

LUIS POSADA CARRILES
and the
BOMBING OF CUBANA FLIGHT #455

Testimony of

Peter Kornbluh
Senior Analyst, National Security Archive

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MR. CHAIRMAN, REP. ROHRABACHER, AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE: I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR HOLDING THIS IMPORTANT HEARING. AND I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO TESTIFY ON WHAT HISTORY RECORDS AS THE FIRST MAJOR ACT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM INVOLVING A CIVILIAN AIRLINER IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE—AN ATROCITY THAT MORE THAN 30 YEARS LATER STILL DEMANDS AN ACCOUNTING.

LIKE YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN, I AM CONCERNED ABOUT HOW THE CASE OF LUIS POSADA CARRILES—AKA “COMISARIO BASILIO,” “BAMBI,” “RAMON MEDINA,” AND “SOLO,”—HAS BEEN HANDLED OVER THE LAST TWO AND A HALF YEARS BY OUR GOVERNMENT. BY ANY OBJECTIVE STANDARD, POSADA IS ONE OF THE TEN MOST PROLIFIC PURVEYORS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. YET, AS THE UNITED STATES FINDS ITSELF WAGING A WAR ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, A MAN WHO OUR OWN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAS RECENTLY CALLED ‘A TERRORIST ALIEN’ SO FAR HAS BEEN CHARGED ONLY WITH IMMIGRATION FRAUD AFTER ILLEGALLY ENTERING THE COUNTRY. HOW IS THIS POSSIBLE?

INDEED, HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT A MAN WHO OUR OWN CUSTOMS AND IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT AGENCY HAS DETERMINED TO “POSE A DANGER TO BOTH THE COMMUNITY AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES” IS TODAY LIVING FREELY IN MIAMI, FLORIDA?

WITH THE CREDIBILITY OF THE U.S. LEADERSHIP IN THE WAR ON TERROR AT STAKE, THESE ARE IMPERATIVE QUESTIONS FOR THIS COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER.

IN LEGAL PAPERS, CUSTOMS AND IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS HAVE IDENTIFIED WHAT THEY CALL POSADA'S "LONG HISTORY OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AND VIOLENCE IN WHICH INNOCENT CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN KILLED." AT THE CENTER OF THAT LONG, VIOLENT HISTORY IS THE MID-AIR BOMBING OF A CIVILIAN AIRLINER ON OCTOBER 6, 1976. SHORTLY AFTER TAKEOFF FROM THE BARBADOS SEAWELL INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AT LEAST ONE BOMB EXPLODED ON CUBANA FLIGHT 455, PLUNGING THE PLANE INTO THE OCEAN AND KILLING ALL 73 CREW AND PASSENGERS ABOARD--MANY OF THEM CUBAN AND GUYANESE TEENAGERS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THIS WAS A CRIME OF TREMENDOUS CONSEQUENCE. IT IS A CRIME THAT REMAINS RELEVANT TODAY BECAUSE OF OUR PRESSING NEED TO UNDERSTAND HOW TERRORISTS ACTUALLY PLAN AND COMMIT SUCH ACTS OF MASS MURDER AND BECAUSE THE MEN WHO OUR OWN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IDENTIFIED AS THE MASTERMINDS OF THIS ATROCITY ARE LIVING FREELY IN FLORIDA.

FOR THOSE REASONS, MR. CHAIRMAN, MY ORGANIZATION, THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE, HAS MADE IT A PRIORITY TO CENTRALIZE AS MUCH OF THE INVESTIGATIVE RECORD AS POSSIBLE ON THE BOMBING OF FLIGHT 455. BECAUSE IT WAS AN INTERNATIONAL CRIME, THE DOCUMENTATION DERIVES FROM A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES: THE BOMBING OF THE PLANE WAS PLANNED AND ORGANIZED IN CARACAS, VENEZUELA, AND THE BOMBERS WERE EVENTUALLY PROSECUTED THERE, SO THERE ARE VENEZUELAN RECORDS. THE MEN WHO PLACED THE BOMB ON THE PLANE WERE CAPTURED AND INITIALLY INTERROGATED IN TRINIDAD, SO THERE ARE POLICE RECORDS FROM THAT NATION. THE UNITED STATES WAS INVOLVED BECAUSE THE ANTI-CASTRO EXILES WHO PLANNED THIS CRIME HAD PREVIOUS TIES TO THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY—IN POSADA'S CASE RATHER EXTENSIVE TIES—AND BECAUSE POSADA AND HIS VENEZUELAN EMPLOYEE, HERNAN RICARDO LOZANO, WHO PLACED THE BOMB ON THE PLANE, WERE WELL KNOWN TO OUR FBI ATTACHE IN CARACAS. WE HAVE OBTAINED SOME OF THE KEY CIA AND FBI INTELLIGENCE CABLES THAT WERE TRANSMITTED BEFORE AND AFTER THE BOMBING.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I WANT TO PRESENT JUST A HANDFUL OF THESE DOCUMENTS TO THE COMMITTEE. BEFORE I DO, LET ME SAY THAT THE CUMULATIVE WEIGHT OF THE EVIDENCE DEMONSTRATES THE FOLLOWING:

**LUIS POSADA CARRILES, A DEMOLITIONS EXPERT TRAINED IN THE 1960S BY THE CIA, HAD FOREKNOWLEDGE OF THE BOMBING OF THE CUBAN AIRLINER.

**POSADA WAS FOUND IN POSSESSION OF A TERRORIST TARGET LIST—ESSENTIALLY A SCOUTING REPORT ON POTENTIAL SITES RELATED TO CUBA.

**THE VENEZUELAN WHO DRAFTED THIS REPORT, HERNAN RICARDO, WAS EMPLOYED BY POSADA IN CARACAS. RICARDO, ALONG WITH A SUBORDINATE NAMED FREDDY LUGO, PLACED THE BOMBS ON THE PLANE BEFORE IT TOOK OFF FROM BARBADOS.

**AS SOON AS THE MISSION WAS ACCOMPLISHED, RICARDO PLACED PHONE CALLS TO BOTH POSADA AND HIS CO-CONSPIRATOR ORLANDO BOSCH.

**WITHIN HOURS AFTER THE PLANE WENT INTO THE OCEAN, MULTIPLE FBI SOURCES IDENTIFIED POSADA AND BOSCH AS ENGINEERS OF THIS TERRORIST ATTACK.

LET ME SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF THE DOCUMENTS THAT CONTAIN THIS INFORMATION:

DOCUMENT 1: IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE BOMBING OF THE PLANE, THE CIA GATHERED RATHER COMPREHENSIVE INTELLIGENCE ON A FUNDRAISING DINNER—\$1000 PER PLATE, WHICH WAS A LOT OF MONEY IN 1976—HELD IN CARACAS FOR ORLANDO BOSCH, LIKE POSADA A GODFATHER OF ANTI-CASTRO CUBAN VIOLENCE.

THE CABLE REPORTS THAT POSADA MET BOSCH AT THE AIRPORT WHEN HE ARRIVED IN CARACAS IN MID-SEPTEMBER, AND WAS HOSTED IN VENEZUELA BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ.

ACCORDING TO A HIGH-LEVEL CIA SOURCE, AT THE FUNDRAISER BOSCH WAS HEARD TO SAY: “NOW THAT OUR ORGANIZATION HAS COME OUT OF THE LETELIER JOB LOOKING GOOD, WE ARE GOING TO TRY SOMETHING ELSE.” (THIS IS A REFERENCE TO THE CAR BOMB ASSASSINATION OF FORMER CHILEAN AMBASSADOR ORLANDO LETELIER AND HIS COLLEAGUE RONNI KARPEN MOFFITT ON SEPTEMBER 21, 1976—A CRIME COMMITTED NOT FAR FROM HERE ON MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE BY AGENTS OF THE CHILEAN SECRET POLICE WORKING WITH MEMBERS OF BOSCH’S VIOLENT ANTI-CASTRO COALITION, CORU.)

A FEW DAYS AFTER THE FUNDRAISER, ACCORDING TO THE CIA'S SOURCE, LUIS POSADA ADDED A KEY DETAIL TO BOSCH'S REFERENCE TO TRYING "SOMETHING ELSE." POSADA STATED:

"WE ARE GOING TO HIT A CUBAN AIRPLANE" AND "ORLANDO HAS THE DETAILS."

DOCUMENT 2. THE TARGET SCOUTING REPORT: MR CHAIRMAN, THIS RATHER EXTRAORDINARY DOCUMENT IS A HANDWRITTEN SURVEILLANCE REPORT ON BUSINESSES, EMBASSIES, AND OFFICES "WITH TIES TO CUBA" IN THE CARIBBEAN/CENTRAL AMERICAN REGION—**AMONG THEM THE CUBAN STATE AIRLINES AGENCY CUBANA AVIACION.** IT WAS DRAFTED SOMETIME IN THE SPRING OF 1976 BY POSADA'S EMPLOYEE HERNAN RICARDO, AND PROVIDED DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF TARGETS IN BARBADOS, COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND TRINIDAD, RIGHT DOWN TO THE MAKE, MODEL, COLOR, AND LICENSE PLATE NUMBERS OF THE CARS THAT THE CUBAN AMBASSADORS IN THOSE NATIONS USED.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT SEVERAL OF THE TARGETS DESCRIBED IN THIS REPORT WERE SUBSEQUENTLY STRUCK BY ACTS OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE IN THE SUMMER OF 1976, INCLUDING THE BRITISH WEST INDIES AIRLINE OFFICE IN BRIDGETOWN ON JULY 14 AND THE GUYANESE CONSULATE IN PORT-O-SPAIN, WHICH WAS BOMBED ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1976. (POSADA'S EMPLOYEE LATER CONFESSED TO BEING INVOLVED IN THOSE ATTACKS.)

BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT TARGET DESCRIBED ON THIS LIST THAT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY BLOWN UP IS THE CUBANA AIRLINES FLIGHT. LET ME DIRECT THE COMMITTEE'S ATTENTION TO THE RIGHT HAND SIDE OF THE FIRST PAGE, WHICH LISTS TARGETS IN BARBADOS, WHERE THE AUTHOR NOTES THAT ON WEDNESDAY THERE IS A CUBANA FLIGHT FROM JAMAICA THAT ARRIVES AT APPROXIMATELY 11 AM, AND AT 12 NOON, ANOTHER PLANE ARRIVES FROM TRINIDAD, EN ROUTE TO JAMAICA.

THE LATTER FLIGHT WAS NUMBER 455, WHICH CAME FROM CARACAS CARRYING THE CUBAN OLYMPIC FENCING TEAM, STOPPED IN GUYANA—WHERE IT PICKED UP ROSEANNE NENNINGER'S BROTHER AND FIVE OTHER TOP GUYANESE SCIENCE STUDENTS ON THEIR WAY TO HAVANA TO STUDY MEDICINE—AND PROCEEDED TO TRINIDAD AND THEN TO BARBADOS EN ROUTE TO JAMAICA AND HAVANA. THE BOMBS WENT OFF APPROXIMATELY FIVE MINUTES AFTER TAKEOFF AND THE PLANE WAS UNABLE TO MAKE IT BACK TO THE AIRPORT BEFORE CRASHING IN THE OCEAN.

THIS DOCUMENT, MR. CHAIRMAN, WAS FOUND IN LUIS POSADA'S POSSESSION WHEN VENEZUELAN AUTHORITIES RAIDED HIS HOME AND OFFICE AFTER HIS EMPLOYEE, HERNAN RICARDO, WAS ARRESTED IN TRINIDAD. POSADA HIMSELF WAS ARRESTED IN CARACAS SIX DAYS AFTER THE BOMBING, ON OCTOBER 12, 1976.

DOCUMENT 3. RICARDO'S SKETCH OF THE DETONATOR: MR. CHAIRMAN, WHILE IN CUSTODY IN TRINIDAD, HERNAN RICARDO AND FREDDY LUGO BOTH CONFESSED TO PLANTING EXPLOSIVES ON THE PLANE. ON OCTOBER 19, DURING AN INTERROGATION WITH DEPUTY POLICE COMMISSIONARY DENNIS RAMDWAR, RICARDO STATED HE AND LUGO WORKED FOR LUIS POSADA, AND THAT "LUGO AND HIMSELF BOMBED THE PLANE."

RICARDO ALSO EXPLAINED TO RAMDWAR THE STEPS A TERRORIST WOULD TAKE TO PREPARE TO BOMB A PLANE AND HOW PLASTIC EXPLOSIVES ARE DETONATED; HE EVEN MADE A ROUGH DIAGRAM OF THE DETONATOR USED FOR THE BOMB, WHICH I BROUGHT TO SHOW THE COMMITTEE. (SHOW DIAGRAM).

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOU WILL SEE ON THE LEFT-HAND SIDE OF THIS DRAWING A SERIES OF SIX STEPS THAT RICARDO LAID OUT, INCLUDING OBTAINING "FALSE DOCUMENTATION" THAT EXPLICITLY COULD "NOT BE CUBAN," AS WELL AS OBTAINING "EXPLOSIVO C-4."

THE DETONATION DEVICE HE DESCRIBED IS KNOWN AS A "PENCIL DETONATOR." ACCORDING TO RAMDWAR'S OFFICIAL REPORT ON THE INTERROGATION, RICARDO

DESCRIBED THE DETONATOR AS A PENCIL-TYPE WITH CHEMICALS WHICH COULD BE TIMED FOR 8 MINUTES, 45 MINUTES, 1 HOUR, 2 HOURS, 3 HOURS, AND 24 HOURS. HE SAID THAT THESE PENCIL-TYPE DETONATORS WERE OF VARIOUS COLOURS DEPENDING ON THE TIME AT WHICH THE BOMB WAS TO BE DETONATED. ...HE SAID THAT A CERTAIN CHEMICAL IS FILLED IN A TUBE OF COLGATE TOOTHPASTE AFTER THE TOOTHPASTE IS EXTRACTED.

LET ME ADD, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT DOCUMENTS IN LUIS POSADA'S CIA "201" FILE SHOW THAT HE HAD EXPERIENCE WITH, AND POSSESSION OF PENCIL DETONATORS AND PLASTIC EXPLOSIVES. EARLY IN HIS CAREER OF SABOTAGE, POSADA HAS DESCRIBED HAVING "TIME-BOMB PENCILS." WHEN HE LEFT THE UNITED STATES TO GO TO CARACAS IN 1967, ACCORDING TO HIS OWN CIA FILE, **HE TOOK U.S. GOVERNMENT EQUIPMENT THAT INCLUDED TEN PENCIL DETONATORS.**

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE OTHER VENEZUELAN, A PHOTOGRAPHER NAMED FREDDY LUGO, WHO WORKED PART TIME FOR POSADA, ALSO CONFESSED TO RAMDWAR. HE DESCRIBED SEEING RICARDO FILL A COLGATE TOOTHPASTE TUBE WITH A WHITE PUTTY. IN THIS HANDWRITTEN AND SIGNED CONFESSION, LUGO DESCRIBES HOW RICARDO TRIED TO CALL BOTH POSADA AND ORLANDO BOSCH, WHO USED THE CODENAME “SR PANYAGUA” (MR. BREAD AND WATER), IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE PLANE WENT DOWN. AFTER NOT REACHING POSADA, RICARDO ACTUALLY CALLED HIS OWN MOTHER AND TOLD HER TO “GIVE THE TELEPHONE NUMBER OF THE HOTEL IN BARBADOS TO MR LUIS POSADA SO THAT HE COULD CALL AND TO TELL HIM THAT THERE WAS A PROBLEM.”

DOCUMENT 4. FIRST FBI REPORT ON PLANE BOMBING: MR. CHAIRMAN, THE MEN WHO COMMITTED THIS TERRORIST ATTACK WERE WELL KNOWN TO BOTH FBI AND CIA PERSONNEL IN CARACAS; ONLY FIVE DAYS BEFORE THE BOMBING, THE FBI ATTACHÉ, JOSEPH LEO, ACTUALLY GAVE HERNAN RICARDO A VISA TO VISIT PUERTO RICO, EVEN THOUGH HE KNEW HIS EMPLOYER POSADA WAS INVOLVED IN VIOLENT OPERATIONS AGAINST CUBAN TARGETS AND SUSPECTED RICARDO OF HELPING HIM. THE FBI ATTACHE BEGAN GATHERING INTELLIGENCE ON THE BOMBING ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AND THIS IS HIS FIRST REPORT, DATED ONE DAY AFTER THE ATTACK.

LEO REPORTED THAT A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE HAD **“ALL BUT ADMITTED THAT POSADA AND BOSCH HAD ENGINEERED THE BOMBING OF THE AIRLINE.”** THE SOURCE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT A [DELETED] INTELLIGENCE SERVICE—WHICH IS NO DOUBT A REFERENCE TO THE VENEZUELAN SECURITY FORCE KNOWN AS “DISIP,” WHERE POSADA HAD WORKED AS HEAD OF THE DEMOLITIONS DIRECTORATE—“WAS ARRANGING FOR LUIS POSADA AND ORLANDO BOSCH TO LEAVE VENEZUELA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.”

DOCUMENT 5. FBI BRIEFING TO SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER: THIS FINAL DOCUMENT IS THE FIRST PAGE OF ONE OF SEVERAL BRIEFINGS ON THE FBI’S INTELLIGENCE THAT WERE SENT BY FBI DIRECTOR CLARENCE KELLY TO SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER. THE INFORMATION DERIVED FROM A MEMBER OF THE VENEZUELAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, KNOWN AS “DISIP,” WHO REPORTED THAT **“THE BOMBING OF THE CUBANA AIRLINES DC-8 WAS PLANNED, IN PART, IN CARACAS, VENEZUELA, AT TWO MEETINGS,”** BOTH ATTENDED BY LUIS POSADA.

THIS SOURCE WAS THE FIRST TO RELATE THE CODED MESSAGE THAT THE BOMBERS HAD LEFT WHEN THEY PLACED CALLS TO BOSCH AND POSADA AFTER THE PLANE WENT DOWN:

“A BUS WITH 73 DOGS WENT OFF A CLIFF AND ALL GOT KILLED.”

MR. CHAIRMAN, THESE ARE JUST A FEW OF THE EXAMPLES OF THE HISTORICAL RECORD THAT HAVE BEEN OBTAINED AND DECLASSIFIED ON LUIS POSADA AND THE BOMBING OF FLIGHT 455. I DARE SAY THAT HAD THIS CRIME BEEN COMMITTED MORE RECENTLY, AND IF POSADA’S FIRST NAME WAS MOHAMMED RATHER THAN LUIS, THIS EVIDENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE THAN SUFFICIENT TO GET HIM RENDERED TO GUANTANAMO BAY, CUBA.

AND IT WOULD SEEM SUFFICIENT TO HAVE ALLOWED FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL ALBERTO GONZALES TO HAVE CERTIFIED POSADA AS A TERRORIST UNDER THE CLAUSES OF THE PATRIOT ACT, RATHER THAN ENGAGE IN A DUBIOUS AND FAILED ATTEMPT TO PROSECUTE HIM AS A SIMPLE ILLEGAL ALIEN. AND SUFFICIENT AS WELL TO GRANT VENEZUELA’S PETITION THAT HE BE EXTRADITED BACK TO CARACAS, WHERE HE REMAINS AN INTERNATIONAL FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE IN THIS CASE.

BUT THESE DOCUMENTS I HAVE SHARED ARE SIMPLY THE TIP OF AN ICEBERG OF EVIDENCE—MUCH OF WHICH REMAINS SECRET AND STORED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCIES. EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE GATHERED DOZENS OF DOCUMENTS ON THIS CASE, MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE ARE HUNDREDS MORE THAT I BELIEVE THIS COMMITTEE AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A NEED TO KNOW ABOUT, INDEED A RIGHT TO KNOW ABOUT. THESE DOCUMENTS FALL INTO SEVERAL CATEGORIES:

FIRST, THERE ARE DOCUMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN DECLASSIFIED BUT REMAIN HEAVILY CENSORED, HIDING INFORMATION THAT IS CRITICAL FOR INVESTIGATING THE HANDLING OF THIS CASE.

SECOND, THERE IS A COMPREHENSIVE FILE COMPILED BY THE CIA ON POSADA THROUGHOUT HIS CAREER KNOWN AS A “201” FILE. VOLUME FIVE OF THIS VOLUMINOUS SET OF PAPERS COVERS THE PERIOD OF TIME OF THE CUBANA AIRLINES BOMBING AND SHOULD CONTAIN USEFUL INFORMATION ON POSADA’S ROLE. (MY OFFICE HAS REQUESTED THE DECLASSIFICATION OF THIS FILE, BUT SO FAR THE CIA HAS NOT BEEN RESPONSIVE.)

THIRD: THERE ARE SPECIFIC FBI DOCUMENTS THAT HAVE NOT YET BEEN DECLASSIFIED RELATING TO THE BOMBING AND ITS AFTERMATH THAT WOULD SHED MORE LIGHT ON HOW THIS CRIME WAS CARRIED OUT.

AND FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE IS A DOSSIER OF 700 STILL-SECRET FBI AND CIA DOCUMENTS THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN COMPILED BY OUR

GOVERNMENT AND WAS PART OF IMMIGRATION PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ORLANDO BOSCH, POSADA'S CO-CONSPIRATOR IN THIS CRIME. AS YOU KNOW, BOSCH WAS IMPRISONED IN VENEZUELA FOR 11 YEARS FOR THE PLANE BOMBING AND THEN RETURNED ILLEGALLY TO FLORIDA IN 1988, WHERE HE WAS DETAINED FOR OVER A YEAR AS AN EXCLUDABLE ALIEN. THIS DOSSIER WAS COMPILED AND SUBMITTED TO THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE, AS WELL AS REVIEWED BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT.

BASED ON THIS EVIDENCE, ACTING ASSOCIATE ATTORNEY GENERAL JOE WHITLEY ISSUED A STRONGLY-WORDED DECISION THAT CHARACTERIZED BOSCH AS "RESOLUTE AND UNWAVERING IN HIS ADVOCACY OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE...WHOSE ACTIONS HAVE BEEN THOSE OF A TERRORIST, UNFETTERED BY LAW OR HUMAN DECENCY."

YET ON JULY 17, 1990 THE WHITE HOUSE OF GEORGE HERBERT WALKER BUSH OVERRULED ITS OWN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND ISSUED AN ADMINISTRATIVE PARDON FOR BOSCH. FOR WHAT APPEAR TO BE CLEAR POLITICAL REASONS, MR. CHAIRMAN, THE BUSH WHITE HOUSE SIMPLY IGNORED THE ELOQUENT POSITION VOICED IN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT REPORT THAT PREVIEWED TODAY'S DEBATE OVER THE POSADA CASE:

"THE UNITED STATES CANNOT TOLERATE THE INHERENT INHUMANITY OF TERRORISM AS A WAY OF SETTLING DISPUTES. WE MUST LOOK ON TERRORISM AS A UNIVERSAL EVIL, EVEN IF IT IS DIRECTED TOWARD THOSE WITH WHOM WE HAVE NO POLITICAL SYMPATHY."

WITH BOSCH SET FREE IN 1990, AND THE SITUATION WITH POSADA TODAY, MR. CHAIRMAN, THE UNITED STATES FINDS ITSELF IN THE FRANKLY INEXPLICABLE POSITION OF HAVING NOT ONE BUT BOTH MEN WHO OUR OWN INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IDENTIFIED AS REponsible FOR BRINGING DOWN A CIVILIAN AIRLINER LIVING FREE AND UNFETTERED LIVES IN FLORIDA. IN THE MIDST OF A WAR ON TERRORISM, THIS HAS SIGNIFICANT REPERCUSSIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES.

I HOPE THIS COMMITTEE, MR. CHAIRMAN, WILL INVESTIGATE HOW THIS SCANDALOUS SITUATION CAME TO BE. I URGE THE COMMITTEE TO USE ITS POWERS TO SEEK THIS DOCUMENTATION, AND OFFER YOU ANY ASSISTANCE THAT MY CUBA DOCUMENTATION PROJECT AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE CAN PROVIDE.

IN CLOSING, LET ME SAY THAT THIS IS A CRIME THAT ABSOLUTELY DESERVES BOTH A HISTORICAL AND A JUDICIAL ACCOUNTING. THE REASONS ARE MANY AND VARIED:

IN THIS DAY AND AGE WHEN NONE OF US CAN BOARD A PLANE WITH A BOTTLE OF WATER OR A DISPENSER OF DEODORANT, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DESERVE TO KNOW THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT HAS RETRIEVED AND EXAMINED EVERY DETAIL OF HOW TERRORISTS BROUGHT DOWN AN AIRLINER USING A TUBE OF TOOTHPASTE.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NEEDS TO KNOW THAT OUR PRESIDENT IS SINCERE WHEN HE DENOUNCES ANY NATION THAT HARBORS TERRORISTS, WHEN HE STATES, AS HE HAS IN THE PAST, THAT "WE'VE GOT TO SAY TO PEOPLE WHO ARE WILLING TO HARBOR A TERRORIST, OR FEED A TERRORIST, 'YOU'RE JUST AS GUILTY AS THE TERRORIST.'"

AND FINALLY, THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS OF THIS ATTACK—FAMILIES LIKE ROSEANNE NENNINGER'S, AND THE 72 OTHER CUBAN, GUYANESE AND KOREAN FAMILIES THAT LOST LOVED ONES ON THIS PLANE—DESERVE AN ACCOUNTING. THEY DESERVE TO KNOW THAT AS THE LEADER IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WILL DO WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO PURSUE BOTH THE JUSTICE AND TRUTH THAT HAVE BEEN SO ELUSIVE IN THE BOMBING OF CUBAN AIRLINES FLIGHT 455.

THANK YOU.