

Special Report

CASTRO AND THE NARCOTICS CONNECTION

Published by:
The Cuban American National Foundation
1000 Thomas Jefferson Street, N.W., Suite 601
Washington, D.C. 20007

**This is one of a series of papers and reprint articles of Cuban concern distributed by the
Cuban-American National Foundation**

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CASTRO AND THE NARCOTICS CONNECTION

The Cuban government's use of narcotics trafficking
to finance and promote terrorism

"I am not one who often feels or too often vents anger, but I want the American people to know that they're faced with the most sinister and despicable actions. We have strong evidence that high-level Cuban government officials have been involved in smuggling drugs into the United States."

President Ronald Reagan, May 6, 1983

"..there is strong evidence that Castro officials are involved in the drug trade, peddling drugs like criminals, profiting on the misery of the addicted. I would like to take this opportunity to call on the Castro regime for an accounting. Is this drug peddling simply the act of renegade officials, or is it officially sanctioned? The world deserves an answer."

President Ronald Reagan

May 20, 1983

PREFACE

This Special Report is the first comprehensive documentation of Fidel Castro's extensive use of narcotics as a weapon against the United States and a means to finance and promote terrorism. Through careful investigation of the Jaime Guillot-Lara case, five congressional hearings; and recently de-classified reports by the Departments of State and Justice, the proof is undeniable: the Castro government is financing terrorism by crippling America's children through narcotics trafficking.

The findings of this Special Report must serve as a basis for immediate and appropriate action against this threat to the United States and our democratic neighbors. Castro and his totalitarian regime must be fully exposed and held accountable for their crimes against humanity. As Chairman of the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, I intend to join with my Senate colleagues and the international community to seek condemnation and action against the Cuban dictator.

The United States Senate and the American people owe a great debt of thanks to the Cuban American National Foundation for its vigilance against Communist repression and terrorism. Through its expertise and vision, it has again established that it is the national resource in the debate on Cuban-American affairs.

Senator Paula Hawkins
Chairman
Senate Drug Enforcement
Caucus
Washington, D.C.
October, 1983

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The Castro Connection

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Through extensive Senate and House Congressional Hearings, the indictment of four senior Cuban government officials, and recently declassified reports by the Department of State and Department of Justice, a public record has been established regarding the undeniable role of the Cuban government in narcotics trafficking. The facts reveal:

FINDINGS

- 1) The Government of Cuba is directly involved in the production and trafficking of narcotics with the goal of promoting addiction, violent crime, corruption, and obtaining hard currency
- 2) Cuban Government narcotics profits are used to finance and promote terrorism throughout the Americas
- 3) Cuban Intelligence Agents (D.G.I.) entered the United States during the Mariel boatlift and have established a narcotics trafficking network

BLUEPRINT FOR ACTION

- 1) Condemnation and inspection of Cuba by the United Nations and the Organization of American States
- 2) Impose trade and loan sanctions on Cuba
- 3) Establish Radio Marti to inform the Cuban people of Castro's crimes
- 4) Further investigation by Congress, FBI, DEA, and the Department of State
- 5) Extradition of Jaime Guillot-Lara and senior Cuban government officials

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The Guillot-Lara Case/Castro Officials Indicted

On November 15, 1982, four close aides to Fidel Castro, including two influential members of the Central Committee of Cuba's Communist Party, were indicted on charges of smuggling narcotics into the United States. Stanley Marcus, the United States Attorney for the Southern District of Florida, and his assistant, Richard Gregorie, led the investigation of the Jaime Guillot-Lara case, which resulted in these important indictments. Through this thorough investigation the federal government gained crucial information relating to the communist drug conspiracy, among those indicted were:

RENE RODRIGUEZ-CRUZ, a senior official of the D.G.I., the Cuban intelligence service, and a ranking member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee. It was he who helped organize the Cuban boatlift to the United States.

ALDO SANTAMARIA-CUADRADO, a Vice-Admiral of the Cuban Navy and a member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee. He is charged with having supervised the protection and resupplying of ships transporting drugs from Colombia to the United States by way of Cuba.

FERNANDO RAVELO-RENEDO, a former Cuban Ambassador to Colombia, and *GONZALO BASSOLS-SUAREZ*, a former minister-counsel of the Cuban Embassy in the Colombian Capital and a member of the Cuban Communist Party.

The Cuban officials were charged with acts specifically aimed at facilitating the importation of drugs into the United States and at circumventing the interdiction efforts of the United States.

In addition to the Cuban officials, two other indicted defendants still remain fugitives, *JAIME GUILLOT-LARA* and *JULIAN LOSADA*. Jaime Guillot-Lara was located, arrested and held in a Mexican jail based on an earlier United States narcotics indictment. However, the Mexican Government released him and he disappeared.

Guillot-Lara is believed to have fled to Nicaragua. He and the other Castro aides remain fugitives from justice. During an interview with Colombian journalists in October 1982, Fidel Castro described Guillot as, "a good friend of Cuba."

Jaime Guillot-Lara, a Colombian national, is a major marijuana, cocaine and methaqualone trafficker whose drug activities have been known to DEA since at least 1976. He is the documented owner of, or has interest in, many seagoing vessels capable of carrying tons of marijuana. A total of 2.5 million pounds of marijuana, 25 million methaqualone tablets and 80 pounds of cocaine were documented as having been sent to the United States by Guillot from 1977-1981.

In his testimony on April 30, 1983, U.S. Attorney Stanley Marcus testified that the Guillot-Lara case involved testimony and corroborative evidence of what is defined in legal jargon as a "chain conspiracy," that is, a conspiracy beginning with the growers and drug merchants in Colombia, continuing through the middlemen and exporters, to shippers and ship crews, including ranking officials of the government of Cuba, who agreed to allow Cuba to be used as a loading station and source of supplies for ships transporting and smuggling drugs into the United States; to crew members and off-loaders from the United States who pick up drugs from ships off the United States coast; to warehousemen who store the drugs in the United States; and finally, to distributors who sell the drugs wholesale and retail on the streets of the United States. Some of the drug smugglers in this chain conspiracy were motivated by politics, some were motivated by power, most were motivated by greed and some were motivated by a combination of all of these factors.

The evidence introduced at the February trial came primarily from three witnesses: Juan Crump, David Perez and Mario Estevez Gonzalez.

Crump is a Colombian lawyer and narcotics trafficker who acted as middleman between Jaime Guillot-Lara and ranking officials of the Cuban government who permitted him to send narcotics ships through Cuban waters to evade the U.S. interdiction effort. These same Cuban officials reprovisioned these drug-laden ships from Cuban ports. Crump was close friends with the Cuban Ambassador to Colombia, Fernando Ravelo-Renedo, and his Minister-Counselor Gonzalo Bassols-Suarez. These two Cuban officials opened the door to other officials necessary to make the supply line work.

David Perez, the second witness, is a Cuban-American drug trafficker who arranged to pick up the drugs off the United States coast and distribute them through South Florida.

Mario Estevez Gonzalez, the third witness, is a Cuban government agent who infiltrated this country during the Mariel Boatlift in 1980. On instruction from Cuban government officials, he trafficked in narcotics in this country and delivered drug proceeds back to his Cuban control officers.

The evidence adduced at trial revealed that late in 1979 Crump met with Ravelo (the Cuban Ambassador to Colombia), Bassols (his First Minister), Rene Rodriguez-Cruz, president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with Peoples, (Instituto Cubano De Amistad Con Los Pueblos (ICAP)) and Guillot-Lara. At that meeting Guillot-Lara first asked if he could use Cuba as a landing and resupply station for his drug boats and planes. Between March and July of 1980 Crump continued his negotiations with Ravelo, Bassols, Guillot-Lara and others. Finally, the Cuban Ambassador indicated to Crump that he, Ravelo, had received permission from "Havana" to land drug boats in Cuba. The Cuban officials and Crump worked out a procedure to insure Cuban naval protection for these narcotics vessels. Guillot-Lara's boats would use the name Viviana, the name of Crump's baby daughter, as a code to indicate to the Cuban Navy that the drug boats should be allowed to proceed in Cuban waters, be protected and resupplied. Crump went to Havana, Cuba, on August 14, 1980 and visited Rene Rodriguez-Cruz, to confirm the procedure agreed to by Ambassador Ravelo.

During the same time period the Cuban connection was being worked out, Jaime Guillot-Lara was meeting with David Perez to arrange for the off-loading of Guillot-Lara's drug boats in the Caribbean. Perez agreed to receive drugs sent by Guillot-Lara from Colombia through Cuba to the United States where Perez would find American buyers. Perez testified that he sent off-load boats and crews to the area of Guincho Key, about 16 miles off the north central coast of Cuba. The off-load boats were to pick up approximately ten million methaqualone tablets and multi-ton loads of marijuana from the mothership, Viviana, hiding in Cuban waters. The off-load boats were then to take the drugs to the area of Riding Rocks in the Bahamas, where speed boats would take the drugs into South Florida.

A variety of problems developed as the plan unfolded. Perez testified that he was forced to go to Guincho Key himself when two of his off-load boats met with mishaps. One ran aground and the

other never arrived. Perez went into Cuban waters in the area of Paredon Grande in November, 1980 aboard a boat called the Lazy Lady, a ship owned by Hector Gonzalez-Quinones, a Cuban Government agent then known as Frank Bonilla, and captained by another Cuban government agent, Mario Estevez Gonzalez, who was a key witness at the trial.

The evidence disclosed that upon entering Cuban waters, the Lazy Lady was escorted by two Cuban gunboats to Paredon Grande where they anchored next to Guillot-Lara's drug boat, the Viviana. Hours later, Perez, Bonilla and Estevez were separately taken aboard a 72-foot shrimp boat where Perez was welcomed by two Cuban officials he later identified as Aldo Santamaria-Cuadrado, Vice Admiral of the Cuban Navy, and Rene Rodriguez-Cruz, the Cuban President of ICAP. When Perez acknowledged to Rodriguez-Cruz that the Viviana was carrying a methaqualone shipment, Rodriguez replied he was "happy" that Perez was bringing so many drugs into the United States. Perez testified that he had several conversations with Rene Rodriguez-Cruz during the three days they were in Cuban waters waiting for the Lazy Lady to be repaired and that he was told that some of the money used to purchase the drugs in Colombia was provided by the Cuban government.

Perez further testified that he understood from conversations with Jaime Guillot-Lara that the Cuban government expected to receive approximately \$800,000 from the sale of 10 million methaqualone pills and approximately 23,000 pounds of marijuana.

The third witness was Mario Estevez-Gonzalez, the captain of the Lazy Lady. He testified at trial that he was an agent of the Cuban Government, first sent to the United States in 1980 in the Mariel Boatlift to infiltrate the anti-Castro, Miami-based, group known as "Alpha 66." Later he was instructed by his superiors in the Cuban Ministry of the Interior to infiltrate the drug dealers ring in the Bahamas and learn how to buy and sell drugs in the United States. Estevez's control officer told him "it is important for us to fill the United States with drugs." Estevez explained how he came to captain the Lazy Lady to Paredon Grande.

He testified that his Cuban government control officer ordered him to go to Bimini in the Bahamas in late September or early October 1980 to meet with the Cuban government agent known as Frank Bonilla, the owner of the Lazy Lady. Bonilla ordered Estevez to captain the ship, with Perez on board, to Guincho Key where they were to meet the Viviana. The reason for this trip was that they could not locate the two off-load boats Perez had originally sent out. At Guincho Key, approximately 16 miles from the Cuban coast, the Lazy Lady developed engine trouble and was forced to go to Paredon Grande in Cuba where the mothership, the Viviana, was anchored.

Estevez also testified that he, Bonilla, and Perez met with Rodriguez, Aldo Santamaria Cuadrado, and two high-ranking members of the Castro government who were safeguarding the 10 million methaqualone tablets on the mothership Viviana. Estevez testified that Santamaria, introduced himself as Rene Baeza Rodriguez and joked about Estevez's drug smuggling. "He touched me, put his hand on me and said to me 'Finally, you're going to have a pharmacy in Miami. . .'"

Estevez said that, acting upon orders from his Cuban government control officers, he smuggled cocaine into the United States and carried more than two million dollars in proceeds from cocaine trafficking back to Cuba.

The Role of Cuba in 3 International Terrorism and Subversion

During hearings* before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, testimony was heard from:

Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs

Sergio Pinon and Daniel Benitez, Special Agents of the Florida Department of Law Enforcement

Gerardo Peraza, former senior official of DGI, Cuba's General Intelligence Directorate, who defected to the United States in 1971

It was revealed that:

Cuba is trafficking in narcotics and arms

Narcotics enter the United States (from Colombia) via Cuba

Cuban boats help smugglers by using radar to avoid detection by the United States Coast Guard

The DGI has infiltrated the United States at various levels

Important excerpts of the testimony follow:

*Hearings before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 97th Congress, 2nd Session on *The Role of Cuba in International Terrorism and Subversion*. [February 26, March 4, 11, 12, 1982]. U.S.G.P.O. 1982

Senator JEREMIAH DENTON:

Too many in our country still adhere to the belief that Fidel Castro is a romantic revolutionary who is simply carrying the standard for the poor and oppressed people of Cuba. The mass exodus of 130,000 Cubans from the port of Mariel to the United States in the spring of 1980 should help enlighten them. This event was totally orchestrated by Castro. . . . there is no way to accurately estimate the number of DGI agents who entered under this guise of refugees to join those already in place in the United States.

Senator DENTON. Would you describe the various departments of the DGI and their respective functions?

Mr. PERAZA. Yes. The principal function of the Directorate of Intelligence was penetration and recruitment in the United States of America. For this reason, it was divided—before the Soviet Union took over the control of the intelligence—in three main sections.

Section 3 was the one which worked directly against the CIA. It worked with the principal center in New York; and the other centers in Canada and Puerto Rico. . . .

. . . the Cuban service sent to the Soviet Union 25 intelligence officers, 20 to 25 officers for the illegal center, 30 officers of the military counterintelligence, for the internal counterintelligence service from 30 to 50 officers, and this is out of the country.

Within Cuba, you have the military counterintelligence school, with Soviet officers who train officers of the military counterintelligence at the rate of about 200 officers per year. This military counterintelligence school is probably one of the most advanced counterintelligence schools on the continent. It not only uses Soviet instructors; they have instructors from the PLO and other terrorist organizations.

This school of military counterintelligence has been visited by the most famous terrorists in the world. For instance, Carlos himself, that Senator Denton referred to, visited that school after having gone to the Patrice Lumumba School in Moscow, because that school has the capability to train a group, an individual, or a leader of the highest level, such as Allende who visited that school, Amilcar Cabral of Cape Verde and São Tomé Islands, the former Portuguese colony.

Senator DENTON.

I want to welcome our witnesses, Sergio Pinon and Daniel Benitez, special agents with the Florida Department of Law Enforcement, who, in the midst of the press of urgent duties, have found the time to come to Washington, D.C., and testify in front of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. They will be testifying on terrorist and intelligence activities of the Cuban Government in south Florida. . . .

... Last Friday, February 26, 1982, Gerardo Peraza, a former senior official of Cuban intelligence, the DGI, appeared before this subcommittee. Mr. Peraza joined Fidel Castro's rebel army in 1958, rose through the ranks of Cuban intelligence, and received training in Moscow.

His final assignment was at the DGI center in London as a member of the Cuban embassy staff, with the cover title of Second Secretary. In 1971, Gerardo Peraza sought refuge in the United States. His testimony before the subcommittee was his first public appearance since leaving Cuba. . . .

... Mr. Peraza testified that between 1958 and 1970, the Cuban DGI and the Soviet KGB cooperated on intelligence collection. In 1968, a committee of chiefs of the intelligence service personally offered intelligence that the DGI had collected in the United States to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, and other countries in the Soviet Bloc.

Beginning in 1970, the Cuban intelligence service was placed under the direction of the KGB. It was directly supervised by a Soviet colonel, Viktor Simenov. Prior to Peraza's departure for his assignment in London, he was required to discuss his operational plans with Simenov, who controlled the expenditure of funds for operations. Before 1970, intelligence plans were approved by the Cuban chief of intelligence. After 1970, the DGI budget was prepared by Simenov and was sent to the Soviet Union for approval.

Before 1970, Cuba lacked adequate resources to mount a major intelligence offensive against the United States. However, in 1970, with financial resources furnished by the Soviet Union, the DGI was able to recruit about 100 intelligence officers in 2 weeks.

A substantial amount of Soviet money was used to buy vehicles and technical equipment and to pay for the expenses of placing the agents. In effect, the DGI now had what amounted to an unlimited budget.

Each of the 100 intelligence officials who left Cuba in 1970 for assignment abroad had to provide a copy of his infiltration plan to a Soviet officer. In addition, the DGI officers had to provide Soviet officers with the true names of all their agents working in the United States. Prior to that point, only the pseudonyms of the agents had been provided to the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Peraza also stated that the DGI is in no way a partner of the KGB; it is a subordinate entity, taking its direction from agents of the Kremlin.

Mr. Peraza stated that, in exchange for financial support of its intelligence apparatus, Cuba was required to direct its operations toward collection of intelligence information of interest to the Soviet Union. This included intelligence, military, economic, and political matters. According to Peraza, the Cubans were more readily able to obtain this type of information than were the Soviets, for the Cubans were not so easily detected.

Mr. Peraza said that during the late 1960's and early 1970's the DGI exploited weaknesses it perceived in the U.S. intelligence community to install agents in the United States. He further indicated that the United States could not detect that activity and that all Cuban intelligence forces were ordered to prepare penetrations against the United States in any country in which there was an identifiable U.S. intelligence target.

He testified that DGI agents in Great Britain had the principal

mission of spying on British citizens in order to penetrate the U.S. activities in the United Kingdom. DGI operatives in Spain spied on citizens there, with the principal objective of penetrating the United States.

Mr. Peraza confirmed that even the Cuban involvement in Angola was seen primarily as a step toward the defeat of the United States, which is the ultimate and exclusive target of all Soviet and Cuban operations.

Peraza stated that he was personally aware of successful infiltration of high-ranking DGI agents into the U.S. Government. He claimed even the U.S. Senate had been penetrated.

STATEMENT BY SERGIO PINON AND DANIEL BENITEZ
(Florida Department of Law Enforcement):

The effort to overcome these obstacles has taken several years to bear fruit, but at this time, sources known to the Department of Law Enforcement have provided information which links some of the drug traffickers to Cuba. For example, intelligence information indicated that Cuba has guaranteed the Colombian drug shipments to persons who the Castro government will from time to time designate. Not having to pay for the drug shipment and being able to sell it on consignment enables well-chosen drug dealers to become rich, powerful, and influential quickly at small risk and without a large capital investment. The immediate advantage of this activity gives the new drug smuggler a great potential for fighting over this preferred treatment. At any time, one new group could be told to wipe out an existing group for any reason, and then take its place. We have not seen the beginning of drug wars should this happen.

Sources also state that Castro provides safe haven and harbor to those mother ships loaded with drugs traveling through Cuban waters. Allegations are also that he charges a toll for the use of Cuban waters, Cuban patrol escorts, and the unlawful use of Cuban flags to prevent boarding and seizure by U.S. authorities.

We have sources that not only have reported this information but also claimed to have been involved in their planning and execution.

The problem is that these witnesses and sources are very fearful for their lives and the lives of their families due to the widespread corruption as well as the violence that drug smuggling organizations are known to take.

Before progress is made, law enforcement must regain the confidence of the public. We will provide a copy of a transcribed tape obtained by Special Agent Benitez and me from a source who was involved in some smuggling operations and its connections in Cuba. Other sources have stated that Cuba is currently harvesting marijuana to provide some competition to Colombia and Jamaica. This information is not verified but if it is true, it would point to a larger involvement by the Cuban Government than previously thought. Although no more concrete proof can be presented at this time as to Cuban ties to narcotic traffic in the United States, we are hopeful that what we have presented will be used as the basis to provide resources and manpower in order to properly investigate this alleged activity of the Cuban Government. By so doing, the solutions to this problem can be implemented.

In 1979, a known anti-Castro revolutionary Cuban exile, Reinol Rodriguez, was shot at by an unknown assailant from a moving vehicle as he approached his home. The shots were fired from a silenced machinegun, but missed the victim, Rodriguez, as he dove down to the floor of his vehicle.

The Florida Department of Law Enforcement has received several unconfirmed reports from sources that Cuba holds Mr. Reinol

Rodriguez responsible for the assassination of Carlos Muniz, a suspected Cuban agent who was also involved in a travel agency which sponsored flights to Cuba and Puerto Rico. The assassination of Carlos Muniz was credited to Omega-7, a secret, anti-Castro terrorist organization in the United States and Puerto Rico.

Mr. PINON. To further illustrate the links possessed by foreign agents in south Florida, we will refer to other cases made by other agencies involving the illegal sale of weapons to persons or corporations who will make them available to governments unfriendly to the United States. This specific information was received from Joseph Benitez, the coordinator of the President's Task Force of Florida Crime chaired by Vice President George Bush. Joseph Benitez is currently assigned to the Treasury Department. Due to the sensitivity of these cases, only very general information will be released at this time. However, more complete information can be released during an executive session. A certain gunshop linked to Cuba has been involved in the illegal sale of guns and machine-guns to foreign countries. Indictments of both Cubans and Americans have been obtained for conspiracy to deal, ship, and transport firearms from Miami, Fla., to foreign countries between August 1, 1979, and January 29, 1979, without being properly licensed. The firearms ultimately were sent to Nicaragua leftist guerrillas. Information was also received involving a Russian agent who was involved in buying and shipping over 150 firearms to a leftist group attempting to overthrow the present government of Jamaica.

On January 13, 1982, I assisted Special Agent Juan Perez of the Federal Drug Enforcement Administration in the recovery of two explosive devices. Upon arriving at the scene, we noted that the devices were two oval-shaped grenades, steel casing, smooth finish, with a seam in the middle—fully active explosives with unidentifiable content weighing 9 ounces each. The grenades were identified as being U.S.S.R. RGD-5 hand grenades made in 1976. Intelligence sources reported that the grenades were brought into the United States by an alleged Cuban DGI agent who was also involved in smuggling narcotics via Cuba, from Colombia to Miami.

[Photographs of Russian grenades on pages 18-19.]

Mr. PINON. According to sources, these grenades were part of a shipment of over 200 that were brought into the United States. Sources further indicated that the agent is involved with the M-19 Colombian terrorist organization and has taken shipments of weapons from Cuba to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador and Nicaragua. One source reported that the illegal profits of narcotics was being used to finance subversive and terrorist activities.

At present, we have had three separate bombings in the city of Miami involving Russian RGD grenades, and a possible fourth incident still not positively identified. . . .

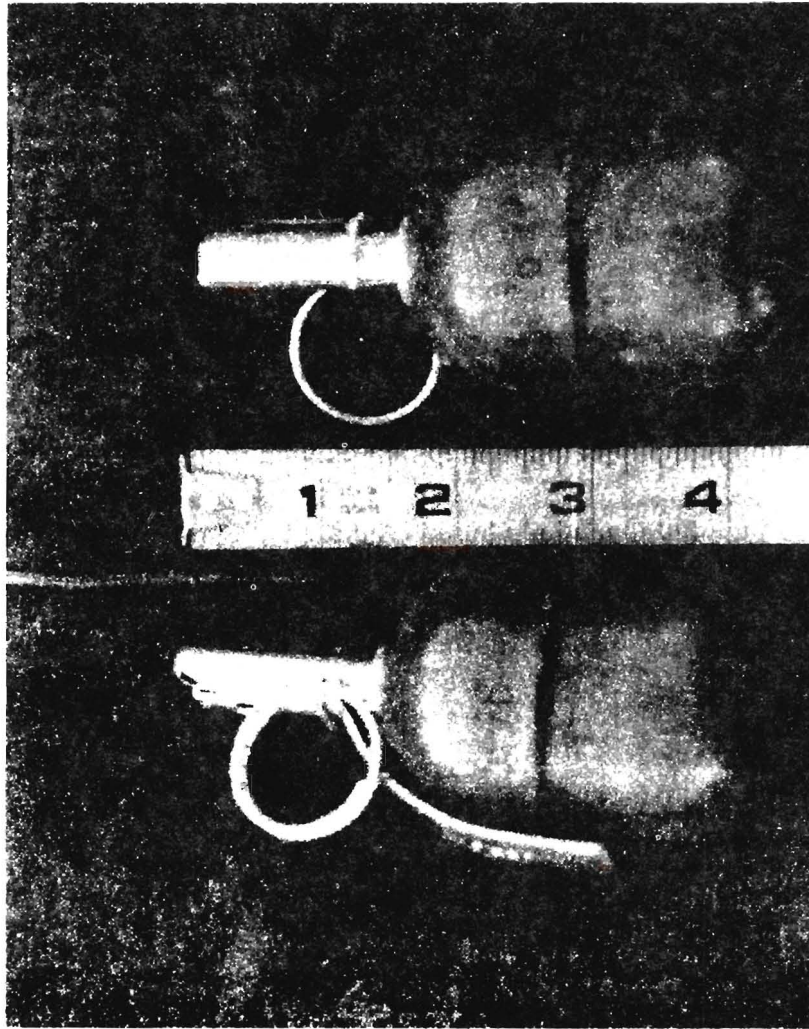


Photo introduced at Hearings before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 97th Congress, 2nd Sess., 1982



Photo introduced at Hearings before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 97th Congress, 2nd Sess., 1982

. . . These cases are still under investigation by the Miami Police Department.

These incidents were allegedly perpetrated by assailants under the guidance of Cuban agents for no apparent reasons, but positively to cause the authorities to concentrate on anti-Castro groups, thus enhancing their capability to continue their intelligence work. There is still in excess of 200 Russian grenades somewhere in the United States to be used any time in the future for the sole purpose of creating death or destruction.

In closing we would like to say that we have made several observations:

One, how some of the anti-Castro groups were infiltrated.

Two, the ability of persons who work for foreign governments to penetrate not only professional fields, but also Government agencies, as well as other social service agencies, allegedly including law enforcement agencies.

Three, we have seen how a few persons given the right timing and the resources, can precipitate incidents that will cost millions of dollars to the taxpayers and produce problems that will take years to solve.

SENATOR DENTON:

This testimony is mind-boggling to me, and I thought I knew something about terrorist activity in the United States. We have a case here of a man who is a DGI affiliate, if not an agent. He is engaged in teaching young Miami blacks to firebomb schools in the black community, and is also associated with an institutionalized effort in more than one university to recruit people not to sign up for the draft, is that correct?

Mr. PINON. That is correct.

Mr. BENITEZ. Yes, sir, it is.

Senator DENTON. Reportedly, the Department of State has evidence that links the Cuban Government to drug smuggling activities in the United States. They cite the case of Jaime Guillot Lara, a Colombian now in jail in Mexico, who claims to have funneled arms and money to a Colombian leftist group in return for Cuban aid in smuggling marihuana shipments to the United States.

Have you, in the course of your investigations, come across evidence or information indicating that Cuba is actively involved in any way in drug smuggling into the United States? If so, would you please describe that evidence or information?

Mr. PINON. Yes, Mr. Chairman. We have one source whom we arrested on narcotics charges. This source was involved, also, in the Mariel boatlift with subjects that we arrested. He has made several trips to Cuba. This same subject provided information advising us that narcotics trafficking was coming via Cuba from Colombia.

Specifically explained, when the boats left Colombia, they left with the Cuban flag in order to let the Cuban Government know that they were coming in friendly. The Cuban Government boats would come to the mother ships to escort them into the Cuban key, which is called Cayo Paredon Grande; that is the name of the key. The mother ship will be escorted there and it is met by Cuban officers, who will then view the exchange when boats coming from the

United States would come to Cayo Paredon Grande to transfer the narcotics from the mother ship into the smaller vessels.

Those boats are escorted to a limit close to the United States, possibly around the 10-mile limit, where they will take the Cuban flag and throw it into the water. The Cuban Government has advised these drug smugglers that as long as they fly the Cuban flag, the U.S. Coast Guard will not interfere so as not to cause an international incident.

Senator DENTON. Let me see if I have this straight. A ship comes from Colombia loaded with marihuana and passes around to the north side of Cuba. Is not Cayo Paredon Grande on the north side?

Mr. PINON. Yes, sir. There is an area between the Bahamas—about a 12- to 17-mile area between the Bahamas and Cuba, and that is where that key is located.

Senator DENTON. As a signal, that ship, which is Colombian, hoists the Cuban flag to indicate that it is friendly, and is escorted into the rather protected waters of the key, Cayo Paredon Grande. Other smaller craft come alongside; the marihuana is transferred to them.

Is there something that goes from the smaller craft to the Cuban Government? These smaller craft are coming from the United States. Are they giving up anything?

Mr. PINON. Yes, sir. At times, the smugglers will provide the Cuban officials with goods coming from the United States, such as televisions, Betamax machines. Anything that they will request from them, they will bring them to the government officials in Cuba.

We do not know if that is part of the payment or if that is just a compliment to continue their operations.

Senator DENTON. Are there ever any weapons, small arms, included in that?

Mr. PINON. According to our sources, as soon as they get near the Cuban waters, when the two Cuban boats come to escort them in, they have to surrender their weapons. When they leave Cuba and they get escorted away up to the proximity of the United States, which is approximately a 10-mile limit, or probably a little further away, they will give the weapons back and they will come to the United States.

SENATOR DENTON:

Do these ships leave Colombia with the Cuban flag, or do they only hoist that Cuban flag as they get near Cuba?

Mr. PINON. That is correct. When they get near Cuba, they put up the Cuban flag.

Senator DENTON. Who unloads these ships? Who oversees the unloading? Are there any Cuban officers present?

Mr. BENITEZ. It is alleged that there are Cuban patrol boats present all the time, but they do not get involved in the offloading; they merely watch it. It is also alleged that they charge money for the actual amount transferred. They weigh it, or they supervise its being weighed, and then they charge accordingly.

Senator DENTON. In other words, the Cuban Government allegedly is receiving money for overseeing and permitting that operation?

Mr. BENITEZ. That is correct; providing safe harbor and, at the same time, charging a toll.

Senator DENTON. Do you have any idea what kind of money is involved, how much?

Mr. BENITEZ. Yes, sir. There is a figure that was quoted to us; I would have to take a minute to look for it. Excuse me. [Pause.]

I have found it. The figure of \$50,000 for any vessel which is

larger than 10 tons—excuse me, no larger than 10 tons—is what I have on my notes.

Senator DENTON. Fifty thousand dollars for a 10-ton vessel, more or less?

Mr. BENITEZ. More or less.

Senator DENTON. Ten tons is pretty small. Are you talking about the mother ship which is bringing the marihuana or the smaller vessels which are coming from the United States?

Mr. BENITEZ. It is not exactly clear, but I believe that the smaller vessels are the ones that pay as they are loaded. By "smaller vessels," we mean yacht-size vessels, as opposed to mother ships.

Senator DENTON. That could be a pretty good sum on just one operation. Could it not?

Mr. BENITEZ. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DENTON. In connection with these offloadings and loadings, have you heard the names of the following Cuban officers: Colonels Angel and Gustavo?

Mr. PINON. Yes, sir, Angel and Gustavo.

Senator DENTON. What do you know about them?

Mr. BENITEZ. They are alleged to be agents in Cuba of the Ministry of State, and these are the code words that the vessels radio to obtain a Coast Guard patrol boat escort when they get near Cuban waters.

Senator DENTON. What role did the source who gave this information play in the operation?

Mr. BENITEZ. He has been directly involved in at least two off-load operations and the planning of several others.

Mr. PINON. He was the boat captain.

Mr. BENITEZ. He was the boat captain, and he has been involved in other smuggling operations.

Mr. PINON. Mr. Chairman, if I may, also, this same source was also involved with Mr. Romeo, so he had established a relationship with these two colonels. Now, he only knew them by first name; he did not know them by last name. But he had met with them on several occasions. . . .

Senator DENTON. How did the grenades get into the country? Do you know?

Mr. PINON. Yes, sir, they were brought in by an individual who was a suspected agent of the Cuban Government. We would like to refrain from identifying him because of ongoing investigation still pending. But according to the informant, this individual is also involved in large-scale narcotics smuggling into the United States, and the informant specifically stated that this individual has been taking shipments of weapons to El Salvador and Nicaragua during the former government of Somoza, supplying leftist guerrillas with weapons.

The source also informed us that this subject went to Cuba on several occasions with him and actually obtained weapons from the Cuban Government, and these grenades were brought into the United States some time in 1979 by this same subject.

Senator DENTON. Would it be fair to infer from what you know that there is a large-scale Colombia-Cuba connection on marihuana introduction into at least southern Florida and that there are probably many more weapons than you have specific knowledge of; and with the training which you know about and the subversion in terms of not registering for the draft and the subversion in terms of teaching youth to bomb schools, that there is a growing and

much greater potential in that area for terrorism than has been so far demonstrated?

Mr. BENITEZ. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I would think that there is a much greater potential than has been demonstrated at this time.

Mr. PINON. Mr. Chairman, I will also add another interesting point that became known to us through a separate source who is still out there in the field working for us. He advised us that presently, the Government of Cuba has been providing marihuana to the smugglers that has been grown in Cuba, and the Cuban boats are using a radar system to detect the U.S. Coast Guard in order to find a clear way into the United States to assist them in the smuggling. And this source is still working for us out in the field.

AMBASSADOR THOMAS O. ENDERS:

For the first time, Mr. Chairman, we now also have detailed and reliable information linking Cuba to traffic in narcotics as well as arms. Since 1980, the Castro regime has been using a Colombian narcotics ring to funnel arms as well as funds to Colombian M-19 guerrillas. This narcotics ring was led by Jaime Guillot Lara, a Colombia drug-trafficker now in custody in Mexico. He has admitted to working for Havana in purchasing arms for the M-19. We have information that Guillot traveled twice to Cuba since October 1981 and that on the second visit he received \$700,000 from the Cuban Government to purchase arms for the M-19 guerrillas. Last October, he played a principal role in transferring the arms he purchased from a ship to a Colombian plane hijacked by the M-19. In addition to arms, Guillot reportedly also transferred funds to the guerrillas through an employee of a Panamanian bank. He maintained contact with the Cuban diplomatic mission in Bogota, including the Ambassador, until that mission was closed.

In return for Guillot's services, the Cubans facilitated the ring's trafficking by permitting mother ships carrying marihuana to take sanctuary in Cuban waters while awaiting feeder boats from the Bahamas and Florida. According to a relative of Guillot, one such mother ship detained by Cuban authorities was released when Guillot protested to the Cuban Ambassador in Bogota.

Guillot himself has also admitted that a future shipment of arms was to be sent to an unspecified group in Bolivia. These arms, according to Guillot, were to be supplied by an individual in Miami named Johnny. Johnny has been identified as Johnny Crump, a narcotics and arms trafficker now detained in Miami on narcotics charges.

We will continue, Mr. Chairman, to follow this case with extreme interest since it is the first firm information we have which implicates Cuba in narcotics trafficking. It also confirms through an independent source what we have suspected, that despite Cuban denials, Cuba has provided arms to the Colombian M-19 guerrillas in addition to training them. . . .

...I think if I could put this in perspective, Mr. Chairman, the covert strategy for exporting armed revolution and terrorism is more sophisticated than Cuban efforts in the 1960's. The new Cuban approach no longer centers support solely on armed forces, but combines support for revolutionary groups with propaganda, youth training courses, scholarships, and bilateral economic/techni-

cal assistance. They have some flexibility in tactics but the main-spring of Cuba's policy remains the development of strong paramilitary forces in target countries like Colombia to provide the muscle for revolutionary groups regardless of the path to power they choose.

Of course, Nicaragua is now collaborating in the attempt to impose new Cuban-style regimes in Central America. Such regimes are so incompetent, economically, and so repressive of individual liberties that their citizens will see their only hope in flight, often to the United States. The rapidly growing number of Indian refugees—now more than 12,000—who have fled Nicaragua to Honduras are just the most recent manifestation of the despair which moves people to abandon their communities for safety elsewhere.

We know the human tragedy of refugee movements. We also know the enormous social and economic burdens they place on the societies which receive them. We ourselves have seen the crime, the skyjackings, the huge welfare costs and social tensions the Mariel migration brought to the communities of this country. For small countries in Central America or even Mexico, the consequences could be too much to accommodate. The pressures can easily destabilize the weak, creating the chaos that gives revolutionaries new opportunities. Whether or not it is part of the design to export revolution, it at least serves that purpose.

I think it is worthwhile remembering that Cuba's investment of energy, money and agents would not be possible without Soviet help. Soviet assistance, now totaling well over \$3 billion a year, which is the equivalent of a quarter of Cuba's GNP, enables Cuba to maintain the second largest and the best equipped military force in Latin America and to channel significant resources to insurgencies and terrorism abroad. Cuba's new offensive since 1978 has been accompanied by ever-increasing Soviet arms buildup in Cuba including Mig-23 Floggers and 66,000 tons of supplies in 1981 alone. Having such a sophisticated military establishment enhances Cuba's ability to foster and export revolution.

We must be clear about Cuba. It is a Soviet surrogate. Its support for subversion derives from its own deeply based ideological conviction. It is a fundamental tenet of the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban leadership today is made up largely of the veterans who 23 years ago came to power through violent revolution. They have developed "armed struggle" into an ideological precept and way of life. Promoting "armed struggle" is not just a tactic of foreign policy, it is what reassures them that they are still revolutionaries.

This deep-seated drive to re-create their own guerrilla experience elsewhere is strengthened by hopes of creating allies and keeping Washington's attention focused away from Havana. Hoping that the United States will be domestically and internationally hamstrung on El Salvador, Cuba seeks to compound our problems by creating new ones—for example, in Guatemala or Colombia. This drive, however, makes Cuba increasingly prone to rash decisions and tactical mistakes, and more willing to sacrifice the lives and resources of foreign guerrilla groups in operations that may prove disastrous to the guerrillas but advantageous to Havana.

We must make no mistake: The Castro regime has made a business of violent revolution. Our response is also clear. We will not accept, we do not believe the countries of the region will accept that the future of the Caribbean Basin be manipulated from Havana. It must be determined by the countries themselves.

Castro's intelligence officers assist narcotics traffickers 4

Testifying before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs*, Ambassador Thomas D. Boyatt, United States Ambassador to Colombia, revealed that the Cuban government is directly involved in smuggling narcotics into the United States while smuggling arms and guerrillas to Marxist terrorists.

During hearings** by the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and The Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Ambassador Boyatt also expressed his concerns about the Cuban connection.

Important excerpts of the testimony follow:

*Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, April 20, 21, 22, 1982. *International Narcotics Control*. [U.S.G.P.O., 1982]

**Transcript from hearings before the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, April 30, 1983, "The Cuban Government Involvement in Facilitating International Drug Traffic".

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR BOYATT:

Before the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs, April 20, 21, 22, 1982:

Mr. Chairman, since my last congressional testimony on the narcotics situation in Colombia, there has been a very startling development which seriously threatens both the United States and Colombia. It is a matter with which this committee should be fully seized in the national interest.

The United States now has detailed and reliable evidence, as Ambassador Enders underlined in his March 12 testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism, that intelligence officers of the Cuban Government have been assisting Colombian narcotics traffickers in transporting drugs to the United States and using these same traffickers; their same infrastructure, their boats, planes and personnel to smuggle arms and guerrillas to Marxist terrorist groups dedicated to overthrowing Colombia's freely elected government.

I realize that this statement will generate a strong reaction from apologists for totalitarian Cuba and from those romantics who, as an act of faith, believe that every group of terrorists in Latin America somehow represent the downtrodden masses against oppressions by an oligarchy.

In Colombia, this construct is nonsense. There is nothing romantic about the killing, the robbing, and the kidnapping perpetrated on a daily basis by Colombian terrorists, so-called revolutionary groups. There is nothing romantic about threats made against myself and my wife and children on a frequent basis. And there is nothing romantic about efforts by Cuban officials to use drug traffickers to send guns to Colombian terrorists dedicated to progressive reform in that country.

The Cuban connection with drug traffickers as a vehicle for harming the United States and shipping arms clandestinely to Colombia and elsewhere to help terrorists destabilize democratic governments must be exposed, understood, admitted and countered.

Before Joint Senate Committee Hearings, April 30, 1983:

AMBASSADOR BOYATT — I am gratified to you, and to the other Senators, for this effort at publicizing a situation — the Cuban Connection — which I consider today and have considered, as you know, for several months to be a major threat to the United States.

I would like to begin with a quote from my friend and former colleague at the State Department, Ray Cline, which appeared in a 1980 magazine article when he said this: "Terrorism today is more than an intrinsic, inescapable consequence of the flaw of character of mankind. It is a form of low intensity warfare. It is intended by those who finance it, arm it and ideologically inspire it to weaken and ultimately to dissolve the fabric of civilized behavior and societies built upon the moral imperative of preserving the political and economic freedoms of individual citizens."

SENATOR HAWKINS — Could four senior members of the Cuban Government be involved in drug trafficking without the knowledge and approval of Fidel Castro, in your mind?

AMBASSADOR BOYATT — No, Ma'am.

SENATOR HAWKINS — Do you believe that the Government of Cuba is supplying guns to terrorists in Latin America?

AMBASSADOR BOYATT — I not only believe it, I think that the evidence is overwhelming in that regard.

SENATOR HAWKINS — What is the relationship of the gun smuggling to drug trafficking, in your mind?

AMBASSADOR BOYATT — Well, the Guillot-Lara case proves that the drug trafficking structure, the same people, the same planes, the same means of transportation were used to carry marijuana northward to the United States to hurt the United States and to bring guns south to Colombia to supply those guns to the M-19 for the purpose of overthrowing the freely elected government of Colombia, and that is a matter of evidence and a matter of record. I think that is indisputable.

*U.S. Drug Enforcement
Administration testifies
Cuba plays direct
role in narcotics trade*

Mr. Francis M. Mullen, Jr., Acting Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, testified before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism that Cuba is playing a direct role in the trafficking of narcotics into the United States*

Important excerpts of his testimony follow:

*Hearing before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 97th Congress, 2nd Session: *Drug Enforcement Administration Oversight and Budget Authorization and S.2320*. April 23, 1982. [U.S.G.P.O. 1982]

SENATOR DENTON:

The direct relationship between drug trafficking and abuse and the incidence of crime is demonstrated daily by reports from authoritative sources. These reports provide the grist for many press accounts. I saw one NBC television documentary the night before last about cocaine in particular but drugs of pleasure in general. There is much spoken about it, much like the weather, but we need to do more about it, obviously, because the violations and abuse are increasing.

A particularly graphic example of this relationship between crime and drug abuse, which was cited at last year's oversight hearing, is the finding of a Temple University Medical School study that 243 addicts committed almost 500,000 street crimes in 10 years and that these addicts are 84 percent more likely to commit a crime when on drugs than when they were free of drugs.

Drug trafficking and abuse have far-reaching ramifications that affect our citizens and institutions in many ways. Besides the tremendous toll that drug abuse takes on its victims and the increasing level of crime in our communities, there are other costs. These costs include, to name but a few, the increased tax burden required to finance greater police protection and crime control, lost time in civilian and military work forces, less freedom of individual movement and use of personal property by our citizens, and a negative environment for our children at school.

Testimony received by the subcommittee during the recent hearings on worldwide Cuban activities revealed another alarming dimension of the drug problem that we must confront. Ambassador Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, told the subcommittee:

We [the Department of State] now also have detailed and reliable information linking Cuba to traffic in narcotics as well as arms. Since 1980, the Castro regime has been using a Colombian narcotics ring to funnel arms as well as funds to Colombian M-19 guerrillas.

The drug ring referred to was led by Jaime Guillot Lara, a Colombian who is now in custody in Mexico. Ambassador Enders went on to say:

In return for Guillot's services, the Cubans facilitated the ring's trafficking by permitting mother ships carrying marijuana to take sanctuary in Cuban waters while awaiting feeder boats from the Bahamas and Florida.

Detailed information confirming this Cuban link to drug trafficking into the United States and elsewhere was presented by Special Agents Sergio Pinon and Daniel Benitez of the Florida Department of Law Enforcement. They told the subcommittee of a source, later interviewed by staff members of the subcommittee, who advised us that narcotics trafficking was coming via Cuba from Colombia.

This testimony went on to say:

When the boats left Colombia, they left with the Cuban flag in order to let the Cuban government know that they were coming in friendly. The Cuban government boats would come to the mother ships to escort them into the Cuban key, which is called Cayo Paredon Grande; . . . the mother ship will be escorted there and it is met by Cuban intelligence officers, who will then view the exchange when boats coming from the United States would come to Cayo Paredon Grande to transfer the narcotics from the mother ship into the smaller vessels.

Those boats were escorted to a limit close to the United States; . . . The Cuban Government has advised these drug smugglers that as long as they bear the Cuban flag, the U.S. Coast Guard will not interfere so as not to cause an international incident.

From a separate source, Special Agent Pinon learned that—

. . . The government of Cuba has been providing marijuana to the smugglers that has been grown in Cuba, and the Cuban boats are using a radar system to detect the U.S. Coast Guard in order to find a clear way into the United States to assist them in smuggling.

It has long been alleged that subversive and terrorist groups and governments such as Cuba that encourage and support such groups have utilized drug trafficking to fund their activities. The testimony received during our Cuban hearings is consistent with those allegations and with the stated aim of the Cubans to contribute to the destabilization of the United States by encouraging and enhancing the drug trade.

There has been testimony about the Cuban mission to destabilize the United States. The link between drug traffic, arms, money, espionage, terrorism, all those links have been well established and are among the facts which I regret have not received more governmental and public dissemination.

Senator DENTON. In my opening statement I referred to prior testimony the subcommittee received confirming Cuban involvement with drug trafficking. Does the DEA have information indicating involvement of the Cuban Government in drug trafficking? If so, would you tell us about it?

Mr. MULLEN. We have had some indications of involvement of Cubans in the drug trafficking activity. I am aware of the Guillot Lara matter inasmuch as the case in which he was indicted did involve a DEA investigation. As you are aware, he is currently held in Mexico facing extradition either to Colombia or to the United States.

Recently, we prepared at DEA an intelligence report. It pertained to any indication of Cuban involvement in the drug trafficking over the past 10 or 12 years. I have reviewed that report. There are indications in this report that throughout this period there was some Cuban involvement in drug activity. However, I would not like to go into specifics in open session. I would be prepared to brief you or make this report available to you in a closed session.

Senator DENTON. Would you make that intelligence report available to the staff after this hearing?

Mr. MULLEN. Yes, we will.

Senator DENTON. Would you care to say anything on an unclassified basis about information indicating the involvement of governments other than that of Cuba in illicit drug traffic?

Mr. MULLEN. We are seeing more and more involvement on the part of terrorist groups in the drug trafficking all around the world: The Mideast, Europe, and in the Caribbean. The same standards apply. We do have some specific information which I would prefer to go into in closed session rather than open session. But there is a definite relationship between terrorist activity and drug trafficking.

Senator DENTON. Can you tell, within the restrictions of the classification of the information, anything about the motivation behind the use of drugs by the terrorists, the use of the trafficking, their participation in the trafficking? What is their end? Is it to finance or subvert sociologically or both? Or can you tell?

Mr. MULLEN. It appears basically to be to finance activities, not to use the drugs to destabilize. I would agree that it does not make unfriendly governments or terrorist organizations unhappy to see the United States with the difficult drug problem that it has, but we have not detected any activity to facilitate the drug trafficking to destabilize the populace or the Government. It is basically to finance their activities.

I mentioned, Senator, terrorist organizations. We do have some corrupt activities on the part of some governments for financial gain in drug trafficking, but I do not personally know of any government that is involved in drug trafficking for destabilizing or for income to finance terrorist activities.

Senator DENTON. Other than Cuba, perhaps.

Mr. MULLEN. Again, the information which is available to me has been made available to the intelligence agencies, and I have

heard the statements of Ambassador Boyette and others. They apparently have additional information, based on their presence in countries such as Colombia, other than that which is available to me.

The information that I am presently aware of indicates possible Cuban involvement. Perhaps our intelligence agencies, putting our information with what they have, have been able to make this link.

Senator DENTON. We would hope that that kind of interchange of information is already a matter of practice.

Mr. MULLEN. It is a matter of practice. We have held frequent meetings to make the information available.

Senator DENTON. We had public hearings in which it was made evident that officials of the Cuban Government, in that they were officers, were on the scene taking part in these operations. Other testimony from defectors was verifiable and common in the testimony of several that it is officially known by the Cuban Government and, at least, condoned.

Senator DENTON. Could you estimate the total U.S. currency outflow resulting from international drug trafficking and to what extent this currency is finding its way to Cuba? We had some quantitative figures on that with respect to shipments and the amount they charge for the boats: \$50,000 for a certain size vessel, and so forth. Is there any kind of gross estimate of the currency outflow resulting from that trafficking?

Mr. MULLEN. The National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee [NNICC] estimates that the drug industry generated \$79 billion in 1980. A good part of that does flow out of the country. I do not have an estimate as to how much is going out or how much is going to Cuba.

Do you have anything to add to that?

Mr. MONASTERO. We have information about how much it costs to put a load together coming to the United States, which is in the range of the figure you mention; but we do not have any exact estimate.

Senator DENTON. The transfer between the feeder boats and the other boats in the Cuban waters involved a \$50,000 fee for a small boat.

Mr. MULLEN. I am told that is what it costs to put a drug load together.

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Former Cuban Intelligence officer says Castro is personally involved

Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (N.Y.) questioned Mario Estevez Gonzalez, a former member of the Cuban Intelligence Service during hearings* held by the New York Senate Select Committee on Crime.

Mr. Estevez' testimony revealed that:

- Cuba has a network of thousands of agents within the United States engaged in multimillion dollar drug trafficking
- Castro is personally involved in drug trafficking with the goal of promoting violent crime, addiction, and corruption in the United States and financing terrorism in Latin America

Important excerpts of the testimony follow:

*Hearings by the New York Senate Select Committee on Crime, *Narcotics Production and Trafficking by the Cuban Intelligence Service (D.G.I.)* April 14, 1983.

SENATOR D'AMATO: In 1980, Fidel Castro sent over 125,000 Cubans to the U.S. Most of these Cubans were good, decent people who merely wished to escape the tyranny. However, as many as 25,000 to 30,000 Cubans, who are known as "Marielitos," were hardened criminals. They were dumped out of Cuba by Castro, out of the prison system; and among these 25,000 to 35,000 there were up to 3,000 agents. It has been said by some that they make our criminals and our thugs on the streets look like Sunday school students.

Even more shocking is the recent disclosure that the network in this country is a very comprehensive network with the 3,000 agents who are facilitating the trafficking of drugs. We have as our first witness this morning an individual who has testified to the Cuban connection in U.S. drug traffic. Further, the U.S. Attorney's Office in southern Florida has indicated that the testimony we are about to hear has been independently corroborated by other sources.

MARIO ESTEVEZ: At the time I was instructed to join Alpha 66, I was not aware of any mission which I would have to be dealing with drugs. However, I completed this assignment. I was responsible for sabotage in sinking two boats from Alpha 66. Then in July 1980, I returned to Havana — according to instructions I received — for further instructions.

SENATOR D'AMATO: Let me ask at this point, did there come a time that you became involved in the drug smuggling operation, bringing drugs into this country; and if there did come a time, will you indicate to us when that took place; and if under anyone's direction, whose direction?

MR. ESTEVEZ: Senator, also I want you to realize that back in '78, I was coming to the States, infiltrated to the States by boat. I came in the boatlift in 1980, but in '78, I was already in Miami.

SENATOR D'AMATO: You came as an agent.

MR. ESTEVEZ: Right.

SENATOR D'AMATO: Are you saying that you were recruited and specifically ordered to come over here?

MR. ESTEVEZ: Senator, the instructions after I returned back in July '80 and came back into the island, my instructions were to start making contacts in south Florida, specific in the area of Miami, of course, with illegal Haitians, Colombians and other Latin American countries in the area, who were dealing with drugs. My mission was to find outlets in the drug traffic. Then, in August 1980, I returned to the Bahamas or went to the Bahamas to make contact with a Cuban official by the name of Frank Bonilla.

On August 17, 1980, I met again with Frank Bonilla. At that time, in the evening, I was given a boat in which I was going to be the chief of operations and captain of this boat. From there, I sailed south to the Bahamas in order to meet with a person by the name of David Perez, which was the person that I was to contact for the people from Colombia in Miami. The shipment, my first shipment that I had on that boat, was worth about \$8 million of pills, Quaaludes, already manufactured.

After I was assigned to the boat, I got my instructions to pick up the shipment in Cuba. I headed south again back into Cuba. When we arrived in

Cuba, the person that I was to contact named David Pérez was having problem making arrangements with the trucks, which was going to be bringing the merchandise.

After receiving instructions and using the proper code, I did contact the Paredon Grande, which was the point of contact, to meet the boat or the ship named Coral from Colombia. The instructions came with the name of Viviani, the name of the boat. After seeing the ship, on sight, we discovered that the name was kind of a peel-off; and under that name was the name of Viviani, instead of Coral. We made the right connection at that time with David Perez, and the boat was the boat from Colombia which was giving us the shipment of the \$8 million of Quaaludes to bring to the States.

At three o'clock in the morning, we boarded another boat from the Institute of Cuban Tourism of the Republic of Cuba in which we met the different officials. One of them was a person of the name of Rene Daeza-Rodrigues. At that time, we received the proper instructions to be supplying the pills to Miami, and the code was, "We are going to have a good pharmacy, and as long as you can supply the pharmacy we'll have a good business." The different officials at that time decided everything was okay as far as they were concerned, and the pills were loaded on to the boat.

After all was okayed the boat that I was given by the name of Desilere, developed an engine problem. At that time, I received orders to use the Colombian boat to come into Miami. After trying to come into Miami, we developed problems in order to get access to Miami and make the drop. At that time I received orders — and it was my decision also — to return back and get rid of the cargo. And I dumped the cargo.

After receiving my new orders, I returned to Cuba specifically to the area of Paredon Grande, which was mentioned before. From there, I received orders to take a shipment of 23,000 pounds of marijuana and proceed to Bimini meaning an island in the Bahamas and wait for further orders.

By the way, the ship I mentioned here was a fishing ship of the Cuban government.

SENATOR D'AMATO: How many other agents were you aware of?

Mr. ESTEVEZ: While I was training, there were specific orders that no one was to engage in any conversation as far as mission being trained. However, there were people being trained. As far as agents of the Cuban government right now, working in the United States with the drug trafficking, I have informed the drug enforcement agency of the United States of approximately 400 agents specifically in drugs. I also have provided to the United States Government the names of a lot of those agents. At the same time, as far as agents going back and forth to Cuba and bringing drugs in to this country, very specifically one or two at a time. For example, last week, an agent friend of mine got ordered to return to Cuba; and at this time he is in Cuba receiving new orders for a new shipment into the States. That information has been passed onto the U.S. Government.

SENATOR D'AMATO: Did there come a time when you were finally able to successfully get drugs into this country and what, if anything, did you

do with the proceeds? How much did you derive? And what did you do with the funds?

MR. ESTEVEZ: On February 1, I received orders to go to Cayo Coco, which is the northern part of Varadero Beach close to Havana, Cuba. Here I met the Cuban official, I was transported to Havana. At that time, I arranged to receive 75 kilos of cocaine. I delivered the 75 kilos of cocaine to Miami. I received \$1,250,000 American money, and that money was returned to Cuba.

SENATOR D'AMATO: In other words, upon the consummation of the sale you received \$1,250,000. You then took that money and brought it back to Cuba. How long between the sale and your going back to Cuba with the money did you take?

MR. ESTEVEZ: The whole transaction took approximately 30 days, by the time I came to the shores of the United States, made delivery, the money handed down and returned back.

SENATOR D'AMATO: How much money did you, and over what period of time, raise by sale of drugs — cocaine, Quaaludes, marijuana — and how much did you turn back to the Cuban government?

MR. ESTEVEZ: From the period of '81 to '82, I feel that I was approximately responsible — for \$7 million from drugs returning to the Cuban government by trafficking back and forth.

SENATOR D'AMATO: You turned over \$7 million in money to the Cuban government?

MR. ESTEVEZ: Right. . . I was equipped with a special boat. I think we call them Cigarette Boats, speed boats. They usually have a V-8 automobile engine in them, and they are racing boats. The boats are made out of fiberglass. Some of them carry two engines. For example, my boat had two 427 cubic inch engines. They're made out of specific material in the bottom, where two pipes are formed at the time you make the boat; and each of these pipes has a cap at the end which is threaded with a cap and seal. That is where the cocaine is deposited at the bottom of the boat. The boat has a capacity of 285 gallons of fuel. It will take approximately — at the speed of 70 to 75 miles per hour, approximately two hours from Paredon Grande, which is the northern part of Varadero, to the Keys in the U.S. So basically — most of the time, that is the way I went back and forth to Cuba, using the speedboat. . . . I estimate that during the period '81-'82 I traveled two to three times a month back and forth to Cuba from the Miami area. The money was turned to a code name Lieutenant Colonel Carlos, who was a subordinate of the chief of ECOP, which is an agency, an internal agency such as HUD in the United States, Urban Development, and the name of the person who was in charge of this thing was Rene Rodriguez-Cruz, who was the chief of operations for this whole connection, if you want to call it that.

SENATOR D'AMATO: What was Mr. Cruz' official position?

MR. ESTEVEZ: He was probably equal to Minister of ECOP.

SENATOR D'AMATO: There was another part in addition to the smuggling operation. I understand that there were approximately 18 to 20 trips

that you took to Cuba from the United States for the sole purposes of smuggling in aliens. Is that correct? And if it's correct did you know what the purpose of those aliens — were they agents, criminals or other agents and what, if anything, did you know about their missions?

MR. ESTEVEZ: The individuals that I brought to this country, let's say, illegally, after the boatlift to Mariel in 1980 were friends, people who wanted to live in this country for whatever reason against the Cuban government. They were not Cuban agents. They did not come to this country for any specific purpose. The way the Cuban agents operated, each individual agent comes by himself. He receives instruction from one person. They don't know each other while they are performing their mission here.

MR. ESTEVEZ: I estimate 3,000 Cuban agents, specialists trained for different fields, came on the boatlift from Mariel with me. Not all of the agents were for drugs.

SENATOR MARINO: But for other purposes?

MR. ESTEVEZ: For other purposes. Individuals trained, paid, and loyal to the Cuban government came in the boatlift by approximately 3,000.

SENATOR BERNSTEIN: Who in the Cuban government set the price at which drugs were to be sold per kilo?

MR. ESTEVEZ: It doesn't matter what moves in Cuba or takes place in Cuba, nothing gets done in Cuba unless it has the blessings and the price set by Fidel Castro himself. . .

. . . For example, the kilo of cocaine was set to be sold \$38,000 minimum, \$40,000 maximum per kilo. Now, I would sell that one in Miami for \$47,000 a kilo. The \$7,000 difference between \$40,000 and \$47,000 my pocket money.

SENATOR D'AMATO: The only thing we can specify — because I think that begins to get speculative — is the fact, though, that this one agent in a period of a year accounted for \$7 million in cash that he personally turned over to the Interior Minister and/or his — or the Minister of Housing and/or his deputies in direct line of responsibility. In addition, when one considers the fact that he estimates that 300 to 400 agents — and I think he is very responsible in not attempting to inflate that number — 300 to 400 of the 3,000 agents were assigned to the task of smuggling in drugs and were similarly turning in their proceeds to the Cuban government, then we see a pervasive, systematic movement brought about by the Cuban government to destabilize, to raise funds, to create mayhem in our cities throughout this nation; and they have been quite successful in undertaking this. The fact of the matter is that here's not a person who's selling drugs for profit but that he had spent two years infiltrating groups, bringing about terrorists attacks, infiltrating Alpha 66. We're hearing from a person who's turned state's evidence to save himself who was an actual operative agent of the Cuban government.

Now, you have indicated before, this testimony has been corroborated by independent sources; that is not his own testimony. We find him an absolutely creditable witness, and someone who we owe a great deal of gratitude to. Now, I don't know how successful the other agents were; but given the fact that there were 400 agents and if they approached anywhere near his success, we are talking about \$2,800,000,000 that would have flowed to Cuba. That is an incredible thing. . .

Cuban Government Involvement in International Drug Trafficking

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During hearings* by the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and The Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Senators Paula Hawkins, Jeremiah Denton, Jesse Helms and Dennis DeConcini questioned:

Stanley Marcus, U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Florida
Francis M. Mullen Jr., Acting Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration
James Michel, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs
Mario Esteves Gonzalez, former member of the Cuban Intelligence Service
Johnny Crump, former Colombian narcotics trafficker and
David Perez, former narcotics trafficker

Their testimony revealed:

- The Cuban government, under Castro's personal direction is engaged in narcotics production and trafficking.
- Cuban narcotics profits are used to finance and promote terrorism, while undermining American society.
- Cuba is facilitating the illegal entry of Haitians into the United States.

Important excerpts of the testimony follow:

*Transcript from Hearings before the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, April 30, 1983, "The Cuban Government Involvement in Facilitating International Drug Traffic".

SENATOR HAWKINS:

In 1980, as we all know, here in Florida, over 125,000 Cubans arrived in the United States via the Mariel boat lift. Unfortunately, many of the people that were mixed among the freedom-loving "marielitos," were thousands of hardened criminals. These felons were purposely dumped out of Cuban prisons and exported to the United States by Castro. The impact on Miami has been devastating. During 1981, Miami was labeled the "murder capital" of the United States. In 1981 alone, there were over 580 murders in this county. That was an increase of over 60 percent over the previous year. A startling 23 percent of these murders were committed with machine guns.

The goal of this joint hearing is to investigate and to establish the extent to which the Government of Cuba is promoting drug trafficking. The fact that Castro has chosen to associate himself with criminal elements and international drug smugglers, I believe, is a clear indication of his contempt for international law and his intent to undermine American society through drug addiction, moral corruption and violent crime. Investigations reveal that the Cuban dictator's support of drug trafficking is linked to his promotion of terrorism in Latin America. Ships are loaded with drugs in Cuba to be taken to the United States. They leave the United States. Many of these ships return to Cuba with weapons destined for the South American mainland. I believe the Cuban dictator's efforts to strike at Florida continue to this day. Only this month, we experienced another boat carrying 72 illegal Haitian immigrants found adrift in Florida waters and was towed to our shores. Now, although the illegal immigrants claimed that they had been at sea for weeks, neither they nor their boat exhibited signs of exposure. Close investigation of the boat revealed a medicine chest containing only Cuban and Bulgarian medicines. Clearly, Castro is providing a temporary harbor for Haitians and then facilitating their illegal entry into the United States by towing their boats into Florida or Bahamian waters.

SENATOR HAWKINS — What Cuban ports did you use and what routes did you take, would you show us or tell us?

MR. PEREZ — We would leave from Miami into Bimini, from Bimini we would come here, to Williams Key, right around this area. Then we would take this course over here (indicated) down here (indicated) to Guincho Key and to Paredon Grande somewhere in the area here (indicated).

Paredon Grande is a port in Cuba which is right about here, Ma'am (indicated).

SENATOR HAWKINS — What Cuban officials did you meet with while you were in Paredon Grande?

MR. PEREZ — Rene Cruz, Ma'am, and Aldo Santamaia Cuadrado.

SENATOR DENTON — According to your testimony, Jaime Guillot-Lara told you that he could get drugs into Cuba easily because, quote, he was paying money to the Cuban Government for their protection. . .

. . . The signal by which the LAZY LADY was cleared to enter into Paredon Grande was to lower the American flag and to fly a white flag along with the Cuban flag and you have mentioned that there was to properly signal the Cuban Government, and am I correct that the Cuban boats, the Cuban

boats 50 to 60 feet, in one case, and 30 to 40 feet in the other, with the larger boat having a gun aboard it, responded to that signal and then escorted you into Paredon Grande?

MR. PEREZ — Yes, sir.

SENATOR DENTON — Do you have any doubt, considering the scope, location and nature of these maritime illegal drug activities on the northern coast of Cuba, that they could have taken place without the knowledge of the highest level of the Cuban government?

MR. PEREZ. There is no doubt in my mind, sir, that the whole Cuban Government is very aware of what they are doing because during our conversation, one statement that Rene Cruz made to myself was, Fidel Castro himself was out in Central and South America doing all the kind of work related to what we were doing there, and that they were happy that we were bringing the drugs into the country and one specific statement that he made, and he was pretty serious about it, was that they could take Florida at any time that they felt.

SENATOR HAWKINS — The Cuban government could take Florida at any time?

MR. PEREZ — Yes, Ma'am. . .

. . . There was a discussion between Jaime Guillot and myself about the Cuban government was going to purchase 500 kilos of cocaine a month, so, very simply, just multiply 500 by 50,000. Each kilo of cocaine was worth, like \$50,000 here, in the United States wholesale price at that time, so that it is an awful lot of millions of dollars, Ma'am. They were to pay me two and a half million dollars for each time I carried that amount of load in.

MARIO ESTEVEZ — From an early age, I belonged to the Communist youth in Cuba and did my pre-university studies. I participated in various Communist programs in which I was selected because of my dedication to Cuban Communism and to the Revolution of Fidel Castro. Because of my efforts in the Communist Party, I was selected to work in the Ministry of the Interior, in the BEM Section, known as the official Bureau of the Ministry. My function in the BEM was to act as a spy on others working within the system. Because of my merits, I was made a sergeant. From sergeant, I was selected to act as a spy and to sabotage anti-Castro organizations in the U.S.A.

During the Mariel exodus, which was in 1980, I came to the United States and was able to infiltrate myself in Alpha 66, an anti-Castro organization. I was in Alpha 66 about two and a half months. My function was to sabotage equipment of the organization and in that period of time, I was able to sink two boats which costs thousands and thousands of dollars.

After I finished my mission, I was ordered to return to Cuba. For me and for many others, who have infiltrated, it is very easy to come and go to Cuba.

The first thing that I would do would be to send a telegram to my immediate supervisors. The telegram was in code. My supervisors were Lieute-

nant Colonel Carlos Nelson and Captain Efrain. They are members of the DGI assigned to the I-C-A-P whose head is Rene Rodriguez Cruz. After the telegram was sent, I would go by boat to Bimini and from there to Cayo Piedra, Piedra Key, Stone Key and then from Stone Key I would go to the Icacos Peninsula where Barradero Beach is in the Province of Matanzas. From Barradero I would go to Havana where my supervisors would interrogate me on my contacts, my actions and my knowledge acquired in Miami.

At that time, Lieutenant Colonel Nelson gave me instructions to make contact with drug traffickers in the United States and Bimini. My supervisors gave me \$5,000 for my expenses to infiltrate.

Based on my contacts with the drug traffickers, I began to traffic in drugs about August of 1980 until I was arrested on November 29th, 1981, for trafficking in marijuana.

SENATOR DeCONCINI — Does the Government operate the whole cultivation and protection of the product?

MR. ESTEVEZ — Yes, the DGI has that in its charge.

SENATOR DeCONCINI — Does the DGI have any other areas in Cuba, even though you have not seen them?

MR. ESTEVEZ — Yes. When I was working in the Ministry of the Interior in Villa Clara Province, I heard them talk about marijuana plantations in the Escambrai Mountain area.

SENATOR DeCONCINI — How long has the DGI been involved in this sort of activity?

MR. ESTEVEZ — I was working there in '75, '76 and '77. . .

. . . Fidel has been planning on this for a long time. The Soviet Union has been involved. This goes back to Viet Nam days.

SENATOR DeCONCINI — Does he have any estimate of the dollar value of the export of the marijuana?

MR. ESTEVEZ — About \$200,000,000.

The guerrillas pay in cocaine for their training. The Colombian guerrillas, the El Salvadoran guerrillas, and the cocaine that they seize from ships that they get, all of that comes up here to the United States.

MR. ESTEVEZ — In all of this, the Soviet Union is involved. Since Fidel Castro took over the chairmanship of the non-aligned countries, they have tried, through the Soviet Union, to undermine the United States in the eyes of the world, just like the Soviets did in Viet Nam where they undermined the prestige of the United States and another one of their operations there was the heroin for the U.S. forces.

After that, Fidel Castro took advantage of that Peruvian Embassy situation and the Mariel exodus situation. That had been planned for years. You

can be sure that that did not just happen. A lot of people seem to think that Fidel made a slip-up with that Peruvian Embassy situation. If Fidel Castro wanted, you would not have found four people inside that embassy.

This business of the narcotics traffic to the United States is a top secret one in Cuba. The only ones who know about it are the DGI agents and Fidel Castro, in particular.

I can tell you one thing, that no Cuban soldier would allow Fidel Castro to traffic in drugs because one thing I can tell you about our country is that Cubans hate drugs.

One of the reasons for this drug traffic with the United States is to throw the U.S. off in Central America and this big operation of drugs coming up to Miami is part of that. They are trying to create an atmosphere of crisis in the Southern United States and then throw you off and work up in the northern areas bringing equipment and medical equipment and supplies and other stuff through Panama and electronic equipment through Panama.

Lots of these arms that are sent to El Salvador and other places are American arms.

SENATOR DENTON — What they tried to do with infiltrating, emptying themselves of their most hardened criminals, introducing them into the United States is similar to the introduction of drugs into the United States?

MR. ESTEVEZ — Yes. No doubt about it. One of the first things that Fidel said in 1981 was, what do the corrupt imperialists think about this?

Here, in the U.S.A., you have different kinds of spies, propaganda spies, you have economic spies, terrorist spies and spies that are being trained for operations in Europe. Now, I am speaking of these as these are sort of special categories, not just those that are in the armed forces, but those that are in the Ministry of the Interior.

I think there has got to be something around 3,000 or over 3,000, and among those political prisoners, also there are spies. Then, you also have those common criminals and there were also lots of them who had been in Angola previously, and they were sent over here in groups of 20 and 40. Their mission would be that if there were ever any kind of trouble with Cuba or war with Cuba to create chaos here, in the United States.

If a radio station from the United States could get through to Cuba with that information, I don't think that the Castro government would last a year. That, I can tell you for sure.

I was told that if any type of radio transmitter station such as Radio Marti was set up here, that it would have to be urgently destroyed.

SENATOR DeCONCINI — What you are telling us, then, is that if the Cuban people, even the military people, many are members of the Communist Party, were to have knowledge that their government is in the massive drug production and exportation, that, indeed, in your opinion, there would be another revolution?

MR. ESTEVEZ — Certainly, there would be another revolution. Both the Cuban people and the military forces in Cuba, which are part of the Ministry of the Interior, just as in the case of me, personally, I used to have under my supervision members of the armed forces and members of the Party, too, everyone is being checked and watched. They would not be loyal if they knew what was happening, and I was not when I knew.

SENATOR HAWKINS — Do the Cuban people receive any radio broadcasts, to your knowledge, from the United States?

MR. ESTEVEZ — Yes, the American station that does get through to Cuba and it is not too powerfully, is the Voice of America, but Fidel Castro has a radio jamming installation which he installed in the Guanabo area so these stations don't get through.

When I was in Las Villas, everybody would get their news on the Voice of America. One friend would tell another, and that is the way we would know what was going on, and I can tell you — I don't want to be too long in making my statement here, but I can tell you that the Cuban Government and the Russians and the Communists are very much concerned about Radio Marti.

MR. MULLEN — As early as 1963, DEA predecessor agencies received information alleging a government of Cuba role in drug trafficking. Most of the reporting was uncorroborated and discussed isolated incidents. Not until the development of the Jaime Guillot-Lara investigation in late 1981, did we begin to collect corroborated, detailed intelligence indicating a Cuban role in drug trafficking.

Jaime Guillot-Lara, a Colombian national, is a major marijuana, cocaine and methaqualone trafficker whose activities have been known to DEA since at least 1976. He is the documented owner of or has an interest in many seagoing vessels capable of carrying tons of marijuana. A total of two point five million pounds of marijuana, twenty-five million methaqualone tablets and eighty pounds of cocaine were documented as having been sent to the United States by Guillot in 1977 to 1981.

Several sources of information provided intelligence and recently testified in court in Miami that certain officials of the Government of Cuba aided Guillot in the movement of drugs from Colombia through the Caribbean and into the United States.

Guillot began his association with Cuban officials in Colombia in late 1979 when another trafficker introduced him to Cuban officials assigned to the Cuban Embassy in Bogota. Although the possibility of utilizing Cuba as a stopover for drug cargoes was discussed, it was not until July of 1980, when Guillot again met with these Cubans, that serious consideration was given to the proposals.

During 1980, Guillot began to receive official Cuban protection for the movement of his drug-laden vessels to the United States. The Cubans reportedly charged Guillot \$10 per pound of marijuana transported through Cuba. Depending on the size of the shipment, Guillot was paying the Cubans

hundreds of thousands of dollars for each load of marijuana. The Cuban association with Guillot provided Cuba with a dual benefit.

DEA learned that Cuba's facilitation of Guillot's smuggling ventures provided hard currency which Cuba used to support revolutionary activities in Latin America. Cuba was also able to utilize the smuggling expertise and capabilities of Guillot by having him transport and deliver arms which were ultimately destined for the Colombian terrorist group, M-19, led by Guillot's close friend, Jaime Bateman.

On November 25, 1981, Guillot was arrested in Mexico City on false documentation charges. Although both the governments of Colombia and the United States attempted to extradite Guillot from Mexico, neither was successful. On September 30, 1982, Guillot was released and fled to Europe.

We believe that Guillot may have made his way back to Colombia. Now, other agencies may disagree, and he has been reported to be in Cuba and Spain and several other areas. Obviously, he is on the move at this time; we believe, possibly in Colombia.

When we examine the full amount of intelligence and evidence that is available from the 1970's, the Guillot investigation and its follow-up, as well as new intelligence being developed, it is the position of DEA that the Government of Cuba is cognizant of the movement of drugs through its territory and may be facilitating this movement. Considering the volume of drug trafficking in the Caribbean, the proximity of Cuba to the United States, and the benefits to be derived by Cuba from even minimal participation in the drug trade, it is important that we continue to be aware of this likelihood and that state, local and federal agencies will continue to share, analyze and pursue intelligence in the area.

MR. MICHAEL — We now have information that Guillot started his narcotics trafficking under official Cuban protection during the summer of 1980. His understanding with the Cuban authorities assured him safe passage through Cuban waters, in return for pay-offs at the Cuban Coast Guard station on the Cuban north coast across from Andros Island in the Bahamas. In addition to the provision of safe passage, Cuban officials maintained close coordination with Guillot. His contacts included the Ambassador of Cuba in Bogota, Colombia, Fernando Ravelo Renedo and the Minister-Counselor, Gonzalo Bassols Suarez. Both of these men were members of the American Department of Cuba's Communist Party Central Committee. He also dealt with American Department officials in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico.

He was urged by Bassols to work with M-19, the Colombian terrorist organization. In November 1981, Bassols reportedly made a loan to Guillot of \$10,000 with which to purchase 500 kilograms of cocaine on behalf of the M-19 and arrange its shipment to the United States.

We also know that Guillot, fearing arrest by the Mexican authorities, at one point considered taking refuge in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico to avoid arrest and was told by a Cuban contact there that, quote, Fidel, close quote, had instructed the Cuban Embassy to protect him.

At one point, another dimension of this, is that Guillot received a Nicaraguan visa from the Nicaraguan Ambassador to Mexico, who, ap-

parently, acted on a request from the M-19 leader. We know from separate sources that in early 1982 the Nicaraguan government was negotiating the sale of a DC-6 aircraft to a known Colombian drug runner. Whether or not this information indicates a Nicaraguan role is not clear from the information presently available, but it is disturbing, and we will be examining this closely, the Cuban/Nicaraguan relationship now being very well known.

We have a report that the Communist Party presidium, and, specifically, Fidel Castro, in early 1959 considered a scheme to begin dealings with narcotics smugglers using Cuba as a bridge and support base for networks to the United States as a means to aid Cuba economically and contribute to the deterioration of American society.

During an interview with Colombian journalists in October of 1982, Fidel Castro described Guillot as, quote, a good friend of Cuba, close quote. Castro's later statement to a Colombian news agency in January of this year that Cuba detains Americans involved in narcotics trafficking is true, but this is not necessarily inconsistent with a Cuban use of the drug weapon when it sees fit. We cannot expect the Cuban Government to acknowledge its involvement in drug trafficking in the United States, but the evidence clearly indicates more than a case of corruption by local or mid-level security officials.

The association of Guillot with the Cuban Embassies in Mexico and in Bogota and with officers of the American Department of the Cuban Communist Party gives strong indication of official policy approval. Thus, narcotics sanction, apparently, has been sanctioned by Cuba as a means to finance subversion in Latin America and the administration is determined to discover the extent of Cuban involvement in narcotics.

MR. LISKER — In your opinion, is the Cuban Government facilitating the importation of drugs into the United States?

MR. MICHAEL — I think the evidence is clear that the Government of Cuba has, as a matter of policy, used narcotics trafficking as an instrument for advancing its own interests in corrupting democracies within the hemisphere and advancing arms flow to revolutionary groups.

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THE CASTRO CONNECTION: BLUEPRINT FOR ACTION

On May 20, 1983, President Ronald Reagan said, “. . .there is strong evidence that Castro officials are involved in the drug trade, peddling drugs like criminals, profiting on the misery of the addicted. I would like to take this opportunity to call on the Castro regime for an accounting. Is this drug peddling simply the act of renegade officials, or is it officially sanctioned? The world deserves an answer.”

Four close aides to Fidel Castro, including two influential members of the Central Committee of Cuba's Communist Party, were indicted on charges of smuggling narcotics into the United States last winter. They were charged before a federal grand jury of acts specifically aimed at facilitating the importation of drugs into the United States and at circumventing the interdiction efforts of the United States.

James H. Michel, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs in the State Department, said on June 17, 1983: “We have a report that the Communist Party Presidium and specifically Fidel Castro, in early 1979, considered a scheme to begin dealing with narcotics smugglers using Cuba as a bridge and support base for the networks to the United States as a means to aid Cuba economically and to contribute to the deterioration of American society.”

Ambassador Thomas Boyatt, U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, testified before the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs in April of 1982: “The Cuban connection with drug traffickers as a vehicle for harming the United States and shipping arms clandestinely to Colombia and elsewhere to help terrorists destabilize democratic governments must be exposed, understood, admitted and countered.”

In the face of the overwhelming evidence suggesting the involvement of the Cuban government in drug trafficking, a number of specific measures should be put into effect:

- 1) A first step should be to inform the Cuban government of the indictment of Cuban government officials by a federal grand jury and request the U.S. Justice Department officials be permitted to question (in Havana) those indicted.
- 2) A second step would be to present a formal complaint to the United Nations and the Organization of American States. Drug smuggling is an act that should be condemned by the world community as a whole.
- 3) A full U.S. report of the Cuban government's narcotics trade should be prepared and submitted to governments around the world.

4) Hearings should be held by the appropriate Congressional committees. Smuggling drugs into the United States as an official policy goes well beyond the standards of acceptable international behavior. The Congressional committees responsible for the drug traffic have begun to look into this problem. It remains, however for the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to examine the implications on U.S. foreign policy of such unethical action by a neighboring government.

5) The extensive information already available on Castro's drug trade justifies the imposition of further sanctions on Havana by the international community. Particular attention should be given to the restriction of trade by Cuban government agencies, and the cutting off of credit to the Cuban government. These steps should be taken by the greatest possible number of countries, particularly those threatened by guerrilla movements inspired and aided by Havana.

6) Because Castro's government claims to punish drug-related crimes in Cuba and has ascribed the use of drugs in Cuba to North American influences, the exposure of its own involvement is particularly important. The proposed radio station for broadcasting to Cuba [Radio Marti] is essential for exposing the Castro regime's crimes and to make known the fact that the drug conspiracy is not an isolated misstep by venal officials, but part of a deliberate and longstanding policy of deception, of which the Cuban people themselves are the chief victims.

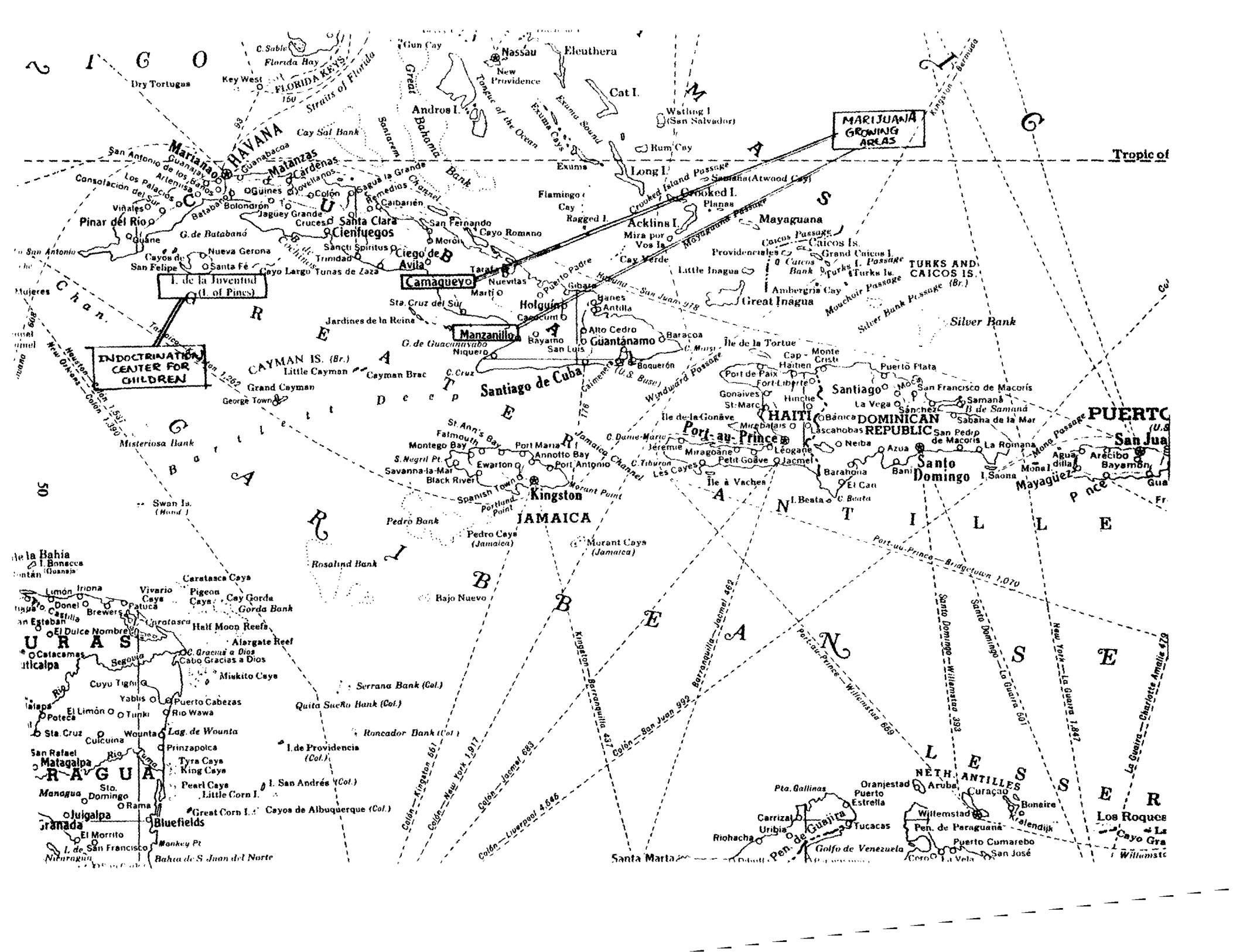
7) To lay the groundwork for these steps, a vigorous investigation of the Castro narcotics network is needed. This effort should include all U.S. agencies with responsibility for international affairs and drug enforcement: the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Department of State, and the Congress.

One goal of these investigations would be the extradition of Jaime Guillot-Lara, the fugitive drug smuggler, and the Cuban government officials with whom he worked. The resources of Interpol should be brought into play to assist in locating and arresting Guillot-Lara. Extradition of the government officials could be achieved if they were to travel to a third country with which the U.S. has an extradition treaty.

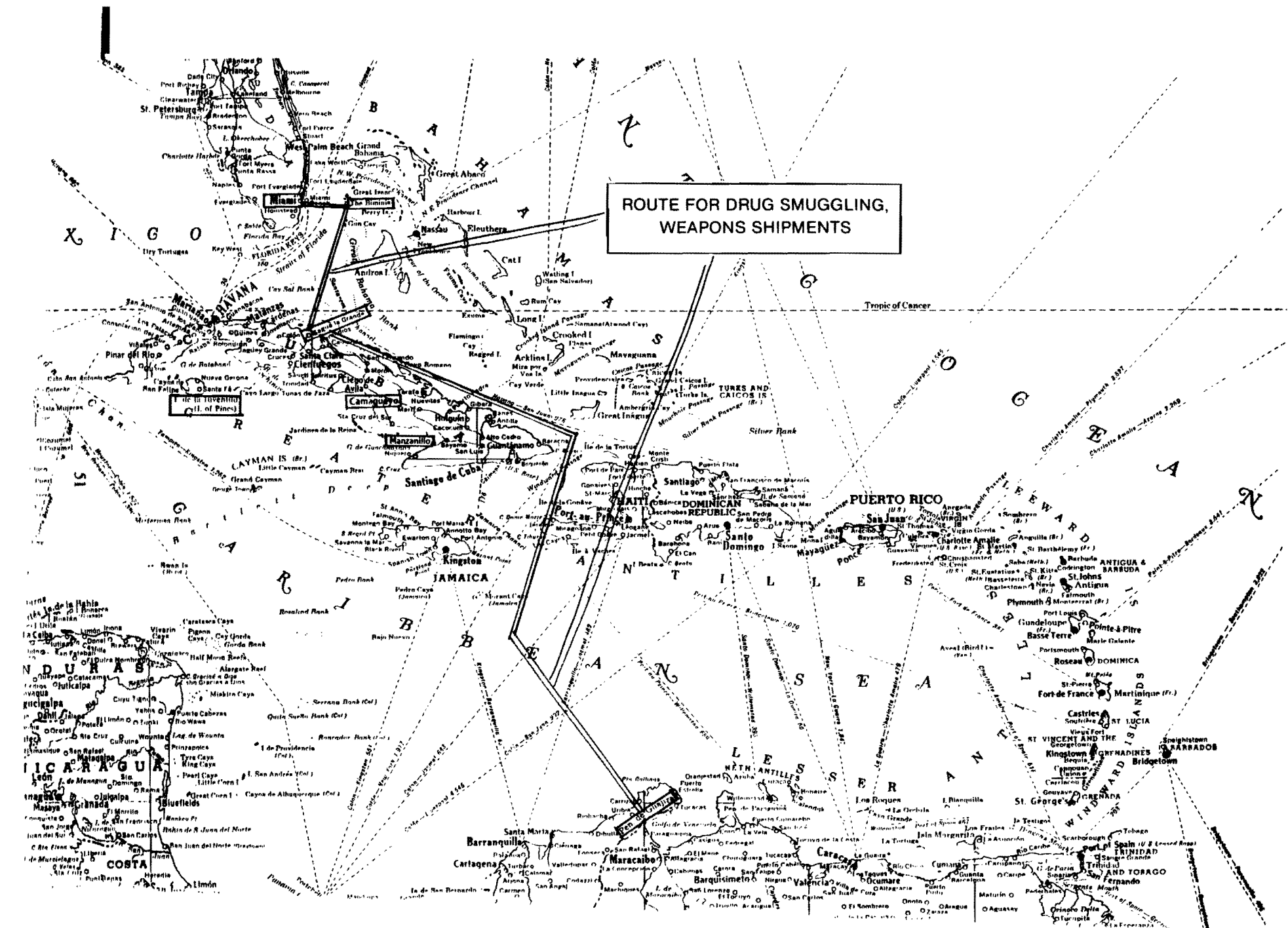
We must call on the Castro regime for an accounting of their part in the drug peddling which is affecting our nation.

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Maps of Cuban Drug Trafficking Routes, Marijuana Fields and Intelligence Training Facilities



ROUTE FOR DRUG SMUGGLING,
WEAPONS SHIPMENTS



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Miami drug smuggler ran guns for Castro to guerrillas, agents said

By EDNA BUCHANAN

Herald Staff Writer

A Miami drug trafficker has smuggled arms to leftist guerrillas in Colombia and received assistance from the Castro government in Cuba, according to federal agents and Dade police.

If their information is accurate, the case could establish for the first time a Cuban link between drug smuggling into the United States and revolution in South America.

U.S. Attorney Atlee Wampler III said Saturday, "This is the first time that I can remember that material like that would come out in open judicial proceedings — and it will."

Castro's brother, Raul, met secretly with the drug trafficker last year, according to U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration sources, and a deal was struck:

The smuggler's narcotics ships would have access to Cuban ports for refueling, repairing

recently. The agency was said to be particularly interested in reports of Guillot's ties with Castro government and the M-19 guerrillas.

Myles Frechette, director of the U.S. State Department's Cuban Affairs office, acknowledged Saturday that he had heard rumors of a man in jail who was linked to drug traffic, Cuba and the M-19 guerrillas. But he had not seen any official reports, he said.

DEA officials say their narcotics investigation began routinely last year, without any political implications, and "suddenly it began to shock everyone."

"It's significant," said John McCutcheon, DEA supervisor for the Fort Lauderdale area. "This is the first time we have had a major supplier of drugs, now indicted, who is definitely involved with an outfit such as the M-19."

Guillot, who owns a walled \$300,000 home in Miami on Sunset Drive, is a fugitive from Miami and his native Colombia, where he owns

'This is the first time that I can remember that material [indicating a Castro role in drug trafficking] would come out in open judicial proceedings'

U.S. Attorney Atlee Wampler III



and evading the U.S. Coast Guard. In exchange, he would run weapons and munitions to the leftist guerrilla M-19 movement in Colombia.

The DEA identified the smuggler as Jaime Guillot Lara, 35, a "major drug trafficker." Investigators say he wanted to be the next prime minister of Colombia.

Last month Guillot was jailed in Mexico City. This month he was indicted on marijuana conspiracy charges by a federal grand jury in Miami.

Two weeks ago he tried to kill himself, slashing his wrists in his jail cell. Mexican officials say he is recovering.

The CIA questioned Guillot in Mexico

a development of 2,000 homes near Barranquilla.

Guillot was arrested on murder charges in Barranquilla in September, 1976, police said, and in Mexico for fraud in 1978. The disposition of the charges was unknown.

Police said one of Guillot's marijuana ships, the Margot, was seized by the Colombian army in October 1977. The Colombians also seized 14 tons of marijuana in February, 1979 from Guillot and 30 more tons 11 days later, they said.

In early 1981 Guillot was kidnaped in Miami by other drug dealers. He survived the ordeal. Metro-Dade police did not find out about it until Coral Gables police discovered his baby-blue

Mercedes Benz 450 SL riddled by bullets and submerged in a canal.

The Cuban connection apparently developed about a year ago, investigators say, when a Colombian drug trafficker, Johnny Crump, introduced Guillot to a Cuban diplomat. The diplomat, Gonzalo Bezol, was accompanied by his "chauffeur," who is a former chief of demolition for Cuban forces in Angola, according to intelligence sources.

Customs agents assisted by the DEA arrested Crump at the Omni Hotel in Miami a week ago on narcotics trafficking charges.

His bond is set at \$3 million. He was in possession of documents linking him to Cuban officials — including their home numbers in Cuba — police said.

Guillot, Bezol and the "chauffeur" went to Nicaragua last year, where they met with Raul Castro, Cuba's Armed Forces minister, the DEA said.

Soon afterward a vessel owned by Guillot delivered 200 tons of weapons to the guerrillas, federal agents said.

Two other of Guillot's ships, loaded with marijuana, were seized off the Virginia coast and in Tampa.

In November, one of Guillot's vessels, the Monarcha, rendezvoused twice at sea with a weapons-laden ship called the Karina, taking on loads of guns and munitions, investigators say. A stolen Aeropesca airliner was used to transport one load of guns to an airstrip on a farm in the Colombian interior, they said.

The Colombian Navy caught and sank the Karina 10 miles off the coast. Members of the crew were captured or killed.

Colombian armed forces seized the Monar-

cha, and Guillot fled to Mexico City, investigators said.

He arranged to meet there with Bezol, they said, to receive a large amount of cash for his getaway. It is unknown if the money exchange ever took place, agents said. When police arrested him, he had only about \$7,000, officials said.

The U.S. government has begun extradition proceedings. Colombia also wants to extradite him.

"I don't think he wants to go anywhere," said McCutcheon. "He'd like to crawl under a rock."

DEA agents say they had no interest in the guerrilla effort or international politics, but were merely investigating a narcotics case.

"We proved that the M-19s are using narcotics to overthrow the government of Colombia, that Cubans are providing them with weapons, and that the man we indicted was to become prime minister," said DEA Agent Evelineo Fernandez.

Federal agents, local police and U.S. attorneys have met for weeks trying to piece together the international intrigue surrounding Guillot and his associates.

The recent murder of six Colombians in a Southwest Dade townhouse is an example of the problem according to Metro-Dade Homicide Lt. Raul Diaz.

Alfonso Jesus Arrubla, one of the dead in that still-unsolved murder was an M-19 guerrilla, police say.

"How," asked Homicide Commander Don Matthews, "can a local law enforcement agency deal with crimes the motives of which are 3,000 miles away?"

The New York Times, January 25, 1982

U.S. Links Drug Trader In Miami to Raul Castro

MIAMI, Jan. 24 (UPI) — Federal agents and the Dade County police said today that the Government in Cuba had helped a Miami drug trafficker smuggle weapons to leftist guerrillas in South America.

Atlee Wampler 3d, a Federal attorney, said that this was the first time that material indicating a Castro Government role in drug trafficking "would come out in open judicial proceedings."

Sources in the Drug Enforcement Administration, according to The Miami Herald today, said that President Fidel Castro's

brother, Raúl met with the drug trafficker last year and granted access to Cuban ports for refueling, repairing and evading the Coast Guard.

In exchange, the smuggler, identified as Jaime Guillot Lara, 35, would run weapons and munitions to the guerrilla movement M-19 in Colombia, the newspaper reported.

The United States drug agency labeled Mr. Guillot a "major drug trafficker." A Federal grand jury in Miami has indicted him on charges of marijuana conspiracy, but he is in jail in Mexico City.

U.S. links Cuba with drug ring

Arms, Cash went to aid guerrillas

By DON BOHNING
Herald Staff Writer

The State Department Tuesday accused Cuba of using a narcotics ring to funnel both arms and cash to leftist guerrillas battling to overthrow Colombia's constitutional government.

A department statement essentially confirmed and added new details to a Miami Herald story Sunday reporting on Cuban links to the narcotics ring and Colombia's M-19 guerrilla movement.

"We have information that since 1980 the [Fidel] Castro regime [in Cuba] has been using a Colombian narcotics ring to funnel arms as well as funds to Colombian M-19 guerrillas," the State Department said.

"This narcotics ring was led by Jaime Guillot Lara, a Colombian drug trafficker now in custody in Mexico," according to the statement. "He has admitted to working for Havana and purchasing arms for the M-19."

The State Department said it had information Guillot "had traveled twice to Cuba since October 1981 and on the second visit he received \$700,000 from the Cuban government to purchase arms for the Colombian M-19 guerrillas."

The department said Guillot had then "played a principal role in transferring the arms he purchased from a ship to a Colombian plane hijacked by the M-19" and "reportedly also transferred funds to the guerrillas through an employee of a Panamanian bank."

The M-19 is Colombia's best known guerrilla movement. It takes its name from the date in April 1970 when they claim the late populist strongman Gustavo Rojas Pinilla was defrauded of a presidential victory.

U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration sources identified Guillot, 35, as a "major drug trafficker" who was indicted by a federal grand jury in Miami earlier this month on marijuana conspiracy charges.

Guillot was jailed in Mexico last month. He is reported to have attempted suicide in his jail cell two weeks ago by slashing his wrists. Mexican officials say he is recovering.

He owns a walled, \$300,000 home on Sunset Drive in Miami and is a fugitive in both Miami and his native Colombia where he has a 2,000-home development near Barranquilla.

Colombian President Julio Turbay Ayala's government "suspended" diplomatic relations with Cuba in March 1981 following the capture of several dozen M-19 guerrillas near the Ecuadorian border. They allegedly had been trained in Cuba and returned to Colombia through Panama.

The department statement Tuesday said that in return for Guillot's help "the Cubans facilitated the ring's trafficking by permitting mother ships carrying marijuana to take sanctuary in Cuban waters while awaiting feeder boats from the Bahamas and Florida."

The department said Guillot had admitted that he was planning an arms shipment to "an unspecified group in Bolivia" and that the arms were to be supplied "by an individual in Miami named Johnny."

The department statement said that Johnny was "Johnny Crump, a narcotics and arms trafficker now being detained in Miami on narcotics charges." It was from Crump's introduction of Guillot to a Cuban diplomat that the narcotics-gun running deal evolved.

Customs agents assisted by the DEA arrested Crump at the Omni Hotel in Miami 10 days ago.

The State Department called the Guillot affair "the first firm information we have which implicates Cuba in narcotics trafficking" and "confirms through an independent source what we have suspected, that despite Cuban denials Cuba has provided arms to the Colombian M-19 guerrillas in addition to training them."

HAVANA'S DRUG-SMUGGLING CONNECTION

U.S. intelligence received the first informant reports as early as 1975. Scattered, largely unsubstantiated, they were greeted with skepticism. But by the fall of 1981 the proof was undeniable: in return for massive payoffs, Fidel Castro was providing the protection of Cuban ports and territorial waters to major drug smugglers shuttling between Latin America and the southeastern United States.

Since then, intelligence reports from federal and state law-enforcement agencies have revealed that the smuggling has pumped millions of dollars into Cuba's cash-starved economy. Additional millions have been transferred to Cuban-backed guerrilla movements throughout Latin America. Finally, Castro has used the channels of the drug traffic as a pipeline through which hundreds of tons of weapons and supplies have been funneled to Marxist insurgents in Colombia, El Salvador and Guatemala, among others.

Here — compiled from enforcement and intelligence sources of three nations — is the full story.

By Nathan M. Adams

At 3 a.m. on July 2, 1981, Benedicto* maneuvered his 60-foot boat through the shoals of the Great Bahama Bank, 17 miles off Cuba's north coast. His radar registered the hundreds of sand bars and tiny cays scattered before him like pearls from a broken necklace. During his five-hour trip from Key West, Benedicto had kept his eyes glued to the screen, searching for that single blip which could represent a U.S. Coast Guard cutter. There was none, and he breathed easier.

Benedicto was a marijuana smuggler, considered one of the best by his Colombian employers. Over the past several years, he had made numerous voyages between Colombia's La Guajira Peninsula and the coastal waters of southern Florida. But this was the first time that he had been directed to pick up a shipment in Cuba.

Shortly before dawn Benedicto and his associate, who skippered a companion vessel, caught sight of the sweeping beam of the lighthouse on Cayo Paredón Grande, a kidney-shaped cay well inside Cuban territorial waters. Using a predetermined frequency, Benedicto spoke several code words into the ship-to-shore telephone. Twenty minutes later, he saw the Russian-made gunboat nosing through the swells toward him.

The gunboat guided the two vessels to a "mothership," a huge trawler that had left Colombia a week earlier with 56 tons of marijuana. At daybreak, two members of the Cuban Intelligence Service, the DGI, began supervising the transfer of the cargo to the small boats. When they broke for lunch, the two intelligence officers asked Benedicto to purchase some items for them in Miami — closed-circuit-video security systems, U.S.-manufactured pistols, MAC-10 submachine guns.

The cargo transfer continued. At sunset two small boats, each loaded with about a ton of marijuana, were ready for the return voyage to Key West. Provided with Cuban flags that would be discarded just outside U.S. waters, running without lights, and shepherded for much of the journey by a Cuban gunboat, Benedicto had an uneventful journey.

Over the next three months, Benedicto completed two more voyages to Cayo Paredón Grande. But early last November he was arrested by government authorities for marijuana smuggling after having been picked up by the Florida Marine Patrol. Facing a lengthy prison term, Benedicto cooperated, providing the Florida Department of Law Enforcement and other agencies with full details of his Cuban involvement.

Business Expense. Until the mid-1970s, Colombian smugglers shipped millions of tons of marijuana and cocaine to the United States without the aid of the Cuban government. To reach the

*Not his real name

coasts of southern Florida — and their rendezvous with the small “feeder” boats that shuttle the cargo ashore — Colombian motherships usually sailed through the Windward passage, a narrow strait between the eastern tip of Cuba and Haiti. The smallest error in navigation, however, could place a vessel within Cuban waters, where it would be seized, its cargo of drugs confiscated, and crew imprisoned.

Smuggler losses to Cuban patrol boats began to mount alarmingly. Then, in late 1975, some of Colombia's largest drug smugglers met secretly in Bogota with Cuban Ambassador Fernando Ravelo-Renedo to negotiate a release of their ships and crews. Ravelo-Renedo responded with Havana's counter offer. In return for payments of up to \$800,000 per vessel, the ambassador said, Cuba was prepared not only to ignore motherships detected in its waters, but to provide refueling and repair services in its ports. Upon leaving port, the vessels would be provided Cuban flags and gunboat escorts to the feeder boats out of the Florida Keys.

It was an offer the smugglers could not refuse. Even a modest 25-ton marijuana shipment could bring its owners as much as \$12 million when offloaded to American importers. Thus, \$800,000 was simply a business expense. For Havana, the arrangement provided cash for Marxist insurgencies under way in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. And the smugglers who carried drugs north could ferry supplies and weapons for guerrilla forces on their trips back.

True Picture. One of Havana's lucrative clients was Alfonso Cotes, a member of one of Colombia's most politically powerful smuggling families. Another was Alfonso García, the owner of several large Colombian motherships plying Cuban waters. Cuban agents also established contacts with at least three major drug smugglers based in Miami, including Juan Lozano “Johnny Crump” Pérez, a Colombian marijuana trafficker and convicted cocaine dealer.

But the most important of Havana's drug-smuggler clients was Jaime Guillot-Lara, also a Colombian. The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) had been watching him since 1975 and estimated that in the late '70s he was delivering over 400,000 pounds of marijuana, more than 20 million illicit methaqualone pills and thousands of pounds of cocaine to U.S. markets each year. Meanwhile, he had acquired partial or outright ownership of nearly a half-dozen motherships.

A relative latecomer to the Cuban connection, Guillot-Lara was not introduced to Ambassador Ravelo-Renedo until the spring of 1980. Meeting at the Cuban embassy in Bogotá, Guillot-Lara and the ambassador quickly came to terms. In return for \$200,000 for each ten-ton marijuana shipment, Guillot-Lara would receive transit protection in Cuban waters. The tax was less than that levied on other traffickers because Guillot-Lara supported the budding M-19 terrorist movement in Colombia.

After transferring marijuana and cocaine cargoes in Cuba, Guillot-Lara agreed to carry arms to the M-19 insurgents. Over the next year, he met with Ravelo-Renedo or his associates in Bogotá and in Panama and Mexico to arrange arms deliveries to Colombia as well as drug transfers in Cuba. Meanwhile, in Havana, one of the most powerful officials in the Castro government was in charge of coordinating the smuggling activities of Guillot-Lara and other major Colombian traffickers. He was Rene Rodríguez Cruz, a ranking member of the elite Central Committee of the Communist Party as well as nearly half a dozen other organizations, and president of the powerful Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples — often used as a cover for DGI intelligence activities.

In March 1981, however, Castro's Colombian activities were upset when local authorities seized a cache of M-19 weapons. Arrested guerrillas implicated the Cuban embassy as an M-19 recruitment center, leading Colombia to break off diplomatic relations with Havana and expel Ambassador Ravelo-Renedo and his staff. The rupture proved only an inconvenience to Guillot-Lara and his Havana controllers. In succeeding months, two of Guillot-Lara's ships, the *Karina* and *Monarca* (renamed the *Zar*), delivered 200 tons of supplies and munitions to M-19 revolutionaries on Colombia's Pacific coast.

On November 7, Colombian patrol boats spotted the *Karina* offloading another arms shipment on the Pacific coast. The ship was sunk and all but four crewmen perished. When he heard the news, Guillot-Lara fled to Cuba and then to Nicaragua.

Intelligence sources report that he met there with Cuban Armed Forces Minister Raul Castro, Fidel's brother. Guillot-Lara was instructed to travel to Mexico City, where the Cuban embassy provided a \$500,000 payment for an earlier arms shipment. The remainder of the money — a \$1-million letter of credit — was to be delivered by Cuban couriers for a future shipment.

But Guillot-Lara did not have the chance to close the deal. On November 23 he was tipped off that

he was being followed by Mexican police. Panicked, he phoned the Cuban embassy for help. Later that night he was met by two Cuban military attachés who provided him with false documents. They drove him to the Nicaraguan embassy where he was given \$700,000 to cover bribes and other expenses involved in fleeing to France. But on November 25, he was arrested by Mexican authorities and charged with the possession of false documents.

Desperately, Cuban representatives tried to obtain Guillot-Lara's release before he could tell interrogators what he knew. They approached the Mexican government four times, but to no avail. Jaime Guillot-Lara was talking his head off. And U.S. law-enforcement and intelligence agencies had their first picture of the full extent of Cuba's use of the narcotics traffic.

On January 8, Guillot-Lara was indicted by a federal grand jury in Miami for conspiracy to smuggle marijuana. A week later, his Miami associate in drugs and arms, Johnny Crump, was also indicted on smuggling charges. In April 1982 Crump was given a 25-year suspended sentence with a six-year probation. The reason — Crump has been cooperating with federal authorities.

But Guillot-Lara's fate is far from sealed. Despite a U.S. extradition request and the overwhelming evidence of his guilt, including his own admissions, U.S. officials are not optimistic that he will be returned to the United States for trial.

Even as these events took place Cuban officials, after holding talks with the Carter Administration in 1978 and 1979, agreed to take action against drug smugglers passing through or near their waters.*

More Proof. In Miami DEA and state and local law-enforcement agencies continue to unravel the ties between Havana and major drug rings. In addition to Guillot-Lara and Crump, they have documented two other key international traffickers:

José Medaro Alvero-Cruz. A 42-year-old marijuana and cocaine smuggler, Alvero-Cruz ships an estimated 200,000 pounds of drugs into the United States each year via Cuban waters. His relationship with Havana dates back at least to November 1976 when he traveled to Spain and obtained a Cuban passport — No. 247 — from the Cuban embassy in Madrid.

He has been seen meeting with Raul Castro at least four times in the past three years. In 1978 he was instrumental in arranging the shipment of 5000 weapons to Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua.

In September 1979 Alvero-Cruz was arrested by DEA agents in Miami for delivering more than 20 pounds of cocaine during an undercover operation. When witnesses refused to testify — they had been threatened with death — the charges were dropped. But Alvero-Cruz was convicted on tax charges and is currently appealing a ten-year prison sentence. DEA agents expect him to try to flee to Havana.

Osiris Santis. A 39-year-old Cuban native, Santis boasts the aliases of *El Animal* and *El Asesino*. Suspected of having committed at least one Miami murder and ordering several others, he is also a drug smuggler whose vessels receive the protection of Cuban ports. He is suspected of arranging the purchase and delivery of weapons to El Salvador guerrillas. According to intelligence sources, Santis purchases drugs directly from Havana's middle-men who act as agents for Colombia's M-19 terrorist faction. The movement is said to control several key cocaine laboratories in Colombia — as well as sizable marijuana shipments from La Guajira. The profits are then plowed back for operating expenses.

What, if anything, can be done to sever the Havana connection? One welcome development is the stepped-up activity of the President's Task Force on Crime in Southern Florida. Under the command of Vice President George Bush, over 200 agents from DEA and Customs — and five additional U.S. Coast Guard cutters — have been sent to southern Florida in an attempt to stem the flow of illicit drugs and arms. The effort has already established proof of continuing links between Cuba and the drug traffic. But the Task Force cannot accomplish the enormous task of severing the Havana connection alone. It is time for our State Department to apply pressure on Mexico and Colombia to assist us. And the time has long since passed for the Departments of State and Justice to make available to the American public the truth about Castro's involvement in the multi-billion-dollar drug trade.

*In April 1982 the Miami *Herald* reported that Cuba had renounced the agreement.

"The Cuban Connection"

Program NBC Nightly News

Station WRC TV
NBC Network

Date September 29, 1982 6:30 p.m.

City Washington, DC

ROGER MUDD: It is widely believed that the Cuban government deliberately emptied its jails on to the shores of Florida. And in tonight's "Special Segment" on the Cuban connection, Brian Ross has evidence the Castro government is also allowing and encouraging a multibillion dollar drug traffic into Florida.

BRIAN ROSS: The Church of San Ambrosio in a wealthy suburb of Bogota, Colombia. Two years ago, a baby girl was christened in this church. The baby's father, Johnny Crump, a very successful narcotics smuggler in Colombia. And the baby's godfather, Ambassador Fernando Rovello, the Ambassador to Colombia from Cuba.

Now this picture and the close relationship between a narcotics smuggler and the Cuban Ambassador is of great interest to the United States government. Federal law enforcement authorities say they have evidence that Ambassador Rovello, until the closing of the Cuban Embassy in Bogota in 1980, was not only Fidel Castro's man in Colombia, but also Castro's man in the narcotics business.

For the last two years, according to federal authorities, the Castro government, in deals worked out by its former ambassador in Bogota, has allowed certain Colombian drug smugglers who have paid up to \$500,000 a boat to operate inside Cuban territorial waters, a safe haven from American ships and planes patrolling the Caribbean and just a few hours from Florida by speed boat.

JOHNNY CRUMP: I was in Cuba at the time that the boat arrived . . .

ROSS: Johnny Crump, the Colombian narcotics smuggler, says he was able to run his drugs through Cuba until early this year when he was caught in a cocaine deal in Miami. Now, to stay out of prison, Crump is providing federal authorities with details of his meetings and alleged drug dealings with Cuban government officials in Bogota and Havana.

CRUMP: They use that as a way to hurt the United States.

ROSS: By helping you as a drug smuggler.

CRUMP: Yeah. Right.

ROSS: And the small boats could come to the mother ship inside Cuban waters?

CRUMP: Inside Cuban waters. They motorize from the mother ship and then go smuggle. . .

ROSS: Back to the United States.

CRUMP: . . . to the United States. . .

ROSS: Crump says the Cubans knew which drug boats were his, because each of his boats used the code name Vivianna, the name of his baby daughter, whose godfather was the Cuban Ambassador.

For the last three months at the Federal Courthouse in Miami, a grand jury has been hearing testimony about the alleged secret deals between Colombian drug smugglers and the Castro government. NBC News has learned that top officials of the Justice Department now believe that there is enough evidence to take the unusual step of asking for indictments against Cuban government officials, including Ambassador Rovello, on drug smuggling charges, even though it is unlikely that any of the Cuban officials could ever be brought to trial.

And federal authorities also say there's evidence that Cuban government intelligence service has been operating its own drug ring and that this man, a former sergeant in Cuban intelligence who has now defected, has admitted he was assigned to run cocaine and other drugs from Havana to Miami. On a flight out of the Bahamas, he showed us the route he took. At one point, he spotted a beached boat he says he was forced to abandon during one drug run. He took us to a remote drug smugglers' air strip where the wreckage of three planes was still on the ground. He says he operated as a spy and a drug dealer for the DGI, the Cuban equivalent of the CIA.

UNIDENTIFIED MAN [Translated]: Cuban intelligence ordered me to transport to Miami cocaine, for the first time on a fast boat to the border. I brought 60 kilos of cocaine to Miami.

VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH: We're concerned about Cuba's role in this.

ROSS: Vice President George Bush, who helped to set up a big federal drug task force in Florida, says whether it's for economic reasons or whatever reasons, there is little doubt Cuba has gone into the drug business.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: And I can't go into everything we might be trying to do about it. But I think there has been hard evidence that the kind of problem you mentioned exists.

ROSS: That has served as a base for some drug dealers?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: That there is — that there is an involvement of Cuba in the — in the overall drug problem.

ROSS: This country is now spending a lot of money to stop drugs from being smuggled into Florida. But even with it all, federal authorities say those smugglers with connections in Havana are often beyond the reach of American law.

Brian Ross, NBC News, Miami.

MUDD: The Cuban government in Havana indicated to NBC News it would have no comment on the Brian Ross report.

FOUR CUBAN OFFICIALS INDICTED IN DRUG SMUGGLING

Havana Said Haven For Colombia Goods

By Mary Thornton
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two members of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and two other high-level Cuban officials were among 14 persons indicted yesterday by a federal grand jury in Miami on charges of conspiring to import marijuana and methaqualone from Colombia to the United States by way of Cuba.

The Cuban officials were charged with allowing Cuba to be used "as a loading station and source of supplies" for drug smugglers bringing drugs from Colombia to the United States from 1978 until April of this year.

The indictments marked the first time that Cuban officials have been formally accused of drug trafficking, although there have been widespread reports that the Castro government was heavily involved in smuggling drugs from Colombia to the United States via the communist island nation.

The Reagan administration announced last month that it intended to get tough on drug traffickers by setting up 12 regional task forces covering the country with 1,200 new agents and prosecutors.

Drug Enforcement Administration officials said yesterday that they decided to seek indictments against the Cuban officials to draw attention to the role of the Castro government in drug trafficking in the Americas. Sources said there is little hope of prosecuting the Cubans, since the United States does not maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Jim Judge, a DEA spokesman, said the indictments followed a three-year investigation. During that period, he said, Colombians brought into this country 2.5 million pounds of marijuana, 23 million methaqualone tablets, known as Quaaludes, and 80 pounds of cocaine. Those drugs would have a street value of more than \$800 million, officials said. Much of the marijuana and methaqualone came through Cuba.

A DEA source alleged that the smugglers were led by a Colombian named Jaime Guillot-

Lara, also indicted yesterday, who is accused of paying off Cuban officials so that his boats could stop at Cuban ports for supplies and refueling.

In return, the source said, Guillot-Lara was allegedly paid by Cuban officials to smuggle arms to the M19 leftist guerrilla movement in Colombia. One of his boats was seized by the Colombian government in 1981 with 100 tons of weapons aboard.

Guillot-Lara was wanted by U.S. authorities for a 1978 drug indictment and by Colombian authorities on weapons charges. He was arrested last year in Mexico City and charged with being involved in terrorist activities. But Mexican authorities released him last month. He fled to Spain and is believed to be hiding in Europe.

The Justice Department has sent a formal protest to the Mexican government over his release.

A DEA source said that all of the boats allegedly used in the operation were renamed "Viviana" and that the Cuban navy was under orders not to fire upon any boat bearing that name.

The Cuban officials named in the indictment include:

- Rene Rodriguez-Cruz, reportedly an official of the Cuban intelligence service, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Cuban Institute of Friendship With The Peoples. It was in the last capacity in 1980 that Rodriguez helped organize the boatlift of nearly 125,000 Cubans to the United States as refugees — including some convicts from Cuban jails.

- Aldo Santamaria-Cuadrado, also known as Rene Baeza-Rodriguez, who the indictment identifies as a vice admiral in the Cuban navy and a member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee. He "would supervise in Cuba the protection and resupply of ships transporting marijuana from Colombia to the

United States by way of Cuba," the indictment says.

- Fernando Ravelo-Renedo, Cuban ambassador to Colombia until the embassy in Bogota was closed as relations between the countries worsened in 1980. He is godfather of a 2-year-old daughter of Colombian drug trafficker Juan (Johnny) Crump. Crump is now in the federal witness protection program.

- Gonzalo Bassols-Suarez, identified as a former minister counsel of the Cuban embassy in Bogota and a member of the Cuban Communist party.

A DEA source said that Rodriguez-Cruz and

Santamaria-Cuadrado are both close associates of Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Two of the men indicted were arrested yesterday in Miami. They were Cubans Jose Domingo-Martinez and Alberto Cortez.

Others indicted include five Cubans who are already serving time in American prisons on drug charges; Cornelio Ramos-Valladares, David Lorenzo-Perez, Jorge Felipe Llerena-Delgado, Jose Rafael Martinez and Hector Gonzales. A Colombian named in the indictments, Levino Orobio-Michelena, is also in a U.S. prison on drug charges.

Another indictment listed charges against Julian Losada, who is still in Colombia.

U.S. indicts four Castro officials on drug-trafficking conspiracy

By JIM MCGEE
Herald Staff Writer

A federal grand jury in Miami indicted four senior Cuban government officials Friday on charges of conspiring to use Cuba as a safe haven for drug-laden ships bound for the United States from Colombia.

The indictment charges that for two years the officials permitted drug traffickers "to use Cuba as a loading station and source of supplies for ships transporting" Quaaludes and marijuana.

The scheme, which allegedly teamed Colombian smugglers with the Cuban Navy, involved the shipment of millions of tons of contraband to South Florida in ships owned by Jaime Guillot-Lara, officials said.

Ten other persons were also charged in the conspiracy, which involved ships from Colombia traveling through Cuban waters to the Bahamas where they were met by smaller, faster boats for transfer of the drugs.

Indictment of the Cuban officials, while highly unusual, has been rumored for weeks. Extensive news leaks about the Miami-based investigation had revealed the outlines of the alleged conspiracy. The U.S. State Department earlier this year claimed there was proof the Castro government was facilitating smuggling.

Yet Friday's indictment — and agents familiar with the investigation — stopped short of asserting that the smuggling plan was sanctioned by the Cuban government.

"We are not saying this is the policy of the Cuban government," said DEA Special-Agent-In-Charge Peter Gruden. "We don't know and we have not suggested there is a conspiracy by the Cuban government in general."

The four indicted officials operate at the highest levels of Castro's government. They include:

- Fernando Ravelo-Renedo, former Cuban Ambassador to Colombia and godfather to the 2-year-old daughter of admitted Colombian drug trafficker Johnny Crump. Revelo allegedly negotiated the arrangement with Guillot at the Bogota Hilton Hotel in Nov. 1979.

- Gonzalo Bassols-Suarez, formerly

second-in-command of the Cuban embassy in Colombia under Revelo and a member of the Cuban Communist Party. He served as an intermediary between the Cuban government and the Guillot organization, according to DEA officials.

- Aldo Santamaria-Cuadrado, a vice admiral in the Cuban Navy and member of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuban. The indictment said his job was to "supervise, in Cuba, the protection and resupply of" ships that stopped in Cuban waters and then were met by smaller boats from South Florida.

- Rene Rodriques-Cruz, a suspected Cuban intelligence official and member of the Central Committee, who gained notoriety in 1980 when he helped organize the Mariel Boatlift. He was the other senior Cuban official who allegedly met with Guillot in Bogota and arranged for the use of his ships.

There was no immediate response from the Cuban government to the eight-count, 19-page indictment, according to Miguel Martinez, a spokesman for the Cuban government in Washington. Since January, however, Cuban officials have repeatedly denied the drug allegations.

"All these are lies," said Martinez.

No Cuban official named in the indictment is in U.S. custody and privately, officials have questioned the logic of filing criminal charges against senior officials of another nation.

"We are hopeful that we could get them from a third country if they travel," said DEA spokesman Brent Eaton. "Obviously, we can't get them from Cuba."

The investigation is apparently built around the testimony of several participants in the smuggling operation, chiefly Johnny Crump, the admitted cocaine smuggler who struck a deal with U.S. authorities.

A protected federal witness, Crump agreed to testify about his dealings with the Cubans in exchange for leniency from a federal judge.

The conspiracy allegedly grew out of a close friendship that Crump says he had with Ravelo-Renedo, the former Cuban ambassador to Colombia.

Federal sources said Crump began dealing with Guillot, a Colombian shipowner who once lived in a plush South Miami home and is considered a major drug trafficker.

Eventually, officials say, Crump introduced Guillot to his friends in the Cuban embassy in Colombia and a deal was struck that satisfied various interests: Cuba would help Guillot smuggle drugs if he ran guns to the M-19 guerrillas in Colombia.

The arrangement came unraveled earlier this year when Crump was arrested in Miami on a cocaine charge and was persuaded to become a government witness.

Until recently, Guillot was held in a Mexican jail on unrelated charges pending extradition efforts by the U.S. and Colombia.

Several weeks ago, however, Mexican authorities released Guillot. Guillot, who was also named in Friday's indictment, is believed to be in Europe.

Others charged Friday include: Julian Losada, a Colombian national also known as "Cacacho" who remains at large, Jose Domingo Martinez Valdez, a Cuban-American, whose whereabouts are unknown and Albert Cortez, who was arrested Friday in Miami.

Cuba bankrolled drug run, witness claims

By JAY DUCASSI
Herald Staff Writer

High-ranking officials of the Cuban government who allegedly helped smuggle drugs into the United States were to share in the profits from the sale of the narcotics, a smuggler-turned-informant told a Miami federal jury Wednesday.

The payments were to be made in return for allowing the drug traffickers to use Cuba as a safe haven and loading base, and to repay the officials for money Cuba spent to buy the drugs in Colombia, said David Lorenzo Perez, Jr.

Perez, 27, a confessed smuggler testifying for the U.S. government, said he met with Rene Rodriguez Cruz, a member of the Central Committee of Cuba's Communist Party, during a drug pickup at sea in late 1980.

He [Rodriguez] told me some of the money used to buy the merchandise in Colombia was provided by the Cuban government," said

spiracy and traded his testimony for immunity on the other charges.

Perez said Wednesday he was responsible "to the Colombians and to the Cuban government" for keeping the records of drug sales in the United States. "The Cuban government was financing most of these operations," Perez said.

The Cubans' cut from the operations would have amounted to \$800,000 from the sale of about 10 million tablets of methaqualone, and a third of the profits from the sale of 23,000 pounds of marijuana, Perez said.

The pills, he said were bought in Colombia for 10 cents a piece. He planned to sell them here for 70 cents each.

But a case of the jitters prevented the Quaalude tablets from reaching the United States, Perez said.

Nervous drug traffickers feared detection when an engine on their ship, the Lazy Lady, broke down and a Coast Guard helicopter flew overhead.

A Cuban official 'told me some of the money used to buy merchandise in Colombia was provided by the Cuban government.'

David Lorenzo Perez

Perez, who added he arranged for the delivery and sale of the drugs in South Florida.

It was Perez's second day of testimony in the trial of seven men accused of conspiring with Cuban officials to smuggle drugs into the United States. The trial, expected to last two weeks, began Monday.

Four Cuban officials have also been indicted, but have not been arrested. They are: Rodriguez Cruz, who heads the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples; Cuban Navy Vice Admiral Aldo Santamaria Cuadrado; Fernando Ravelo Renedo, former Cuban ambassador to Colombia; and Gonzalo Bassols-Suarez, minister-counselor at the Cuban embassy in Colombia until 1981.

Two others named in the eight-count indictment have avoided arrest. Perez, also charged in the case, pleaded guilty to one count of con-

"They had to throw the pills overboard," Perez said. Into the ocean went 426 boxes of Quaaludes — between 10 and 12 million tablets — with a market value of about \$7 million.

Another operation seemed to go smoothly — at first.

Smugglers were able to pick up a shipment of marijuana from a Colombian "mother ship" off the Cuban coast. Of the 14 speedboats that made the pickup, only one was stopped by the Coast Guard on arrival in South Florida.

But the pot turned out to be "low grade," Perez said, and could not be sold for its full value.

He said the problems angered Jaime Guillot Lara, a Colombian named in the indictment as one of the leaders in the conspiracy. Guillot shipped the drugs from Colombia and arranged with Cuban officials for their safe passage through the island, Perez said.

"He [Guillot] told me we had to make it up to the Cuban government," Perez said. "I told him I wasn't paying any money to the Cuban government or whoever for something [for which] I had not received any money."

In the end, Perez said, he made a partial payment to Guillot of \$450,000. Perez was not able to make any more payments. He was sent to prison shortly after to begin serving a nine-year-sentence on an unrelated drug conviction.

During cross examination Wednesday, defense attorney John Lazarus probed Perez's history as a drug dealer. Perez said he started in the drug trade in 1976 driving marijuana trucks.

He made his first large drug transaction in 1978, he said, when he arranged for drug ships to offload their cargo in Louisiana. He said he made \$535,000 in the deal, but was arrested soon after and convicted in 1980.

The New Republic, February 28, 1983

Drugs, guns, and Terrorists.

K.G.B. Connections

The revelations about the possible complicity of the Bulgarian secret police in the shooting of the Pope have produced a grudging admission, even in previously skeptical quarters, that the Soviet Union may be involved in international terrorism. Some patterns have emerged in the past few years that tell us something about the extent to which the Kremlin may use terrorism as an instrument of policy. A great deal of information has lately come to light, some of it accurate, some of it not. One of the most interesting developments appears to be the emergence of a close working relationship between organized crime (especially drug smugglers and dealers) and some of the principal groups in the terrorist network. This embrace can be found in at least three countries: Turkey, Italy, and Cuba. In what follows I have checked what seemed to be the most suggestive information about the relationship: I have confirmed the claims attributed to other journalists, and information stated without attribution represents material I gathered on my own.

"In recent years," said Marvin Kalb in the NBC "White Paper" broadcast last September 21, using weapons and propaganda "the Soviet Union has sought to destabilize Turkey, a huge effort that cost more than \$1 billion, supporting both right- and left-wing terrorism." The Turkish case is also the first to come to light in which disciplined terrorist organizations worked closely with drug smugglers on a large scale. This alliance was forged by the early '70s in Turkey, and it provided the network through which Mehmet Ali Agca — the Turk who shot Pope John Paul II — fled Turkey for the comforts of the Hotel Vitosha in Sofia, Bulgaria. Here, according to Kalb, he met a fellow Turk, Omer Mersan, "a key figure in a huge drug smuggling and gun-running operation controlled Mafia-style by yet another Turk, Abuzer Ugurlu, known as 'the Godfather.'" Kalb interviewed Ugur Memcu, one of the leading Turkish experts on Bulgaria's role in drug smuggling. Memcu told Kalb that "the Turkish Mafia is responsible for the smuggling originating in Bulgaria, and therefore it would be right to claim that there is collusion between the Bulgarian authorities and the members of the Turkish Mafia based in Bulgaria." And as every authority on the K.G.B. — from former Bulgarian intelligence officials to former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brezniski — has observed, it is inconceivable that activities on such a scale could have taken place without Soviet approval.

The same pattern developed in Italy some years later. For a long time an alliance between the Red Brigades and organized criminals was unthinkable. The Brigadiers always claimed to play a purely political role, and the Mafia was predictably upset by terrorist activity. The Mafia plays a conservative role in Italian politics. It is intensely anti-Communist, and it remembers the help it got from the Americans during World War II; besides, terrorism was bad for business, since it put more cops on the street, which put a damper on more traditional forms of criminal activity. With the kidnaping of Aldo Moro, however, the Mafia quietly offered assistance to the Italian government (an offer it refused, since the price — guarantees of "spheres of free influence" for the Mafia — was too high).

During the Moro affair or shortly thereafter, the Red Brigades established links to organized crime. By the time of the Dozier kidnaping last year, the connection was well enough established that Italian investigators hunted for the American general through two channels; the terrorist organization and the drug pipeline. According to highly placed sources in the Italian government, it was information from narcotics dealers that finally led Italian police to Dozier's captors. Indeed, among the positive results of the Dozier affair was the discovery of a mammoth drug-running operation in northern Italy, which is currently under investigation by Judge Carlo Palermo. This month 41 people will go on trial in Trent, accused of trafficking in drugs, arms and money between Italy and the Middle East. According to articles in such reliable Italian newspapers as *La Stampa*, *Il Giorno*

Nuovo, and *Il Corriere della Sera*, a Bulgarian import-export firm, Kintex, is at the center of the investigations, which reportedly have found evidence of drugs and arms smuggling through Bulgarian and Syrian intermediaries (the central figure in the case is a Syrian named Henry Arsan, now in jail in Italy), and terrorist activities.

The Dozier case confirmed a theory of *Carabiniere* General Carlo Alberto dalla Chiesa, the man who headed the best of Italy's antiterrorist forces since the late 1970's and who was murdered last autumn after becoming Prefect of Palermo. Dalla Chiesa believed that the Red Brigades and the Mafia had developed such intimate working relations during the past few years that investigation into Mafia drug activities would lead to the same persons as an investigation into the terrorist organization. Dalla Chiesa became Prefect of Palermo precisely because he believed that Italy would never destroy terrorists unless the drug runners were also shut down. He paid for his courage with his life, but not before convincing his own superiors of the urgency of an antidrug campaign. Meanwhile Italian antiterrorist are having continued success both against the Red Brigades and against drug smugglers, with the one investigation reinforcing the other. Finally, there is the Cuban operation in the United States. Four members of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party were indicted by a Dade County, Florida, grand jury last November 5 for drug smuggling; Rene Rodriguez Cruz (the president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with People), Vice-Admiral Aldo Santamaria Cuadrado of the Navy, ex-ambassador to Colombia; Fernando Ravelo-Renedo, and former minister-counselor to Colombia Gonzalo Bassols-Suarez. (The details of this case were written up in detail by Nathan Adams in *Reader's Digest* last July.) I have investigated the question at some length in both Washington and Miami. The U.S. did a first-class job of infiltration. The picture is reminiscent of the one in Turkey and Italy, except that the "connection" in Miami is not Bulgarian, but Cuban.

It is clear from the list of indicted co-conspirators that the Cubans were caught running drugs out of Colombia. Their principal agent was Jaime Guillot-Lara, a Colombian narcotics trafficker who dreamed that cooperation with Cuba and the Cuban-backed M-19 guerrilla movement in Colombia would one day make him president of his country. Instead, he landed in a Mexican jail late in 1981, and after cooperating with Mexican authorities (who in turn had promised to turn him over to the United States) he escaped from prison, surfaced briefly in Spain, and then disappeared. Some believe that Guillot-Lara is dead, others that he is alive in Cuba.

The story of this operation was pieced together by a variety of American law-enforcement agencies working together over months. Agents and officials from Customs, the Drug Enforcement Agency, the Treasury Department, and the F.B.I. cooperated in the investigations. They found that in late 1981, Guillot-Lara arranged to pick up a marijuana shipment off the coast of the Guajira Peninsula, and loaded it onto his boat, which already contained an arms shipment that had been picked up off the coast of Panama. Thus loaded, the ship went to the port of Dibulla, where the arms were unloaded and carried by truck to a clandestine airstrip nearby. Five armed M-19 terrorists guarded the arms until an Aerospeca cargo plane, hijacked by other M-19s, arrived two days later. In the meantime, the marijuana was delivered to the same airstrip, and was given to the pilot of a small private airplane with U.S. registration, who departed as soon as the loading was finished.

When the Aerospeca plane arrived, it was loaded with the arms: 55 large boxes (containing 10 Belgian FAL rifles each) and 90 small boxes (each containing 1,000 cartridges of 7.62 mm. ammunition). The plane couldn't hold it all, and 15 of the ammunition boxes were left behind, hidden in a marsh close to the air strip at a point that could only be reached by canoe or launch. The arms were flown to the Orteguaza River in Caqueta Department, where an M-19 unit was waiting. Guillot-Lara had coordinated the transfer of drugs from Colombia to Miami, and the arrival of weapons from Florida (via Central America) to the terrorists in Colombia. On other occasions, the entire process seems to have been carried out by sea, where the Cuban Navy provided safety to Guillot-Lara, as it did (and does) for numerous other drug traffickers. The arrangement was simple and profitable for the Cubans: large "mother ships" would wait safely in Cuban waters under protection of Castro's navy until smaller "feeder ships" arrived. Then the "mother ship" would move just outside Cuban waters, make whatever transfer was required, and return to safe haven. The Cubans charged a fee for

these services ranging from \$200,000 to \$800,000 per transaction (a small percentage of the profits that could be realized, of course) and recruited some of the traffickers to run arms as well as drugs. Guillot-Lara's close working relationship with the Cubans was neatly demonstrated one day in 1981, when the Cubans mistakenly seized one of the "mother ships" that Guillot-Lara had leased for his operations. He immediately got in touch with Cuban Ambassador Fernando Ravelo in Bogota, who advised his government of the mistake. The "mother ship" was quickly released, with apologies to the captain.

For those who have been following international terrorism for the past decade, a pattern of close ties between drug smugglers and terrorists is somewhat surprising. The Red Brigades used to brag of their independence from other organizations, and many so-called revolutionary movements avoided working relations with organized crime, because of a certain moral repugnance and because such contacts inevitably carry risks. Fidel Castro used to boast of his hatred of drug traffickers; he even cooperated with the United States by arresting some smugglers and turning them over to American authorities. Yet today some of the top members of the Cuban regime and various terrorist groups in Latin America seem deeply involved in drug running. What explains this apparent turnabout?

From the Kremlin's standpoint, the relations with organized crime would serve at least two purposes. The Russians are alarmingly short of hard cash these days — one of the effects of the greatly strengthened dollar, and of the continued failure of the Soviet economic system — and running weapons or drugs is one sure way to make big money in a hurry. Moreover, the directions of the flow are ideologically attractive; drugs go to the bourgeois countries, where they corrupt and kill, while the arms to pro-Communist terrorist groups in the third world (or, as in the case of Italy, the first world).

To be sure, the Russians did not invent arms or drug trafficking, any more than they invented terrorism or political assassination. But now they appear to be actively involved at both ends (M-19's military leader, Jaime Bateman, spent some time in Moscow, for example), and this involvement gives the traffickers and the terrorists a new strength. Yuri Andropov's old organization, the K.G.B., has apparently become a major backer of drug smugglers, arms runners, and terrorism, despite the risks of discovery, despite the old reticence to dabble in such corrupt practices, and despite the current backlash against these operations. Are they really so desperate for money? Or have they gotten hooked themselves?

Michael Ledeen

Michael Ledeen is a senior fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

A Defector Tells of Drug Dealing By Cuba Agents

Trafficking in New York and Florida Described

By SELWYN RAAB

A Cuban defector has told Federal and New York State law enforcement officials that agents of the Cuban Government conducted narcotics trafficking in the New York metropolitan area and in Florida in 1980 and 1981.

The defector, Mario Estebes Gonzalez, was arrested on drug charges 16 months ago. Since then, in testimony in Federal District Court in Miami and in statements to officials, Mr. Estebes has said that his chief mission on behalf of the Cuban Government was to distribute cocaine, marijuana and methaqualone tablets in New York, northern New Jersey and Florida.

He has testified that he delivered between \$2 million and \$3 million to Cuban officials from proceeds of drug trafficking in the United States in a 15-month period.

Mr. Estebes told Federal officials that he and about 3,000 other Cuban agents infiltrated into the United States among 125,000 refugees who were allowed to leave Cuba from the port of Mariel in the spring of 1980.

Immunity From Prosecution

In return for his cooperation, he is being protected by the Federal Government and has been granted immunity from prosecution for some narcotics trafficking crimes he has admitted.

In Washington, Miguel Martinez, the first secretary and press spokesman of the Cuban Government's Cuban Interest Section in Washington, declined to comment on Mr. Estebes's allegations. The United States and Cuba have no formal diplomatic relations and there has been no comment from Havana about Mr. Estebes's arrest and statements.

Richard D. Gregorie, who is in charge of the narcotics section for the United States Attorney's office in Southern Florida, said Mr. Estebes's allegations about the Cuban Government's complicity in narcotics trafficking were "very credible." Many aspects of Mr. Estebes's

statements have been "independently corroborated," Mr. Gregorie asserted in an interview.

Arrested by Coast Guard

Justice and State Department officials gave various explanations for the Cuban Government's purported role in drug deals. The officials offered these theories about why the Cubans had become involved in drugs in the United States: to obtain hard foreign currency for use in international trade; to retaliate against American trade restrictions on Cuba; to cause social unrest in the United States, or to help finance leftist movements in Latin America.

The 33-year-old Mr. Estebes was arrested by the Coast Guard on Nov. 29, 1981, while he was transporting 2,500 pounds of marijuana in a speedboat off the Florida coast. He was indicted on a charge of possession of marijuana with intent to distribute and faced a maximum prison term of 15 years. Because he was cooperating, he got a nine-month prison sentence.

Mr. Gregorie, an assistant United States attorney, said Mr. Estebes voluntarily admitted his role as a Cuban agent and gave Federal officials details of how Cuban officials arranged the drug trafficking. "It was a fortuitous break; we had no idea who he was," Mr. Gregorie said.

Mr. Estebes told Federal officials and investigators from the New York State Senate's Select Committee on Crime that he believed that about 3,000 other Cuban Government agents entered the United States as refugees in the emigration of Cubans from Mariel.

Mr. Estebes, the officials said, maintained that the agents had a variety of assignments, including drug trafficking, disrupting Cuban exile groups, and economic espionage.

Mr. Estebes was a principal witness for the prosecution at a trial in Federal District Court

in Miami in February that ended in the conviction of five men accused of smuggling narcotics into Florida. The drugs, he testified, were brought by ships from Colombia to the small port of Paredon Grande on the north shore of Cuba in the Old Bahama Channel. There, the drugs were unloaded and transported in small boats to Florida.

No Means of Extradition

In the same case, four Cuban officials, including the commander of the Cuban Navy, Vice Adm. Aldo Santmaria Cuadrado, were indicted on conspiracy charges last Nov. 5. Since the United States has no diplomatic relations with Cuba, the Justice Department has no means to extradite the officials to stand trial.

Mr. Esteves, who is now being guarded in an undisclosed place by Federal agents, is expected to be given a new identity and placed in the Federal Witness Protection Program, Justice Department officials said. A spokesman for the department said Mr. Esteves may be a witness in other narcotics trials and therefore had declined to be interviewed.

Mr. Esteves is scheduled to testify at a public hearing in Manhattan tomorrow about drug trafficking in New York City and northern New Jersey.

The hearing, which has been called by Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, and the State Senate Select Committee on Crime, will also review charges that the Cuban Government released thousands of people imprisoned for violent crimes and allowed them to enter the United States by boat from Mariel in 1980.

Federal Help Sought

The chairman of the crime committee, State Senator Ralph J. Marino, Republican of Oyster Bay, L.I., said one purpose of the hearing was to obtain Federal help for communities that have drug and other crime problems created by criminals who entered the United States as refugees in the emigration from Mariel.

New York City Police Department records show that from May 1980 through last December, people who are believed to have entered the country in the Mariel exodus have been arrested on charges of 6,288 felonies and misdemeanors. There are no accurate figures on how many of the Mariel refugees have been convicted of crimes in the United States.

Verne Jervis, a spokesman for the Immigra-

tion and Naturalization Service, said Cuba had refused to accept the return of Mariel refugees convicted of crimes in this country.

The hearing tomorrow will begin at 9:30 a.m. at the Federal Court of International Trade at 1 Federal Plaza.

Mr. Esteves was questioned in Miami through a Spanish-speaking interpreter by investigators from the crime committee on March 19. In a report to the committee, the investigators said Mr. Esteves told them that drugs obtained by Cuban agents in Florida were transported to dealers in New York City and to Newark, Elizabeth and Union City in New Jersey.

Concealed Compartments

According to the report, Mr. Esteves said heroin and other narcotics were shipped to the New York area inside vans with concealed compartments to hide the drugs.

"We have checked out Esteves's credibility with the Justice Department and the Drug Enforcement Administration and they are satisfied he is telling the truth," said Senator Marino.

In accounts of his background to Federal and state investigators, Mr. Esteves said he was born in Havana and had been trained as a naval mechanic. He said he was employed by the Special Bureau of Missions in the Cuban Ministry of the Interior when he was instructed in the spring of 1980 to enter the United States on a boat from Mariel.

Records in the Community Relations Service of the Justice Department, which supervised the relocation of Cuban refugees, show that Mr. Esteves was released from a refugee camp at Fort Chaffee, Ark., on June 4, 1980. There is no record of when he arrived in the United States.

Mr. Gregorie, the assistant United States attorney, said Mr. Esteves's first assignment from Cuba's Ministry of the Interior was to join Alpha 66, an exile group opposed to the Government of Fidel Castro. According to Mr. Gregorie, Mr. Esteves said he was directed to sabotage boats used by the group for missions to Cuba.

A Change in Assignment

Mr. Esteves said his assignment at Alpha 66 was soon changed, according to Mr. Gregorie.

Mr. Gregorie said Mr. Esteves indicated that in August 1980 he underwent a brief drugs

training program in Cuba and returned to Florida with a list of contacts in the illegal narcotics trade. Before his arrest, Mr. Esteves said, he had access to speedboats and traveled frequently to and from Florida and Cuba, a distance of about 100 miles.

"He ran narcotics, and he was told to bring in as many drugs as possible," Mr. Gregorie said. "He said he told his superiors in Cuba, 'I'm a good soldier. If that is what you want me to do, I will do it.'"

According to Mr. Gregorie, Mr. Esteves said he delivered between \$2 million and \$3 million in cash to his control officers at the Interior Ministry in Cuba.

'A Narcotics Runner'

Mr. Gregorie said it would be inaccurate to

describe Mr. Esteves as a spy. "He was really a narcotics runner for the Cuban Government," Mr. Gregorie said. He said that when Mr. Esteves was asked by Federal investigators why he had admitted his role as an undercover agent, Mr. Esteves replied that "I am tired of helping Cuba do this — bring in drugs."

At the trial in February, Mr. Esteves testified that he saw Vice Admiral Santmaria give orders permitting the unloading of narcotics at Paredon Grande brought in by a reputed international narcotics trafficker, Jaime Guillot Lara. Mr. Guillot Lara, a Colombian, has been indicted on Federal drug charges and is a fugitive, according to the Justice Department.

The drugs, Mr. Esteves testified, were later smuggled into Florida.

Former Cuban agent details nation's gains from drug smuggling

By Sara Rimer
Herald Staff Writer

NEW YORK — The Cuban government has reaped millions of dollars by smuggling drugs into the United States through a network of 400 undercover agents, a Mariel refugee and former Cuban agent testified Tuesday.

Mario Estevez Gonzalez, 33, repeating much of his earlier testimony, said he personally turned over \$7 million from drug deals to officials of Cuba's Ministry of the Interior.

Estevez told the State Senate Select Committee on Crime that he was acting on behalf of the Cuban government along with 3,000 other agents who, he claimed, had come to this country on the Mariel-Key West boatlift.

There has been no public confirmation of this figure from the U.S. intelligence community. Last year, another congressional hearing heard claims that 300 so-called Cuban agents came to Miami during Mariel.

Estevez was a key government witness in February's conviction of five men on charges of conspiring with the Cuban government to smuggle drugs into Florida. Four high-ranking Cuban officials were indicted, but have not been brought to trial. Cuba has denied the allegations.

On Tuesday, Estevez elaborated on his earlier testimony, which described specific drug transactions, by detailing his knowledge of drug trafficking he said was officially sanctioned by the Cuban government.

He said 400 of the 3,000 Cuban agents who infiltrated the United States had orders to deal in drugs. The agents posed among the estimated 125,000 refugees who traveled to Florida by boat in 1980.

Estevez said he traveled between Cuba and Key West in a cigaret boat, using its pipes to conceal cocaine. He said he personally met with 30 New York buyers, who came to Miami to meet him.

Once, he said, he made a delivery himself to New York. And once, he said, he met with a buyer at New York's Studio 54 nightclub.

"These criminals make our street thugs look like Sunday school students."

Sen. Alfonse D'Amato

Estevez said he returned to Cuba two or three times a month to deliver money to Interior Ministry officials and to receive new drug shipments from Colombia. He dealt with an official code-named "Lt. Col. Carlos," he said.

As he spoke, Estevez was concealed by a screen. His testimony was translated, somewhat loosely, by an interpreter. None of the law enforcement officials with him at the hearings offered any corroboration of his claims.

Estevez also claimed that Cuban Premier Fidel Castro had released 10,000 hardened, violent criminals to join the Mariel refugees. That a percentage of Mariel refugees were hardened criminals has been widely reported since the earliest days of the Mariel exodus.

Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R., N.Y.), committee chairman, said that if other agents were as successful as Estevez in drug smuggling, Cuba may have received \$2 billion.

D'Amato, who is pushing for federal funds to build new prisons, called the testimony "absolutely shocking," and said "These criminals make our street thugs look like Sunday school students."

But the senator also acknowledged, "In 1980, Fidel Castro sent over 125,000 Cubans to the U.S. Most of these Cubans were good, decent people who merely wished to escape the tyranny of Castro's Cuba."

Information from The Associated Press supplemented this report.

Castro Ties To Drugs Suggested

State Dept. Aide Cites 1979 Plan By Communists

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI, April 30 — The State Department strongly suggested today that the Cuban government, including President Fidel Castro, has been officially involved in smuggling drugs to the United States to raise money and corrupt U.S. society.

The charges came at a Senate hearing called here to draw attention to Cuban drug connections outlined by witnesses for a federal grand jury that indicted four high Cuban officials last November.

The hearings featured an unusually explicit public accusation by the Reagan administration of official Cuban ties to drug trafficking and were believed to be the first time administration officials have publicly linked Castro to the charges.

"We have a report that the Communist Party Presidium and specifically Fidel Castro, in early 1979, considered a scheme to begin dealing with narcotics smugglers using Cuba as a bridge and support base for the networks to the United States as a means to aid Cuba economically, and to contribute to the deterioration of American society," said James H. Michel, deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, in prepared testimony concurred in by eight other administration officials.

Michel said evidence from the November case and other sources indicates that the plan was carried out. Alleged contact between drug smugglers and ranking Cuban officials "clearly indicates more than a case of corruption by local or mid-level security officials in Cuba" and provides a "strong indication of official policy approval," he said.

In response to questions at the hearing, Michel made the charges of official involvement even more explicit, saying "the evidence is clear that the government of Cuba has, as a matter of policy, used narcotics trafficking" to advance its goals in Latin America and the United States. Cuba has rejected similar accusations,

which a recent editorial in the official Havana newspaper GRANMA called "wretched and cowardly tactics." The four Cuban officials indicated were never tried, since they remained in Cuba.

Today's State Department testimony was welcomed by members of the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, which sponsored the hearing under the chairmanship of Sen. Paula Hawkins (R-Fla.) along with Sens. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.) and Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz).

Helms and Denton expressed impatience with previous administration reluctance to say outright that Castro and his government are officially involved in drug running and with lack of public outrage over somewhat less explicit charges made in March, 1982, by Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

Denton also expressed regret at the caution expressed in a television interview last weekend by FBI Director William H. Webster, who noted that most evidence of official Cuban involvement comes from one set of sources and should be viewed with care.

Denton linked the drug charges to what he portrayed as a determined effort by Cuban and Cuban-allied leftists to subvert Latin American governments, especially El Salvador's. His comments and Michel's testimony fit in with a Reagan administration campaign to rally public and congressional support for its Central American policies, including more aid for El Salvador's army.

Since last year, Michel said, U.S. intelligence has obtained evidence beyond that brought before the grand jury "confirming that Cuban officials have facilitated narcotics trafficking through the Caribbean for at least the past two years." He did not say what the evidence is or how it led to a charge that the Cuban government, rather than corrupt Cuban officials, has cooperated in drug smuggling from Colombia to Florida.

But he said the intelligence confirms in new detail a link between drug smugglers and sup-

pliers of arms to the Colombian M19 leftist guerrilla movement, with Cuba allowing use of its waters as a haven for drug smugglers and with the smugglers taking arms from the United States to Colombia for M19.

Most of the charges center on Jaime Guillot Lara, an alleged drug smuggler wanted by the United States and Colombia.

Five persons indicted by the grand jury here last November were convicted last Feb. 25 of participating in a drug-smuggling conspiracy organized by Guillot with the cooperation of Cuban authorities.

Three self-confessed participants in the conspiracy, the main government witnesses in the trial, testified today, wearing hoods to hide their identity despite previous appearances in open court. All three expressed belief that the Cuban government cooperated officially in the conspiracy, citing contacts with high Cuban officials and a Cuban navy escort for their drug boats.

But Stanley Marcus, the U.S. district at-

torney here who prosecuted the case, resisted the senators' efforts to elicit a conclusion that, based on evidence he marshaled for the trial, the Cuban government is participating in drug smuggling as a matter of policy.

"I think it is a fair and accurate statement to say some of the major organs and institutions of the Cuban state and some high-ranking officials of those organs and institutions of the state are involved in drug-running to the United States," he said.

Francis M. Mullen Jr., acting administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, also used careful language in his testimony, saying that when all the evidence is examined, "it is difficult not to believe that the government of Cuba remains cognizant of the movement of drugs through its territory, and may be facilitating this movement."

Pressed to say whether in his opinion the Cuban government is indeed part of the drug running, he responded, "Yes."

Senate Hearing Told of Cuban Spy Infiltration, Drug Trade

MIAMI (AP) — Cuba used the 1980 Mariel boatlift to ship up to 7,000 spies to the United States, some of whom were ordered to help drug smugglers "flood" this country with illegal narcotics, a black hooded witness said Saturday at a U.S. Senate hearing.

Some of the spies come and go freely in small boats between their communist homeland and the United States, Mario Estevez, a Cuban spy convicted of drug smuggling, testified.

Estevez, who said he was among the spies in the Mariel boatlift said such spies have little trouble obtaining money for operations in the Miami area because of the large number of businesses there that are indirectly run by Cuba.

Some are here for propaganda, and others would create "chaos" in the event of a war between the United States and Cuba, Estevez said.

Estevez was one of three heavily guarded witnesses who described alleged illegal activities by Cuba in the United States during a joint hearing by the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs.

Along with two drug smugglers, Johnny Crump, who is Colombian, and Cuban born David Perez, Estevez detailed a scheme by which a shipment of 23,000 pounds of Colombian marijuana and 10 million methaqualone tablets were to be shipped from Cuba to Florida.

Perez said the smugglers had been expected to share the profits with the Cuban government.

When difficulties arose in the plan and it appeared evident that the profit would be less than anticipated, a Cuban agent told the smugglers the difference could be worked off by shipping weapons from Cuba to the M-19 Colombian guerrilla group, Perez testified.

Details of that operation have been publicized through the prosecutions late last year of three men who were indicted with four high ranking Cuban government officials and seven

others in a conspiracy to bring Colombian drugs here by way of Cuba.

The four Cuban government officials have not been prosecuted and the island's government has denied it has anything to do with the narcotics trade.

Estevez and the other two witnesses are in the federal Witness Protection Program. Escorted by federal marshals, they appeared in business suits with black hoods over their heads and shoulders.

Estevez spoke through a Spanish language interpreter as he said he had worked as a sergeant in recruiting and public relations for the General Directorate of Intelligence, Cuba's main spy agency.

He testified that in addition to providing a safe haven for smugglers, Cuba secretly grows high grade marijuana for export.

Estevez told the senators he was trained in three schools in Cuba with Peruvians, Chileans and Colombians for an assignment overseas before being shipped out among the 125,000 Cubans who fled the island in the 1980 sealift.

"If I had not been arrested in November, I would be Europe or South America right now, he said.

He said he spent about 10 days in Fort Chaffee, Ark., with other boatlift refugees, and went undetected through the same immigration screening as the others.

He said he met others at Fort Chaffee whom he recognized from the Cuban training schools. He was claimed by a brother who was a Miami resident active in the militant anti-Castro organization Alpha 66. Estevez said he told his brother he was disaffected with communism.

Questioned by Sen. Paula Hawkins, R-Fla., head of the caucus, Estevez said money was no problem. "I went back to Cuba (by boat) 14 days after I got here," he said.

Under questioning by Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., co-chairman of the caucus, he said about 7,000 people in the 125,000 who came through Mariel were Cuban government operatives.

Official Ties Cuba to Drug Traffic In U.S., Calling the Evidence Clear

By KENNETH B. NOBLE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1 — Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, asserted today that he “would find it very difficult to believe that the Cuban Government itself is not involved” in drug trafficking in the United States.

The evidence, Mr. Eagleburger said, is “really quite clear that there is major Cuban involvement in the drug traffic in this country,” including a role by the Castro Government.

But a senior State Department official said later that Washington had not yet been able to prove actual personal involvement by Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader.

Four Cubans Indicted

Last November four high-ranking Cuban officials, including Adm. Aldo Santa María Cuadrado and René Rodríguez Cruz, another member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, were indicted here on Federal charges of smuggling narcotics into the United States.

The Cuban Government has strongly denied the accusations in the indictments and other statements by United States officials implicating Cuban authorities with aiding and abetting narcotics traffickers.

Mr. Eagleburger's comments, on the CBS News program “Face the Nation,” came in response to questions about charges made Saturday at a Senate hearing in Miami on Cuban ties to drug trafficking.

‘New Evidence’ Cited

At the Miami hearing James H. Michel, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, said the United States “has developed new evidence from a variety of independent sources confirming that Cuban officials have facilitated narcotics trafficking through the Caribbean.”

“We have a report,” Mr. Michel said, “that the Communist Party Presidium and specifically Fidel Castro, in early 1979, considered a scheme to begin dealing with narcotics smugglers using as a bridge and support base for the networks to the United States as a means to aid Cuba economically, and to contribute to the deterioration of American society.”

Mr. Michel was one of several witnesses at the hearing presided over by Senator Paula Hawkins, Republican of North Carolina, Jeremiah Denton, Republican of Alabama, and Dennis DeConcini, Democrat of Arizona.

Cuban Drug Traffic Plot Revealed

MIAMI (AP) — Fidel Castro himself once considered a scheme to help smugglers get drugs into the United States, a State Department official says.

The plot had a twofold purpose: To reap profits for Cuba while weakening American society, the official, James H. Michel, deputy assistant secretary for Inter-American affairs, told a congressional panel Saturday.

"We have a report that the (Cuban) Communist Party Presidium and specifically Fidel Castro, in early 1979 considered a scheme to begin dealing with narcotics smuggling using Cuba as a bridge and support base for the networks to the U.S. as a means to aid Cuba economically and to contribute to the deterioration of American society," Michel said, reading from a prepared statement.

There have been allegations in the past that some Cuban officials have aided drug smugglers, providing money and fuel and safe havens, and the Cuban government has heatedly denied the charges.

But Michel told the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus that "the evidence clearly indicates more than a case of corruption by local or midlevel security officials in Cuba. The United States has developed new evidence from a variety of independent sources confirming that Cuban officials have facilitated narcotics trafficking through the Caribbean," Michel told the hearing.

Many of the past allegations stemmed from the "Cuban Connection" trial in which several witnesses testified of a drug ring that operated with the help of Cuban officials.

Four high ranking Cuban officials, including Aldo Santamaria, a vice admiral in the Cuban navy, were indicted *in absentia* in that case.

Stanley Marcus, U.S. attorney in Miami, outlined that case for the panel, and was asked if it proved that the Cuban government, not just a few corrupt officials, was in the drug smuggling business.

"I think that is a reasoned inference that can be fairly drawn," he replied.

FBI Director William Webster has said that while Cuba has provided "safe harbor" for drug smugglers, there was no evidence of a concerted effort on the part of the Cuban government. And during another Congressional hearing last year, Francis Mullen, acting administrator for the Drug Enforcement Administration, took a similar stance.

Saturday, Mullen updated his position.

"We have received additional intelligence which may indicate continuing Cuban complicity in the drug traffic," he said.

"It is difficult not to believe that the government of Cuba remains cognizant of the movement of drugs through its territory and may be facilitating this movement."

Thomas Boyatt, U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, was even more blunt.

"I'm telling you that it happened," he told a Miami newspaper in an interview before testifying at the hearing. "The Cuban government, as a matter of policy, for a long period of time — until exposed — was involved in drug smuggling."

"It was a (Cuban intelligence) operation with the blessing of Fidel," he said.

Diario Las Américas
Miami, Florida
Wednesday, May 4th 1983
Section B

The United Nations Will Be Shown Castro's Involvement in Drug Smuggling

SENATOR HAWKINS URGES THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO FILE A COMPLAINT WITH THE UNITED NATIONS REGARDING SHIPMENTS OF DRUGS FROM CUBA TO THE UNITED STATES

WASHINGTON, May 3rd (EFE) — Republican Senator Paula Hawkins of Florida, urged the government to file a complaint with the United Nations regarding the shipment of drugs from Cuba to the United States.

Basing her statements on diverse data, the Senator expressed her alarm over the increasing drug trafficking which has the alleged sponsorship of the Fidel Castro regime.

Stanley Marcus, U.S. Attorney for South Florida, informed the Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Western Hemisphere, that 75% of the drugs that enter the United States illegally do so through Miami. The figures indicate that annually shipments measure 12,000 metric tons of marijuana, 4 to 60 of cocaine and 4 of heroin.

Official sources informed in Washington that from "various independent sources" evidence was obtained as well as proof of the facilities that the Cuban government provides for the drug smuggling in the Caribbean.

Senator Hawkins said that after hearing the testimony given to the two Sub-Committees the United States should file a

complaint with the United Nations.

James Michel, Sub-Secretary for Inter-American Relations told the Sub-Committee that Fidel Castro encourages illegal activities with drugs in an effort to "demoralize the North American society." Three detainees as a result of smuggling pointed to the regime in Havana.

Johnny Crump, a Colombian attorney and friend to the Cuban Ambassador in Bogota, declared that he obtained permission to ship drugs to Cuba with official protection.

David Perez, a Cuban-American, said that in August of 1980 he made a deal with the Cubans in order to transfer 10 million tablets of Methaqualone and 23,000 pounds of marijuana in Cuban waters on the vessel named "Viviana."

That testimony pointed to the collection of \$25 million in a month due to drug trafficking.

Mario Esteves Gonzalez assured that the regime of Fidel Castro sent 3,000 agents to the United States in 1980 during the massive immigration known as "Mariel."

These agents contribute to the Cuban operations in illegal drug trafficking, said Estevez-Gonzalez.

Denton tells of 'Cuban connection'

United Press International

WASHINGTON — The Cuban government made millions of dollars by acting as a middleman for illegal drug trafficking between Colombia and the United States, Sen. Jeremiah Denton says.

Denton, R-Mobile, said the "Cuban connection" began sometime in 1980 after first being proposed to high Cuban officials in 1979.

"When this first came up, it was between some drug runners and the Cuban ambassador (to Colombia) and it was raised as a joke in 1979," said Denton. "(They said) Why don't we make Cuba the middleman for this drug traffic which hurts the United States?"

Cuban planes and ships were used to watch for U.S. Coast Guard vessels and warn the drug runners if any were spotted, Denton said.

"On several occasions, huge shiploads of narcotics were dumped overboard by virtue of the warnings by the Cubans," Denton said. "This comes from a variety of witnesses."

The "Cuban connection" has been probed in detail by Denton's subcommittee on terrorism, in addition to a separate Senate panel headed by Sen. Paula Hawkins, R-Fla. A number of hearings have been held on the subject, the latest last week in Miami.

Testimony indicated the drug runners departed from Colombia in their boats, laden with cocaine, marijuana and methaqualone (Quaalude).

"They would proceed to a preappointed spot for rendezvous, and, according to the Cuban navy instructions, they would be flying a certain flag. I believe it was the American flag," said Denton. "As they approached, they were to lower the American flag and raise another flag in recognition.

At that point, two Cuban boats, built by the Soviets and with a vice admiral aboard . . . escorted them in to a Cuban harbor."

There, the drugs were transferred into smaller boats "and financial transactions took place," Denton said.

After the drugs were sold in the United States, and payments were received by the drug runners, you had to go back and . . . pay the Cubans their share," said Denton.

"Then the Cubans, in order to exploit the situation further, would put munitions aboard these craft for delivery to the M-19, which is an insurgent group in Colombia," he said.

The senator said the Cuban share of the profits "got into the millions."

"I am convinced that the Cuban government at the top level — and I'm talking about Fidel (Castro) himself — was not only aware of, but was supportive of the use of the island of Cuba as a logistics base (for drug trafficking into the U.S.), said Denton.

At the Miami hearing, representatives of both the State Department and the Drug Enforcement Administration testified they had been convinced by the evidence that the Cuban government was indeed involved.

"Beyond what I know, the State Department and DEA indicate they have new information . . . that the Cuban support is continuing," said Denton.

The Cuban motive is not clear, though profit and "destabilization" of American society are two likely possibilities, said Denton.

The senator said he is not sure how the United States should retaliate.

However, he said the United States should have a tough immigration policy to keep out known Cuban criminals and sex offenders, as well as Cuban agents.

The Washington Post
May 10, 1983

Bush Assails Cuba Role in Drug Traffic

By Juan Williams
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI, May 9 — Vice President Bush said today that some drugs entering the country from Latin America have come through Cuba and are evidence that President Fidel Castro does not want to live in peace with the United States.

Surrounded by several hundred pounds of cocaine and stacks of money confiscated in recent drug intercepts from Latin America, Bush, the head of the U.S. task force established to fight the drug traffic, told enforcement agents and reporters at the task force headquarters that Cuba's drug activities are efforts to destabilize the Western Hemisphere politically.

He conceded that some drugs are entering the country from "friendly" democratic nations in Latin America.

But while the United States is asking cooperation from those countries, Bush said, the U.S. government is careful not to endanger relations with its Latin allies by pressing the issue.

"We have not been soft on Fidel Castro because we have not felt he has done one single thing to demonstrate that he wants to live in peace with the United States," Bush said.

He said that Castro has done nothing to pull back from stirring up ferment and dissension through drug smuggling.

Bush also said "the fact that in a broader sense there is a destabilizing effort from Cuba into the hemisphere concerns the President."

Bush did not say that there was direct involvement by Castro in the drug smuggling.

Later, clarifying his remarks, Bush denied that any evidence is being suppressed on political grounds to avoid embarrassing Latin nations friendly to the United States.

"Colombia, a democracy, a friendly country, has been cooperative, I'm told," he said. "But everybody knows how much of this insidious traffic comes in from Colombia."

Bush conceded at the headquarters that drug smuggling continues from Latin American allies of the United States despite American attempts to enlist cooperation of those governments.

Cuba's role in drug traffic beyond limits of tolerance

The idea that the wasting of children's lives in the United States, through drug abuse, may be helping finance subversion in Latin America should be a powerful spur to interdiction of the drug traffic to the United States.

The evidence is strong that Fidel Castro's government has been using the drug traffic both as a weapon against the United States and as a means of enlarging the Cuban investment in the killing in Latin America.

On April 30, James H. Michel, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, testified before subcommittees of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Judiciary Committee.

He concluded his testimony by saying:

"We cannot expect the Cuban government to acknowledge its involvement in drug trafficking in the United States. But the evidence clearly indicates more than a case of corruption by local or mid-level security officials in Cuba. . .

"Narcotics trafficking has apparently been sanctioned by Cuba as a means to finance subversion in Latin America. The administration is determined to discover the exact extent of Cuban involvement in narcotics. Let me assure you that we attach a high priority to any evidence of Cuba's use of narcotics as a weapon against this country."

The evidence already compiled and forming the basis of the indictment of four high Cuban officials by a federal grand jury in Miami is impressive.

"The United States," Michel said, "has developed new evidence from a variety of independent sources confirming that Cuban officials have facilitated narcotics trafficking for at least the past two years. They have done so by developing a relationship with key Colombian drug runners who, on Cuba's behalf, purchased arms and smuggled them to Cuban-backed insurgent groups in Colombia. In return, the traffickers received safe passage of ships carrying cocaine, marijuana and methaqualone through Cuban waters to the United States."

The accusation against Cuba contained in the official State Department testimony is very serious, the equivalent of helping finance and condone a sort of guerrilla chemical warfare operation against the United States and its people, including its children.

If we tolerate this, there is no limit to what we would allow.

U.S. will look into Cuba's drug actions

By Gene Goltz
Washington Times Staff

Jeane K. Kirkpatrick, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said yesterday she will look into Cuba's alleged role in aiding and encouraging drug traffic to the United States after a request by Sen. Paula Hawkins, D-Fla.

However, the ambassador expressed doubts that the United Nations has a mechanism for action in such matters.

Hawkins last Tuesday requested that Kirkpatrick file a formal complaint against the alleged Cuban drug traffic.

Hawkins, chairman of the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, held a hearing in Miami April 30 in which several witnesses testified they worked closely with the Cuban government in smuggling drugs from Colombia to Cuba and then to the United States.

"This meeting with Ambassador Kirkpatrick was very encouraging," Hawkins said. "The ever-increasing problem of drug trafficking and the significance of Cuba's involvement is finally coming to the forefront."

At the April 30 hearing, Mario Estevez-Gonzalez, a onetime member of Cuban intelligence known as DGI, testified that he was infiltrated into Miami during the wave of Cuban refugees that arrived in the Mariel boatlift.

Estevez told the committee he was told "that it was important to load up the U.S. with drugs." He said the DGI launched an operation in which high-grade marijuana intended for export to the United States was grown on large farms in southwest Cuba.

Two other witnesses testified how they shipped drugs from Colombia to Cuba, where they were met by Cuban gunboats and supply ships. The drugs were unloaded to smaller boats for transfer to the Florida mainland, they said.

Similar corroborating testimony was given in a hearing March 4 of the Senate security and terrorism subcommittee. In addition, two special agents of the Florida department of law enforcement told of interviews they had with Cuban refugees, including an affidavit dated June 30, 1981, in which an undercover source set out in detail the drug traffic between Cuba and southern Florida.



U.N. Ambassador Kirkpatrick will study Cuba's role in drug traffic.

Several other federal officials, including James H. Michel, deputy assistant secretary for inter-American affairs in the State Department, testified at the Miami hearing that there was no doubt of Cuban involvement.

"We have a report that the Communist Party Presidium and specifically Fidel Castro, in early 1979, considered a scheme to begin dealing with narcotics smugglers using Cuba as a bridge and support base for the networks to the United States as a means to aid Cuba economically and to contribute to the deterioration of American society," Michel said.

Despite the accumulating evidence, reports of official Cuban involvement with the drug trade have been treated with apathy and skepticism by many members of Congress. Hawkins said she will continue to push the issue.

"While the meeting with Ambassador Kirkpatrick was reassuring, this is just one of many that I plan to pursue to heighten the awareness of our country and the world on Cuba's involvement in drug trafficking," she said.

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Skimming The Top Off The Drug Trade

Part 2 of Castro's Secret War, an investigation of Cuban subversion

The arrest of Jaime Guillot Lara, a leading Colombian drug smuggler, in Mexico City on Nov. 25, 1981, led to frightening confirmation that Cuba was actively cooperating in flooding the U.S. with dope and reaping vast profits which it used to buy weapons for Central American guerrillas. In yesterday's installment, Guillot told police how, with help from the DGI (Castro's secret service), he had delivered, from a secret depot in Miami, a huge shipment of rifles and ammunition to the M-19 guerrillas in Colombia. The arms were smuggled in aboard his boat, Zar de Honduras. In return, the guerrillas helped load 800 pounds of marijuana onto a U.S.-bound small plane.

By ARNAUD DE BORCHGRAVE
and ROBERT MOSS

Jaime Guillot, in an ebullient mood, went to the port of Riohacha with the two M-19 girls and toasted the success of the operation with whisky and wine.

On Oct. 22, he was back at the port of Dibulla to supervise the loading of another cargo of marijuana on board the boat that had been used to smuggle in the arms.

He gave instructions to one of his associates — Leonardo Pineda de Luque, alias Nando — to repaint the boat and alter its appearance.

In the month that followed, Guillot traveled to Cuba, Nicaragua and Mexico.

In Managua, Nicaragua, he met Raul Castro, Fidel's brother and Cuba's Defense Minister, and Daniel Ortega, one of the strongmen of the Sandinista regime.

Back in Colombia, he called Johnny Crump [Colombian underworld figure Juan Lazaro Crump Perez] in the U.S. and told him he was "in very deep, but I am convinced I am doing the right thing and will be president [of Colombia]."

As if to clear up any doubt in Crump's mind, Guillot added that he had been personally promised this by Raul Castro himself.

But several intelligence agencies had picked up Guillot's trail, and his time was rapidly running out.

On Nov. 14, the Colombian navy sank the *Karina* while it was attempting to make an arms delivery, and the Colombian authorities impounded the *Zar de Honduras* at Barranquilla.

In Mexico City the following week, Guillot

was preparing for a meeting with a senior Bolivian Air Force officer. His Cuban contact, Bassols Suarez, had flown up from Panama to tell him that the Bolivian had 500 pounds of cocaine for sale.

Guillot's instructions were to go down to La Paz to check that the cocaine really existed. Bassols gave Guillot \$10,000 to cover traveling expenses on Nov. 20, 1981.

But before the meeting with the Bolivian took place, Guillot received two separate warnings on Nov. 24 that the Mexican security police — the *Direccion Federal de Seguridad* (DES) — were about to move in on him.

The warnings came from a Cuban intelligence officer, Roberto Gonzalez Egana, known to Guillot under the alias "Colonel Gamboa," who said he had direct orders from Fidel Castro to ensure the Colombian's safety and from the Nicaraguan Ambassador to Mexico, Aldo Diaz Lacayo.

Diaz Lacayo urged him to take immediate refuge in the Nicaraguan Embassy — intriguing evidence of the complicity of the Sandinista regime, as well as Cuba, in the drugs-for-arms barter trade.

One noteworthy feature of the Guillot story is that, although Colombia broke off diplomatic relations with Havana on March 23, 1981, after a band of M-19 guerrillas trained and armed in Cuba made a landing on the Pacific coast, the dopers had no difficulty in maintaining contact with his friends in Castro's secret service in the months that followed.

Coded radio messages from Bassols Suarez — who established a new base in Panama, where he is currently active in arranging

clandestine arms shipments to guerrillas throughout Central America — were passed on to Guillot by his friends in M-19.

Guillot is out of commission, but there are many indications that his case is only the tip of the iceberg of Cuba's secret involvement in the drug trade.

Investigators believe that the Cubans are skimming up to 10 percent of the original purchase price of the drugs smuggled into South Florida.

They also say that the annual "street level" turnover of the drug trade in the U.S. could be as high as \$100 billion, or even more.

The profits being made are stupendous. A kilo of cocaine procured in one of the scores of coke laboratories in Colombia can be bought on the spot for \$2400.

By the time it has been cut — or "stepped on" — repeatedly with substances like lactose, the same kilo produces 11 to 20 pounds of "snow" for resale, with a street value of \$300,000 or more.

Some 70 per cent of the cocaine consumed in the U.S. comes with Colombia, together with about 80 per cent of the marijuana and quaaludes.

Many of the drug consignments are shipped from Colombia's Atlantic ports to South Florida via the Windward Passage — the 40-mile-wide stretch of luminously blue water between Cuba and Haiti — or the Yucatan Channel, to the west of Cuba.

The mother ships rendezvous with smaller, faster boats at quiet anchorages like Cay Sal in the Bahamas. The Cuban Coast Guard routinely intercepts drug boats passing through Cuban waters to levy a toll.

The Cuban gunboat *Canoera* is a familiar sight to dopers. The current toll, according to

drug enforcement sources, is 20 cents per quaalude, \$10 per pound of marijuana, and about 10 per cent of the purchase price of the cocaine (or about \$2400 per kilo).

Drug-runners who are well-known to the Cubans — or are actively collaborating with the DGI and the Americas Department, like Guillot — are allowed to run up a tab, or to make payments to Cuban agents in Panama, the Bahamas and the Miami area, where the DGI operates a network of safe houses and financial laundry operations.

Others may have their boats impounded at the Coast Guard station on Cuba's north coast, opposite Andros in the Bahamas, until they come up with the cash demanded. For a price, the Cubans will provide warehousing and repair facilities on the island, and allow dopers to use secret airstrips — mostly in Camaguey — for refueling and off-loading.

Cuba's involvement in the drug trade is an extremely satisfying arrangement, from the viewpoint of Castro's secret service.

It pays for the purchase of Western manufactured arms for Castro's guerrilla proteges, enabling them to claim to the Western media that they are not being supplied by Cuba or the Soviet bloc.

One of the assignments that Cuban intelligence gave Johnny Crump, for example, was to buy AR-15 assault rifles and Mac-10 submachine guns from dealers in Miami.

The guns were to be sent via Cuba to Nicaragua, where they would be made available to guerrillas in El Salvador and other Central American countries.

Finally, by assisting the flow of drugs via South Florida, Cuba is helping add to crime and social unrest in the U.S.

Other publications available from the Cuban American National Foundation are:

U.S. Radio Broadcasting to Cuba: Policy Implications. A study of the proposal for a new U.S. government radio station for broadcasting to Cuba [Radio Marti], including discussion of the propaganda strategies of the Soviet Union and the Castro regime. Covers the information environment in Cuba and the impact of Radio Marti on it. Analyzes options for administration and programming. (Out of Print)

The Cuban Scene: Censors and Dissenters by Professor Carlos Ripoll. This article describes the mechanisms of intellectual repression under the Castro government. Outlines the history of the Cuban government policy toward literature since 1959, and of the effects of these policies on Cuban literature. Reprinted from *Partisan Review*, Vol. XLVIII, NO. 4. Distributed free of charge.

Castro and the Bankers: The Mortgaging of a Revolution — 1983 Update by Ernesto F. Betancourt and Wilson P. Dizard III. An analysis of the Cuban government's debt to Western banks and the Soviet Union. Describes the sources and uses of the Castro regime's foreign debt, and discusses the consequences of a default or rescheduling. Price \$2.00

U.S. Options in Central America by Eduardo Ulibarri, Editor of the prestigious *La Nacion* of Costa Rica. Analyzes the current situation in seven Central American states. Discusses alternatives for U.S. policy makers in light of domestic unrest and outside intervention. (Out of Print)

The Revolution on Balance by Hugh Thomas. Ten years after the publication of his monumental *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom*, Lord Thomas looks at the achievements and prospects of Fidel Castro's revolution. Price \$2.00

Negotiating with Castro, R. Bruce McColm, Freedom House's Latin America specialist, examines the advantages and drawbacks of various negotiating strategies for the U.S. government. Available soon; price \$2.00

Cuba and the Cubans [Cuba y los Cubanos] by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. The views of the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations on both the Castro revolution and the Cuban-American community. Distributed free of charge.

Castro's Narcotics Trade, a compendium of articles on Fidel Castro's involvement with the smuggling of drugs into the United States and his connections with arms smuggling and terrorism in Latin America. Distributed free of charge.

Castro, Israel and the PLO by David J. Kopilow. Available soon; price \$2.00

Thinking About Cuba by Mark Falcoff. A resident fellow at the Center for Hemispheric Studies, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, examines U.S. policy alternatives on Cuba. Distributed free of charge.

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