile leaders' campaign finance clout.

This contradiction obviously entails high costs for Administration policy.

With every crisis, these groups have proposed actions for the USG to take that have dealt major setbacks to policy goals

During the August 1994 migration crisis, for example, they persuaded the Administration to disallow direct remittances to relatives on the island -- which, had the vast majority Cuban-Americans not resorted to illegal third-country

channels, would only have made more people economically desperate enough to attempt illegal departure.

After the February 1996 shootdowns, they applauded the Administration's decision to force air passengers to enter Cuba through third countries -- even though it did not reduce travel and it significantly eroded Treasury's ability to monitor traffic for possible embargo violations.

For years, moreover, the GOC has been able to persuade a large percentage of the population that US policy is controlled by a vindictive group of exiles who want to take away people's homes and the social gains of the revolution.

Hoping that everything "turns out OK" in Cuba policy despite this contradiction is naive.

### **Allowing an Alternative Constituency to Emerge**

A first step to get out of the box -- adjustment of policy relating the humanitarian measures -- is already under way in conjunction with the Papal visit.

Opposition to these measures has been limited to the predictable complaints. Representative Ros-Lehtinen, for example, said that anyone desiring to see the Pope or hear him speak should buy a videotape.

The majority of Cuban-Americans most likely support the measures, although they do not say so publicly out of fear of appearing soft on the regime and of drawing condemnation from the Community's extremist leaders.

Cuban-Americans are remitting \$600 million to \$800 million a year to relatives in Cuba, and the tens of thousands traveling to the island each year certainly would welcome resumption of direct passenger flights.

A second step would be to reiterate the Administration's strong rejection of terrorism in Cuba and of US-based groups' support for it -- effectively rejecting CANF and more radical émigrés' advocacy of violence as legitimate political expression.

The State Department spokesman was mild in expressing US condemnation of the bombings and has not repeated it since CANF's endorsement.

The evidence remains highly circumstantial, but the possibility that CANF or other US-based groups were secretly providing financial support for the bombings further argues for some distancing. Unfortunately, the FBI investigation has not turned up anything conclusive.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Court testimony by Jorge Mas's brother in 1996 (and not challenged by Mas) indicates that Mas provided the large bribes paid to Venezuelan jailers to allow the escape of Luis Posada Carriles in 1985. Posada had a role in the bombing of a Cubana airliner in 1976, and the Cuban government has hinted that it has evidence that he has had a role in the hotel bombings.

Only after a considerable amount of time could aggressive steps to build a constituency in favor of a policy shift can be seriously considered.

The nucleus of such groups would probably come from members of the Cuba Core Group and their political allies, as well as exiles who arrived in recent years who are deeply committed to promoting human rights through engagement with the island.

*Miami Herald* publisher David Lawrence, target of some of CANF's venomous attacks in recent years, would almost certainly be willing to hold a chautauqua on Cuba, which would give moderate elements of the Community an opportunity to organize. Meetings with Administration officials here or in Miami could follow.

It would be very risky, however, to wade into this swamp prematurely.

Core Group members and moderates in the Community ultimately share the hard-right's opposition to the Castro regime and will be reluctant to be seen otherwise, especially if Cuba were to do something stupid again like the shutdown.

CANF would undoubtedly boycott a chautauqua-like event, and violence-prone groups in Miami would probably reinstate bombings and drive-by shootings against their political enemies. While such behaviors would undermine the groups' support among Cuban-Americans -- expediting the desired realignment within the Community -- they would significantly complicate our Cuba policy.

Likewise, a Presidential commission charged with reviewing Cuba policy would stymie the policy process. Public figures serving on such a panel would feel great pressure to enunciate vehemently anti-Castro positions -- essentially foreclosing a real dialogue.

### **Political Costs**

Some distancing from dominant -- hard right -- groups in Community will not significantly alter Administration's political support in southern Florida.

As long as radical solutions on Cuba are not pursued, Cuba is not make-or-break issue with the Cuban-American community. Polls after the 1996 elections clearly showed that immigration, welfare and other social issues drew much of the 42 percent Hispanic vote for President Clinton.

CANF's compromising position on Helms-Burton Title III -- coming after sustained efforts to undermine the Administration in protests against the 1994 and 1995 Migration Accords and other facets of Cuba policy -- represented tacit acknowledgment that the majority of Cuban-Americans supported the Administration's sophisticated approach.

Nor would it significantly change the Administration's relations with Members of Congress interested in Cuba.

There is growing evidence that Representative Menendez and others themselves are out of touch with the Community, do not accurately reflect its sentiments, and put a spin that pleases their major donors (who happen to be on the hard-right) on their interpretations of Community reactions to events.

For example, Menendez claimed Cuban-Americans were up in arms over the President's remark in Argentina about the Community's influence on policy, but other reliable contacts in Miami report that the news went down without a whimper.

Despite extraordinarily close consultation (at times even blurring the line between executive and legislative roles) over the years, moreover, Cuban-American members have repeatedly opposed even minimal measures that would alter any facet of all-out USG efforts to undermine Castro regime.

They are happy only when given total control over the policy and have pushed for more even after Helms-Burton; further distance would not significantly increase the distrust.

In addition, CANF's huge campaign donations -- reaching almost a half million dollars for some candidates -- ensure continued noise no matter what the Administration does.

Although hard-right Cuban-Americans would probably be able to orchestrate criticism of any policy shift in the short term, proponents of engagement in and outside the Cuban-American Community will gain strength over time.

Practically every major US newspaper, many US corporations, and the vast majority of non-Cuban Americans, including most other Hispanic-Americans, do not support the current "pressure-cooker" approach.

Groups espousing any sort of opening to Cuba are small and, frankly, lack confidence in the Administration's ability to hold the line against far-right backlash. They have also been hurt by the GOC's unwillingness to make significant reforms (or even to portray its halting economic reforms as something other than stop-gap measures to rescue socialism).

A US policy premised on securing concrete GOC actions in areas of concern, however, should encourage the emergence of a strong constituency, including moderate Cuban-Americans led by members of the "Cuba Core Group" and younger Cuban-Americans, to support the Administration's more sophisticated approach.

CLOSE HOLD

1/13/98

To: Jim ~~Dobbins~~  
From: Mack McLarty

Mack:

JDL

Henry Cisneros' handwritten note to you reads as follows:

Attached is a confidential memo I sent to the President several weeks ago. The more I hear from influence-leaders in Miami, the more convinced I am a breakthrough may be possible if the President's words are couched correctly. It is important to put the burden to act on Castro: i.e., "If you will do the following things to demonstrate real opening in Cuba, Mr. Castro, the United States will respond as follows." I think it would be an effective topic/section in the State of the Union Address. It could be as Pres. Reagan's Berlin speech directed at Gorbachev: Mr. Gorbachev, take this wall down!"

P.

**UCI -- FAX**Date 1/9/98Number of pages including cover sheet 3TO: Mack M<sup>c</sup> Clarty  
(CONFIDENTIAL)DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
INITIALS: LOS DATE: 8/17/18  
2016-0920-F

Phone

Fax Phone

202-450-2215FROM: HENRY CISNEROS  
PRESIDENT  
UNIVISION  
COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

Phone

Fax Phone

(310)556-7676

(310)556-7697

CC:

REMARKS: ☐ Urgent ☒ For your review ☐ Reply ASAP ☐ Please Comment

Mack: Attached is a confidential memo I sent to the President several weeks ago. The more I hear from influence-leaders in Miami, the more convinced I am a breakthrough may be possible if the President's words are couched correctly. It is important to put the burden to act on Castro: ie, "If you will do the following things to demonstrate real opening in Cuba, Mr. Castro, the United States will respond as follows." I think it would be an effective topic/section in the State of the Union Address. It could be as Pres. Reagan's <sup>Carlin</sup> speech directed at Gorbachev: "Mr. Gorbachev, ~~take~~ <sup>stake</sup> this wall down!" / Henry

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HENRY G. CISNEROS  
PRESIDENT

**CONFIDENTIAL**

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

INITIALS: AD3 DATE: 8/17/18  
2016-0920-F

To: President Clinton  
From: Henry Cisneros *Henry Cisneros*  
Subject: Ideas for the President's State of the Union Address  
as Requested by Michael Waldman  
Date: December 19, 1997



1. Beginning on January 21<sup>st</sup>, Pope John Paul II will be visiting Cuba. The visit will be an important worldwide news story and will be interpreted as having the potential to create a new opening in Cuba. The world press story lines will include the following:

- One of the last great dramas of the Cold War – Communism vs. the Catholic Church – is being played out.
- The Pope's call for freedom will echo his role in the unraveling of Polish and Eastern European Communist regimes.
- Castro's risk-taking in inviting the Pope may signal a new readiness for dialogue and openness which should be pursued.
- Despite the stark nature of their disagreements on matters of freedoms and human liberties, the Pope and Castro share common priorities for social justice and humanitarian assistance, issues which the Pope is likely to address.
- The irresistibility to Cuban-Americans of returning to Cuba to witness this convergence of their Catholic faith and love of homeland has resulted in about 15,000 Cuban-Americans – many of whom swore they would never return to Cuba until Castro was removed – seeking visas and planning to be present for the Pope's visit.

I would argue that the you can creatively embrace the spirit of opening and advance the fact of opening by appropriate remarks in the State of the Union Address. My argument is based on the following logic:

- a) The possibilities for civil dialogue about steps toward opening Cuba will be fresh on the minds of Americans and people around the world.

- b) The case for modifying the embargo to allow medicine, food, and humanitarian imports is gaining adherents, including many Cuban-Americans who still have families in Cuba. There is specific legislation now before the Congress to modify the embargo to allow humanitarian products.
- c) The constituency for a political middle ground is growing in the Cuban-American community. There is a changing alignment of political forces and a growing middle ground among Cuban-Americans who see humanitarian aid as a possible consensus position in the debate about the embargo.
- d) As we think of the "big picture changes" that you can create or oversee in the next three years, it is hard to imagine anything more powerful than actually "opening" Cuba over the next several years. The actual transformation of this remaining "sore spot in our own backyard" before the end of the century would surely qualify as a major legacy of the your foreign policy stewardship. It is within reach, even with Castro alive.

In the State of the Union Address you can speak in general terms about encouraging steps to explore the new potential for opening Cuba or speak more concretely in support of the pending legislation on humanitarian assistance. You can also lay out a larger vision of Cuba's transition to democracy and human freedoms and explain what the U.S. would be willing to do in response to specific positive actions by Cuba. You can call on Castro personally to put Cuba on the right side of history in the governing time that remains for him, thereby cementing his own historic role rather than being portrayed by history as the last intransigent obstacle standing against the inevitable transition to democratic institution. It could be a very powerful statement that seizes the moment created by the Pope's visit and spurs accelerated openings which can later be traced to your sense of timing and decisive action.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 022a. email              | To: Gerth, Thomas; From: Hamilton, John; Re: [GTMO] (1 page) | 04/13/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 022b. email              | To: Hamilton, John; From: Gerth, Thomas; Re: [GTMO] (1 page) | 04/13/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                             | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 022c. paper              | Proposed Initiative [COMNAVBASE Guantanamo Bay] (2 pages) | 04/13/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                   | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 023. memo                | To: POTUS; From: Madeleine Albright; Re: Cuba in 1998 (7 pages) | 03/05/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

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

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

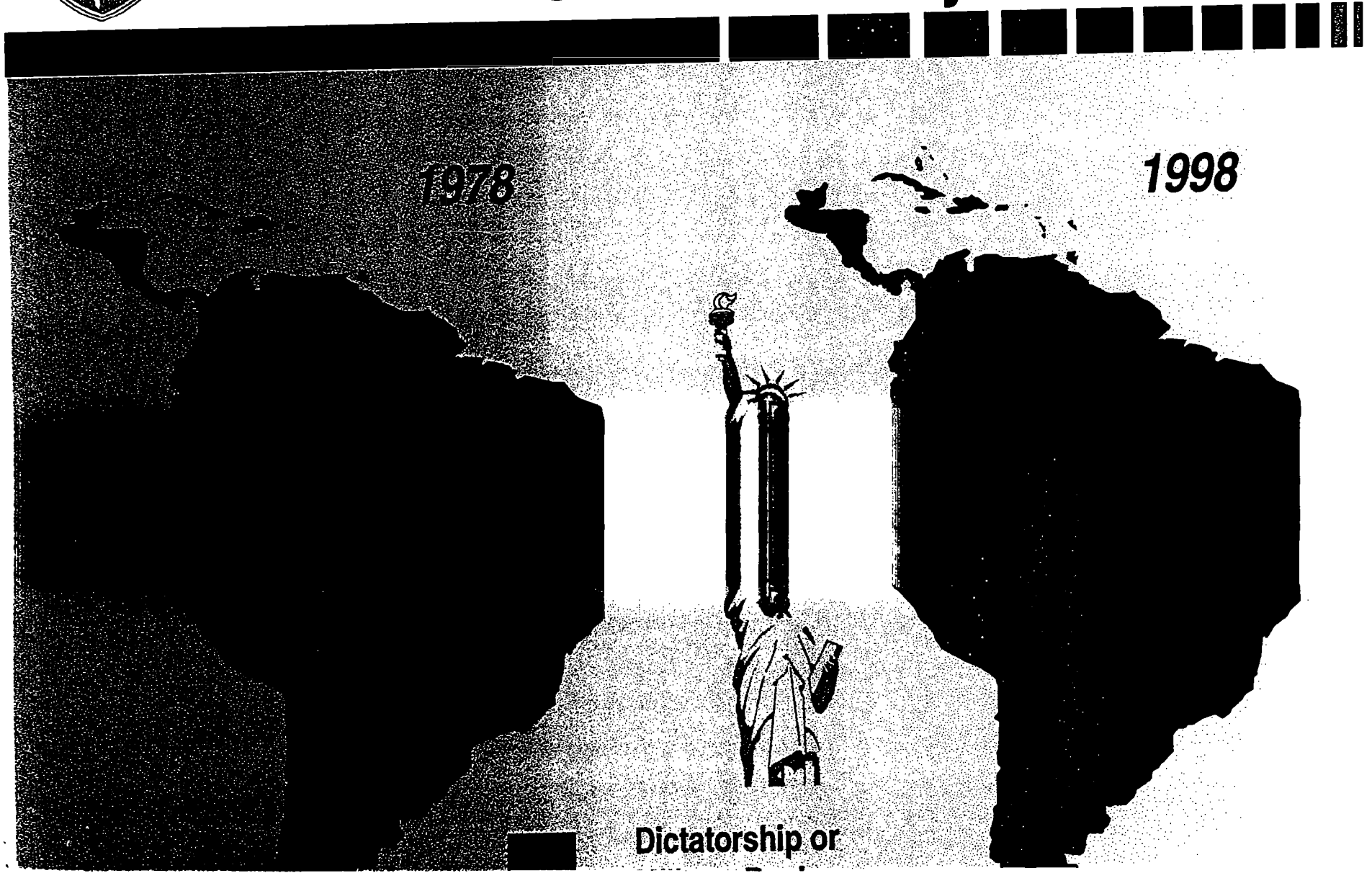
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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# An Engagement and Enlargement Success Story



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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                   | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 024. letter              | To: Jim; From: Fulton (2 pages) | 08/30/1998 | b(6)        |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
OA/Box Number: 2925

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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March

news  
file

4/29-  
latest copy  
of Treasury regulations  
for your clearance.  
these look good.  
JTB

Draft -- 4/15/98

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Office of Foreign Assets Control

31 CFR Part 515

Cuban Assets Control Regulations; Family Remittances; Travel Remittances; Carrier Service Providers; Currency Carried By Travelers.

AGENCY: Office of Foreign Assets Control, Treasury.

ACTION: Final rule; amendments.

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**SUMMARY:** Pursuant to the President's announcement of March 20, 1998, the Treasury Department is amending the Cuban Assets Control Regulations to authorize a person subject to U.S. jurisdiction to make remittances to close relatives in Cuba of up to \$300 in any consecutive 3-month period to any one close relative. The remitter must be aged 18 years or older and the remittances must be for the support of the close relative or members of his or her household. In situations in which more than one close relative of the remitter resides in the same household in Cuba, no more than \$300 in any consecutive 3-month period may be sent by the remitter to that household. In addition, technical changes are made to rules relating to carrier

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service providers, emigration-related remittances, and currency carried by Cuban nationals returning from the United States to Cuba.

EFFECTIVE DATE: [insert date of filing for public inspection].

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:** Dennis P. Wood, Chief, Compliance Programs Division (tel.: 202/622-2490), Steven I. Pinter, Chief of Licensing (tel.: 202/622-2480), Charles L. Bishop, OFAC-Miami Sanctions Coordinator (tel.: 305/530-7177), or William B. Hoffman, Chief Counsel (tel.: 202/622-2410), Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury, Washington, D.C. 20220.

**SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION:**

**Electronic and Facsimile Availability**

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Adobe Acrobat® readable (\*.PDF) formats. For Internet access, the address for use with the World Wide Web (Home Page), Telnet, or FTP protocol is: fedbbs.access.gpo.gov. The document is also accessible for downloading in ASCII format without charge from Treasury's Electronic Library ("TEL") in the "Business, Trade and Labor Mall" of the FedWorld bulletin board. By modem, dial 703/321-3339, and select the appropriate self-expanding file in TEL. For Internet access, use one of the following protocols: Telnet = fedworld.gov (192.239.93.3); World Wide Web (Home Page) = <http://www.fedworld.gov>; FTP = <ftp.fedworld.gov> (192.239.92.205). Additional information concerning the programs of the Office of Foreign Assets Control is available for downloading from the Office's Internet Home Page: <http://www.ustreas.gov/treasury/services/fac/fac.html>, or in fax form through the Office's 24-hour fax-on-demand service: call 202/622-0077 using a fax machine, fax modem, or (within the United States) a touch-tone telephone.

### **Background**

On March 20, 1998, President Clinton announced that the United States is taking a number of steps to expand the flow of humanitarian assistance to Cuba and to help strengthen

independent civil society and religious freedom in that country. These include allowing a person subject to U.S. jurisdiction to make remittances of specified amounts to close relatives in Cuba. Accordingly, the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury ("OFAC") is amending the Cuban Assets Control Regulations, 31 CFR part 515 (the "Regulations"), to implement this measure by revising § 515.563(a) relating to remittances to close relatives resident in Cuba and the authorized trade territory. The term authorized trade territory means countries other than the United States, Cuba or any other country subject to sanctions pursuant to chapter V, title 31, Code of Federal Regulations. In addition, certain technical changes are made to the Regulations.

Section 515.563(a) of the Regulations is amended to authorize a person subject to U.S. jurisdiction to make remittances to a national of Cuba resident in Cuba or the authorized trade territory who is a close relative of the remitter or the remitter's spouse. The remitter must be aged 18 years or older, and the remittances must be for the support of the close relative (including any member of his or her household). A U.S. remitter may make payments of up to \$300 in any consecutive 3-month period to any one close relative, and, in

situations in which more than one close relative of the remitter resides in the same household, no more than \$300 in any consecutive 3-month period may be sent by the remitter to that household. Section 515.563(c) of the Regulations defines a close relative as a person's spouse, child, grandchild, parent, grandparent, great grandparent, uncle, aunt, brother, sister, nephew, niece, first cousin, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, or spouse, widow or widower of any of the above.

Remittances may be transferred through remittance forwarders specifically licensed by OFAC or by U.S. depository institutions generally licensed by OFAC pursuant to § 515.566(a)(3). In addition, the family remittance may be carried directly on the person of the U.S. remitter or remitter's spouse who is engaging in authorized travel to Cuba, provided the traveler is aged 18 years or older, carries no more than \$300 per trip for this purpose irrespective of the number of payees, and makes total remittances of no more than \$300 per close relative (including all members of that close relative's household) in any consecutive 3-month period.

Technical revisions are made to § 515.564 of the Regulations with respect to emigration-related remittances, § 515.566(a)(2) with respect to carrier service providers, and § 515.569(d) with respect to currency carried by Cuban nationals returning to Cuba.

Because the Regulations involve a foreign affairs function, Executive Order 12866 and the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act (5 U.S.C. 553 -- the "APA") requiring notice of proposed rulemaking, opportunity for public participation, and delay in effective date are inapplicable. Because no notice of proposed rulemaking is required for this rule, the Regulatory Flexibility Act (5 U.S.C. 601-612) does not apply.

#### **Paperwork Reduction Act**

The Regulations are being issued without prior notice and public comment procedure pursuant to the APA. The collections of information related to the Regulations are contained in part 501 of this chapter (the "Reporting and Procedures Regulations"). Pursuant to the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995 (44 U.S.C. 3507), those collections of information have been approved by the Office of Management and Budget under control number 1505-0164. An agency may not conduct or sponsor, and a person is not required

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to respond to, a collection of information unless the collection of information displays a valid control number.

#### **List of Subjects in 31 CFR Part 515**

Administrative practice and procedure, Air carriers, Banks, banking, Blocking of assets, Cuba, Currency, Estates, Exports, Foreign investment in the United States, Foreign trade, Imports, Informational materials, Penalties, Publications, Reporting and recordkeeping requirements, Securities, Shipping, Specially designated nationals, Terrorism, Travel restrictions, Trusts and trustees, Vessels.

For the reasons set forth in the preamble, 31 CFR part 515 is amended as set forth below:

#### **PART 515 -- CUBAN ASSETS CONTROL REGULATIONS**

1. The authority citation for part 515 continues to read as follows:

send to a close relative of the remitter or the remitter's spouse pursuant to this section is the lesser of:

(1) \$300 to the close relative in Cuba or the authorized trade territory; or

(2) \$300 to the household of the close relative in Cuba or the authorized trade territory, regardless of the number of close relatives comprising the household.

(b) A remitter or remitter's spouse who is 18 years of age or older and who is engaged in authorized travel to Cuba may carry on his or her person no more than \$300 in total family remittances, regardless of the number of eligible payees in Cuba, provided that remitter's family remittances will not exceed the maximum amount set forth in paragraph (a) of this section for any payee within the past three months.

(c) In addition to travel-related remittances authorized pursuant to § 515.564(c), remittances to any close relative of the remitter or of the remitter's spouse who is a national of Cuba or who is resident in Cuba are authorized for the purpose of enabling the payee to emigrate from Cuba to the United States, in an amount not exceeding \$500, to be made only once to any payee, provided that the payee is a resident of and within Cuba at the time the payment is made.

**Authority:** 22 U.S.C. 2370(a), 6001-6010, 6021-6091; 31 U.S.C. 321(b); 50 U.S.C. App. 1-44; Pub. L. 101-410, 104 Stat. 890 (28 U.S.C. 2461 note); Pub. L. 104-132, 110 Stat. 1214, 1254 (18 U.S.C. 2332d); E.O. 9193, 7 FR 5205, 3 CFR, 1938-1943 Comp., p. 1174; E.O. 9989, 13 FR 4891, 3 CFR, 1943-1948 Comp., p. 748; Proc. 3447, 27 FR 1085, 3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., p. 157; E.O. 12854, 58 FR 36587, 3 CFR, 1993 Comp., p. 614.

**Subpart E -- Licenses, Authorizations, and Statements of  
Licensing Policy**

2. Section 515.563 is amended to read as follows:

**§ 515.563. Family remittances to nationals of Cuba.**

(a) A person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States may make remittances to a national of Cuba resident in Cuba or in the authorized trade territory who is a close relative of the remitter or of the remitter's spouse, provided the U.S. remitter is 18 years of age or older and payments are made from unblocked sources for the support of the close relative (including any member of his or her household). In any consecutive 3-month period, the maximum amount a remitter may

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(d) The term close relative used with respect to any person means such person's spouse, child, grandchild, parent, grandparent, great grandparent, uncle, aunt, brother, sister, nephew, niece, first cousin, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, or spouse, widow or widower of any of the foregoing.

(e) The maximum amounts set forth in paragraph (a) of this section do not apply to a Cuban national who has been specifically licensed as an unblocked national pursuant to § 515.505(b).

3. Section 515.564 is amended by revising the first sentence of paragraph (c) to read as follows:

§ 515.564 Certain transactions incident to travel to, from and within the United States by certain Cuban nationals.

\* \* \* \* \*

(c) Travel-related remittances by persons subject to U.S. jurisdiction to Cuba or a Cuban national, directly or indirectly, for transactions on behalf of a Cuban national, are only authorized pursuant to paragraph (a) of this section when made for the purpose of enabling the payee to emigrate from Cuba to

*J.M.* This refers to Cuban nationals living in third countries who are licensed to conduct financial transactions in the U.S. (e.g. Cubans who have left Cuba, settled in Spain and started an export business which requires regular banking transactions in the U.S.)

*FDL - What does this refer to?*

*[Handwritten mark]*

*J.M.*

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the United States, including for the purchase of airline tickets and payment of visa fees or other travel-related fees. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

4. Section 515.566 is amended by revising the last sentence of paragraph (a)(2) to read as follows:

§ 515.566 Authorization for transactions incident to the provision of travel service, carrier service, and family remittance forwarding service.

(a)(1) \* \* \*

(2) \* \* \* Carriage to or from Cuba of any merchandise, cargo or gifts, other than those permitted to individual travelers as accompanied baggage, must also be authorized by licenses issued by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

\* \* \* \* \*

5. Section 515.569 is amended by revising paragraph (d) to read as follows:

12

§ 515.569 Currency carried by travelers to Cuba.

\* \* \* \* \*

(d) Cuban nationals returning directly from the United States to Cuba may carry non-Cuban currency only in the amount of U.S. currency or third-country currency brought into the United States by the traveler and registered with the U.S. Customs Service upon entry, plus up to \$300 in funds received as family remittances by the Cuban national during his stay in the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

Dated: April ^, 1998.

R. Richard Newcomb,  
Director, Office of Foreign Assets Control.

Approved: April ^ , 1998.

13

James E. Johnson,

Assistant Secretary (Enforcement), Department of the Treasury.

[FR Doc. 98-????? Filed ??-??-98; ??:?? am]

BILLING CODE 4810-25-F

To: USINT Principal Officer  
Cc: Linda Jewell, Doug Barnes, Judith Bryan, Marj Coffin,  
From: Evans, David L.  
Subject: Cuba: 1989 - Cuba: 1997  
Date: 9/17/97 Time: 6:28PM

*Whole  
Reading  
file  
Bryan*

This message is a response to my conversation with Mr. Kozak regarding my impressions from my recent TDY in Havana. I am not certain I have much useful to offer beyond what you at USINT already know about the Cuban reality. Here, however, I submit my observations, based upon my previous experiences in Cuba and the former Soviet Union. It appears to me, that the Cuban regime is not just "strengthening" the party by tightening its ranks, as I was told, but is alienating its own true supporters in the process. This may seem expected, given the intensified bilateral tension created around the shutdown, the passage of Helms-Burton legislation, the GOC blowing hot and cold on economic reform, Raul's March 1996 speech, etc. However, I would contend that the regime's internal reaction to these difficulties is a very significant departure from Castro's traditional approach to handling the party faithful. Whether or not this process of strengthening the party goes "too far," or the regime is able to retain the loyalty of its party faithful would be foolish for me to speculate on because the regime can still adjust its treatment of its supporters if it so chooses. Moreover, as difficult as it may be for many U.S. citizens to comprehend, these GOC supporters perceive an irrational, vindictive, and abusive U.S. treatment of Cuba and them. This, in part, helps them see the logic behind the regime restraints put upon them. I therefore remain convinced that the dilemma in which these people find themselves, and the present internal acts of violence, require that we have the mettle to stick more firmly than ever to the USG policy of peaceful transition, and that we engage these "regime supporters" more intensely along with those who actively oppose the regime. Why?

In August of 1989, the Soviet relationship with Cuba was already beginning to deteriorate, but the stability of the Castro regime was not yet an issue. Much of the rhetoric of a peaceful transition came from HR activists such as Gustavo Arcos etc., not the USG. I believed then (and now) that the HR activists, in their struggle against MININT and its insidious tactics, symbolized the "hope" for a peaceful transition. In that Cuban HR world, I was regularly confronted by Cuban official contacts who stated that HR activists had, by their actions, declared themselves against the revolution, and deserved the "mass rejection" and punishment inflicted upon them. These same officials bragged that those who supported the revolution were not subjected to state security scrutiny beyond routine measures. They dealt with me freely. On the surface, and certainly compared to the Soviet leadership's relationship with its' party members, there was more than an ounce of truth to these statements-----then.

In July of 1997, I noted that these officials, still staunch regime supporters, did not enjoy much of the political flexibility they had in 1992. While some still occupied their same positions, their behavior in my presence sometimes contrasted sharply with their previous (1989-92) demeanor. Some official contacts seemed too careful not to appear overly friendly in public, and some occasionally glanced out of the corner of their eye, ever conscious of how our interaction may be perceived by others. I found it particularly significant when a key, REGULAR post contact and MINREX official behaved that way.

Now I know how potentially irrelevant such impressions appear. But were the MINREX officials and others I dealt with in 89-92 just better professionals and more poised? Perhaps, but I don't think that explains this present behavior of party militants, or the leadership's attitude toward them. Of course, the bilateral political hostility mentioned earlier plays the major role in the siege mentality of the regime. In fact, Raul Castro's March, 1996 speech outlined the regime's need to purge itself of weak followers. But that process began in 1995 and we now know that it was precipitated by worry over the effects of the USG policy of engagement (Track II). One contact commented to me dramatically with a sardonic smile, "There is much to tell at some (safe) point in the future about what provoked that PUBLIC (that person's emphasis) speech Raul made." Academicians openly attribute "necessary" internal house-cleaning measures to USG inspired anti-GOC activity. But in the regime's "historic struggles to defend the revolution," it always mattered most who you were and how strongly you stood on the revolution. It was the litmus test of how much one could be trusted, particularly in associating with people "from the outside."

So shouldn't those supporters whose work requires dealing with foreigners be able to meet with them? Several official contacts who, in my view, have been very politically secure, stated that meeting with me was professionally imprudent, if not worse, and others clearly implied it. One institution head said, "Maybe a person working in the neighborhood who complains about my meeting with you can be ignored. But suppose he/she is a military officer? That is much different." Believers in the revolution did not make such open distinctions in 1992, at least not to me. Another revolution supporter who does not hold an official GOC position, stated that he was warned severely by professional/official friends not to attend USINT's July 4th reception. "In the past, restrictions like that at our level were only applied for some specific situation," that person stated. "Now, that is standard, everyday practice." Referring to the regular press/cultural events I used to hold at the PAO residence, another contact stated, "The government then only required to be informed of who attended your events. My colleagues came at their individual risk. Now almost every person must be specifically

authorized, and revolutionary credentials do not matter."

This is the good and bad news for us. The good news is that the regime seems to me no longer willing/able to take the moral risk of showing confidence in those who keep the revolutionary faith. Castro's willingness to take this risk in the past, "Within the Revolution-- everything, outside the Revolution--- nothing!" has been one of his strengths; one which sat him well apart from his relatively more heavy handed, politically more cold-blooded, Soviet colleagues. In the Moscow of the early 80's, I heard Soviets, both official contacts and dissidents, say "how naive" such thinking was. The collapse of the Soviet Union that supported Castro's "naive thinking" with resources, has finally forced him to begin to treat his followers the same way the Soviets always treated theirs. In the old Soviet Union, the survival of a "Gloria Leon" would have depended on much more than "renting out her rooms." And even five years ago in Cuba, she would have gotten away with her action because of her revolutionary party status. Since the Ochoa trial in 1989, Castro has gradually broken faith with those who carry the spirit of the revolution within themselves. Given this situation, we should now more intensely engage our official Cuban contacts about the seriousness of our peaceful transition policy. This would undermine the GOC's internal rationale that the only option to supporting Castro is violent, cruel, painful change filled with exile reprisals. This emphasis should also appeal to most of the Cuban exile leadership because, in my view, this is an approach that can hasten the transition in Cuba. The good news.

The bad news is that with the revolutionary faithful falling from political privilege, or being "hurled from the tower" (forced to leave the country), there will be fewer professional, skilled people to carry out a peaceful transition. Those left in positions of responsibility will be the (more) crude opportunists, and that will invite more loathing from the Cuban population on the island, as well as from the exiles. Moreover, the fact that these officials chaff under a much shorter political leash does not necessarily translate into constructive resistance to Castro. The hostility among them is more likely to manifest itself in swift, direct acts (bombings?) or defections, not peaceful opposition. The party militants fully comprehend MININT and its tactics. These militants tell me that this is simply another tough political-economic period that must be weathered. But those who are forced out of the ranks, can never be replaced with those who have the same revolutionary spirit as the originals. Cuban patriotism is certainly that strong, but Castro's revolutionary interpretation of that patriotism is probably not. If we seek the peaceful transition which supports USG strategic interests in Cuba, then the regime's internal actions to rein in its own supporters is a mixed blessing that we should be careful not to

misinterpret. We CANNOT assume that the regime is unable to shift away from this trend, or that it is a "step closer to collapsing." I still remember the resentment and anger I felt when told initially that any contacts I initiated in the Soviet Union had to be "authorized or approved" when I arrived there in 1982. Part of my job was to make contacts. That changed after my arrival, but I saw the initial policy for what it was, one of individual, perhaps racial mistrust, nothing more. In short, Cuban party militants are capable of giving the regime the benefit of the doubt. In this upcoming party congress, I would look for signs that the regime is sensitive to the restraints it has imposed on its supporters. It will tell if Castro's instinct for survival is still as sharp as it has been in the past.

But we should press forward regardless. In the past, conventional wisdom has been that too much concentration on Cuban regime professionals was futile. This was probably true during the Soviet period, and it may have been debatable in the early 1990s while there was some uncertainty about Castro's internal support. In this current atmosphere of ominous internal acts of violence, the regime's lack of willingness to tackle the issue of political transition after Castro, and the slow, forced alienation of believers, there is a special opportunity to influence change. This means to me is that more track II activity is warranted, not less, and that we should be engaging regime professionals more intensely. It will not only help promote a peaceful transition, it will hasten the change that the exiles and key members in Congress so loudly seek.

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To: "Jewell, Linda"  
Cc: "Coffin, Marjorie", "Moore, Barbara C", "Parkerson, Phillip"  
From: Evans, David L.  
Subject: Hill Press Event With David Dorn  
Date: 9/18/97      Time: 12:06PM

Considering the circumstances, the press event yesterday afternoon managed by Calzon went fairly well for the USG, Calzon, and Dorn. It was small, (about 30 people, mostly Hill aides and USG reps.) and there were no tough questions about the rationale behind Freedom House's activities or Dorn's judgement. The conditions around the event and comments by Diaz-Balart, however, were revealing and hold possible significance regarding the long-term strategy of the Helms-Burton legislation forces on the Hill.

A somewhat defensive and gregarious Calzon during pre-event conversation, was poised and articulate before the cameras which included Worldnet and a local Spanish station. He reiterated that nowhere in the civilized world are Dorn's activities considered against the law, and pointed out that Dorn had, in fact, not violated any Cuban laws. "There is no law stating that Cubans can't own typewriters," he exclaimed. (This is technically correct, but the activists in THEIR dealings with Dorn did violate laws.) Calzon noted proudly that one of the points in his letter to Dorn (which was published in the official party paper "Granma"), emphasized that Dorn should avoid any contact with anyone advocating any kind of violence.

Dorn presented a statement about his impressions of Cuba, the regime, and in response to a question, described his three days in detention. (He and Calzon had previously agreed to avoid discussing sensitive details even though the GOC has everything from Dorn's documents.) Dorn stated that except for the ominous implications of his "detention," and the daily teams of interrogators whose questions were intermittently peppered with rhetoric about the strength and perseverance of the revolution, he was treated well. The one time he considered himself threatened was when asked why he was so secretive about his ties to his Cuban contacts. He replied that he was concerned about what would happen to them. The interrogator shot back that Dorn should be concerned about what was going to happen to himself. Dorn said he pondered over the revolutionary rituals and wondered if the interrogators believed what they were saying to him or if they were speaking for mutual political benefit among themselves. Toward the end, he said he drew a particularly angry response from the officials when he asked them if the revolution was so strong, why were they so concerned about him and the minor nature, and one would assume, significance, of his activities. He didn't speculate about why he was released so quickly, except to note that he was of little use to them. They had what they needed and they understood exactly who he was and his stature in the U.S. as an educator and union representative. (He had apparently not yet seen the Granma

explanation for his relatively quick release.) He was told he would be taken straight to the airport, and that he would be charged 48 dollars for his stay at the detention center.

An uneasy, if not obviously uncomfortable Diaz-Balart deferred to Dorn soon into his comments, but made scant reference to Dorn's activities. His remarks concentrated on the Cuban regime and its evil ways. He explained that Helms-Burton legislation is not only designed to isolate the Cuban regime and to not bestow any legitimacy upon it until Castro goes, but is conditioned upon insuring that Castro's form of dictatorship does not continue after Castro is gone. "As we see in China," he asserted, totalitarianism continues after the personalized cult version is over. He stated bluntly that Helms-Burton wrested power from the Executive and codified into law, the conditioning for improved US relations to the end of dictatorship in Cuba, in order to insure that the China scenario does not happen in Cuba "90 miles from our shores." Stretching the truth and significance of Congressional voting far beyond its limits, he concluded stating that, "there is a broad bipartisan consensus in our country (on Cuba) that is stronger than any United States policy consensus on any other country in the world." He declared, therefore, that the United States will not let up (lift the embargo or the conditions imposed by Helms-Burton) until those conditions (elections) are met.

Comment: During the long period we were working on the title II transition document last year, there were ongoing discussions of ways to define at what point the U.S. should consider improving relations during a transition. Despite what Diaz-Balart said yesterday, Helms-Burton language is not that rigid beyond the necessity of Castro being gone. There was agreement ----then, that in order to encourage possible "transition thinkers" in the GOC, we would interpret conditions for transition as broad as the language allows. Of course elections were the key, but did Cuba actually have to hold them first? It is clear to me that after the the recent rumor uproar and fallout over Castro's possible death, Diaz-Balart and friends said to themselves, "Suppose Castro DOES go suddenly? We must make sure that there is no flexibility on elections seen in the USG relationship with a successor regime." If I am right, this will be confirmed later by statements from his colleagues. Yesterday, Menendez also came, but Diaz-Balart had already left, and Menendez chose not to comment during the session.

Because of the saturated control of MININT over HR activists in Cuba, and many other reasons, Dorn's activities should have never been attempted in a clandestine fashion. I fought this early last year with Orr. Although it does no good, it is fun to gloat. As it happened, MININT did not even have to fabricate information on Dorn, and has strengthened its prestige and bureaucratic role. No need to

dwell on the painful moral issue that several activists currently in jail may now get stiffer sentences because of additional hard evidence against them. It may be difficult for some in the U.S. to believe, but even in Cuba, hard evidence can result in more severe punishment than fabricated evidence. What Dorn was experiencing when he heard his interrogators ranting about the revolution were ambitious MININT officials jockeying around trying to take credit for the political windfall. Dorn also signed something while in detention that has not been released yet. That may be the other shoe. It is of little consolation that he was not giving activists USG money. He himself was spending Freedom House (AID) money during his stay.

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                        | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
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| 025. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: Cuba Policy (5 pages) | 05/22/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

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National Security Council  
Inter-American Affairs (Hollis, Caryn)  
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### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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| 026. memo                | To: Samuel Beger; From: Fulton Armstrong; Re: Cuban Allegations<br>(4 pages) | 05/30/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

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June 5, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: JAMES F. DOBBINS *kt*  
FROM: FULTON T. ARMSTRONG *fk*  
SUBJECT: Berger-Nash Memo to POTUS on Cuba Broadcasting Board

At Tab I is a Memorandum for the President from you and Bob Nash seeking approval to start a process for renewing the Presidential Advisory Board on Broadcasting to Cuba. All of the current members are holdovers from the Reagan and Bush Administrations, and the strong interagency consensus is that it is time to replace them (or, if appropriate, renew their mandates) and to select a new chairman.

Presidential Personnel proposes replacing all five Democratic seats on the Board and appointing one of them to replace the current chairman, Jorge Mas Canosa. Mr. Mas would not necessarily be off the Board, however, as Senator Lott will nominate persons to fill four seats and could in all likelihood nominate Mr. Mas for one of them. Nevertheless, we expect a major battle from him and his supporters in the Cuban-American community. One of his top aides at the Cuban American National Foundation told the Miami Herald that replacing Mas would be an "absurdity."

We recommend that you sign the Memorandum. It is time to bring new leadership to the Board. Mr. Mas's forceful style and strong political views over his 14-year tenure as Chairman have repeatedly given rise to the impression that he has exercised undue influence over programming and personnel issues at Radio and TV Marti. A recently concluded USIA/State investigation into allegations of wrongdoing by Mr. Mas and his friends in the Office of Cuba Broadcasting did not support employee allegations of specific serious violations, but it did find "a pattern of personnel mismanagement" in the three-year period covered and urged USIA to ensure that agency management procedures are adhered to in the future. Moreover, Mr. Mas's political ambitions in a post-Castro Cuba cannot be allowed to taint, in fact or appearance, the objectivity of the Marti stations. The new director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, Herminio

San Roman, is working hard to further professionalize the stations and would benefit greatly from the fresh ideas that a new Chairman and advisory board would provide.

Concurrence by: Nancy Soderberg; Bill Danvers; Rob Malley

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Memorandum for the President.

Attachment

Tab I Berger-Nash Memorandum for the President

Tab A Miami Herald Article

Tab B Current Board Membership

TAG I

June 5, 1997

# MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Assistant to the President and  
Director of Presidential Personnel

Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

**RE: ADVISORY BOARD FOR CUBA BROADCASTING**

This memo seeks your approval to begin the process of renewing the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting. All six current members are holdovers from Presidents Reagan and Bush, and there are three vacancies. We propose replacing the five Democratic seats and appointing one of them Chairman to replace Jorge Mas Canosa. In accordance with our agreement with Senator Lott, we would ask him for recommendations on the four Republican seats, either to renew the current members -- including Mr. Mas Canosa -- or replace them.

We seek your approval to notify Mr. Mas Canosa and interested Members of Congress of this plan and to begin contacting possible candidates. This decision has taken on some urgency as it is already beginning to leak (see attached article). We will request your approval of the five Democratic nominees and any new Republican names from Senator Lott at a later date.

You should be aware that replacing Mr. Mas Canosa as Chairman will likely spark a major battle with him and his supporters in the Cuban-American community, as well as some Members of Congress. We are convinced, however, that it is time to bring new leadership to the Board and this decision is worth the fight.

## I. BACKGROUND

In 1983, Congress enacted the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act for the stated purpose of supporting the right of the people of Cuba to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media, regardless of frontiers, and in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Consistent with this policy, the Act noted that radio broadcasting to Cuba may be effective in furthering the open communication of accurate information and ideas to the people of Cuba. Thus, Radio Marti and the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba was created.

Jorge Mas Canosa, President of the Cuban American National Foundation, was instrumental in developing and passing the Act. He was appointed by President Reagan in 1983 to serve as Chairman of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba, which was replaced

by the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting in 1990 (after the creation of TV Martí). Mr. Mas Canosa's second term expired in 1989, but he has served ever since in a holdover capacity.

This bipartisan Advisory Board has a total of nine voting members. The Director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting and the Director of the Television Martí Service also serve as ex-officio members. Terms are for three years and members serve until a successor has been confirmed by the Senate. You select a Chairman from among the members. Currently, there are six holdovers and three vacancies among the voting members.

## II. DISCUSSION

While Mr. Mas Canosa has supported some Administration policies toward Cuba -- including our use of the waiver of Title III of Helms-Burton -- he has been severely critical of other policies of this Administration since the announcement of a new policy on Cuban immigration in May 1995. His desire to play a lead role in a post-Castro Cuba can be seen as a backdrop for his continued interest in the Board. In that light, real or perceived interference by Mr. Mas Canosa in the operations of Radio Martí, including news coverage and personnel decisions, continue to plague the Office of Cuba Broadcasting.

In March 1994, Congress established the "Straus Commission" to "review the effectiveness" of US broadcasting to Cuba. The panel concluded that the chairmanship of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting should rotate every three years. Mr. Mas Canosa has served as Chairman since the creation of Radio Martí in 1983. A new Chairman could bring a fresh start and new ideas to the Board, as well as help minimize the perception that Radio and TV Martí are the personal domain of an individual serving as Chairman for 14 years.

Our intention was to ask for your approval to name Mr. Mas Canosa to an ex-officio position of "Chairman Emeritus," thus removing him as a voting member of the Board. However, we have been advised by Counsel that it is not possible to add an ex-officio position without legislation.

## III. RECOMMENDATION

With your approval, Mr. Mas Canosa would be notified in person of the decision to replace him as Chairman of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting and of the decision to fill the vacant or expired Democratic slots and to seek Republican submissions for the remaining four slots. Simultaneously, others would notify relevant Members of Congress and ask for their guidance on possible candidates.

Approve: \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove: \_\_\_\_\_

With your approval, Presidential Personnel will suggest to Senator Lott that he consider submitting Mr. Mas Canosa's name for one of the four Republican slots. Failure to provide some official role for Mr. Mas Canosa may jeopardize the confirmation of the Democratic nominees.

Approve: \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove: \_\_\_\_\_

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| 027. list                | Duplicate of 020 (1 page) | 00/00/0000 | b(6)        |

### COLLECTION:

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### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba-Policy Options

2016-0920-F  
sb2128

### RESTRICTION CODES

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cc: John Podesta, DCoS  
Craig Smith, Political Affairs  
Charles Duncan, PPO

BN:sw



HERALDLINK FULL STORY

Published Wednesday, June 4, 1997, in the Miami Herald

TAB A

## White House ponders shake-up in Cuba broadcasting



By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS  
Herald Staff Writer

WASHINGTON -- The Clinton administration is considering naming a new advisory board for broadcasting to Cuba, including the possibility of replacing its longtime chairman, Jorge Mas Canosa, officials said Tuesday.

The White House is pondering whether to tap Elena Diaz-Verson Amos, a Cuban-American benefactor from Georgia, to head the nine-member board, the officials said. The board oversees Radio and TV Marti, the Miami-based U.S. government broadcasts to Cuba.

Such a proposal, which has yet to reach Clinton's desk, has already stirred indignation among supporters of Mas Canosa, who also chairs the influential Cuban American National Foundation, an exile lobby.

3 years turns into 12

Mas Canosa, who has drawn praise for his role in creating the stations and criticism for allegedly using them to further his political agenda, was appointed to a three-year term by President Reagan nearly 12 years ago. He has served at the pleasure of Presidents Bush and Clinton ever since.

There are five other board members whose terms have similarly expired, but who continue to serve, station officials said. Three seats are vacant, including one due to death and two others because board members stepped down and have not been replaced.

Diaz-Verson Amos, the widow of a wealthy insurance executive, is familiar to many exiles for her aid to high-profile refugees from Cuba, including pilot Orestes Lorenzo, who rescued his family in a daring flight, and Alina Fernandez Revuelta, the estranged daughter of Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Contacted by telephone Tuesday, Diaz-Verson Amos said she would gladly accept the chairmanship, which Mas Canosa has occupied since Radio Marti was established more than a decade ago.

"I'll be ready to do whatever is necessary," Diaz-Verson Amos said. "It will be very interesting to me. I think it would be a wonderful challenge."

According to one plan, Mas Canosa would be given the title "chairman emeritus," which would recognize his pivotal role in winning political support for the broadcasts but would carry little authority.

**Leader won't go quietly**

A spokesman for Mas Canosa said Tuesday that the exile leader would not relinquish his post without a fight.

Jose Cardenas, Washington representative of the Cuban American National Foundation, said the appointment of a new director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting to oversee the day-to-day operations of the stations has spread the idea that "it's time for a quote-unquote new start."

But ousting Mas Canosa would fail to recognize his role in battling back the detractors of Radio and TV Marti, whether they be congressional critics, investigative journalists or administration inspectors, Cardenas said.

"The very idea that those who survived the wars -- bruised and bloody as they are -- are just going to walk out the door with a pat on the head for a job well done is an absurdity," Cardenas said.

#### **Advocates say it's time**

Advocates of a shake-up say it is precisely because Mas Canosa considers the stations his own personal province that a new chairman is needed. In a significant victory for Mas Canosa last year, Congress agreed to relocate the stations' headquarters in Miami, where critics feared it would be harder to maintain U.S. government scrutiny.

The need for a new advisory board is plain, said one senior U.S. official.

"People have died. People have not shown up for years. It's been an inoperative board," the official said. "And [Mas Canosa] has continued in the position to influence the [stations' managers] and wreak havoc in Congress."

White House spokesman Eric Rubin declined to comment Tuesday on what he called "a personnel issue."

Herminio San Roman, the new director of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, declined to declare a position on whether Clinton should appoint a new board.

"I don't think I should be discussing things I'm not aware of," he said.

In a foretaste of a potentially larger battle, the White House last month attempted to dismiss the board's executive director, Yvonne Soler, who is seen as a Mas Canosa ally. According to Cardenas, Mas Canosa interceded with Joseph Duffey, the director of the United States Information Agency, who shelved the decision for 30 days.

Diaz-Verson Amos, who once served on the board of the Cuban American National Foundation, said Tuesday that she respects Mas Canosa.

"I think he has done a great thing in getting the Cubans influence in Washington and creating Radio Marti," she said.

She added that, while she would not shy from a contest for the post, her animosity is directed elsewhere.

``We must never lose sight that the real enemy is Fidel Castro," she said. ``I think he is quite a big enough target."



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Getting in touch with HERALDlink

TAB B

**Current Members of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting**

|                      |      |                  |                    |
|----------------------|------|------------------|--------------------|
| Mas Canosa, Jorge    | R-FL | Member and Chair | term expired 08/89 |
| Geoghegan, William   | D-MD | Member           | term expired 10/92 |
| Coursen, Christopher | R-MD | Member           | term expired 10/93 |
| Costa, Jose          | R-FL | Member           | term expired 10/94 |
| Glennon, Joseph      | R-FL | Member           | term expired 10/94 |
| Lew, Salvador        | I-FL | Member           | term expired 03/94 |

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| 028. memo                | To: Samuel Berger; From: Jeffrey De Laurentis; Re: Cuba: Follow-Up to Cuba Options Paper (1 page) | 10/23/1997 | P1/b(1)     |

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

# DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 1998

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have stated many times that, while tough economic sanctions are necessary to promote peaceful change in Cuba, they alone are not enough. Change in Cuba must come from within, led by Cubans on the island who recognize the problems and injustices of the current system and challenge them. Increasing the flow of information to, from and within Cuba is essential to fostering this dynamic, as is outside support and advice to independent groups trying to carve out space for their activities. My Administration has made this a priority, initiating measures to permit groups in the U.S. to begin developing new kinds of contacts on the island. Since 1993, we have licensed dozens of trips, programs and other activities by NGOs and institutions in the U.S. aimed at establishing positive working relationships with counterparts in Cuba.

These ties have not been government to government but people to people, and convey to ordinary Cubans that Americans are poised not to invade or annex Cuba, but rather to help it rejoin our family of democracies and realize its full potential. An important element of this support over the last four years has been private humanitarian aid from U.S. non-governmental organizations to the people of Cuba totaling \$227 million.

His Holiness John Paul II made an historic visit to Cuba last week. At the request of Catholic Church authorities in the United States and the Holy See, we made a number of exceptions to our policy regarding travel and shipment of humanitarian supplies to Cuba to coincide with the visit. We permitted direct passenger flights to Cuba for pilgrims to attend Papal services. We permitted the Archdiocese of Miami to lease a cruise ship to transport and lodge 1,300 pilgrims during the visit. We also facilitated shipment of \$\$ worth of humanitarian assistance to assist with the visit. End use monitoring mechanisms were in place to ensure these exceptional deliveries reached the people they were intended for.

The Pope's visit gave an important psychological boost to the Catholic Church and other religious institutions on the island, and to the Cuban people. During the preparations for the visit, however, the dire needs of the Cuban people became all too clear. (Anecdote of needy individual receiving some kind of assistance for the first time.) The struggle of the Cuban people for daily survival and human dignity is well known. Most Cubans do not get enough to eat and must scramble constantly to feed their families and themselves as best they can. Medical supplies are extremely scarce and hospital conditions deteriorating. The Pope has called on all of us to do what we can.

Like millions of other Americans, I was moved by the Pope's visit, by his message of hope and the need for respect of human rights. And I was moved by the way the Cuban people responded to him. The United States has long stood for the promotion of human rights, economic reform and the development of civil society in Cuba and elsewhere. We have also done our best to help relieve the suffering of neighbors in distress. In the case of Cuba, we have not stood idly by. But, we can do more to meet the humanitarian needs of the Cuban people. I believe the time is right to do just that.

Therefore, I am formalizing the humanitarian steps taken, on an exceptional basis, since last August, to assist the Pope's visit to Cuba. Based on the clear humanitarian needs of the Cuban people demonstrated during the visit, I also intend to explore ways to provide additional relief to the Cuban people.

This afternoon, I am taking the following actions:

- First, I am lifting the ban on direct humanitarian aid flights to Cuba. # such flights were authorized in connection with the Pope's visit. (elaborate on nature of supplies shipped). Effective end-use verification mechanisms, ensuring these vital supplies continue to reach the people they were intended for, are now in place.
- Second, I am lifting the ban on direct passenger flights to Cuba. I know that Americans with family in Cuba have suffered because of the extra cost and inconvenience of having to visit relatives on the island through third countries.
- Third, I have directed the Commerce Department to further facilitate the granting of licenses for sale of medical supplies to Cuba by U.S. firms or foreign affiliates. Based

on our recent experiences during the Pope's visit, I am confident that end-use verification requirements can be met.

- Fourth, I have ordered the Treasury Department to adjust licensing practices to restore remittances by Cuban-Americans to Cubans on the island to pre-July 1994 levels, that is to \$1,200 per year.
- And fifth, I have ordered the Commerce Department to adjust its licensing practices to allow commercial sales of food to non-governmental organizations or private entrepreneurs. In addition to meeting the humanitarian needs of the Cuban people, the engagement of non-governmental organizations or private enterprises would contribute to the development of civil society on the island.

These measures are consistent with the Cuban Democracy Act and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. They also reflect the traditional American values of helping our neighbors help themselves.

The package I have announced today is a logical next step. My message to the people of Cuba, including individuals in the Cuban government who support democracy, is that the U.S. stands ready, along with other democratic nations, to help Cuba overcome the challenges it will face in the future. The Cuban people ought not suffer unnecessarily. The United States - far from threatening Cuba's sovereignty as the Castro regime alleges - wants to assist Cubans in the peaceful transition to a free, independent and prosperous country.

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# DRAFT

The White House  
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 1998

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT (2)

His Holiness John Paul II made an historic visit to Cuba last week. Like millions of other Americans, I was moved by the Pope's visit, by his message of hope and the need for respect for human rights. And I was moved by the way the Cuban people responded to him.

At the request of Catholic Church authorities in the United States and the Holy See, my Administration has made a number of exceptions to our policy regarding travel and shipment of humanitarian supplies to Cuba to coincide with the visit. We permitted direct passenger flights for pilgrims to attend Papal services. We permitted the Archdiocese of Miami to lease a cruise ship to transport and lodge 1,300 pilgrims during the visit. We also facilitated the shipment of \$\$ worth of humanitarian assistance. End use monitoring mechanisms were in place to ensure these exceptional deliveries reached the people they were intended for.

These measures were consistent with the Cuban Democracy Act and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, which, in addition to applying tough economic sanctions to promote peaceful change in Cuba, also enable us to conduct a program of support for the Cuban people.

The overarching goal of our policy toward Cuba is to promote a peaceful transition to democracy on the island. Such a transition must stem from the successful initiatives of Cubans on the island who seek to build a strong, independent civil society and promote respect for human rights. Moreover, it requires that Cubans develop the means to peacefully reconcile differences during the transition - be they economic, social or political.

The presence of His Holiness John Paul II in Cuba gave an important psychological boost to the Catholic Church, to Cuba's nascent civil society, and to the Cuban people. The response of the people to the Pope's visit tells me that we must do more to support them, to provide additional humanitarian relief, and

continue helping them create the conditions for a smooth and peaceful transition to a free, independent and prosperous nation.

Consistent with our actions over the last eight months and in order to sustain an increased level of support to the people of Cuba, I have decided to formalize the steps we took to support the Pope's visit:

I am lifting the ban on direct passenger and humanitarian aid flights to Cuba. I have asked the Commerce Department to continue granting licenses for the sale of medical supplies to Cuba by U.S. firms or foreign affiliates. I have ordered the Treasury Department to adjust licensing practices to restore remittances by Cuban-Americans to Cubans on the island to pre-July 1994 levels, that is to \$1,2000 per year. And I have ordered the Commerce Department to adjust its licensing practices to allow commercial sales of food to non-governmental organizations or private entrepreneurs.

These steps will enhance our program of support to the Cuban people and help prepare them for a peaceful transition to democracy.

I have stated many times that, while tough economic sanctions and targeted humanitarian assistance are necessary to promote peaceful change in Cuba, they alone are not enough. Change in Cuba must come from within, led by Cubans on the island who recognize the problems and injustices of the current system and challenge them. Increasing the flow of information, to, from and within Cuba is essential to fostering this dynamic, as is outside support and advice to independent groups trying to carve out space for their activities. My Administration has made this a priority, initiating measures to permit groups in the U.S. to begin developing new kinds of contacts on the island. Since 1993, we have licensed dozens of trips, programs, and other activities by NGOs and institutions in the U.S. aimed at establishing positive working relationship with counterparts in Cuba.

These ties have not been government to government but people to people, to convey to ordinary Cubans that Americans are poised not to invade or annex Cuba, but rather to help it rejoin our family of democracies and realize its full potential.

The time has come to do more, to further engage the Cuban people and organizations, to provide increased relief, and, where

appropriate, to begin to cooperate with Cuban authorities when direct national interests are served. Closer contact with the Cuban people, including individuals in the Cuban government who support democracy, will energize development of an independent civil society -- giving the Cubans a stake in their future -- and free enterprise.

Therefore, I am also announcing today a series of steps designed to produce deeper engagement with the Cuban people. To this end, I am taking the following steps:

First, we must build our people to people ties by increasing the number and level of cultural, academic and sports exchanges with the people of Cuba. This will strengthen Cuba's nascent private sector, build an entrepreneurial spirit, and foster development of civil society.

Second, I have authorized the Treasury Department to begin granting licenses for U.S. commercial sales to Cuban private farmers and entrepreneurs. At the same time, Cuban-Americans will be permitted to remit funds to pay for such sales. Such a step will empower the growing number of independent farmers, tradesman and small entrepreneurs. In addition, it will address meet humanitarian needs.

Even as we expand contact with the Cuban people, we need to sustain our pressure on the Cuban regime to institute meaningful democratic reforms. To the extent that the Cuban government shows itself prepared to move in this direction, I am prepared to reciprocate.

Finally, I am prepared to directly address the issue of compensation for confiscated properties with the Cuban government. One of the principles behind the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act was to seek enhanced protection for the property interests in Cuba of U.S. citizens. The Castro regime has precluded negotiating a settlement to these properties, claiming that we owe \$\$\$ billion because of our embargo. If the Government of Cuba is prepared to make an offer without such a claim, I am prepared to negotiate in good faith.

As we approach the new millennium, I want to build on the expanding relationship between the people of Cuba and the United States. A stable, open, and prosperous Cuba is important to the United States and to our friends and allies in the region. A stable and democratic Cuba is more likely to work cooperatively with others and to contribute positively to peace in the region

and to respect the rights and interests of its people. We have a profound stake in helping to ensure that Cuba rejoins our family of democracies and realizes its full potential. And we must do all we can to support the island's transition to democracy and a free market economy. The great question remaining for us as a nation is whether we have the vision and the heart necessary to imagine a future relationship with Cuba that is different from the past.