

HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT
OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY
AND NARCOTIC TRAFFICKING
BY THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

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I. INTRODUCTION

On September 12, 2002, retired General Norman Schwarzkopf, an American hero, spoke to a Congressional Medal of Honor gathering in Shreveport, Louisiana. Schwarzkopf grabbed hold of an American flag on stage and lamented on a change in attitude across the country. He said, "we saw an awful lot of these a year ago... and old man complacency began to set in... and the flags started coming down." The General went on to state, "never forget more than three thousand innocent civilians slaughtered by madmen, never forget the more than four hundred policemen and firemen who ran into burning buildings to save their fellow Americans." Schwarzkopf's message was clear. Americans should never forget those that seek to destroy all we hold dear. Yet it seems that for a variety of reasons the American people forget historical lessons that implicate our security. One such lesson we often overlook is the ever present danger of Fidel Castro.

Ninety miles to the south rules a tyrant who has tried to do more to destroy America than almost anyone else in the history of this republic. Fidel Castro has exported revolution and terror since shortly after his rise to power. His vitriolic assault on America is only overshadowed by his actual efforts seeking our demise. Castro is the first modern day terrorist. His methodology may have changed over the years but his objective remains as constant as the northern star. In the factual rendition that follows, the past and present of Fidel Castro's exploits are published. The submission is not intended for casual reading but presents hard fact after fact.

Castro's provision of the original terrorist training grounds for Middle Eastern extremists is recounted. Castro's planning and support of terrorist organizations in the Western Hemisphere is developed. Castro's actual directives for bombings and terrorist acts on U.S. soil and against U.S. citizens is detailed. And finally, Castro's drug trafficking is exposed, given its link to terrorism. The document ends with an analysis of Cuban ongoing espionage activities and Cuban penetration of our government at the highest levels.

It has recently become vogue for American political and business figures to travel to Cuba. Some, like Mayor Dick Greco of Tampa, actually physically embraced Castro in front of cameras. Greco did it, shocking his constituency and betraying the trust of many who for years had supported him and elected him. But Greco's malfeasance does not stand alone. Others in similar positions are considering engaging in the same kind of misconduct. All of this at a time when Castro's influence is growing and while he proclaims his intransigent posture regarding change, "communism or death."

On January 2, 2003, Brazil's newly elected president, Luis Inacio Lula de Silva, announced a leftist alliance in Latin America which would include Hugo Chavez, the president of Venezuela, and Fidel Castro, the Cuban dictator. Lula characterized the association as the "axis of good." Not much needs to be said about the apocalyptic scenario developing in Venezuela as a result of the Marxist pro-Castro leanings of Hugo Chavez. The economic crisis has brought the country to a standstill. Yet it is Cuban security at the direction of the Cuban Directorate of Intelligence, who provide protection for Chavez. As part of the "axis of good" alliance an entourage of Cuban security arrived in Rio de Janeiro to protect President Lula de Silva and provide appropriate intelligence and security training. Commander Hal Feeney, U.S. Navy Retired, a special missions veteran and expert on Cuban intelligence, has often remarked, "the long arm of the Cuban DI extends across the globe." So while America prepares for war in Iraq and the inevitable confrontation in North Korea looms, the closest danger continues to build up in the Caribbean Basin and in our Southern Hemisphere. The cancer that Castro has always been and which we have neither excised nor contained, continues to metastasize.

As a result of Fidel Castro's ongoing activities we suffer at least two kinds of loss. First, from what will become evident after a reading of this material, Castro has a significant intelligence apparatus, perhaps the most extensive operational enterprise within our borders. Castro and his Directorate of Intelligence broker information to Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria. The Cubans gather it, the terrorist states use it. Second, the Cuban passive measure of promoting direct contact with Fidel Castro by politicians and other American visitors, is dangerous to our interests. America is at war. This war is an unconventional war. Every step that we take has to be firm. By cavorting with Fidel Castro we send the wrong message to the enemies of America. Anyone who embraces Castro or promotes contact with his minions lets our enemies know that if you resist America long enough, if you kill Americans and hide long enough, Americans will one day send their leaders and their businessmen to pay homage.

Fidel Castro is a terrorist. He is also one of the most brilliant political minds the world has ever known. And he is still a threat. Even if some erroneously believe that right now Castro is not as dangerous as he was before, we have to be cautious. The dire financial condition his regime faces is the only reason his extraterritorial aggression is less notable. If Castro could afford it, Cuban troops would fight side by side with the Iraqis, the Syrians (again), the Libyans (again) and the North Koreans. Perhaps money from American tourism and trade will pay for another Cuban military engagement like previous ones in Angola and Granada, where Cubans will kill Americans again.

On December 26, 1839, Abraham Lincoln spoke to members of the House of Representatives in Springfield, Illinois, and said, "what has happened, will invariably happen again, when the same circumstances which combine to produce it shall again combine in the same way." If the circumstances happen again that Fidel Castro is able to fund revolution and terrorism abroad, he will do so again. He remains a threat to the security of America. The only constant in his life objectives is our demise. The proof follows.

II. CUBA DRUG TRAFFICKING

Cuba has been actively engaged in the drug trade since 1961. The extent contributed to the expulsion of Cuba from the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1962. The association of drug traffickers with Castro's secret services first came to light in the Miami arrest of Jose Barral, Mario Delgado, Jose Leone and Gabriela Giral. The foursome implicated their Cuban handler, Juventino Guerra. Charles Siragusa, of the United States Narcotics Commission, publicly acknowledged the link. The case began a pattern, alive and well today, where Cuban intelligence officers engage in and direct drug trafficking activities on U.S. soil.

In June of 1967, during the Marciano inquiry before the OAS, a Cuban trained Venezuelan intelligence officer established before the world the Cuban link of drugs for guerrilla weapons in the hemisphere. The evidence implicated Luis Perez Lupe and provided a major connection between Havana, the guerrilla movements, and narcotics.

In 1974 a special section of the Cuban government was created by Fidel Castro. The objective of the Department of the Americas was to implement covert Cuban foreign policy objectives. It was headed by Manuel Piñeiro Losada, also known as "Red Beard," a close and trusted confidante of Fidel Castro. As part of the primary objective of exporting revolution, Fernando Ravelo Renedo, a top Cuban intelligence agent, was named ambassador to Colombia. By this time Colombia's M-19 guerrillas were receiving weaponry and training in Cuba. So Ravelo simply suggested the use of narcotics to finance the revolutionary objectives. Ravelo promised that he and the Cuban government would help both the guerrillas and the traffickers in this effort.

In 1978 another Cuban intelligence department became involved in narcotics. The Ministry of the Interior, headquarters of Cuban intelligence, developed the MC Department under the direction of Colonel Tony De La Guardia. The objective of the sub-agency was to find ways to raise foreign currency for covert Cuban operations. According to Manuel De Beunza, a Cuban intelligence officer that defected in Canada, the objective was to create private companies in different parts of the world through which illegal businesses, including drug deals and sales, would be conducted. A fellow by the name of James Herring happened to be circumventing the embargo and running computer equipment to Cuba aboard speedboats at the time. According to Herring he would go to Varadero with a load of equipment and would be received by Cuban gunboats. In turn he would be escorted to the military dockage at Varadero, where they would offload. When they were ready to return to the Florida Keys, Herring has said, Cuban military vessels would escort them out. But on some of these trips Herring noticed that DGI intelligence agents were handling narcotics. Through familiarity with some of those DGI agents Herring eventually realized that the DGI had significant amounts of drugs stored in warehouses on scene near Varadero. The Herring rendition has been confirmed by others.

In 1979 Ravelo met Juan Lozano, also known as Johnny Crump, and Jaime Guillot-Lara, two Colombian drug smugglers, at a party in Bogota. Guillot-Lara would eventually marry Raul Castro's daughter. Crump, who has since been debriefed by the United States, initiated a conversation with Ravelo at that party about refueling drug planes in Cuba. Ravelo liked the idea. Another agent of the Department of the Americas by the name of Gonzalo Bassols became involved. A plan came together and a boat loaded with drugs headed off to Cuban waters. Crump traveled to Cuba and stayed at the Habana Libre hotel as a formal guest of the Cuban government. During his visit to Cuba he dealt among others with Rene Rodriguez Cruz, a member of Cuba's Central Committee and another friend of Fidel Castro. After several days Crump was told the drug vessel had finally arrived. He was taken to it and there met Cuban Admiral Aldo Santamaria. Santamaria told Crump that his Cuban naval vessels would protect drug shipments coming through Cuban waters in the future. Without Santamaria's help the feasibility of drug boat projects would be non-existent.

Eventually Johnny Crump was indicted and tried in the Southern District of Florida. Santamaria, Rene Rodriguez Cruz, Ravelo Renedo, the Cuban Ambassador to Colombia, and Bassols, were likewise indicted. One of the Cuban witnesses in the case was Mario Estevez, a Cuban intelligence officer, who had infiltrated into the United States in 1980 and had been arrested in 1981. His mission, as directed by Havana, was to coordinate intelligence and drug trafficking operations. Estevez also rendered testimony before a Senate sub-committee about the extensive drug ring Havana had developed. While acknowledging distributing in excess of three hundred kilos of cocaine originating from Cuba, he also admitted that he had personally taken the profits back to Cuba. At some point Havana had directed that another agent in place, Frank Bonilla, assume his responsibilities. Estevez further implicated Teovaldo Rico Rodriguez and Francisco Echemendia from the Ministry of the Interior. Cuba dismissed the whole event as

Yankee propaganda.

According to a smuggler who rendered substantial assistance in the Middle District of Florida at the time, several marijuana operations bought protection for their travels through Cuban waters. The Colombian voyage would head to Cuban territorial waters, and in conjunction with radio tower transmissions from the Florida Keys operated by the racketeering organization, the Cuban vessels would direct the appropriate time and location for the safest passage in avoidance of United States Customs planes and United States Coast Guard patrols.

By 1980 billions of drug dollars were flying across the Caribbean. The Colombian drug lords were buying Bahamian islands to facilitate their enterprises. But Cuba presented greater advantages because the Cubans could provide safe havens, documents, fuel, radar services and escort vessels, among other benefits. At this point Cuba was taking commissions from the actual shipment and poundage of drugs that traveled through, over and around the island.

In November of 1981, M-19 guerrillas kidnapped Marta Ochoa, daughter of cartel leader Fabio Ochoa. Tensions skyrocketed as the cartel refused to pay a ransom. Havana intervened to settle the differences. Then a group of guerrillas were captured in Colombia implicating Cuban embassy personnel as contact points for weapons and drug traffic coordination. Evidence linked Cuba to the same practice, now with a new ally, the Colombian rebel FARC movement. By 1982 the FARC, ELN, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and the M-19 guerrillas had bonded, with Havana as the coordinator.

In 1982 Robert Vesco took up residence at Marina Hemingway, the same marina that frequently business people, lawyers and doctors from Tampa travel to now. Vesco was later indicted in the U.S. in 1989 for smuggling tons of cocaine through Cuba, but he still lives in Cuba under the protection of the Cuban government. Vesco's movement has recently been restricted due to his alleged engagement in private unsanctioned ventures. The Cuban government has suggested he is incarcerated but the representation is quite inaccurate. In any event, prior to his recent troubles Vesco was often seen fishing with Fidel Castro. And Vesco had a friend and associate by the name of Carlos Lehder, one of the founders of the Medellin Cartel. Eventually indicted, extradited, convicted and imprisoned in the Middle District of Florida, and sentenced to life, Lehder revealed the inner workings of the Medellin Cartel and his associations with Fidel Castro and Manuel Noriega of Panama, among others.

Carlos Lehder acknowledged personal meetings with Raul Castro related to drug shipments. He acknowledged in testimony during the subsequent trial of Manuel Noriega in the Southern District of Florida that Cubans were in charge of the cocaine conspiracy in Nicaragua. Fidel Castro's involvement was so deep that he was called in to intervene and resolve a confrontation between Colombian drug lord Pablo Escobar and Panama's Manuel Noriega over the destruction of a drug lab in the Panamanian jungle at Darien on May 21, 1984. This meeting on June 25, 1984, was favorably resolved when Fidel Castro mediated the dispute in Havana, and had Noriega pay back two million dollars to the cartel, with both sides agreeing to cease and desist from any further attacks on each other. Another individual present at the meeting, Panamanian Jose Bandon, has likewise confirmed Fidel Castro's direct role. Bandon defected in 1988.

Lehder testified at trial that he met with Raul Castro and other senior Cuban officials in 1982 to negotiate an agreement that would allow cartel pilots to fly drug laden planes over Cuba on their way to the United States. According to DeBeunza, Carlos Lehder's visit to Havana prompted Fidel Castro to play a more active role in the drug trade. DeBeunza recalls a meeting with Fidel Castro where DeBeunza's boss, Cuba's Intelligence Chief, General Jose Abrantes Fernandez, was present. At another meeting Fidel Castro personally ordered the creation of companies to be involved in drug profit laundering in the presence of Osmani Cienfuegos and Tony De La Guardia. Jose Antonio Rodriguez Menier, a defecting Cuban intelligence officer, who confirmed the statements in the debriefings of DeBeunza, was a close friend of Tony De La Guardia since they were children. According to Rodriguez, at some point Cuba decided to get into the drug market as a seller. The Cubans wanted a greater portion of the profits. They knew the producers and the distributors. And so Abrantes made the decision to propose the change in position to Fidel Castro. That's when Carlos Lehder popped up in Havana and decided to remain developing alternatives for approximately six months.

In September of 1982 Manuel Piñeiro and General Osmani Cienfuegos arrived in Panama to coordinate intelligence and narcotic activities. Shortly thereafter Manuel Noriega assumed control of Panama. At the same time Fidel Castro was meeting with Eden Pastora, Tomas Borge and other Sandinista leaders in Havana. According to Pastora, Castro said, "Follow my example. What you need to do is to whiten America with cocaine in order to destroy it."

Jeff Karonis, Former Lt. Commander of the United States Coast Guard, has stated that Coast Guard personnel would observe air drops in the middle of the day going on inside Cuban territorial waters. As they watched from

outside Cuban airspace, Coast Guard monitors would see small twin engine airplanes with several hundred pounds of cocaine fly over Cuba, drop the loads at rendezvous points, and fly off. Speedboats would congregate. The boats then would head into the coastline while monitored by Cuban gunboats. According to Karonis, the volume was so high that in a twelve month period U.S. law enforcement collected intelligence on fifty-four such drop incidents.

By now both the Cuban Air Force and the Cuban Navy had been implicated. The Cuban Navy allowed the boats and larger shipments to dock with escorts. The Air Force had responsibility for light planes, which generally landed at Varadero. Cuban Air Force General Rafael del Pino, the most senior military officer to have defected from Cuba, was in a position to give overflight permission. The requests would usually come from Raul Castro, the Minister of Defense himself. Raul Castro, according to debriefings of del Pino, gave specific orders to allow certain planes to overfly sensitive areas of Cuba. General Abrantes on other occasions would do the same. The sensitivity was high inasmuch as some of the drug planes overflew SAM missile sites and bases with MiG interceptors. The drug overflights became common knowledge among the top echelon of the Cuban Air Force. Some, according to del Pino, were against it, and some said, "we should use all the tricks available to us to crush the United States." The objective was the introduction of narcotics into the United States mainland.

In July of 1983, Jose Raul Perez Mendez, a Cuban intelligence officer, defected. In his debriefings he linked Raul Castro directly to drug operations. He added that Cuban intelligence had over three hundred intelligence officers engaged in espionage and drug trafficking in the United States. The numbers would steadily rise until the present.

On August 7, 1984, William French Smith publicly denounced Cuba for participating in drug trafficking and linked the nefarious activity to terrorism. Francis Mullen, head of DEA, likewise linked the drug trafficking activities to terrorism. Antonio Farach, a defecting Nicaraguan diplomat, testified before Congress that Nicaraguan embassies had instructions to help the FARC, the M-19, and even the PLO guerrillas, any time they were needed. Diplomatic missions now provided a link to drugs, violence and terrorism. Again, this was back in 1984 when the word terrorism was not vogue.

In 1987 the Cubans ran into trouble. The Drug Enforcement Administration was electronically monitoring the activities of two racketeering organizations operating between Colombia, Cuba and Miami. The Ceballos clan operated in Colombia, the Ruiz clan in Miami. Agents had penetrated both organizations by monitoring their telephone conversations, using body bugs and videoing operations. Intercepted and recorded conversations indicated that a fellow by the name of Reinaldo Ruiz had connections inside the Cuban government. He had a cousin by the name of Miguel Ruiz Poo that he had fortuitously run into while securing visas from the Cubans in Panama. Ruiz freely talked about his connections on tape. He mentioned relatives who had access to Cuban government officials and could guarantee the security of cocaine shipments as they moved through Cuba. His son Ruben flew the planes and was in charge of refueling on the Cuba treks. According to Ruiz, cigarette boats would cross the Florida Straights and make land on the Cuban coast of Varadero, not far from the lighthouse. A Cuban Coast Guard Colonel by the name of Pardo would wait. He would take the vessels up a creek where a number of cigarette boats used by drug smugglers were harbored. Cuban Coast Guard personnel kept watch. In the meantime, Reinaldo's son Ruben, picked up the cocaine in Colombia and would fly it to Cuba. As he approached Cuban airspace he would use a special call sign. Much later the Ruizes gave the specifics of the signs at debriefings. Cleared through military airspace Ruben would cross the western part of Cuba.

According to conspiratorial tapes of the younger Ruiz, he spoke of military runways and camouflaged MiG 20s and MiG 23s at the places he would fly into. Eventually Ruben would land at Varadero. Everything was out in the open. Cuban officers would unload the cocaine, fuel the plane and Ruiz would receive red carpet treatment. In turn Cuban military officers dressed in uniform placed the cocaine in a van owned by the Ministry of the Interior, which cocaine would later be loaded onto the fast moving boats. A Cuban Coast Guard cutter would escort the boat out to sea after scanning the Gulf of Mexico with radar. The Ruizes would leave. According to Ruben Ruiz, they would follow the Cuban gunboat and be specifically told when and how quickly to go.

Tony De La Guardia was Fidel Castro's golden boy. In 1971, following the victory of Salvador Allende in Chile, De La Guardia headed the first Cuban special troops contingent to provide military assistance and support to Allende's government. In 1973 he led a covert mission to Spain to study the possible retrieval of former Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista. In 1975 De La Guardia laundered sixty million dollars that Argentina's Montoneros guerrillas had obtained in the sensational kidnapping of George and Juan Born. In 1976 De La Guardia was stationed as head of Cuba's special troops in a contingent that provided military support to leftist Prime Minister Michael Manly. In 1978 De La Guardia led the first group of Cuban military advisors that became involved in the Nicaraguan war. After his arrival in Costa Rica he helped funnel Cuban weapons for the Nicaraguan rebel southern front led by Eden Pastora. In 1978 he helped take President Anastacio Somoza's presidential palace. When he returned to Cuba in 1979 he was placed in charge of Cuban exile community affairs. He even visited Miami and remarkably had ample contact with the Federal Bureau of Investigation during his visits.

On April 10, 1987, Reinaldo Ruiz launched his first cocaine smuggling operation through Cuba with American co-pilot Richard Zzie. The conspirators were to fly three hundred kilos of Colombian cocaine into Varadero packaged in Marlboro cigarette boxes, transfer them to speedboats and ship them off to Miami. The returning plane was to fly clean, the drugs aboard the speedboats. A Cuban MiG had escorted the original flight into Cuba.

On a second drug run Reinaldo Ruiz hired another pilot, a former nationalist Chinese air force pilot by the name of Hu Chang. Unbeknownst to Ruiz, Chang was a DEA informant who ran a small air taxi operation at Miami International Airport. Working with DEA agents, Chang and Ruben Ruiz picked up five hundred kilos of cocaine in Colombia and flew to Cuba. They landed at Varadero on May 9, 1987. As in the previous operation, the cocaine was unloaded, taken to the Cuban Coast Guard safehouses and loaded onto the Miami bound speedboats. At the end of the mission Chang was debriefed by DEA. Reinaldo Ruiz eventually paid Chang \$100,000.00, later turned over to DEA agents.

As part of the investigation DEA agents started videotaping Chang's office. Fifty hours of videos during the next few months iced the Cuba case. There were multiple discussions about high ranking officials and protection by the Castro regime. Important names were thrown about. Raul and Fidel Castro's names kept coming up. Ruben Ruiz bragged about flying into military runways. The elder Ruiz, far more reserved and never known to embellish, at one point said that money had been paid to Fidel Castro and was in Fidel's "drawer."

On February 23, 1988, Reinaldo Ruiz and fifteen others were indicted for smuggling cocaine through Cuba, Haiti, and the Turk and Caicos Islands. On February 28, 1988, Ruiz was detained by DEA agents while traveling with his new wife, Collette, a nineteen year old Cuban national with a substantial DI history. She wanted to return to Cuba. She did not want to remain in the United States while her husband was in jail. She started calling Miguel Ruiz Poo, and eventually, Tony De La Guardia's MC Department directly. This forced Havana to act.

It just so happened that in 1989 Division General Arnaldo Ochoa returned to Cuba. The most decorated Cuban military officer, a hero of the revolution since 1959, and a triumphant leader of Castro's engagement in Angola, was home. On Saturday May 27, 1989, Raul Castro ordered the surveillance of Transportation Minister Diocles Torralba's house. Torralba was the former head of MINFAR'S air defense forces and retained good contacts within the army. He was close to members of the highest order. His daughter, Maria Elena, was married to Tony De La Guardia. Ochoa was at the house. At some point the guests began to discuss the defections of Major Florentino Azpillaga from Cuban intelligence and of Air Force General Rafael del Pino. Ochoa commented on the benefits of perestroika and the changing position of his former Soviet comrades in Angola relating to a shift towards democracy. Unbeknownst to the people attending the party, everything was being recorded by Raul Castro's surveillance team.

In 1989 the United States was on the verge again of indicting the Castro brothers and General Jose Abrantes. A plan was conceived to pull Abrantes from Cuba in the hopes that his arrest would lead to additional information against the Castro brothers, this time from a part of the Cuban cartel triumvirate. The plan was named Operation Greyhound. It involved the U.S. Attorney's Office in the Southern District of Florida, United States Customs, DEA, and DIA. The Navy and Air Force were to respond. An elite Seal Team, a squadron of F-16 and E3 AWAC aircraft, also were to engage. A destroyer and a submarine would play backup roles. According to United States Customs Commissioner William Raab, the operation was so secret that the United States Department of State was not informed.

The principal player in the operation to lure Abrantes to a meeting outside Cuban territory was convicted drug smuggler Gustavo "Papito" Fernandez, a former CIA collaborator who was serving a fifty year sentence on drug trafficking charges. Fernandez had past contacts in Cuba given the fact that he had smuggled three hundred tons of marijuana through the island. In conversations intercepted during the original case against Fernandez, according to Patrick O'Brien, the U.S. Customs Service special agent in charge of South Florida, one name kept coming up. The

name was Jose Abrantes. But in order to get Abrantes outside of Cuba the bait had to be something of significant interest to Raul Castro and Fidel Castro. The plan was to convince the Castro brothers and Abrantes that Gustavo Fernandez had information about U.S. satellites flying over Cuba with infrared capabilities that could penetrate thick foliage. Through a third party Fernandez conveyed the idea of an exchange of the documents for 2,000 pounds of cocaine. However, Fernandez demanded that Abrantes himself be present in the intelligence for drugs exchange. The U.S. plan was then to arrest Abrantes on the high seas. On June 12, 1989, while under the watchful eye of United States Customs personnel, Fernandez was picked up by two individuals in a motor vehicle and disappeared. That night Division General Arnaldo Ochoa and Colonel Tony De La Guardia were arrested in Cuba. Cuba's DI was obviously all over the operation. The entire project had been compromised.

Division General Ochoa's illustrious career included heading a guerrilla cell in Venezuela while Che Guevara was in charge of a Cuban led revolutionary campaign in 1965 in Bolivia. From there Ochoa had gone to the Congo Brazzaville where he commanded 1,000 Cuban troops defending the country's leftist regime. He trained soldiers from Namibia, Mozambique, and South Africa. After an extended command of the army in Havana up to 1971 he headed off in 1972 to command the 500 man Cuban contingent training the army of Sierra Leone. During the 1973 Arab-Israeli war he trained Syrian forces in the Golan Heights. In 1975 he led nearly 4,000 Cuban troops in Zaire. By 1976 he was the senior commander of the Cuban Armed Forces in Angola. That year he organized the popular militia in Addis Ababa and led 9,000 Cuban troops in Ethiopia's fight against Somalia during the regional war. By December of 1977 he was a division general setting up armed forces in Granada for Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, and later provided training to guerrillas and soldiers from South Yemen, Syria, Vietnam, Lybia, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Laos. In 1983 he was dispatched to Nicaragua for the top assignment as military advisor to the Sandinista regime. He himself had joined Castro's rebel army in the Sierra Maestra at the young age of eighteen and had devoted his entire life to combat duties. The nation recognized Ochoa as a leader with almost divine control over his troops.

During the investigation of Ochoa, Raul Castro met with the division general and hero of the Cuban revolution. Raul Castro badgered Ochoa. During the exchange that followed a weary but angry Ochoa told Raul Castro, "you haven't fought since 1959. I haven't done anything but fight since then."

During the last week of May of 1989, Tony De La Guardia spoke to Jose Luis Llovio Menendez, former chief advisor of the Ministry of Finance. They were related by marriage. Llovio recalls that De La Guardia told him about his drug trafficking involvement and that the order without alternatives had been given to him by the Minister of the Interior at the time, Jose Abrantes. Fidel in turn had given the go ahead to Abrantes.

At the court martial proceedings against Arnaldo Ochoa, Raul Castro opened with a litany of charges against the general. The tribunal president was Division General Ulysses Rosales Del Toro. The chief prosecutor was Brigadier General Juan Escalona Reguera. Prior to the proceedings Fidel Castro visited Tony De La Guardia in jail. Fidel Castro promised leniency to De La Guardia if he agreed to take all of the blame for Cuba's drug trafficking. He was asked to publicly clear his superiors, Abrantes and the Castro brothers, of any responsibility. He was asked to perform this most significant mission of all those that he had been entrusted. Ochoa was similarly approached but would not agree to acknowledge drug trafficking. He was asked to admit he had betrayed the revolution. Both De La Guardia and Ochoa assented.

A dramatic moment took place during the course of the trial when Captain Ruiz Poo said that Cuba's cocaine smuggling operation had been approved at the highest levels. But as this was happening one of the defendants looked faint, a recess was taken, and the session was adjourned. An official visited Ruiz Poo during the night. The next day a heavily medicated and serene Ruiz Poo volunteered that no one had discussed anything about drugs at the highest level.

When speaking at the court martial De La Guardia vacillated because one of the judges, a former drug trafficker for the revolution, made reference to De La Guardia profiting for himself. De La Guardia replied that he had done what he had done for the revolution and had never kept anything for himself. Admiral Santamaria was one of the individuals who would ultimately sign the death sentence although Santamaria was still under indictment in the Miami case from years before.

De La Guardia testified about his extensive involvement in narcotics. He claimed he did it all for Cuba. Ochoa only said that he had discussed with an aide who had visited drug traffickers the ongoing laundering of drug profits in tourist hotel development in Cuba. He did not develop, nor did the prosecutor, Juan Escalona Reguera, any more drug allegations against Ochoa. Division General Abelardo Colome Ibarra, the top MINFAR official who had reassured Tony De La Guardia many times during the proceedings that no one would be punished for the MC Department "transgressions," never surfaced until later when he appeared as Cuba's new Minister of the Interior. The accused were convicted.

After the court martial Fidel Castro addressed the Council of State. Castro said there had never been a judicial

process that involved “so much clarity, so much fairness.” He added that although drug trafficking in Cuba carries a fifteen year maximum penalty, De La Guardia, Ochoa and two others should and would be executed. Castro argued that death was the only appropriate punishment for treason. Four days later, on July 13, 1989, Brigadier General Juan Escalona Reguera directed the execution of Major Amado Padron Trujillo, Captain Jorge Martinez Valdez, Colonel Tony De La Guardia, and Division General Arnaldo Ochoa. Admiral Santamaria and Manuel Piñeiro survived.

According to Ruiz’s attorney, Fred Schwartz, a leak in information from Ruiz’s cooperation interrogation, to the Cuban government, aborted possible indictments of Raul and Fidel Castro. According to other sources the Attorney General himself at the time instructed a United States Attorney to refrain from filing an indictment that was already drafted as to other conduct by Raul and Fidel Castro. On August 21, 1989, Reinaldo Ruiz was sentenced by the Honorable Thomas Scott, District Judge, to seventeen years of imprisonment. Since the trial Fidel Castro has insisted that Tony De La Guardia was the beginning and the end of Cuba’s drug involvement. Castro has said, “when it comes to narcotic trafficking, Cuba is clean.”

On December 31, 1990, Reinaldo Ruiz died of a heart attack while in federal custody. On January 21, 1990, General Jose Abrantes died of a supposed heart attack after having always enjoyed perfect health. Rene Rodriguez Diaz, Johnny Crump’s co-defendant and his link to Castro, died in late 1989 in Havana of a mysterious illness. Mario Estevez, the Cuban intelligence officer who implicated Rodriguez Diaz, also had an untimely demise in an American prison shortly thereafter.

But the United States Coast Guard continued to observe drops of cocaine in Cuban territorial waters, commencing again soon after the Ochoa trial. According to U.S. Coast Guard Lt. Commander Karonis, planes were detected flying over Cuba, making air drops of drugs, several nights in a row. On a night in particular planes dropped drugs to three speedboats right inside Cuban waters. The boats were monitored and intercepted in international waters. The Coast Guard gave chase as the boats headed back into Cuban waters. In the chase the Coast Guard encountered Cuban gunboats. As the Americans got closer, Cuban helicopters responded and the Coast Guard was forced to halt pursuit.

In early 1995, the “Lord of the Skies,” Mexican cartel leader Amado Carrillo Fuentes, visited Cuba again. According to DEA sources Carrillo Fuentes was engaging in “business ventures.” Despite repeated requests to the Cuban government by Mexican authorities to surrender him for prosecution, the Cuban government declined. The individual who refused was General Juan Escalona Riguera, the prosecutor on the Ochoa case who has repeatedly stated that Cuba will never provide shelter to drug traffickers.

The sophistication of Cuba’s drug trafficking continued to develop. So did the ties with Colombian guerrillas. According to a confidential source debriefed first in 1998 the Cubans are now engaging in cocaine traffic through small airports in the Colombian jungle. Cocaine stashed in travel boxes is being ferried in Aerotaxi of Colombia planes. The brand names in the boxes has been made known. Armored guards control the pilots and the planes. Cubans move the cocaine from the source directly onto the larger airports where they in turn move it on Cubana de Aviacion flights.

III. STATE SPONSOR AND PARTICIPANT IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Within weeks of Fidel Castro’s takeover of Cuba on January 1, 1959, he began the exportation of revolution. On April 16, 1959, Cubans landed in Panama carrying out the first act of external aggression. The Dominican Republic assault followed on June 14, 1959. In August, Operation Haiti began. Destabilization of the Salvadorian government came next. A bit later Peru confirmed Cuba’s financing of the insurrectional movement. In May of 1960 Che Guevara and Fidel Castro decided to assume the direction of budding guerrilla and terrorist activity in Colombia. It was at that time that Castro’s plan went global. Cuba decided to engage in Africa and the Middle East.

Cuba’s close relationship with Middle Eastern terrorists and extremists dates back to the time of Algerian Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bella in early 1960. Algerians were the first to train in Cuba in subversion and terrorism. Others soon followed. According to Abu Iyad, one of Yasser Arafat’s top lieutenants, Cuba trained military personnel from the PLO in explosives and bomb making techniques dating back to 1966. Cuban agent Ulysses Estrada was one of the Cubans in charge.

In 1965 Italian Red Brigades, with substantial links to the PLO, began to work with the Cubans. The PLO, through Castro’s involvement, provided weaponry to the Italian subversive group. Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, better known as “Carlos the Jackal,” was trained in the province of Matanzas, Cuba, on urban sabotage and manufacture of explosives. The Jackal, one of the best known international terrorists of all times, later returned to Cuba, where he expanded his knowledge of counterintelligence before heading back to the Middle East to practice what he had learned. By the time of his arrest in 1994 in Sudan, Carlos had killed twenty and wounded over two hundred people.

He had also transformed the Venezuelan embassy in Beirut into a fraudulent visa center to smuggle Palestinian militants into Europe.

In 1965 Cuba helped create the Tupamaro movement in Uruguay. The high command was installed in Havana. The Cubans prepared a logistical network for the Tupamaros which included transportation and sanctuary. The Cubans directed the Tupamaros, and helped fund their operations by kidnapping and extortion. Americans were kidnapped, some were murdered. Massive ransoms were collected. Bombings and explosions became commonplace.

In 1970 the Montonero movement became a force in Argentina. Trained in Cuba along the same lines as their Tupamaro neighbors, they also engaged in kidnapping and terrorism. More Americans were kidnapped, more were executed. By the late 1970's the M-19 and FARC movements in Colombia were destabilizing the country. M-19 leader Jaime Bateman was trained by and acted at the direction of Havana. The United States ambassador was kidnapped. In release negotiations M-19 personnel associated with the kidnapping were given safe passage to Cuba.

In 1968 Cuba coordinated the Iraqi preparation of Palestinian guerrillas. One of the groups trained by Cubans was later named Black September. In March of 1973 Cuba sent armored divisions to South Yemen and on to the border of Somalia. Later in the year at the fourth conference of non-aligned nations held in Algeria, Fidel Castro established Cuba's solidarity with Arafat and the PLO, broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, and presented a resolution that supported PLO activities, including terrorism. In early 1974 the PLO leadership, including Yasser Arafat, arrived in Havana to discuss the supplies of weapons, the training of personnel, and the placement of a permanent office of the PLO in Havana. The office remains today. Then, near the end of that year Cuba formalized support for both, Libya's Moammar Qadhafi and the PLO leadership.

In 1972 Havana and Bagdad signed a bilateral agreement. The Cubans offered the Iraqis training in counter insurgency to be used against the Kurds. In 1974 Cuba began the training of Iraqi special operation commandos as well as the provision of military engineers to build roads to war fronts. During the Yom Kippur war Cubans fought alongside the Syrians. According to former Israeli General Moshe Dayan, he estimated 3,000 Cubans were actually in service. The Cubans maintained two brigades in the Golan Heights. On February 4, 1974, Cuban tank commanders engaged Israeli positions. In September of 1974 Raul Castro visited Cuban units in Syria, where he and President Assad decorated officers from their respective military units.

In mid 1976 Israeli intelligence detected a significant number of Cuban advisors in Southern Lebanon. In March of 1978 the PLO and Cuba entered into an agreement where Cuba would send additional personnel to Palestinian camps in Lebanon while at the same time Cuban intelligence in Beirut and Cyprus would coordinate the formation of a central PLO intelligence command. Miguel Bruguera, a seasoned Cuban spy chief, assumed responsibility for the mission. Bruguera would also screen candidates for espionage and terrorism.

In May of 1978, Abu Salah Kahalaf, the military director of Al Fattah, confirmed that Palestinian warriors had received combat training from Cuba since the early 1970's. He acknowledged that five hundred Palestinian commandos had been trained in Havana in the art of terrorism. In September of 1978, Fidel Castro visited Moammar Qadhafi. At the time two thousand five hundred Cuban troops were stationed in Libya. An additional forty five hundred troops from Havana arrived in Libya in November of 1978. The Cuban mission was to protect the Libyans and train them in espionage, commando operations and insurgency control within Libya. Qadhafi's personal escort and security services were to be trained by Havana. Hassan Ashkal and Salam Jalloud, the latter being the head of the secret service in Libya, and a frequent traveler to Cuba, were to coordinate Cuban terrorist training.

Not to be left out of any area, Castro engaged another one hundred Cuban military officers to train PLO guerillas. In Iraq, Cuban military instructors remained and were providing intelligence, training and engineering support to Saddam Hussein and his budding regime. Syria in turn enjoyed the presence of three hundred Cuban tank and artillery officers. Another one hundred and fifty Cubans were strategically coordinating foreign subversive activity in the region, based in Algeria.

During the Israeli incursion into Lebanon in 1982, Israeli intelligence captured Palestinian documents which included Cuban training manuals. In 1989, through Cuban intelligence coordination, the PLO agreed to and was brokering the provision of SAM-7, surface to air missiles, to Panama's Manuel Noriega. The purpose was to stave off an imminent American invasion. PLO representative Tarik Mahdi was actually in transit from Tunisia when the U.S. military struck Panama.

In an authorized biography written by Tad Szulc, Castro has made no secret of his zeal when promoting what he termed revolutionary activity dating back to the early 60's. He acknowledged to the author the existence of training

camps in the mainland of Cuba and on the Isle of Youth for African and Latin American revolutionary troops. Specifically he recognized promotion of his objectives in Algeria, Guinea, the Congo Brazzaville, Morocco, Somalia, and Tanzania. He noted his full support for the guerrillas in El Salvador and the M-19 movement in Colombia, from their formation to the date of his interview with Szulc.

In August of 1987 FARC deserters revealed that various guerrilla fronts were still being trained by Cuban agents. Two thousand Guatemalan guerrillas were trained in Cuba before being dispatched to their native country. Their education involved traditional guerrilla tactics and bomb making.

The old relationships continued for years. On May 15, 2001, Fidel Castro arrived in Syria with the published purpose of strengthening ties with old allies in the Middle East. He was greeted by President Assad at Damascus airport. The subsequent conversations between the leaders included promises of future mutual support.

On May 7, 2001, the New York Times published an article which quoted Fidel Castro as saying that, "Iran and Cuba together can bring America to its knees." The article stated that Castro had visited Iran, Syria, and Libya, all of which Washington had designated as sponsors of terrorism. On May 10, 2001, Reuters reports indicate that Fidel Castro told Iranians during his visit to Tehran University on the previous day that, "the imperialist king is destined to fall soon." Agence France Press documented these reports that were later published by other news agencies. The Cuban government now denies the statements were made and has instructed its foreign agents of influence to deny the Castro quotes. Agence France Press stands by its reporting.

On June 4, 2002, Miguel Mariano Ramos was captured in Bogota. Ramos is an explosives instructor and a Cuban intelligence officer. It is common knowledge that terrorism in Colombia is on a par with the worst of terrorism in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. And Cuba's fingerprints are all over the cratered landscape of Colombia.

In its overview of state sponsored terrorism the United States Department of State continues to list Cuba as a state sponsor of international terrorism. The other countries on the list include Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, North Korea and Sudan. The State Department document reflects that Cuba continues to provide sanctuary to terrorists and U.S. fugitives. It adds that Cuba provides sanctuary for Basque ETA terrorists, as well as representatives of Colombia's two largest terrorist organizations, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (FLN). Interestingly the State Department document states that the U.S. government, "has a long memory and will not simply expunge a terrorist's record because time has passed. The states that choose to harbor terrorists are accomplices who provide shelter for criminals. They will be held accountable for their 'guests' actions. International terrorists should know, before they contemplate a crime, that they cannot hunker down in a safe haven for a period of time and be absolved of their crimes."

On August 27, 1999, the Tampa Tribune published an article reporting clemency proceedings for Puerto Rican nationalists near the conclusion of President Clinton's term in office. In the article FBI officials complained about extending "any leniency to persons convicted of terrorist related acts at a time when the United States was engaged in a worldwide battle against terrorism." It seems that even prior to the national tragedy of September 11, America's position was clear.

IV. ESPIONAGE AND MURDER

Beginning as early as 1992 in the Southern District of Florida and elsewhere, a conspiracy by the Republic of Cuba to commit espionage and murder, existed in the United States. The object of the conspiracy was for co-conspirators, "to function as covert agents by serving the interest of the government of the Republic of Cuba within the United States, by gathering and transmitting information to the Cuban government concerning United States military installations, government functions, and private political activities; and by carrying out other operational directives with the Cuban government." As part and means of the conspiracy, "trained officers of the Cuban Directorate of Intelligence (DI) took up residence in South Florida and carried out clandestine activities on behalf of the Cuban government." The Cuban spy network was known as the Wasp Network.

The activities of the Wasp Network were overseen, directed, analyzed, and reviewed by the DI in Cuba. One of the penetration agents was Juan Pablo Roque, code name German. Others were Gerardo Hernandez, Rene Gonzalez, Antonio Guerrero, Ramon Lavanino, Alejandro Alonso, Nilo Hernandez, and Joseph Santos. Roque and Gonzalez penetrated an organization known as Brothers to the Rescue (BTTR), a humanitarian group engaged in the saving of Cuban rafters at sea and headed by Jose Basulto, a veteran of the Bay of Pigs invasion and a former second lieutenant in the U.S. Army.

By 1996 Basulto has become a thorn in Castro's side. Basulto's efforts had saved thousands of lives of rafters in peril. Acclaimed by international media and recognized by Cubans everywhere Basulto had pushed the envelope

by overflying Havana once and by continuously advising Havana air traffic controllers who warned him not to even approach Cuban airspace that he did what he did because it was his right as a free man. The legend therefore grew.

In the meantime Roque and Gonzalez became double agents. They deceived the FBI in Miami and began cooperating as paid informants. They provided false information to the Bureau but worked their illegal engagement with a certain level of security. Their FBI handlers were unaware of their true loyalties, the fact that they were double agents, and part of the WASP Network.

Inevitably on January 14, 1996, Operation Scorpion was approved by Fidel Castro. Scorpion authorized the downing of Brothers to the Rescue planes and the execution of Jose Basulto while in flight on the upcoming February 24, 1996, date. Fidel Castro later acknowledged to Dan Rather of CBS news, when interviewed, that he gave the order. He claimed that he assumed the responsibility stating, "I won't try to skirt my responsibility in the least... since those were the directives given in a moment of great irritation...the order given to the pilot."

In mid February the Cubans decided to rehearse the upcoming mission. Using a small Wilga plane, a civilian pilot, and a MiG fighter, the mission was practiced. A defector who participated in the practice run has provided details of the event. In the meantime Juan Pablo Roque transmitted the final details of the BTTR scheduled comb flight to his Havana handlers. He confirmed Basulto would lead the flight. Everything was a go. On February 24, 1996, two Cuban Air Force interceptors, a MiG 29UB and a MiG 23ML, took off from the Cuban airbase at San Antonio de los Baños for a second time that day to carry out Scorpion.

Around 3:22 P.M., after receiving direct authorization from Havana control and without any warning, the first BTTR airplane was destroyed, twenty miles from the Cuban coast. The second plane was also destroyed in international airspace minutes later. A second set of Cuban interceptors then went up, and according to recorded radio transmissions, gave chase to the third plane. Jose Basulto, who miraculously survived the mission as the principal target of the effort, was a good distance north of the Cuban coastline when Cuban interceptors were directed by Havana tower to discontinue the mission. Still, operation Scorpion had been a success, or so Fidel Castro thought.

The Wasp Network continued its operations which included efforts at penetration of U.S. military installations, including MacDill Air Force Base, in Tampa. But on September 12, 1998, the Wasp Network agents were arrested. On October 19, 1998, while visiting Portugal, Fidel Castro acknowledged sending spies to infiltrate the United States. On May 7, 1999, the United States filed a superceding indictment enhancing the accusations and charging additional defendants in the case of United States of America v. Gerardo Hernandez, et al, Case Number 98-721-CR-Lenard. The case was tried in Miami and resulted in convictions on all counts, including the count charging conspiracy to commit murder. Not a single Cuban or Cuban-American sat on the jury.

Scores of witnesses testified at the spy trial. Among the witnesses, Lt. General James R. Clapper, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, testified that the objective of the group was "to get their hands on U.S. national defense secrets." Cuba always disputed the location of the shootdown and had provided various different sites for different reasons. On May 15, 2001, U.S. radar expert Jeffrey Richardson, of the 84th Radar Evaluation Squadron at MacDill Air Force Base, testified that the Cuban radar data did "not accurately depict the movement of the planes on that day." He testified that the Cuban presentation was clearly fraudulent. Richardson showed jurors multi colored tracks of Cuban and U.S. radar data from the shootdown which he said clearly reflected the dramatic differences. U.S. radar confirmed the shootdowns occurred twenty miles off the Cuban shore and twenty-two miles off the Cuban shore, more than ten miles into international airspace.

The independent evidence of the exact location of the downing came from among others First Officer Bjorn Johansen, on the bridge of the cruise ship Majesty of the Seas, as it was crossing the Florida Straights. While looking up Johansen saw a small explosion in the distance. He saw debris fall from the sky. Four minutes after the first explosion Johansen witnessed the second one. He testified that during the sequence he saw a Cuban jet fighter tracking a small Cessna that was flying away from Cuba. He saw the MiG 29UB fire a missile. Five seconds later the missile hit its target. Johansen testified that, "there were no warning shots. There was no other maneuver other than lining up for the direct hit on that plane." Shortly after his observation the ship passed by the debris site marked by an oil slick. When questioned about the exact location of the shootdown based on the electronic equipment aboard the Majesty of the Seas, Johansen stated that the first Cessna was shot down "20 nautical miles from Cuba, and the second, 22.8 nautical miles from Cuba." Johansen said his testimony was based on global positioning satellite readouts and navigational charts that enabled him to fix the position of the ship in relation to the explosions and debris fields. Johansen testified that the MiG pilot's testimony, "to the ICAO investigators" shortly after the event (that he made warning passes) was clearly false. Johansen did not observe any such maneuvers.

During trial evidence was presented by the defense that the Cuban government had reported that neither the

FAA nor the United States had done anything about Basulto's prior intrusion into Cuban airspace. Cuba had sent a diplomatic note to the State Department in that regard. According to witness Charles Lennard, the FAA was investigating and taking action against Basulto. As a matter of fact, Lennard testified, the FAA would have gladly used against Basulto any evidence provided by Cuba, including videotapes of any new intrusion, if one were to have taken place on February 24, 1996. The Cubans in turn made a decision just to shoot down the planes. Lennard further testified on February 28, 2001, that, "Cuba ignored its own, and internationally recognized procedures, because it failed to warn the planes before the MiG blasted them."

On February 15, 2001, the same tapes that had been reviewed by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) were played before the jury in Miami. They established that Alberto Perez Perez, in command of a MiG 29, followed closely by his brother, Francisco Perez Perez, piloting a MiG 23, stated, "we have sighted the first target, target locked on, authorize us." A few seconds later Perez Perez screamed, "it's a Cessna 337, that one, that one, that one, ... that's the one. Authorize us, damn it." Seven seconds later a calm voice is heard from Havana control stating, "fire." However, Perez Perez, obviously unaware of the command, screamed out again, "authorize us damn it, we have it." Havana control radioed out, "08, authorized to destroy." A minute later Perez Perez shouts, "First shot. We got it, damn it, we got him," as he cursed and cheered in the MiG cockpit for several seconds. He screamed out again, "cojones, we got him. Damn." He shouted again, "this one won't fuck around any more." About four minutes later Perez Perez scored another hit shooting down De La Peña's plane. Cursing and cheering followed. After the shootdown the Wasp Network received a congratulatory coded note from Havana stating, "we have dealt the Miami right a hard blow."

On February 27, 2001, testimony at trial was presented that the only other military shoot-down of a civilian plane that has taken place previously was when a Soviet MiG shot down a Korean airliner that strayed into Soviet airspace in 1983, killing 269 people aboard.

On March 30, 2001, Roberto Hernandez Caballero, a DGI colonel, testified on behalf of the defendants. When asked by the government prosecutor if Cuba's Directorate of Intelligence ever sponsored terrorist acts, Hernandez replied, "my government does not sponsor terrorist acts."

On February 26, 2001, Charles Lennard further testified that there is "no internationally recognized standard for shooting down civilian planes because shootdowns are not considered an option." In evaluating what the MiG 29 pilot did that day he testified that after reviewing all of what had been presented, "neither the MiG pilot, his air defense controller, nor Havana civilian air traffic controllers made any efforts to radio the Cessnas." That would have been the simplest of all warning methods. This "was despite the fact that the Cessnas radioed their presence to Havana air traffic controllers and were transmitting transponder codes, or squawks, and had filed a flight plan, before the trip." The testimony went on that civilian interceptions are handled by "wing rocking, flashing navigational lights, and dropping of landing gear, to divert a plane from its course or direct it to land." In evaluating Cuba's suggestion that a warning pass was made (which was proven otherwise by the direct visual observations below and the absence of any contact between the Cessnas) it was further established that, "nowhere in any publication does it show that a warning pass is acceptable conduct." ICAO had ruled out the warning pass theory also, on a number of grounds, including the Majesty of the Seas observations, observations from a commercial tuna vessel, and the fact that had a warning pass taken place, the Cessnas would have conveyed it to each other. Radio recordings do not reflect such a message between the BTTR planes. Undisputedly, there were no warnings. The act constituted terrorism.

Seized from the Wasp Network were some interesting documents. A decrypted document labeled as DF-101(e) AA(fl.WPD) and introduced at the spy trial, states that, "the general idea of all of this, which is under your control, is to operate in an area and be able to move persons as well as things, including arms and explosives, between our country and the U.S. for that concept, suggest other subjects that we might not have in mind." Another seized memo indicates, "how would you suggest that a maritime incursion could be carried out to the U.S. from our country." Testimony on December 19, 2000, at the spy trial, indicated that there are multiple references in the records that were declassified of the encrypted Cuban communications that refer constantly to, "our main enemy, the United States." So much for the proposition that Castro's violent directives are a thing of the past.

On December 13, 2001, the espionage ringleader, Geraldo Hernandez, was sentenced to life in prison by the Honorable Joan Lenard, United States District Judge. In his forty minute diatribe, Hernandez, a career Cuban intelligence officer who supervised the other spies, defiantly condemned the United States of America. On December 28, 2001, Antonio Guerrero, another spy, was sentenced to life. Guerrero was born in Miami, and was recruited as an agent after he had traveled to Cuba ten years before the trial. This American, working for the Cuban government to perpetrate murder on other Americans, stated at his sentencing, "if I were asked to do something like this again, I would do it with honor." On December 30, 2001, the Cuban parliament met at a special session to bestow the country's highest honor on the convicted spies. Fidel Castro himself praised the men and honored them

with Cuba's highest award of patriotism recognizing them as "heroes of the Republic of Cuba." Castro went on to officially declare that the year 2002 would be known as "year of the heroic prisoners of the empire," referring to the five imprisoned in the United States. Ricardo Alarcon, the president of Cuba's national assembly and number two man in the Cuban government, like Castro, praised the murderers and called them the pride and joy of their nation.

On a related front, on June 30, 2001, a high ranking immigration official in Miami was convicted of violating the U.S. espionage act and lying on national security forms. Mariano Faget's conviction was based on his disclosure of classified information, converting government property in the form of secrets to his own use, and lying on a national security form about contacts with a Cuban official. Faget had been given classified information that a Cuban agent would defect to the United States. Minutes after he received the information he used his cellular phone to call Cuban intelligence contacts and pass along the information.

Cuban espionage continued. On September 22, 2001, a couple, Marisol and George Gari, became the sixth and seventh spies convicted in the massive FBI investigation into the Wasp Network. Gari had been ordered to work at the U.S. Southern Command headquarters in Miami in an infiltration attempt directed by the Cuban DI. On May 30, 2002, another suspected spy, Juan Emilio Aboy, was caught trying to infiltrate the U.S. Military Southern Command as Castro's DI continued its activities despite the official government statement disseminated to the media and the world. Aboy has since been sentenced.

On September 19, 2001, the official declaration of the Republic of Cuba relating to the World Trade Center tragedy was published in the newspaper, Granma. The Granma article suggested that the United States was going to "utilize the painful tragedy to impose methods, prerogatives and privileges, which would lead the most powerful tyranny in the world to impose itself on all the peoples of the world." Additionally, the editorial commented, that the use of force, under the ruse of self defense, has previously been "utilized by the government of the United States to eliminate patriotic leaders and organize coups and massive genocides that have resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands and the torture of millions of people, who have disappeared or who have been eliminated." According to the United States Department of State report of April 7, 2002, Colin Powell charged that Cuban "official government statements suggest that we brought the September 11 attack on ourselves."

V. TERRORISM STRIKES HOME

In 1961 a young Puerto Rican by the name of Filiberto Ojeda Rios traveled to Cuba to receive training in sabotage techniques. He bonded with the Cuban revolutionary leadership and expressed his willingness to work with the Cubans to infiltrate United States military bases in Puerto Rico. The Cubans provided a false identity and the alias of Felipe Ortega. Ojeda returned to Puerto Rico and helped create MAPA, the first terrorist nationalist organization actively engaged in confrontation with the United States.

By May of 1964 Puerto Rican law enforcement authorities presented proof that Cuba was sending weapons into Puerto Rico through the airport at Ponce. Ojeda was invited by Havana for what was termed the Tricontinental Revolutionary Conference held in 1966. The Puerto Rican representatives included Narciso Arbell Martinez and Todd Pagan.

On April 10, 1968, several bombs were placed in commercial offices and at the IBM building in the capital. In July of 1968 armed commandos destroyed the Sears store in Bayamon, Puerto Rico. After the inauguration of Luis Ferre as governor, terrorist squads began to place bombs indiscriminately in banks, hotels, police stations, and even the United States Secret Service office in San Juan. Ojeda, among others, now responded indirectly to Manuel Piñero, the Cuban head of the Department of the Americas, the counter intelligence unit and predecessor to the present Directorate of Intelligence, or Cuba's infamous DI.

In 1968 Fidel Castro directed a series of active measures engaging students and professors in Puerto Rico, the continental United States and Canada. Part of the plan involved the Venceremos Brigades which brought young people to Cuba where they were taught by intelligence officers Julio Torres Rizo and Alina Alayo Amaro, Cuban specialists on America. Brigade activities were coordinated directly through the Department of the Americas. In 1969 the Cuban government welcomed representatives of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the embryo of the Weather Movement. Mark Rudd, Bernadine Dohrn, Peter Clapp, Carlos Aponte, and Jeff Jones were briefed. Cuban intelligence decided to help finance the Black Panther movement under the leadership of H. Rap Brown. One Black Panther who personally developed the Cuba contact was Tony Bryant. Bryant even skyjacked a commercial airliner, directed it to Cuba and was welcomed by Castro. Within a short time he became disillusioned with Castro's revolution, spoke out and was incarcerated. Eventually he was released, fled Cuba and joined Cuban freedom fighters Tony Cuesta and Eugenio Llamera, among others, in the struggle against Castro.

Cubans engaged in transmissions through Radio Free Dixie, a program directed at African- Americans. Robert

Williams ran the station until he fell from grace as a result of his perception of Cuban government racism and its contradictory policies. In 1970 Venceremos Brigade member Julie Nichamin was quoted in the Cuban military magazine Verde Olivo as stating that the brigades had a mission, "to destroy the imperialist monster from within as the rest of the peoples of the world are doing from outside."

In 1969 Fidel Castro also recognized an opportunity to advance his objectives as a result of the discord in America over the Vietnam war. Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, Manuel Piñero, and the highest echelon of Cuban intelligence, authorized violent active measures in the United States. In December of 1969 Ojeda placed a bomb in a public library in Manhattan. In March of 1970, in the Bay of San Juan, a terrorist group attacked Marines and later fired at the American base in Buchanan. During the subsequent law enforcement investigation a series of documents were seized indicating that the terrorist conspirators were traveling to Cuba where they were being instructed on sabotage of specific U.S. targets. Cuba directed that the contacts for Arabell, Ojeda, Pagan and others would be Cuban representatives at the United Nations who would in turn convey the necessities of funding, arms and explosives to Havana. Eventually Ojeda was arrested. Documents were seized. A manual edited in Cuba on explosive preparation and placement was presented as evidence before the Senate Judiciary Committee in Washington. After posting bond Ojeda disappeared and was declared a fugitive. A couple of days later five bombs were detonated in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

In 1973 the FBI reported that one hundred and thirty five leaders of subversive groups in Puerto Rico traveled to communist Cuba for indoctrination and training. Most of those received extensive training in guerilla warfare, preparation of explosives and sophisticated methods of sabotage to be executed on U.S. soil. In 1974 Ojeda returned to New York and began to work in coordination with the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN).

In 1974 FALN and the Weather Underground, another terrorist organization, established a bond. The leaders met in Havana. According to Czechoslovakian Secret Service (STB) defectors, including Ladislav Bittman, the Weather Underground in the United States maintained contact with communist intelligence for years, particularly Cuban intelligence, and with the East German STASI. Cuban and East Germans funded the Weather Underground. Larry Fratwohl, and ex-Weatherman, has stated that when underground members lost track of each other or needed funding, explosives or contact points, the Cuban embassies in Mexico and Canada were called. Thanks to Havana the FALN and Weather Underground decided to coordinate their separate but common terrorist objectives in America.

In September and October of 1974, the Cubans provided logistical support for the FALN movement to explode bombs in City Hall and the police station in Newark, New Jersey, as well as at five other sites, including Rockefeller Center in Manhattan, New York. The most spectacular bombing by FALN would be the explosion of January 24, 1975, at the historic Fraunces Tavern in New York City, during the lunch hour. A briefcase was left in a hallway, was detonated, four Americans died and fifty-five Americans were wounded. Terrorism had now firmly gripped America.

The notoriety of the Fraunces Tavern bombing forced Ojeda to go into hiding. His Cuban handlers directed that he immediately report for protection at the Cuban mission in the United Nations where he was spotted by FBI surveillance later in 1976. Somehow he returned clandestinely to Puerto Rico and named the militant wing of the FALN, now known as the "Macheteros."

The Department of the Americas, at the direction of Manuel Piñero, began to train Puerto Ricans on an ongoing basis at Guanabo, Cuba. At one point there were six hundred receiving terrorist training to be carried out upon homeland targets. In August of 1978 the Macheteros engaged in the killing of a police officer in Naguabo, Puerto Rico. On October 1, they stole five hundred pounds of ammonium nitrate, dynamite, detonators, and other bomb making equipment in Manati, Puerto Rico. In December of 1979, Cuban backed Macheteros ambushed Marines at Sabana Seca in Puerto Rico. In January of 1981 the terrorists attacked the military airport at Isla Verde where they destroyed nine U.S. fighter planes. The active measure, planned in Havana, was executed in a total of seven minutes as part of a strike and flight objective. Had a detonator exploded properly on March 15, 1981, the Macheteros would have killed Henry Kissinger. On July 14, 1981, Macheteros demolished three Coast Guard Stations interrupting air traffic between the United States and Latin America. On February 28, 1982, terrorism returned to Manhattan. Four bombs went off in the Wall Street area. In 1983 Macheteros struck the Computer Center of the United States Navy in Washington, D.C.

By 1983 the Department of the Americas had begun to shift the financial burden of terrorist activity. After years of funding, the Castro brothers, Piñero, Jose Abrantes and Antonio De La Guardia were beginning to capitalize on their investments. Across the globe the Cubans had become significant players in drug trafficking, kidnappings, and bank and armored car robberies. At a meeting in Havana Machetero leader Carlos Rodriguez was directed to fund terrorist operations with bank robberies. On July 17, 1983, one such event netted the Macheteros two and a half million dollars. On September 12, 1983, Macheteros robbed a Wells Fargo office in Hartford, Connecticut, removing over seven million dollars. According to a Cuban defector then partly in charge of the operation, Jorge Masetti, two

million dollars were quickly delivered to Fidel Castro through an espionage network which included Cuban agents Fernando Gomez, Jose Arbessu and Masetti himself. Later in March of 1984, the FBI identified an additional three million dollars in transit from Cuban Agent Gomez to Castro, the proceeds of the Connecticut heist. The testimony of Machetero conspirators, as well as of Masetti, confirmed that the entire robbery had been planned in Havana and that Havana had issued forged passports and even fifty thousand dollars of financing prior to the successful venture.

On October 30, 1983, Machetero Luis Colon and three others fired an anti-tank rocket LAW-M-72, at the FBI offices on the fifth floor of the federal building in San Juan. The missile markings reflected it was American made and had been left by American forces in Vietnam in 1975, later being removed to Cuba.

As the magnitude of the targets continued to escalate on U.S. soil, massive amounts of assets were directed by the United States government at stopping the Cuban backed Machetero network. As part of the law enforcement efforts a conversation was taped between Ojeda and others where Ojeda discussed the introduction of thirty kilos of plastique explosives into the United States through Mexico, originating in Havana. While the investigation was in progress, Macheteros fired off two rockets at the Supreme Court in San Juan. The rockets also again came from Cuba. According to William Webster, then Director of the FBI, there was no question of the source. In September of 1985 Ojeda was arrested.

Previously in 1978 in Elmhurst, Queens, a bomb exploded. William Morales blew off his hands when a pipe bomb he was assembling in a safehouse accidentally detonated. He was convicted on February 28, 1979, in the Brooklyn Federal Court. On May 21, 1979, at the age of thirty- one, with his hands bandaged, he managed to escape from Bellevue Hospital unto a waiting car. Morales went underground for several years and eventually crossed the border into Mexico. The Mexican government refused to extradite him and in 1988 Morales fled to Havana to join his handlers. He had been granted safe haven and protection by the Cuban government. He now lives with his Cuban wife and his son, Rodrigo. He is paid a salary by the Cuban government. Occasionally he meets with some of America's most wanted. For instance, Assata Shakur, the former Joanne Chesimard, one of the most wanted of American fugitives and the convicted murderess of a New Jersey state trooper, is another escapee with whom Morales visits.

On September 10, 1999, the Tampa Tribune published an editorial criticizing President Clinton's offer of clemency to a gang of sixteen terrorist members of the FALN movement. Many of the convicted terrorists that Clinton pardoned had been serving nearly life sentences. The highly criticized clemency case resulted in the Tampa Tribune editorial that indicated that the FALN group leader, "was captured after a bomb he was making exploded prematurely and blew off his hand. The wounded prisoner later escaped U.S. custody, was captured in Mexico after a shootout that killed a Mexican officer, was subsequently released, and is now living in exile in Cuba, where he can study at the feet of the master, Castro." On August 27, 1999, the Tampa Tribune reported that federal agencies wanted no leniency for the Puerto Rican nationalists. The FBI, the Bureau of Prisons and the U.S. Attorneys in Illinois and Connecticut all objected. FBI officials complained of "any leniency [given] to a person convicted of terrorist related acts at a time when the United States was engaged in a world wide battle against terrorism." America's position must remain constant.

VI. ANA BELEN MONTES

On September 21, 2001, Ana Belen Montes was arrested in Washington, D.C., only ten days after the national tragedy at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. She became the seventeenth Cuban spy arrested since September of 1998 on U.S. soil. She stood accused of an ongoing conspiracy to transmit highly classified documents to the Cuban government relating to the national defense of the United States and the fraudulent evaluation of Cuba's military and intelligence threat to America. Montes was the highest ranking intelligence officer on Cuba working at the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). The timing of her arrest was the result of increasing contact after September 11, 2001, between Montes and Cuban intelligence. Because of Washington's concern that Montes was providing information to the Cubans, which in turn was being passed on to Cuban intelligence allies (all enemies of the United States) the investigation was shut down and her arrest was effectuated.

Ana Belen Montes entered a plea of guilty to the indictment on March 19, 2002. She has been cooperating with the United States and has engaged in debriefings. The concerns surrounding this magnificent coup for Cuban intelligence services of having an agent in place at the highest levels of United States intelligence are significant. Montes had access to satellite imaging, foreign communications intercepted by U.S. intelligence activity and espionage in other countries, and a wealth of information about Cuba that she could modify and change according to directives from her handlers in Havana.

Preparation of documents at DIA in conjunction with intelligence counsel for the CIA, the National Security

Council and the Office of Investigation of the Department of State by Montes, resulted in fraudulent reports to the Southern Command, the Secretary of Defense, and U.S. intelligence agencies, which in turn underevaluated Cuban armed forces and their intelligence capabilities. Her input clearly influenced foreign policy during her tenure at DIA, dating back ten years before her arrest. All of her work was infected by disinformation downplaying the reality of Fidel Castro's capabilities. As a result the government has charged that she attempted to influence foreign policy at the highest circles of military and U.S. intelligence. As part of the active measures directed by Havana, Montes even attempted to reduce the significance of conflicting reports prepared by others which stated that Cuba still presented a significant danger. Montes also participated in study groups of Cuba in the Washington area and at Georgetown University where she engaged in discussion with academics, former intelligence analysts, and other professionals, on the Cuban issue. Montes briefed members of Congress and the Southern Command on her assessments on a regular basis. She frequently met with her counterparts at the CIA and exchanged top secret information.

During the year 2000, while the Elian Gonzalez matter was being reviewed at the Department of Justice and the White House, Montes participated in meetings with intelligence agencies to render briefings. The FBI established that Montes had been sending information to Cuba since 1991 about military maneuvers in the United States and military and naval exercises of the Atlantic Command. Several Cubanologists and retired United States military men who have since 1996 made public their position that Cuba does not pose a significant military threat to the United States (which opinions are based on reports authored by Montes and provided to them while they were employees of the government) have been embarrassed and can no longer defend the position.

As other Cuban agents on American soil, and their associates (Puerto Rican nationalist extremists, subversive group members of the Weather Underground and others) Montes used telephone facilities to contact her Cuban handlers at the United Nations in New York. In 1996 Montes provided Cuba information that a military intelligence agent from the United States would appear in covert fashion. According to the FBI, the Cubans were able to direct counter-intelligence on this American agent. Montes has also acknowledged giving the names of at least four secret agents that operated in Cuba on behalf of the United States. According to high ranking Pentagon officials, the Montes damage could continue to multiple as a result of Cuba's sharing of information with other hostile governments and terrorist states. Undoubtedly part of the Montes information has filtered to Libya, Iran, Syria and Iraq.

On October 16, 2002, Ana Belen Montes was sentenced to a term of twenty five years of imprisonment. According to Assistant United States Attorney Ronald Walutes, "Ana Belen Montes consciously and deliberately chose to join forces with those who would compromise the national security of this country. She secretly and without remorse systematically compromised classified information relating to the national defense of the entire country." Walutes acknowledged that Montes had access to "top secret" files, the most sensitive information in the U.S. government and that she passed information along to Cuban intelligence officers from 1992 until her arrest. The government indicated that she worked with short wave radios or pay phones, communicating with her Cuban handlers by pre-paid calling cards, encrypted computer codes and three digit beeper systems. The government can not disclose further damage at this time as the investigation continues. In November of 2002 four Cuban diplomats were expelled from the United States. The foursome has been linked to Montes. Because of diplomatic immunity they could not be prosecuted.

On October 17, 2002, I was engaged with a well respected congressman in a discussion on the Cuban issue. The congressman was thinking about going to Cuba. During our exchange I noted what had just happened in Washington on the day before our conversation and asked him if he had heard about the sentencing of Ana Belen Montes. He replied, "who is Ana Belen Montes?" This congressman, who has a top secret security clearance, and is considering visiting Cuba, had no idea of the penetration by Cuba at the highest level of our government.

VII. CONCLUSION

The bottom line is simple. Once a terrorist, always a terrorist. The only variable is the disguise. Appeasement has never worked against tyrants, and it's not about to start working now. While we should always be receptive to new ideas that may bring about change in Cuba, and freedom to the Cuban people, we should never compromise our national security in the effort. We should also be mindful that many Americans, in the quest for the almighty dollar, will not hesitate to bargain with our safety.