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RESUME

DR. BERNARDO BENES

Office: 1801 S.W. 1st Street
Miami, Fla. 33135
Tel.: (305) 642-2440

Residence: 1666 Bay Drive
Miami Beach, Fla. 33141
Tel.: (305) 864-1476

PERSONAL DATA:

Date of Birth: December 27, 1934
Place of Birth: Matanzas, Cuba
Height: 5'11"
Weight: 200 lbs.
Marital Status: Married
Three children
Citizenship: U.S. Citizenship since August 1969

EDUCATION:

Havana University (Cuba): Doctor in Law, 1951-1956
Certified Public Accountant, 1951-1956
American Savings and Loan Institute: Savings and Loan Courses
University of Miami: Taxation Courses

LANGUAGES:

English
Spanish
Yiddish (Understand)

PRESENT POSITION:

Vice-Chairman of the Board - Continental National Bank of Miami

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Dr. Bernardo Benes

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WORK EXPERIENCE:

February 1976 to present: Vice-Chairman of the Board,
Continental National Bank of Miami

1960 to February 1976: Vice President, Washington Federal
Savings and Loan Association of Miami Beach

For ten years, responsible for all Branch Operations, Savings Operations, Accounting, Security and all Mortgage activity for Latin American customers. For five years, in charge of the Mortgage Loan Department. Director of Training Programs for Latin American Savings and Loan Executives in conjunction with the Alliance for Progress, a program sponsored by the U.S. Department of State. (In this capacity trained over 350 Latin American and African Savings and Loan Executives, and helped to draft legislation on Savings and Loan in several countries). Have met with the Presidents of Chile, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama and Paraguay. Have attended many Interamerican Savings and Loan Conferences as a United States delegate.

Responsible for contractual arrangements between Washington Federal Savings and Loan Association and the Agency for International Development of the Department of State, to supervise the Administrators of the Housing Investment Guaranty Program in Latin America.

Latin American Consultant for Jefferson National Bank of Miami Beach during association with Washington Federal Savings and Loan Association of Miami Beach.

President of Institute of Development Consultants, Inc.

1956 to 1960: Junior Associate of Dr. Ramon Zaydin y Marquez
Sterling's Law Firm - Havana, Cuba

1959 to 1960: Legal Counsel for the Accounting Department of the Treasury Department of Cuba. Specialized in legal problems on internal and external Cuban Government debts.



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WORK EXPERIENCE (cont'd.):

1958 to 1960: Secretary to the National Association of Knitted Textile Manufacturers - Havana, Cuba

1958 to 1960: Secretary to the Association of Tourist Merchants - Havana, Cuba

1958 to 1960: Legal Counsel for the Patronato de la Casa de la Comunidad Hebrea de Cuba

BOOKS WRITTEN:

"Capital en las Sociedades Anonimas" (Capital in Corporations). 1957. First prize - "Angel C. Betancourt" to the best book on legal matters, sponsored by the Cuban National Bar Association.

"Asociaciones de Ahorros y Prestamos en los Estados Unidos y su Aplicacion en la America Latina" (Savings and Loan Associations in the United States and its Application to Latin America). 1964. First Spanish book written on the subject, under contract with the Agency for International Development of the U.S. Department of State. Published by the Agency for International Development and the Interamerican Development Bank.

Co-Author of "A Survey of New Home Financing Institutions in Latin America (The Savings and Loan Experience)". Prepared for The Center for Housing, Building and Planning Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION:

Commissioner - Florida Commission of Human Relations
Founder and Past President - Cuban Hebrew Congregation of Miami
National Board Member - Big Brothers of America
Board Member and Vice President - Big Brothers of Greater Miami
Board Member and Vice President - United Fund of Dade County
Founder and Chairman - Latin American Division of the United Fund
Chairman - CINTAS FUND - United Fund
Board Member - Welfare Planning Council of Dade County
Founder, Board Member and President - Comprehensive Health Planning Council of South Florida



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COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION (Cont'd.):

Chairman - Ad Hoc Committee on Health Services for Spanish speaking population of Dade County
 Founder and Board Member - Administration of Criminal Justice Coordinating Council
 Founder and Board Member - Greater Miami Coalition
 Chairman - Ad Hoc Committee on Services for Spanish speaking population of Dade County - Greater Miami Coalition
 Founder - "Accion" Community Agency - Ad Hoc Committee - Greater Miami Coalition
 Board Member - Mental Health Foundation
 Board Member - American Jewish Congress
 Board Member - American Friends of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem
 Board Member - American Jewish Committee
 Executive Board - Anti-Defamation League
 Charter Board Member - Board of Trustees of the Florida International University Foundation, Inc.
 Board Member - Latin America Advisory Board - City of Miami Beach
 Past Board Member - Greater Miami Jewish Federation
 Founder and Chairman - Operacion Medico Amigo
 Chairman - City of Miami Commission to study the building of a new Baseball Stadium
 Member - Florida Region Board of Governors of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
 Chairman - School Volunteer Program, Dade County
 Board Member - Florida Home in Washington
 Founder, Secretary and Director - United Way International, Inc., Washington, D.C. (a subsidiary of United Way of America)
 National President (1978) - American Health Planning Association

OTHER ACTIVITIES:

1. Lecturer to U.S. civic organizations on the Cuban situation.
2. Founder and Chairman of the Snack Bar which operated from December 1, 1965 to December 1, 1967 at the Opa Locka Airport at the arrival of the "Freedom Flights" from Cuba. Over 100,000 Cuban refugees were recipients of this service.
3. Have been cooperating with the United Hias Service in helping Cuban refugees solve different problems.
4. Have helped find employment for over 1,000 Cuban refugees.



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Dr. Bernardo Benes

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OTHER ACTIVITIES (Cont'd.):

5. For six months maintained a program for 2 half hours a week on WQBA Radio Station for the benefit of the Cuban population of Miami.
6. Assist many public and private agencies in Dade County on how these agencies can best serve the Spanish-American community in the United States.
7. Actively participated in the preparation of articles on Cuban refugees for national news media such as Fortune Magazine, Life Magazine, The New York Times, NBC, BBC of London and others.
8. Organized support among the Latin American population of Miami on behalf of the State of Israel during the Six Day War of 1967.
9. As founder and Coordinator of Operacion Medico Amigo, assisted the Government of Nicaragua to evaluate its needs in the Social Service field. Two professional Cuban Social Workers were invited by the First Lady of Nicaragua to do this work, which was highly praised by the United Nations. Also organized a group to go to Peru to help the earthquake victims.
10. Co-sponsor of the idea of creating Latin Quarters in the heavily Cuban-populated areas of Dade County.
11. Have been spokesman for the Cuban Exile population in problems that have arisen in the community.
12. Sponsor of a Forum of the best political talents of the Cuban Exile colony throughout the world to evaluate the Cuban situation.
13. Organized many different fund-raising campaigns to help the needy, particularly Cuban Exiles in Miami. Organized a campaign to raise funds to buy prosthetic devices for invalids ("Help Them to Live").
14. Have acted as liaison with different Federal Agencies as well as Congress, in various occasions where Cuban matters have been discussed and acted upon.
15. Sponsor of the Committee for the Memorial to honor the men who died in the Bay of Pigs invasion.
16. Delegate to the 1971 White House Conference on Youth.
17. Founder of the United Fund of Panama, 1972.
18. Raised funds for the victims of the earthquake in Managua, Nicaragua, December 1972.
19. Liaison between Public Authorities and the Cuban community in preparation of two National Political Conventions in 1972.



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OTHER ACTIVITIES (Cont'd.):

20. Sponsored a pilot project for a self-help approach for housing for blacks in Dade County.
21. Actively participated in the passing of Bonds issued for the City of Miami "Parks for People" and the Dade County "Decade of Progress", 1972.
22. In general, have received recognition from different agencies, among them the U.S. Cuban Refugee Program under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for involvement in community affairs.
23. Received Honorary Degree "Doctor of Science in Human Relations", Biscayne College, 1973.
24. Received Claude Pepper Award for outstanding contribution to the delivery of health services in Dade County (1973).
25. United Nations - Appointed to a five-member Task Force to prepare a recommendation to the General Assembly on the establishment of the International Habitat & Human Settlements Foundation.
26. Adjunct Associate Professor of the Department of Architecture of the University of Miami.
27. HUD - Appointed by the Secretary of HUD to a national Task Force on Federal Housing Administration, 1977.
28. Initiated conversations with the Cuban Government in 1978 which resulted in the freedom of 3,600 political prisoners, and established the Reunification of the Cuban Family Program for those Cubans who live in the Island and those who live in the United States.
29. Instrumental for the move of the Sha of Iran from the United States to Panama.

3687

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
June 11, 1982

TO: MICHAEL WHEELER
FROM: ROGER FONTAINE

Your memo to Anne Higgins .
forwards State's suggested
response to the incoming letter.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: MICHAEL O. WHEELER

SUBJECT: Mrs. Reagan's Response to Letter Regarding
Cuban Political Prisoners

At Tab A is a State-prepared, NSC-approved letter for Mrs. Reagan's signature in reply to Mrs. Abraham vda. de Boitel's letter regarding Cuban political prisoners (Tab C).

The State Department has sent a full reply to Mrs. Abraham vda. de Boitel discussing the U.S. program for Cuban ex-political prisoners (Tab B).

Attachments

Tab A NSC-approved response for Mrs. Reagan's signature
Tab B Incoming letter
Tab C State Department letter

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Dear Mrs. Abraham vda. de Boitel:

Thank you for your letter of May 11 in which you request my assistance in securing parole status for Cuban political prisoners. I share your wish to see these prisoners united with their families from whom they have been separated for so long.

A program to bring Cuban ex-political prisoners into the United States as refugees has recently been announced and I am asking the Department of State to give you all the details.

I hope that your efforts to assist these prisoners will be fully rewarded and crowned with success.

Sincerely,

Nancy Reagan

Mrs. Abraham vda. de Boitel
776, N.W. 2nd Street, Apt. #2,
Miami, Florida.

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May 24, 1982.

3657

Mr. Roger Fontaine
Latin American Department
National Security Council
The White House
Washington D.C. 20506

8215067

Dear Mr. Fontaine:

I am sending you a copy of a letter sent to Nancy Reagan by several Cuban women (including myself). Our object is to obtain parole visa status for Cuban political prisoners. We are asking Mrs. Reagan for the opportunity to personally request her assistance in this endeavor.

We are presently trying to arrange a personal interview with Mrs. Reagan so as to request her assistance in acquiring the necessary visas for all these political prisoners.

We urge you to support us in our attempt to procure Mrs. Reagan's intercession with her husband, in the hope of ending the suffering of men who lost their personal freedom while struggling for the freedom of many.

Thank you in advance,

Sincerely yours,

Leticia de Arriba Amblada
Marquesa Vda de Tiedra

Leticia de Arriba Duquesa de Amblada
Widow Marquis de Tiedra

180 S.W. 12 th Street apt-5
Miami, Florida 33130.

Phone- 305- 858-6050

[Signature]

Notary Public, State of Florida
My Commission Expires Oct. 1, 1985
Bonded thru Troy Fair Insurance, Inc.

May 11, 1982

Mrs. Nancy Reagan
The White House
Washington D.C. 20506

Dear Mrs. Reagan:

I am writing on behalf of the Relatives of the Cuban political prisoners, that are still in Cuban Jails and of the Cuban ex-political prisoners who are suffering from extremely difficult economic, social and political conditions in that Country. I address you from the perspective of the great pain that I suffer at having lost my son Pedro Luis Boitel Abraham who died in a Cuban prison after demonstrating great Christian heroism. In addition to the pain caused by this loss, I also feel that of the relatives of Cubans who are presently imprisoned. Together with them I would like to express by fervent desire that they be released.

We believe that there are certain measures that must be taken and these of course will depend on the good faith and willingness of the United States Government to expedite their release. The major one consist of granting entry to the United States (through parole visa status) to those Cuban prisoners for whom a release from the Cuban jails can be obtained. Many of these prisoners include the "plantados" or those individuals who refuse to accept and adapt the appressive dictates of Castro's regime. These courageous men are in several Cuban prisons which include Boniato in Santiago de Cuba, Combinado del Este in Havana, Kilo 7 in Camaguey, Cinco y Medio in Pinar Rio, Guanajay and others.

When one of these prisoners completes his sentence and is freed he does not find in Cuba's society the support that he needs to survive. Instead, he is considered and treated as a counter revolutionary and enemy of the political system of that country.

Either as a result of these ideological difference or because of fear of being accused of protecting an enemy of the Castro regime these expolitical prisoners are not given any kind of assistance, employment, etc. This is the main reason behind our request that prisoners be helped to leave Cuba. Many of their families and relatives are U.S. citizens, a factor that should contribute to supporting our request for granting of parole status to these prisoners.

We appeal to your humane sensibility and kind heart that you intercede with your husband President Reagan on behalf of these individuals who after having suffered the horrible conditions of Castro's jails must upon their release endure unemployment, unavailability of food and shelter, and unstable families and constant exposure to





Reproduced at the Ronald Reagan Library

political enemies.

For the purpose of formally requesting your assistance with this matter, I am asking that you grant myself and the Cuban women whose names follow a personal hearing:

Mrs. Bernardina Montero-Duque, Mother of Brigada 2506 prisoner Ricardo Montero Duque who is complying with thirty years sentence, Mrs. Maria Elena Teste de Armas, wife of Carlos Armas Estevez who was accused of being a member of the CIA and sentenced to thirty years, Mrs. Barbara Pardo Mazorra- the sister of Cuban poet and intellectual Angel Enrique Pardo Mazorra who is completing a thirty years sentence at Boniato prison, also the former Cuban political prisoners Aleja Sanchez Piloto and Concepcion Abella- both of whom suffered during sixteen years the horrifying calamities and conditions of Castro's jails.

Also the following relatives of ex-prisoners namely - Mrs. Emilia Luzarraga de Fernandez wife of ex-prisoner Dr. Lino Bernabe Fernandez who was jailed for 16 years. Dr. Rosa Casusa- daughter of Dr. Enrique Casusa and sister of ex-prisoner Enrique Casusa Pérez (who was imprisoned for 15 years for being member of the infiltration team of Brigade 2506. We will accompanied as an sponsor the great Cuban Lady Doña Leticia de Arriba Duchess de Amblada, widow of the Marquis de Tiedra.

Please forgive me for the length of this letter and permit me to express my appreciation for your consideration of this important request. As we await your response, I pray for your personal well being as well as that of your husband and the continued success of our government and nation.

Sincerely yours,

Leticia de Arriba

Clara Abraham Vda de Boitel
Mrs. Clara Abraham Vda. de Boitel.
776 N.W. 2nd, St. Apt. # 2
Miami, Fl. 33125

Leticia de Arriba
de Amblada Tiedra
Mrs. Leticia de Arriba, Duquesa
de Amblada Vda, del Marques de
Tiedra.
180 S.W. 12th, St. Apt. # 5
Miami, Fl. 33130

Quincy Longley

Leticia de Arriba
de Amblada Tiedra

HOPING TO BE RECEIVED BY THE FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES, NANCY REAGAN. CUBAN WOMEN WANT TO REQUEST VISAS FOR CUBAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

May 11, 1982

Mrs. Nancy Reagan

The White House

Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Mrs. Reagan:

We are writing on behalf of the Relatives of the Cuban political prisoners, that are still in Cuban Jails and of the Cuban ex-political prisoners who are suffering from extremely difficult economic, social and political conditions in that Country. We address you from the perspective of the great pain that we suffered at having lost our son Pedro Luis Boitel Abraham who died in a Cuban prison after demonstrating great Christian heroism. In addition to the pain caused by this loss, we also feel that of the relatives of Cubans who are presently imprisoned. Together with them we would like to express our fervent desire that they be released.

We believe that there are certain measures that must be taken and these of course will depend on the good faith and willingness of the United States Government to expedite their release. The major one consists of granting entry to the United States (through parole visa status) to those Cuban prisoners for whom a release from the Cuban jails can be obtained. Many of these prisoners include the "plantados" or those individuals who refuse to accept and adapt the oppressive dictates of Castro's regime. These courageous men are in several Cuban prisons which include Boniato in Santiago de Cuba, Combinado del Este in Havana, Kilo 7 in Camaguey, Cinco y Medio in Pinar Rio, Guanajay and others.

When one of these prisoners completes his sentence and is freed we believe he does not find in Cuba's society the support that he needs to survive. Instead, he is considered and treated as a counter revolutionary and enemy of the political system of that country. Either as a result of these ideological difference or because of fear of being accused of protecting an enemy of the Castro regime these expolitical prisoners are not given any kind of assistance, employment, etc. This is the main reason behind our request that prisoners be helped to leave Cuba. Many of their families and relatives are U.S. citizens, a factor that should contribute to supporting our request for granting of parole status to these prisoners.

We appeal to your humane sensibility and kind heart that you intercede with your husband President Reagan on behalf of these individuals who after having suffered the horrible conditions of Castro's jails must upon their release endure unemployment, unavailability of food and shelter, and unstable future and constant exposure to political enemies.

For the purpose of formally requesting your assistance with this matter, I am asking that you grant myself and the Cuban women whose names follow a personal hearing:

Mrs. Bernardina Montero-Duque, Mother of Brigada 2506 prisoner Ricardo Montero Duque who is complying with thirty years sentence; Mrs. Maria Elena Teste de Armas, wife of Carlos Armas Estevez who was accused of being a member of the CIA and sentenced to thirty years, Mrs. Barbara Pardo Mazorra — the sister of Cuban poet and intellectual Angel Enrique Pardo Mazorra who is completing a thirty years sentence at Boniato prison, also the former Cuban political prisoners Aleja Sanchez Pilato and Concepcion Abello — both of whom suffered during sixteen years the horrifying calamities and conditions of Castro's jails.

Also the following relatives of ex-prisoners namely — Mrs. Emilia Luzarraga de Fernandez wife of ex-prisoner Dr. Lino Bernabe Fernandez who was jailed for 16 years. Dr. Rosa Casuso — daughter of Dr. Enrique Casuso and sister of ex-prisoner Enrique Casuso Pérez (who was imprisoned for 15 years for being member of the infiltration team of Brigade 2506. We will accompany as an sponsor the great Cuban Lady Doña Leticia de Arriba Duchess de Amblada, widow of the Marquis de Tiedra.

Please forgive me for the length of this letter and permit me to express my appreciation for your consideration of this important request. As we Await your response, I pray for your personal well being as well as that of your husband and the continued success of our government and nation.

Sincerely yours,

Clara Abraham Vda de Boitel

Mrs. Clara Abraham Vda. de Boitel.
776 N.W. 2nd, St. Apt. #2
Miami, Fl 33125

Quincy George

Notary Public, State of Florida
My Commission Expires Oct. 1, 1985
Bonded Thru Troy Fain Insurance Inc.

*Leticia de Arriba
de Amblada Tiedra*

Mrs. Leticia de Arriba, Duquesa
de Amblada Vda. del Marques de Tiedra.
180 S.W. 12th, St. Apt. #5
Miami, Fl. 33130

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D. C. 20520

June 7, 1982

Mrs. Clara Abraham vda. de Boitel
776 N.W. 2nd Street, Apt. #2
Miami, Florida 33130

Dear Mrs. Abraham vda. de Boitel:

Mrs. Reagan has asked the Department of State to respond to your letter of May 11 concerning your request for parole into the United States of Cuban political prisoners. We fully appreciate your concern for the plight of these prisoners who have been incarcerated under terrible conditions for so many years. The release of political prisoners is an important objective of the U.S. human rights policy in Cuba as elsewhere in the world.

The United States already has a program to admit up to 3,000 refugees from the Latin American area. This group consists of current and former political prisoners, refugees in life threatening situations, and the immediate relatives of previously admitted refugees still holding that status. An ongoing review of United States Government policy toward Cuban refugees delayed the implementation of the program until now. That review is completed and we are now proceeding with the implementation of the program.

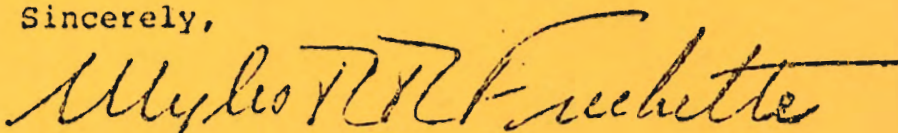
While present relations between our countries do not permit us to conduct a refugee program within Cuba at this time, former political prisoners outside of Cuba are eligible for the program. We estimate some 175 to 200 former prisoners will be affected, primarily in Costa Rica and Spain. They will be accompanied by some 400 to 500 relatives. Before they can be admitted, however, they must be able to prove that they were jailed in Cuba for a political offense, that they are not firmly resettled in the country of first asylum, and that they are otherwise admissible to the United States. All applicants will be interviewed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service which will make the final decision regarding their admission.



These refugees will be sponsored by family members, friends, or other concerned parties. They will not be placed in camps. They will be admitted as refugees and will receive the same federal benefits available to all other refugees.

Meanwhile, please rest assured that the United States Government will continue to do everything possible through diplomatic channels to encourage the Cuban government to release all remaining political prisoners in Cuba. We will also continue to review programs for the resettlement of these people after their release from prison. Finally, we will not forget the ex-political prisoners in Cuba.

Sincerely,



Myles R. Frechette
Director
Office of Cuban Affairs

KBC

WRHC BUILDING
2260 S.W. 8TH STREET
MIAMI, FLA. 33135
PHONE: 541-3300

WRHC
CADENA AZUL

Reproduced at the Kennedy Center Library

Mr Roger Fontaine.
The White House.

Dear Mr Fontaine:

Just a few lines to send you copy of the Miami Herald's article regarding the work I do and the station I work for.

I beleive it will be of interest to you because it shows that the position we have is share by the majority of the cuban exiles, that do listen and support us and of course my position and our position is very clear, no relations with Castro, a free cuba.

I hope it will be of use for your work.

Tomas Regalado
Tomas Regalado.

Anti-Castro station goes ahead, quickly

BOLIZ BALMASEDA
Herald Staff Writer

The phones don't stop; their lights flicker, vying for recognition like little hands in a classroom.

"¡Adelante! ¡Rapidito!" says the man on the air. "Go ahead! Quick-

The voices on the other end of the line share a common sentiment: an anti-Castro, anti-communism, anti-everything-that-smells-of-Castro-and-communism sentiment. Mostly they are voices of working-class Cubans who revere radio announcers the way some people look up to great military leaders.

This time it's some housewife from Hialeah or somebody's aunt in Carol City who's been waiting all morning for the moment when somebody would say, "Hello. You are on the air."

This is a snapshot of WRHC-Cadena Azul, a feisty Little Havana radio station which has a single format: Blast Fidel Castro from sunup to sundown.

But don't question success. This daytime station, for the third consecutive rating period, reaches more listeners than any other in Dade County, a new survey report shows. And that's more than any other station in either Spanish or English.

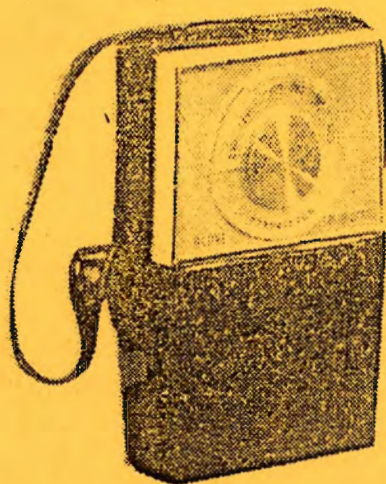
"¡Adelante. ¡Rapidito!" says host Armando Perez Roura.

But this woman, she can't believe it, she keeps asking if she is on the air now, after she's waited for God knows how long. She doesn't really have anything to say, just that she listens to this show every day and loves Armando Perez Roura and his guest, who is Cuban militant Tony Cuesta, and prays to Our Lady, The Virgin of Regla, each night so their cause — The Cause — will one day overcome.

Her call, though just a flicker in the vast galaxy of WRHC listeners, is greatly appreciated. Perez Roura thanks her. Tony Cuesta thanks her. Actually, the whole staff of WRHC-Cadena Azul thanks her.

It's people like her who have made the station No. 1, according to the most trusted barometer of radio listenership.

Numero Uno in any language



The latest Arbitron survey showed WRHC with a 9.4 rating, compared to a 7.6 for the longtime No. 1 station and Spanish-language rival WQBA. At any given time roughly 200,000 listeners were tuned in — about 60,000 more than to the leading English-language station, WNWS.

The Arbitron radio survey for the period March 19 through June 10 shows that WRHC (AM 1550) received a 9.4 rating, compared to a 7.6 for the longtime No. 1 station — and Spanish-language rival — WQBA (AM 1140).

This means that at any given time roughly 200,000 listeners were tuned in to WRHC — about 60,000 more than were listening to the leading English-language station, WNWS (AM 790), which features news and talk shows.

The call letters and name of the station are those of one which used to operate in Cuba. RHC stands for "Radio Havana Cuba" and Cadena Azul (Blue Network) was the network of the station.

WRHC-Cadena Azul, Miami-style, plays no hit-parade music. It has no contests to give away cash. It broadcasts just news and commentary, immoderate editorials and uncensored diatribes — always aimed at Castro or his supporters.

Risk pays off

In the October-November 1979 rating period, the station's first test period as an all-news station, WRHC leaped into second place. It nearly doubled the rating it had held as a half-religious, half-Spanish-language station.

The next Arbitron rating period came during the months of the Mariel boatlift. WRHC took the lead with a 9.5 to WQBA's 7.9, although WQBA dropped its entertainment programming in favor of news during the boatlift. (The Birch Report, another radio survey, still shows WQBA as the dominant station in the Miami market.)

WRHC was the first Latin all-news station in the area. It was a risk, says general manager Salvador Lew, "but we took it."

"We" is eight local Cuban businessmen who make up the Radio-centro Corp.

Inside Radio, a trade publication for broadcasters, says in its March 1981 issue: "Miami is the largest market in the country to have a No. 1 facility that is a daytimer. Strong listener loyalty."

Strong listener loyalty is what makes Lew smile.

In Cuba, he was a lawyer who dabbled in politics as an anti-Batista and later an anti-Castro activist. When he arrived in Miami in 1961, he started his own talk show "to bother Mr. Castro a little." "The Voice of the People," as it was called, was broadcast on the former Spanish-language WMIE, predecessor of WQBA.

In the late 1960s, Lew became general news director of *La Cubanísima* ("The most Cuban," WQBA's nickname). In November 1973, he and seven others bought WRIZ for \$850,000. A year later, the station was renamed WRHC.



Welcome to 'Stiltsville'

Five years ago, the station was moved from a cramped studio in the Marti Theater of Little Havana to a modern office complex at 2280 SW Eighth Street, where WRHC rents the third floor.

With its towers in "Stiltsville," six miles out in Biscayne Bay, WRHC broadcasts with a modest 10,000 watts of power. Recently, the Federal Communications Commission gave the management permission to broadcast all night beginning in October, although at the reduced power of 250 watts.

With a full-time Washington bureau, WRHC also employs a string of correspondents from such places as El Salvador, Spain, Costa Rica and Chile.

Station news director Tomas Regalado Jr. has been to Africa four times to do documentaries on Cuban intervention in Angola. He interviewed Jonas Savimbi, the head of the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA).

He keeps the tapes of the interview inside a desk drawer and knows just the place in the reel where Savimbi introduces him in Portuguese to a throng of followers as a journalist from an "emisora potentissima" — a very powerful radio station.

Close connections

Two weeks ago, Regalado flew to El Salvador for an interview with Jose Napoleon Duarte, president of the ruling junta. Later, he interviewed Egyptian President Anwar Sadat at Blair House in Washington. "And in September," he says, "I will interview [Menachem] Begin in Washington."

• He calls Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga "Eddie" and explains that "he is a personal friend. He called me the day he got elected."

Regalado, 32, has a boyish face, often wears guayabera shirts to work and always looks busy, although never too busy to listen to someone who stops by with a news tip. He is a sort of celebrity in Latin Miami. They call him Tomasito.

His journeys to faraway lands don't always produce objective stories. In fact, as does most of his staff, he openly uses WRHC as a vehicle to combat communism. In the Angola story, he denounced the doings of Fidel Castro. In his Seaga coverage, he tried to show solidarity against former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley, a leftist.

And when other local media were sending reporters to Mariel harbor during the boatlift, WRHC didn't go beyond Key West. The management refused to land on Cuban soil.

Uncensored tirades

There are few rules at WRHC. There's no screening process for telephone calls, no three-second delay. What you hear is an unrestrained, uncensored barrage of commentary. When the Rev. Manuel Espinosa — a one-time Castro sympathizer turned enemy — used to deliver his periodic tirades denouncing "communist infiltrators" in Miami, the station disregarded potential defamation charges and put Espinosa right on the air.

Regalado and Lew agree there is only one real rule at *Cadena Azul*: "You can't defend Fidel here," says Regalado. Castro is referred to as *dictador* or *tirano* — dictator or tyrant — not as president of Cuba.

Back on the air with Perez Roura, there's a good example of how this philosophy is implemented. Instead of saying there are only a couple of minutes left in the show, he uses this approach: "Time falls upon us like an implacable tyrant."

His guest Tony Cuesta says, "But not a tyrant as bad as Fidel."

Bathing in compassion

The callers seem to love this kind of talk and, even more, they love the opportunity to engage in it.

They don't stop. The callers are concerned about Cuesta, whose life was threatened recently by a gunman who entered his apartment and shot his bodyguard. After the incident, his landlord served him with an eviction notice. So here he was,

on WRHC, bathing in the compassion of Cuban listeners:

"One dollar from every Cuban, so Tony Cuesta can have a waterfront home... Tony Cuesta, I will sleep on the floor tonight so you can have my bed."

Such displays of patriotic fervor in the exile community are often heard on AM 1550. Friday, listeners collected more than \$3,000 for the family of Norberto Perez, a 29-year-old Cuban man who hid in the landing gear of a Mexicana jet flying from Havana to Mexico City and failed to survive the trip.

His relatives turned to the people at WRHC. They sobbed on the air and asked for help. Regalado generated all kinds of donations. This kind of social work is also part of the WRHC mission.

Staying on top

For a station that has rocketed to the No. 1 slot, WRHC hasn't spent much money promoting itself. Publicity costs, says Lew, have run "between \$20,000 and \$30,000" each year. But although the station hasn't needed a large promotional campaign to attract or keep listeners, the publicity budget is being increased to a "large figure, by more than 50 per cent," Lew said.

"When you are on the top, you need to gain more audience. If you don't do it, you are making a mistake," he said.

The campaign means WRHC ads will be plastered on some 300 Yellow Cabs around town and on the pages of local newspapers. The station has also taken to broadcasting self-indulgent jingles and slogans more often.

One of them is especially clever: "Siempre nos puede encontrar a la derecha de su dial."

"You can always find us on the right side of your dial."

WLB278(1444)(1-020020C280)PD 10/07/81 1443

81 OCT 7 P3:50

ICS IFMWDWA WSH

06065 WDB25581412)84-033603S280) 10-07

PMS WHITE HOUSE DC

ICS IFMMTZZ CSP

3058832003 TDMT HIALEAH FL 20 10-07 0210P EST

RICHARD ALLEN, SPECIAL ADVISOR, NATIONAL SECURITY

WASHINGTON DC

DEAR MR. ALLEN,

I WOULD SINCERELY APPRECIATE YOUR CONSIDERING MY PERSON FOR THE
CHAIRMAN POSITION AT RADIO JOSE MARTI.

SINCERELY

EVELIO S ESTRELLA, CANDIDATE FOR U S CONGRESS REPUBLICAN

10391 SOUTHWEST 14TH ST MIAMI FL 33174

NNNN

WLB278(1444)(1-020020C280)PD 10/07/81 1443

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10391 SOUTHWEST 14TH ST MIAMI FL 33174

NNNN

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

URGENT

INFORMATION

September 30, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: ROGER W. FONTAINE 20

SUBJECT: Tirs/o del Junco

Tirs/o del Junco called me and said emphatically he wants to be on the Presidential Commission of Radio Marti.

He specifically asked for your support. Are you interested in giving it? If so, the man in Pen James' shop working on this list is Mike Farrell.

Reblogged at the Ronald Reagan Library

Barron, Lehman & Cardenas, P. A.

RONALD M. BARRON
ALBERTO R. CARDENAS
ROGER S. GOLDMAN
RICHARD S. LEHMAN
G. MIRIAM MAER
ANDREW J. MARKUS
GREGORY C. PICKEN
BRUCE JAY TOLAND

886 BRICKELL AVENUE
2ND FLOOR
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131
TELEPHONE (305) 374-4747
CABLE: TAXBAR
TELEX: 51-5017

March 12, 1981

Mr. Richard Allen
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Dick:

I am enclosing herewith for your information two recent newspaper articles relative to Cuba's obfuscation of United States air ways in the potency of their radio broadcasts.

You may recall that we have personally discussed this matter before.

In addition to enclosing the newspaper articles, I am also enclosing herewith a proposal on "Radio Free Cuba" prepared by my good friend Jorge Mas Canosa. Incidentally, I understand that Carlos Salman already dropped you a note relative to Jorge's potential contribution to our efforts. I hope that these may be of assistance to you.

Kindest personal regards,

AL CARDENAS

AC;ef
enc.

cc: Dr. Roger Fontaine



Reproduced at the Ronald Reagan Library

RADIO FREE CUBA

"PROJECT"

Prepared by
Jorge L. Mas

M E M O R A N D U M

DATE: Nov. 10, 1980

RE: Radio Free Cuba
Project

- 1) A carefully prepared fact-finding project, conducted with thousands of recently arrived Cuban refugees has brought to the light the following data:
 - a) A level of widespread discontent and disappointment amongst the population that can truly be termed of unprecedented, even in comparison to other crises in the twenty one years of Communism in Cuba.
 - b) An encouraging change of attitude within the members of the Armed Forces (Officers and soldiers alike), who have shown signs of sympathy towards many who want to flee from Cuba.
 - c) There is evidence that the hitherto monolithical quality of the Political Power Structure now shows symptoms of divisiveness and unrest,...unmistakable crevices are appearing in the monolith.
 - d) There is now a marked desire within the Cuban population to increase anti-government activities of a disruptive nature, which, however, falls short of organized sabotage owing to the efficiency of the notorious repressive-terror apparatus of the regime.
 - e) An overwhelming majority of the refugees coincides on the necessity of a vehicle to stimulate the latent discontent of the population, the most desirable mean to accomplish this objective, they concur, would be through a powerful radio station.
- 2) Leverage must be the key aim in the initial approach to the current Cuban situation. Leverage has been missing for a long time, and as a consequence of this deficiency, Fidel Castro feels free to do as he pleases, within and without Cuba, convinced that he can act with total impunity from all sides.

- 3) A radio station, broadcasting to the Cuban population, should be the initial step in regaining that leverage, and, politically, also to respond encouragingly to the highly motivated opposition to Castro's regime.
- 4) This project must not be a secret one.
(See back-up paper)
- 5) Professional Cuban-exile personnel must be hired for the programming and administration of the project.
- 6) A liaison must exist between the U.S. Government and the personnel of the Radio Station.
- 7) Assistance for this project can also be obtained from Central American governments, fighting for the survival of their social and political systems.
- 8) The professional format of the programming must be essentially directed to inform the Cuban people of those facts and news events that are kept from them by the government-controlled news media.
- 9) Several options are available for the launching of the project, from the acquisition of an existing radio station in the South Florida area, to the establishment of a new one, either in South Florida or abroad, in a friendly Central American Country.
- 10) Radio Free Cuba must be a powerful radio station, with sufficient intensity to cover the whole of the Cuban territory in the A.M. (long-wave) frequency.

November 18, 1981

Dr. Richard Allen
 Director
 National Security Council
 The White House
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Dr. Allen:

The purpose of this letter is to thank you and thank the administration for all you did for me.

My name is Jose M Gonzalez and several years ago I began broadcasting to Cuba under the name of Comandante David; I never said I was broadcasting from the United States and I used to give news and commentaries to my people, the people of Cuba.

One day during the last administration I was arrested and accused of illegally broadcasting to Cuba, I was lucky the legal process started during the Reagan administration and was set free and the charges were dropped against me.

The reason I am writing to you is because I know that you have information about the work we did, without help and now with Radio Marti a lot of people have talked about the impact we had.

I know also that some people are claiming responsibility for what we did, I just want to tell you that this effort was done by me with the help of Tomas Regalado a Cuban exile journalist whom I believe you have met or read some of his work.

Nobody else can claim part of this effort, for it was a humble task of two people trying to bring the truth to the Cuban people.

Long before I was arrested the Cuban Affairs Office in the State Department and specially Mr Miles Frechette knew what we were doing.

I will like to request a meeting with you when possible to explain how we did it and why it had that tremendous impact it had.

Yours truly,

Jose M Gonzalez
 Jose M Gonzalez
 8780 S.W. 51 ST.
 Miami, Fla. 33165
 Phone # 595-8170

JG:dg

Mr. Fontaine
Loger
Any suggestions
on this? Soon I
should take anything
we should
met with!
lets
please
ignore
this.
RJ

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

5455

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT: Radio Broadcasting to Cuba

Al Haig has forwarded a package of materials dealing with the establishment of Radio Free Cuba (now referred to as Radio Broadcasting to Cuba, or Radio Marti, after the founder of independent Cuba). He requests that a decision be made on this so that the White House can announce it publicly sometime before the Gromyko visit on September 23.

The basic recommendations of the Secretary (reflecting the work of an interagency group that has been intensively studying the issue of broadcasting to Cuba) are as follows:

- establish a private corporation under the aegis of the Department of State, on the analogy of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Inc.
- establish a Presidential Advisory Commission, primarily of knowledgeable individuals from the private sector, to undertake detailed planning for broadcasting to Cuba;
- seek funding of up to \$10 million for the first year of operation (to decline to approximately \$8 million in subsequent years).

We are in the process of screening candidates for the Advisory Commission. However, there is every reason to proceed with a decision on these recommendations now and with a public announcement.

~~SECRET~~

Review on September 16, 1987

DECLASSIFIED

NLS E97-011 #23

BY m3p, NARA, DATE 5/11/00

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

2

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve State's recommended plan for radio broadcasting to Cuba.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you approve a White House announcement of this decision prior to September 23.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab A Incoming from State

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

5749

October 1, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

THROUGH: NORMAN A. BAILEY *MB*FROM: CARNES LORD *CL*SUBJECT: Recommendation of Jorge Mas for Presidential
Commission on Radio Broadcasting to Cuba

Senator Paula Hawkins has sent you a letter endorsing Jorge Mas for the Presidential Commission on Radio Broadcasting to Cuba. Mas has also been highly recommended by others (including Carlos Salman, who called to ask me to pass this word to you) and is one of the leading candidates from the Cuban-American community for membership on the Commission.

A response from you to Senator Hawkins is attached (Tab I) as well as a memorandum forwarding the letter to Pen James (Tab II).

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Senator Hawkins at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you sign the memo to Pen James at Tab II.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Senator Hawkins
Tab II Memo to Pendleton James
A Incoming from Hawkins and copy
of letter to Hawkins



Reproduced on the Ronald Reagan Library

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Paula:

Thanks very much for your letter supporting Jorge Mas for membership on the Presidential Commission for Radio broadcasting to Cuba. I understand that Jorge Mas's name is one of those most often mentioned for the Commission; I'm sure he will be given the fullest possible consideration.

I greatly appreciate your interest in and support for our Radio Marti project; your assistance in this all-important matter of personnel is particularly welcome.

Sincerely,

Richard V. Allen
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable
Paula Hawkins
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

5749

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR E. PENDLETON JAMES

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT: Senator Hawkins Letter of Recommendation
of Jorge Mas for Presidential Commission
on Radio Broadcasting to Cuba

Senator Paula Hawkins has written me recommending
Jorge Mas for the Presidential Commission on Radio
Broadcasting to Cuba. Attached at Tab A is a copy of
my letter of response as well as the incoming letter from
Senator Hawkins.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Hawkins and Incoming
from Hawkins

SEP 30 1981

5749

ORRIN G. HATCH, UTAH, CHAIRMAN

ROBERT T. STAFFORD, VT.

EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS.

DAN QUAYLE, IND.

JENNINGS RANDOLPH, W. VA.

PAULA HAWKINS, FLA.

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.

JOHN NICKLES, OKLA.

CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.

HOWELL P. WEICKER, JR., CONN.

THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MO.

GORDON J. HUMPHREY, N.H.

DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR., MICH.

PREMIAH DENTON, ALA.

HOWARD M. METZENBAUM, OHIO

JOHN P. EAST, N.C.

ROBERT F. HUNTER, CHIEF COUNSEL

RENN PATCH, STAFF DIRECTOR

RITA ANN PFEIFFER, CHIEF CLERK

LAWRENCE C. HOROWITZ, M.D., MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND
HUMAN RESOURCES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 25, 1981

The Honorable Richard V. Allen
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Allen:

I am very pleased to have this opportunity to highly recommend Jorge L. Mas for appointment to the Radio Marti Commission.

In addition to serving as president and chief executive officer of Church and Tower of Florida, Inc., a Florida firm of engineering contractors, Mr. Mas is a successful land developer and investor. Since entering the business world, he has been an active civic leader and conservative Republican, who has long been both fundraiser and organizer for conservative candidates.

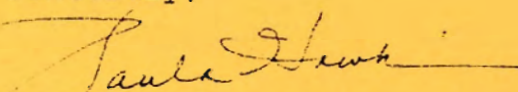
Mr. Mas organized student resistance against Castro in Cuba, resulting in his imprisonment, and later, served as a member of the invasion forces at the Bay of Pigs. He has, subsequently, become a leading representative of the Cuban exile community in the United States.

He is editor of RECE, a monthly publication of news events inside Cuba. Formerly, Mr. Mas made bi-weekly radio broadcasts to Cuba through Station WRUL and, later, Radio SWAN. He also had a tri-weekly program which provided guidance to Cuban exiles. He is a frequent contributor to Diario Las America, a Spanish daily.

A brilliant lecturer, Mr. Mas is widely sought after as a speaker at patriotic events and has appeared on national television and at universities throughout the United States.

I strongly endorse Jorge Mas for a position on the Radio Marti Commission and urge your consideration of his qualifications for this position.

Sincerely,



Paula Hawkins
United States Senator

PH:pa

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RESUME

Jorge L. Mas
6305 S.W. 128th Street
Miami, FL 33134

Business: (305) 233-6540
Home: (305) 666-1075

President and Chief Executive Officer, Church and Tower of Florida, Inc., a Florida firm of engineering contractors, handling installations for the Southern Bell Telephone System. Land developer and investor.

Conservative Republican. Fundraiser and organizer for conservative candidates.

1964-69 - Broadcast five minute program, three times a week, which provided guidance to Cuban exiles.

1964-present - Editor, RECE, a monthly publication specializing in news events inside Cuba which is distributed in the United States and mailed to Cuba. RECE is oriented towards Cuban exiles in their struggle for Cuba's freedom.

1964 - Elected to represent the Cuban exiles in a worldwide referendum conducted by an independent international firm--the Service Bureau Corporation--a subsidiary of IBM.

Represented the Cuban exile community in both Pan American Congresses and various meetings of the Organization of American States (OAS).

1963 - Received commission as Second Lieutenant in the United States Army, Ft. Benning, Georgia.

1960-61 - Made bi-weekly radio broadcasts to Cuba through Stations WRUL and SWAN.

1961 - Served as a member of the invasion forces at the Bay of Pigs.

1959-60 - Organized student resistance against Castro in Cuba, resulting in imprisonment.

Frequent contributor to Diario Las America, a Spanish daily.

Guest lecturer at patriotic events. Appearances on national television and at universities throughout the United States.

Awarded the Lincoln Marti award in Washington by Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for outstanding service to the Cuban Refugee Program.

Honorias Causa, Ph.D., Mercy College, New York.

[AUG. 4, 1981]

Possible Members

PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION
ON
RADIO BROADCASTING TO CUBA

I. Chairman (private citizen, broadcast and foreign
policy knowledge)

William F. Buckley

Walter Annenberg

Samuel Huntingdon

Donald Rumsfeld

John Connolly

II. Vice-Chairman

III. Member (public, national broadcast figure)

William Kitchen, President, Quality Media
Corp. Columbus, GA

David Garcia, retired director, VOA Latin
America Service

John Richardson, President of Freedom
House, former President Free Europe Committee
and ASec of State

Fred Friendly

Fred Silverman

Robert C. Wilson, Member of the Board, Chrysler,
past President

Walter Z. Laqueur, CSIS

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997

By smf NARA, Date 10/21/98

~~SECRET~~

GDS 8/3/87 (Frechette, Myles R.R.)

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

IV. Member (public, Florida broadcast figure)

Reynold V. Anselmo, Chief Executive, Spanish International Network

V. Member (legal expertise)

Leo Chern, Lawyer, Chairman Institute of America

VI. Member (technical expertise)

George Jacobs, retired former chief engineer, RFE/RL

VII. and VII Members (cultural, Cuban-American Community)

Tomas Regalado, top Cuban-American radio newsman

Jorge Dominguez, Cuban-American Cuba specialist, political scientist/academic

Carmelo Meza Largo, Cuban-American Cuba specialist economist/academic

Jorge Mas Canoso, Cuban-American, businessman

Rafael Miguel, Cuban-American, businessman

Patricia Barnes, Georgetown University

Robert Godoy, Chairman, Dade County GOP

Francisco Aguirre, Publisher, Diario Las Americas

IX. Member (finance)

Richard Mellon Scaife, businessman

Willard Rockwell, Rockwell Int.

John Heinz, President, Heinz Products

Edwin Land, Polaroid

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- 3 -

William Simon

X. Member (government)

Gilbert Robinson, USICA

Tom Enders, Assistant Secretary of State

XI, XII. Members (distinguished citizens, links with Congress, communications)

Senator Richard Stone

Cong. Dante Fascell

Edward Fuelner

David Abshire, Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies

Richard L. Merritt Professor of Political Science (communications), U. of Illinois, Urbana

Ray S. Cline, Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies

Senator Jacob Javits

Gen. Brent Scowcroft

John Hughes, formerly of Christian Science Monitor

Paul Nitze

Michael Novak, American Enterprise Inst.

Norman Podhorst

Charles Mayer

Richard D. Heffner, Professor, Rutgers Univ.

Senator Jesse Helms

Irving Louis Horowitz, Rutgers Univ.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

- 4 -

Jed Bush

Ben Wattenberg, Political Analyst

Irving Kristol, Wall Street Journal

Leslie Lenkowsky, Smith-Richardson Foundation

Paul Seabury, University of California, Berkeley

Mark Falcoff, Commentary

A. Bartlett Giametti, President, Yale University

~~SECRET~~

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Reproduced at the Ronald Reagan Library

~~SECRET~~

NOFORN-NOCONTRACT-ORCON

*file
Cuba*

CUBA: [REDACTED] THE REFUGEES (U)

~~REDACTED~~

[REDACTED] frustration over shortages of consumer goods and limitations on job and social mobility were the underlying causes of the massive refugee exodus last summer.

~~REDACTED~~

The rise in discontent that led to the refugee exodus appears to be the result of:

- Family visits of some 100,000 relatively well-off Cuban exiles from the United States.
- Repeated warnings by the Cuban leadership that economic conditions would not improve for the rest of this century.

R

~~REDACTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

R

21 November 1980

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLS F47-36-23

5/19/06 NARA, Date

MSN

5/19/06

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] that the Castro regime faces continued difficulties because it will not be able to offer Cubans much hope for an improved life-style for many years.

Why So Many Cubans Left

The chief complaint of Cuban consumers, [REDACTED] concerns their food. Cubans receive an adequate amount of protein in their diet, and the per capita caloric intake is high for a developing country. They consume 2,728 calories a day, more than the average of 2,557 for other middle income developing nations. But Cubans are dissatisfied with the quality of their food, its high cost, and the lengthy amounts of time needed to acquire it.

Most basic foodstuffs, including such traditional Cuban favorites as coffee and sugar and such staples as beans and rice, are strictly rationed. Allotments for many rationed items are scanty. For example, each adult is authorized only 2.5 lbs. of beef, 1.5 lbs. of chicken, and 4 ounces of coffee per month. Even these amounts are sometimes unavailable at the ration stores. A recent epidemic of swine fever reduced pork supplies, and beef is in chronic short supply. [REDACTED]

Shopping at the crowded, understocked ration stores is tedious. The task usually falls to Cuban women, despite their increasing participation in the work force.

REDACTED

REDACTED

[REDACTED] many Cubans supplement their diets by eating in restaurants. Most Havana restaurants are pizzerias where simple food is offered relatively cheaply. [REDACTED]

21 November 1980

~~SECRET~~



SECRET

REDACTED

REDACTED

REDACTED

REDACTED

REDACTED

Even the pizzeria prices, however, are beyond the means of those living on the average wage of \$207 a month. Cubans, moreover, cannot escape the long lines by dining out; one refugee said a family may wait for over an hour before being seated in a pizzeria.

Because of shortages in the government stores and the high prices in restaurants, they had to buy a substantial portion of their food on the black market.

REDACTED

REDACTED

REDACTED

**All US dollar figures cited in this article are in 1979 dollars.

21 November 1980

~~SECRET~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~CTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~CTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~CTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

~~ACTED~~

~~REDACTED~~

21 November 1980





~~SECRET~~

But prices are high--a chicken that costs \$2 in the ration store may bring over five times that amount on the black market.*

Consumers also turn to the black market for clothes, small appliances, and items such as tape recorders and cassettes. Most of these goods are smuggled onto the island by sailors or provided by Soviet personnel who have access to special stores in Cuba. Accustomed to dressing well and keeping up appearances, Cubans--especially the young--are irritated by the shoddy merchandise in stores. Some are willing to pay the equivalent of as much as \$110 for a blouse or \$210 for blue jeans on the black market. In many cases, young Cubans steal to get the money for expensive black market purchases; petty theft is widespread throughout the island.

Many Cubans also are concerned about the housing shortage and the poor state of repair of houses and apartment buildings. The government devoted little attention to housing construction in the 1960s, apparently hoping that the dwellings vacated by the exodus of more than a half million people during that decade would create enough housing for immediate needs. In tardy recognition of the growing housing problem, Castro in 1971 vowed that 100,000 new housing units would be built per year by 1975.

~~REDACTED~~

DETRACTED

*In April 1980, the Cuban Government opened a free market where farmers can sell their surplus produce at whatever price the market will bear. Such a system may eventually stimulate increased production, as it has in the Soviet Union, where private plots constitute only 3 percent of the cultivated land, but produce over one-fourth of the total farm output.

~~REDACTED~~

21 November 1980

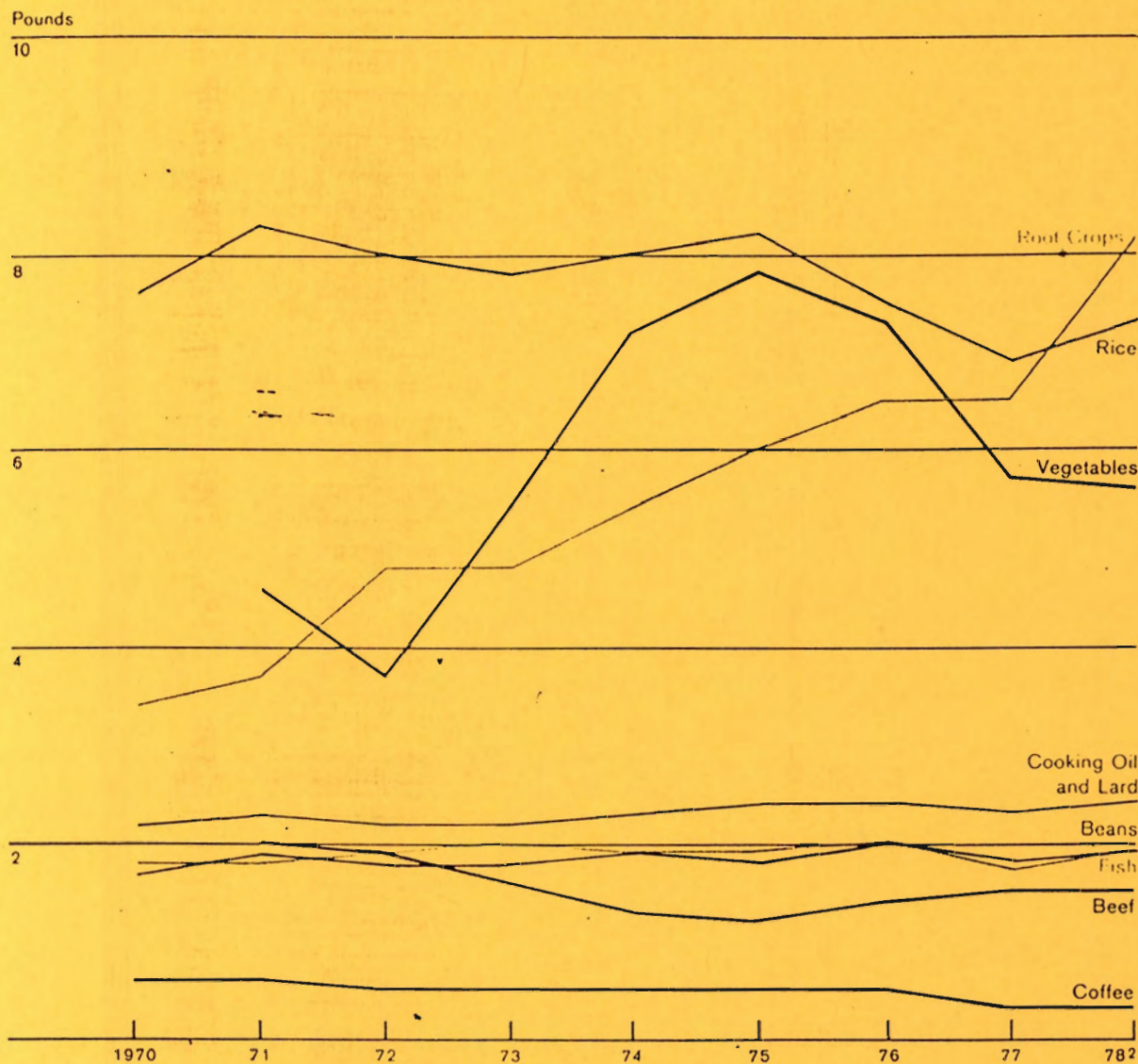
~~SECRET~~



Reproduced at the Request of the CIA

~~SECRET~~

Cuba: Per Capita Monthly Distribution of Foodstuffs¹



¹ Based on distribution to the population through official channels. Actual consumption is higher due to distribution through the black market.

² Preliminary.

21 November 1980

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Why Dissatisfaction Has Grown

The perception among many Cubans that their economic situation is deteriorating does not accord with available facts on the country's economy (see figure 2). As late as 1978, the last year for which complete statistics are available, basic consumption on a per capita basis was not declining. Preliminary data for 1979 show no sharp declines in the consumption of major food products except fish. The consumers' impression of a worsening situation, ironically, appears due partly to the regime's successes in social services and education in the early years of the revolution. Although the 1960s brought no significant relief to consumers, the improvements in public health and education gave rise to a general feeling that society was moving ahead. Conditioned to expect rapid progress, many Cubans saw the revolution's stagnation in the 1970s as a step backward.

The Cuban exiles who returned home had by far the greatest impact on shifting popular attitudes. More than 100,000 exiles returned to Cuba to see their relatives in 1979. These visits produced significant hard currency earnings--Cubans refer to the influx as "the second sugar harvest"--but Castro probably made a serious miscalculation in allowing the visits on such a sudden, massive scale.

[REDACTED]

The obvious prosperity of the returnees disproved Castro's longstanding claim that Cubans who had left the island were living lives of poverty as exploited laborers in the United States. The gifts the exiles brought to relatives in Cuba damaged revolutionary esprit de corps.

[REDACTED]

-----REDACTED-----

Castro has further distressed Cubans by telling them for the past several years that economic realities will not permit better living conditions for the rest of this century. He thus in effect has written off

21 November 1980

~~SECRET~~



Reproduced at the Ronald Reagan Library

~~SECRET~~

economic relief for the entire lifetime of the generation that spawned the revolution. The prospect of 20 more years of sacrifice is galling for those already disillusioned with the results of the revolution.

Increased contact with the West has made Cubans aware of the contrast between their standard of living and that of the United States and other Western countries.

[REDACTED]

While most Cubans have not traveled abroad, the flow of European and North American tourists to Cuba has increased since the beginning of the detente era. Moreover, Havana stopped jamming Western radios years ago, and cultural contacts have grown.

Recent high school and college graduates are the most dissatisfied of the Cuban population. They are disturbed about job prospects and their personal economic situation. Many complain of the lack of interesting things to do in their leisure time, and they chafe at the restrictions imposed on them by the country's strait-laced socialism. Cubans, traditionally fond of the good life, say that movies now are almost their only form of entertainment.

[REDACTED]

The regime has attempted to placate youth in recent years by making available more European and US movies. The films, by providing a glimpse of unattainable Western goods, only serve to raise the level of frustration. One refugee explained the movies' impact: "The authorities show movies, such as The Godfather, that depict corruption in the United States. But young people are only watching the cars, the clothes, the hairstyles."

Bored with their lives, some youths run afoul of the regime by drinking and carousing, or they arouse the suspicions of the neighborhood watchdog Committees for the Defense of the Revolution by dressing in flashy clothes purchased on the black market.

[REDACTED]

21 November 1980

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

In recent years, some disaffected youths have turned to crime, juvenile delinquency, and vandalism to express their discontent. [REDACTED]

ACTED

REDACTED

Implications for the Regime

The Castro government pays a high price for the dissatisfaction. Bored with their jobs, workers have a record of high absenteeism and low productivity. Shortages of consumer goods, coupled with the relative security of a socialist system, have left them with little incentive to work. [REDACTED]

REDACTED

Theft of state property is another inevitable result of the chronic shortages. [REDACTED]

REDACTED

The black market, with its corruption and undermining of respect for public authority, will continue to thrive as long as Cubans are dissatisfied with the food, clothing, and durable goods available to them through legal means.

The disillusionment also appears to be costing the regime the support of many young people, the social group in which the Castro government has made its greatest

REDACTED

21 November 1980

SECRET

SECRET

financial and emotional investment. [REDACTED]

The recent exodus of 125,000 Cubans may have temporarily eased consumer pressures, even though it reduced the total population only about 1 percent. The city of Havana--where the problems of housing, transportation, long lines, and food shortages are the most severe--lost almost 7 percent of its population. Some 80 to 90 percent of the refugees came from Havana, and their departure could help ease the demand for consumer goods.

The exodus nonetheless may stimulate further dissatisfaction in the long run. Having had dramatic proof that others shared their feelings, many disgruntled Cubans may be increasingly restive. The stringent security measures now in force are likely to continue, given this simmering discontent.

[REDACTED]

21 November 1980

OCT 1 1981

PHYSICIAN'S ASSOCIATION OF CLINICS, HOSPITALS AND ANNEX
P.A.C.H.A.

Miami, Florida, 9/29/81

Mr. Richard Allen
National Security Council,
Old Executive Office Building,
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Allen:

The undersigned, Directors of the most important Professional, Civic and Labor Organizations in the United States in exile from Cuba, wish to express our profound satisfaction for the announcement that a Broadcasting Station: "RADIO MARTI" will be installed and will commence broadcasting toward Cuba the next month of January.

We are in complete accord regarding the motive and intentions for forming this station and we are sure that very soon it will be the voice that will encourage the Cuban minds and their hearts to take action for their liberation.

On this date we have written a letter to the President of the United States, Mr. Ronald Reagan, expressing our unconditional support to his administration and to the installation of "RADIO MARTI".

In the letter we made a proposition of which we like to inform you.:

As it is obvious, in the planning and operation of the Station should participate the truly experienced in political radio-transmission and having knowledge of the international situation, especially in regard to the Soviet-Castrist aggression to America and the rest of the world. We wish to inform you that in Florida during two decades of exile, a group of experts, day after day, from the Spanish Language Radio Stations has maintained an efficient and extensive labor with the same objective and aim than "Radio Martí".

The most respected and competent among them is Mr. Armando Pérez Roura, President of "Colegio Nacional de Locutores en el Exilio" and he is also Director of "Asociación Inter-Americana de Locutores de Radio y Televisión". His professional capacity, his patriotism and honorability are beyond any doubt.

Also there are others with the same fine qualities; as Ramón Irigoyen, Humberto Estévez, etc.

We made the proposition because, as we informed the President Mr. Reagan, it would be deplorable that groups or persons with Socialist ideas, who desire "Socialism sans Cartro" in Cuba, could infiltrate into "RADIO MARTI" to lessen the noble and transcendental objective for which it has been planned.

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P.A.C.H.A.

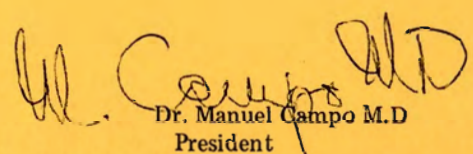
- 2 -

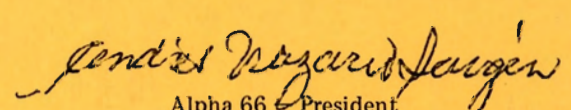
That same tergiversation of purpose we have noticed in some officials in the Department of State, who are in charge of Cuban Affairs since the preceding administration.

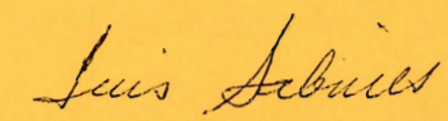
In our letter to the President we solicited an interview for a commission of the undersigned and the same petition we desire to make you in order to ratify the contents of this letter and exchange different points of view due to the importance of a joint effort of all the true anticommunists in the continent to stamp out the communist aggression from Cuba against our nations.

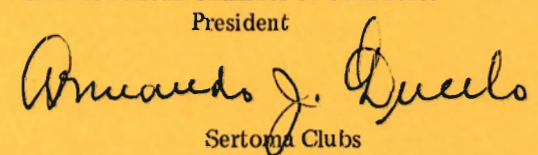
We thank you for your attention to our letter and remain expecting your answer to it.

Respectfully,


Dr. Manuel Campo M.D
President


Alpha 66 President


Latin American Chamber of Commerce
President


Sertoma Clubs
President

On March 28, 1980, a busload of Cubans seeking political asylum crashed into the Peruvian Embassy in Havana. A Cuban guard was killed during the incident and on April 4, Castro withdrew the guards and announced that those seeking asylum would be allowed to leave Cuba. Within 48 hours, more than 10,000 asylum-seeking Cubans had taken refuge on the Peruvian embassy grounds.

Following a series of orderly emigrations from Cuba to Costa Rica, with follow-on flights to Spain, Peru and the United States, Castro announced on April 20 that the port of Mariel would be opened for all Cubans wishing to leave the country. Within a matter of hours, the Cuban-American community in south Florida had organized a massive flotilla which would begin ferrying Cubans from Mariel across the Straits of Florida to Key West.

On April 21, 55 Cubans arrived at Key West. By the end of that month the arrival figure was 7,655 with thousands more enroute. The first four days of May saw an additional 6,032 Cubans arrive in South Florida. There were now more than 13,000 Cubans undergoing initial processing at two holding sites in Key West and still more were on their way.

United States authorities had no opportunity to interview and determine the eligibility of any of these Cubans before their arrival in the U.S. Many apparently had no strong desire to emigrate, but were coerced into leaving. In some cases, dangerous criminals were taken directly from prison and placed aboard boats for the United States through Mariel. Some of these wanted to return home.

Those who left via Mariel were placed on board small boats that were dangerously crowded -- conditions that may have contributed to the deaths of at least twenty-six people from drowning or carbon monoxide asphyxiation. Cuban authorities put aboard these boats people who were aged and infirm, as well as some suffering from serious physical and mental illnesses. Hundreds of hardened criminals were given the choice of remaining in prison or boarding boats bound for the United States. Other Cubans apparently were



coerced into leaving by threats of alternatives such as imprisonment for alleged offenses such as vagrancy or anti-social conduct. In some cases, Cuban authorities contributed to the separation of families by granting exit visas to some family members but withholding them from others or by separating immediate relatives at dockside.

With the numbers steadily climbing, President Carter authorized \$10 million to establish a processing camp at Eglin Air Force Base, Florida. At the same time, he assigned Tom Casey, Deputy Associate Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency as coordinator for all federal efforts in Florida with headquarters in Miami. Ambassador Victor Palmieri, U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, was to guide the overall effort from Washington.

The following day, May 3, Eglin AFB opened as a processing center and resettlement camp. The tents which were erected to handle the overflow from Key West were quickly filled and with Cubans continuing to flood into the United States, a second site at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas was opened on May 8. Eglin had received a cumulative total of 9,700 Cubans during the six-day period May 3-9. It could hold no more.

On May 14 President Carter called on Castro to close the port of Mariel. He offered instead to discuss with the Cuban leader an orderly flow of Cubans wishing to come to the United States by either chartered air or chartered sealift. Castro rejected the offer and the Cuban exodus via the Mariel-Key West boatlift continued. The U.S. Coast Guard, with the assistance of U.S. Navy ships, received orders to begin intercepting boats leaving Florida bound for Cuba for the purpose of bringing in more illegal aliens.

Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania was opened as the third processing and reception center for Cubans on May 17. Chaffee reached its peak two days later with 18,972 Cubans having arrived since the camp opened 11 days earlier. By this time the cumulative total of Cuban arrivals at Key West had reached 61,960 and they were continuing to arrive at a rate of better than 3,000 per day.

Throughout the month of May, the federal government worked with the State of Florida in arranging for the care of thousands of unaccompanied minors who had arrived with the Cuban influx. At the same time efforts were underway on the international front to expand the resettlement effort to countries other than the U.S. A total of 22 countries and seven international organizations met at two conferences at San Jose, Costa Rica to discuss the possibility of such an additional effort, but despite all good intentions, only three other countries have thus far fulfilled their commitments -- Australia, Venezuela and Argentina.

On May 29, Fort Indiantown Gap reached its peak capacity with 18,311 cumulative arrivals, and Fort McCoy, Wisconsin was opened as a fourth resettlement camp. Total Cuban arrivals at Key West since April 21 now stood at 89,508 and climbing. Fort McCoy reached its peak 18 days later with 13,258 cumulative arrivals as of June 16.

The massive 1,000-a-day, and more, arrivals at Key West since the very beginning of the boatlift came to an abrupt halt on June 7. From that day through September 26 when Castro closed Mariel, the largest number of Cubans to arrive on a single day was 437 on June 12. There were many days when none arrived.

Concurrent with the Cuban influx, the United States was faced with an ever-increasing influx of illegal aliens from Haiti. On May 14, President Carter linked the two groups of immigrants together when he voiced his concern for the Haitians arriving in this country in their small boats. The President said, "I've instructed all appropriate federal agencies to treat the Haitians now here in the same, exact, humane manner as we treat Cubans and others who seek asylum in this country."

On June 20 Ambassador Palmieri announced the Administration's decision to grant a special designation of "Cuban-Haitian Entrant (status pending)" to those Cubans who had arrived in the U.S. during the period April 21 - June 19, 1980, those who were in INS proceedings as of June 19, 1980, and all Haitians who were in INS proceedings as of June 19, 1980. Legislation was then introduced which would enable this group



to apply for permanent alien status after living in the U.S. for two years, following enactment of the legislation. The June 19 cutoff was later extended to October 10, 1980.

Superimposed on the problems of receiving, processing and resettling the Cubans and Haitians were a myriad of problems dealing with funding, special legislation, camp operations, State and local community involvement, the aforementioned "problem population" (criminals, minors and those with mental and other health problems), the eventual consolidation of all camps at Fort Chaffee, and the selection of a new processing center in Puerto Rico.

On July 15, with the "emergency" aspect of the operations winding down, the Cuban-Haitian Task Force was formed under State Department auspices to oversee camp operations and the expanding resettlement effort. On November 15, by Executive Order, the Cuban-Haitian Task Force was transferred to the Department of Health and Human Services.

May 1981

In May, 1981, fewer than 1,900 Cubans remain to be resettled from Fort Chaffee, and fewer than 700 Haitians await resettlement in the Krome North processing center outside of Miami. While the main avenue for Cubans was disrupted with the closing of Mariel on September 26, 1980, they are now arriving in small numbers illegally from third countries and legally from Cuba and third countries. Haitians also continue to arrive illegally by circuitous routes.

By the end of this fiscal year, Mariel will have cost the U.S. in excess of \$700 million.

THE WHITE HOUSE

June 2, 1981

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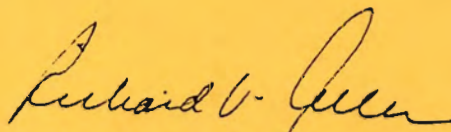
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR.
The Secretary of State

SUBJECT: Suggested Initiative: Radio Free Cuba

Attached at Tab A is a draft proposal on Radio Free Cuba written by two NSC staff members, Carnes Lord and Roger Fontaine. Establishing a Radio Free Cuba would be an important part of our Caribbean strategy. It would place Havana on the defensive because the Cuban people do not now have a powerful, carefully programmed alternative to the "official" media. Totalitarian regimes, in short, need a monopoly on information if they are to survive and the Cuban regime is particularly vulnerable on this question. Radio Free Cuba would be a U. S. government agency but would have a separate identity -- along the lines of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. *ter*

Based on past statements, I believe the President would support creation of a Radio Free Cuba. I would appreciate having your evaluation of this proposal. *ter*

FOR THE PRESIDENT:



Richard V. Allen
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review on May 21, 1987

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By *smf* NARA, Date *10/22/98*

OTS ek

RECEIVED

81 SEP 4 P5:34

JANET COLSON

[Handwritten signature]

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

wa 7

IRENE DERUS

id 8/5723

JANET COLSON

[Handwritten signature]

BUD NANCE

PETER

CY TO VP

SHOW CC

CY TO MEESE

SHOW CC

CY TO BAKER

SHOW CC

CY TO DEEVER

SHOW CC

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Dick -

I've asked the Agency to examine the importance of any - to Padon's remark about Castro's collapsed lung.

Roger

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F47-36 #27

BY M53 NARA, DATE 5/19/00



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Apr 2

Roger

Miles Frechette provided following
Cuban holidays: (before Castro)

May 20 - Independence Day
(May 20, 1902)

October 10 - Declaration of Independence,
"Grito de Yara" (Oct 10, 1868)

January 28 - Jose Marti Birthday

CUBAN humor magazine? No.
No comedy
or
radio
TV comedy yes.

CONFIDENTIAL

1362

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 24, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: ROGER W. FONTAINE *RF*
CARNES LORD *CL*

SUBJECT: Your Request for Analysis of Radio Free Cuba (U)

This is the first attempt at designing a Radio/Television Free Cuba. In so doing we have reviewed a number of proposals originating within the private and public sector. (C)

The principal initial points are:

*Improving and expanding broadcasting into Cuba is vital to U.S. interests. (C)

*Serious radio broadcasting can be done quickly and should have priority. Television can come later. (C)

*Broadcasting must be done by a separate, government sponsored entity: Radio Free Cuba with its own board and management. (C)

*RFC should be insulated from exile community politics. The management should be politically alert, that is, it should know how to program for the maximum effect it will have on the audience in Cuba. (C)

*Broadcasting should be varied in content with more than one point of view. It should reach to all types of audiences in Cuba from highbrow to lowbrow. The broadcasting model in short should be the opposite of the totalitarian model currently favored in Cuba. (C)

Previous attempts at broadcasting into Cuba have been either hastily improvised and poorly funded or, as the case with VOA today, singularly unimaginative and ineffective. VOA today, for example, broadcasts five hours into Cuba daily but the programming is precisely the same that goes to all of Latin America. (C)

We need a separate board and management, the model clearly being Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The precise relationship

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

NLS F97041 #85

By *MSB*, NARA, Date *5/15/80*

Review 3/24/87

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-2-

between RFC and the BIB or its successor can begin to be worked out once new appointments are made to that Board and necessary reorganization undertaken. (C)



To move quickly, it is necessary to appoint an Advisory Board for Radio Free Cuba. That appointment should come from the President and be made public through his office. The Board members could then put together a small staff that would draw up plans for RFC's organization while working on the technical and programmatic content as well. All of this would have to be coordinated with the proper NSC staff members. (C)

The objective of RFC is to foster a pre-revolutionary climate in Cuba. As in the case of Eastern Europe and Poland in particular, RFC is designed to break the monopoly on communications in Cuba. That means bringing in an honest and balanced account of the real world and Cuba's role in it. (C)

This in turn would lead to rising and better focused discontent aimed at the regime -- and not escape to the United States -- which the regime can react to but never eliminate. The very act of further repression would also mean a further diversion of scarce resources, and that would help raise further the price of Cuban adventurism in the short term. For the long term, it creates the conditions necessary for an upheaval to occur -- an upheaval that would fundamentally alter the character of the Cuban regime. We are now preparing a list of candidates for a five-man board. (C)

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve of this general concept. (U)

Approve ✓ I do. Let's get a 3-5 page memo up to circulate within WH. Then to President. Estimate costs, if at all possible.
Disapprove _____
Other _____
Let's move on this. It is not necessarily an NSC grade item. Why not put it in BIB? Structure exists.

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NAME ANTONIO DE LA COVA DATE 4-26-01 AD
CARD NUMBER 068

MATERIALS REQUESTED (Check one only):

☐ WHORM SUBJECT FILE

☐ WHORM ALPHA FILE

☒ WH STAFF/OFFICE FILES OF FONTAINE, ROGER

☐ REAGAN PERSONAL PAPERS

☐ PAPERS/RECORDS OF _____

☐ OTHER _____

SERIES (If applicable) _____

BOX NOS., WHORM SUBJECT FILE CODES OR WHORM ALPHA FILE NAMES

BOX 90125

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

NA FORM 14109 (9-94)

★ U.S. GPO: 1995-390-487/22413

NAME ANTONIO DE LA COVA DATE 4-26-01 AD
CARD NUMBER 068

MATERIALS REQUESTED (Check one only):

☐ WHORM SUBJECT FILE

☐ WHORM ALPHA FILE

☒ WH STAFF/OFFICE FILES OF FLOWER, LULOW

☐ REAGAN PERSONAL PAPERS

☐ PAPERS/RECORDS OF _____

☐ OTHER _____

SERIES (If applicable) _____

BOX NOS., WHORM SUBJECT FILE CODES OR WHORM ALPHA FILE NAMES

BOX 91528

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

NA FORM 14109 (9-94)

★ U.S. GPO: 1995-390-487/22413

NAME ANTONIO DE LA COVA DATE 4-26-01 AD
CARD NUMBER 068

MATERIALS REQUESTED (Check one only):

☐ WHORM SUBJECT FILE

☐ WHORM ALPHA FILE

☒ WH STAFF/OFFICE FILES OF PASTORINO, ROBERT

☐ REAGAN PERSONAL PAPERS

☐ PAPERS/RECORDS OF _____

☐ OTHER _____

SERIES (If applicable) _____

BOX NOS., WHORM SUBJECT FILE CODES OR WHORM ALPHA FILE NAMES

BOX 92349

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

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☐ WHORM ALPHA FILE

☒ WH STAFF/OFFICE FILES OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

☐ REAGAN PERSONAL PAPERS NSPG

☐ PAPERS/RECORDS OF _____

☐ OTHER _____

SERIES (If applicable) _____

BOX NOS., WHORM SUBJECT FILE CODES OR WHORM ALPHA FILE NAMES

BOX 91307 NSPG 103
107

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

NA FORM 14109 (9-94)

★ U.S. GPO: 1995-390-487/22413