



CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE REPORT

Escaping Justice A Conference on Exile Terrorism

By Wayne Smith

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A Conference on Exile Terrorism
Organized by the Center for International Policy
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SUMMARY:

Presentations at the conference made it clear that early on, both Luis Posada Carriles and Orlando Bosch had been part of the CIA's operations against Cuba. It was equally clear that they had been responsible for – had masterminded – the downing of Cubana flight 455 in 1976 with the loss of 73 innocent lives. Clearly also, they were sheltered and protected by the U.S. government. In more recent years, Posada Carriles and various other exile terrorists continued acts of violence and yet continued to be protected by the Bush administration, thus undermining the credibility of its so-called “war against terrorism.”

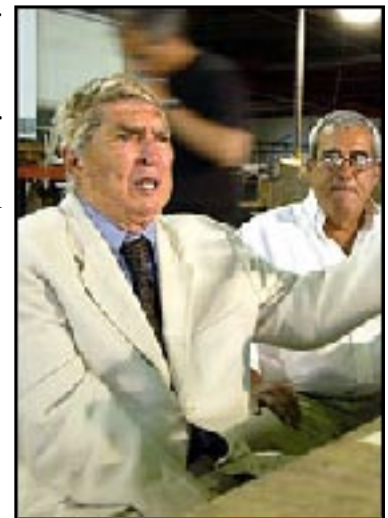
WAYNE SMITH, Opening Remarks:

Wayne Smith opened the program by emphasizing that there were two dimensions to the problem. First, there is the question of the exile terrorists themselves and their heinous acts, such as the downing of Cubana flight 455. These acts have gone unpunished and are a blot on the honor of the United States – and call into question its adherence to rule of law.

The other dimension has to do with the Cuban Five. In an effort to deter terrorist acts against Cuba, the Cuban government sent up five agents who penetrated exile terrorist organizations. They did no harm to the United States. The information they gleaned from the terrorist groups, however, would have helped stop the attacks. The Cuban government passed the information to U.S. authorities in hopes it would be used for that purpose. It was not. U.S. authorities took no action whatsoever against the terrorists; rather, their only action was to arrest, try and imprison the five Cuban agents. They are still in prison – and will be until we have a government in the United States that will ensure a fair trial. The one they received in Miami was not.

Smith noted that the principal focus of the conference would be on the terrorists themselves, on their actions, their victims and on the shameful fact that the United States has taken no action against them. He understood, however, that Jose Pertierra would also discuss the Cuban Five and where their situation stands at present.

The first speaker would be Roseanne Nenninger, the sister of Ramon Persaud, one of the victims of the bombing of Cubana flight 455.

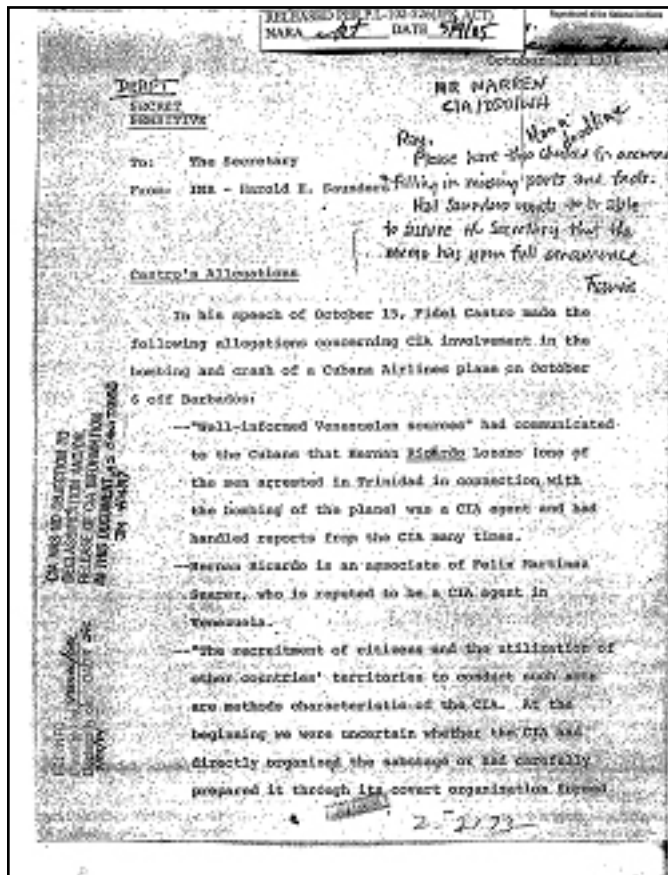


Luis Posada Carriles

ROSEANNE NENNINGER, A Family's Pain:

None of the members of my family has ever recovered from Raymond's loss. It was so tragic, so unexpected, and so needless. Raymond had received a scholarship to study medicine in Cuba. A bright future seemed to be opening for him – one in which he could help people. That was important to him, for he was an extraordinarily kind person.

We were all so excited, so happy, as we put him on the plane that morning. But the dream ended a few



hours later as word came that the plane had crashed. I can still hear my mother's screams.

What I want to emphasize is that this was outright murder. There were no military personnel on that plane. They were all innocent civilians, and most quite young. They had their whole lives ahead of them. The fact that those responsible have never been brought to justice of course adds to our pain.

PETER KORNBLUH, The Case Against Posada Carriles and the Other Terrorists:

Peter Kornbluh noted that there is massive evidence against Posada Carriles – and against Orlando

Bosch. There can be no doubt of their guilt. Kornbluh shared with the conference attendees 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: 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-of-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. The right hand side of the first page 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 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: 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 Commissioner 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. You can see on the left-hand side of the 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.

Additionally, documents in Luis Posada’s CIA “201” file show that he had experience with, and pos-

session 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. 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 code-name “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: 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 attaché 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.”

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. Kornbluh dared to say that had this

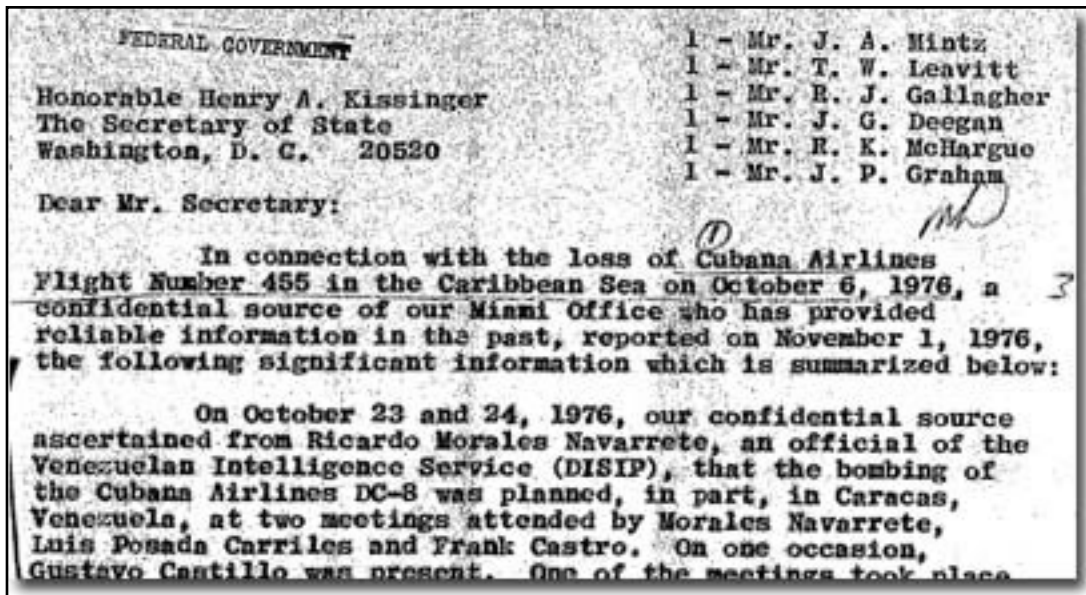
crime been committed more recently, and if Posada’s first name were Mohammed rather than Luis, this evidence would have been more than sufficient to get him rendered to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. And it would seem sufficient to have allowed former Attorney General Alberto Gonzales to have certified Posada 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, shared by Kornbluh, 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 there are hundreds more that I believe the American people have a need to know about, indeed a right to know about.”

JOSE PERTIERRA, The Trials, Subsequent Terrorist Acts, and the Plight of the Cuban Five:

Pertierra pointed out that Posada Carriles had worked for U.S. intelligence early on. In 1976, he and another terrorist of Cuban origin, Orlando Bosch, conspired to blow up the Cuban passenger plane. When Bosch arrived in Caracas in September of 1976, Posada Carriles was at the airport to greet him. Posada placed his confidante, Venezuelan intelligence officer Hernán Ricardo, at Bosch’s disposal. Ricardo in turn recruited another Venezuelan, Freddy Lugo, to help with the operation as well.

The four-some of Posada, Bosch, Ricardo and Lugo met at least four times to plan the downing of the plane. The



terrorists, Lugo and Ricardo, carried C-4 explosives aboard the aircraft in a tube of Colgate toothpaste and in a camera. They boarded the CU-455 flight in Trinidad at 12:15 PM bound for Barbados. Ricardo traveled under a forged passport using a false name. During the flight, they placed the C-4 explosives in two separate places in the plane: the rear bathroom and underneath the seat occupied by Freddy Lugo. The terrorists got off the plane during its brief stopover at Seawell Airport in Barbados. They later told police investigators that they had received special training in explosives from the CIA.

Aboard CU-455 were 73 innocent persons. Fifty-

seven of them were Cubans. Eleven were Guyanese, and the remaining five passengers were Koreans.

Those on board averaged only 30 years of age.

Traveling with the group were 24 members of the Cuban fencing team, many of them teenagers, fresh from gold medal victories at the Youth Fencing Championship in Caracas. Some boarded the plane with their medals around their necks.

The athletes were returning home to Havana, when nine minutes after take-off from a stop-over in Barbados, a bomb exploded under the seat that had been occupied by Freddy Lugo, who had deplaned along with Hernán Ricardo at the Barbados lay-over. The plane caught fire. The passengers on board then lived the most horrifying ten minutes of their lives, as the plane turned into a scorching coffin.

The bombers had deplaned in Barbados, after placing the explosives aboard the aircraft. Lugo and Ricardo's nervous demeanor at the airport and at the hotel, as well as their conversations in the taxis they took in Barbados and later in Trinidad, led the police to zero in on them as the primary suspects in the bombing. They were arrested and interrogated by detectives from the Trinidad police department.

Both confessed to Commissioner Dannis Ramdwar who took their written depositions. Lugo and Ricardo each admitted to being CIA operatives.

Ricardo described in detail how he could detonate C-4 explosives and with his own hand drew a diagram picturing the detonator that he used for the bomb. He also told the police in Trinidad that he worked for Luis Posada Carriles and that the head of CORU was Orlando Bosch. On the other side of the paper where he had drawn the detonator, he drew an organizational chart of the terrorist organization. Alongside the box that said Executive Committee, he drew an arrow to the word CIA, and next to the box that said Battle Commandos, he wrote the words FBI and CIA.

Upon learning of the confessions of Lugo and Ricardo, the Venezuelan police arrested Posada and Bosch in Caracas. They also executed a search warrant on the offices of Posada Carriles where they confiscated weapons and sophisticated electronic monitoring equipment. The police also found a schedule of Cubana flights in Posada's Caracas office, as well as an Intelligence Report written for Posada by Hernán Ricardo concerning Cuban diplomatic and business entities in Barbados, Colombia, Panamá and Trinidad.

The dates of Mr. Ricardo's travels to those countries coincide with the dates in which those entities were bombed.

Only a day after the downing of Cubana Flight 455, the FBI Venezuelan bureau cabled that a confidential source had identified Luis Posada and Orlando Bosch as responsible for the bombing. "The source all but admitted that Posada and Bosch had engineered the bombing of the airline," according to the report.

After the arrests of Lugo, Ricardo, Bosch and Posada, jurisdiction over the downing of the plane was ceded to Venezuela by Trinidad and Barbados, and all four men were prosecuted in Caracas for murder. Eventually, Lugo and Ricardo were convicted and sentenced to twenty years. Bosch was released for "good behavior" after several years in prison, but before the court could reach a verdict regarding Luis Posada Carriles' case, he escaped from the prison at San Juan de los Moros in the state of Guárico where he had been confined after two previously unsuccessful escape attempts.

Fifteen days after his escape from jail in 1985, accomplices smuggled Posada out of Venezuela on a shrimp boat to Aruba. A week later, they spirited him by plane to Costa Rica and then to his real destination: San Salvador. He immediately started working for Oliver North, alongside Felix Rodriguez, a high-ranking CIA member, at the Ilopango Airbase. Posada's job in San Salvador was to supply the Nicaraguan Contras with arms and supplies obtained through the sale of narcotics. This operation became a scandal known as Iran-Contra.

Posada spent the next several years in Central America working for the security services of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. But in the early 1990s he turned his attention once again to Cuba, that was struggling to jump-start its tourist industry in order to offset a dramatic economic downturn after the demise of the Soviet Bloc. From his lair in Central America, he recruited Salvadoran and Guatemalan mercenaries to smuggle explosives to Cuba, and in 1997 bombs began to explode in the finest hotels and restaurants of Havana – killing an Italian tourist named Fabio Di-Celmo and wounding several others.

Cuba learned that Miami and New Jersey exile organizations were financing the campaign of terror against its tourist industry. The mastermind of terror was Luis Posada Carriles. Faced with the FBI's failure

to reign in the Cuban-American terrorists operating from U.S. soil, Cuba sent men to penetrate these terrorist organizations and gather information with the purpose of asking President Clinton to intervene and order the Feds to arrest the terrorists.

Rather than arrest the terrorists, however, on September 12, 1998, the FBI arrested the men now known as the Cuban Five: the men who had come to Miami to penetrate the Miami exile terrorist organizations. According to *El Nuevo Herald*, the first persons who were notified of the arrests of the Cuban Five were Congressman Lincoln Diaz Balart and Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Miami. The Five were charged with 26 counts of violating federal laws.

They were placed in solitary confinement for the next 17 months, until the start of their trial. They were convicted of several charges and received the maximum sentences possible. Gerardo Hernandez received a double life sentence and Antonio Guerrero and Ramon Labañino each got life sentences. Fernando Gonzalez and René Gonzalez got 19 and 15 years respectively.

They were sent to maximum-security prisons across the United States, and two of them have been denied visits from their wives for the past seven years in violation of U.S. laws and international law. Attorney Leonard Weinglass, who represents Antonio Guerrero, said recently: "The Five were not prosecuted because they violated American law, but because their work exposed those who were. By infiltrating the terror network that is allowed to exist in Florida they demonstrated the hypocrisy of America's claimed opposition to terrorism."

As the Five were being prosecuted in Miami, the campaign of terror against Cuba continued. In November 2000, Posada Carriles was arrested in Panama along with three accomplices before they could carry out the plan to blow up an auditorium filled with students at the University of Panamá where Cuban President Fidel Castro was to speak. A Panamanian Court convicted the four terrorists, but on August 26, 2004, in one of her last acts as president, Mireya Moscoso pardoned them, in violation of Panamanian law. The three accomplices, all Cuban-Americans, flew to Miami and were welcomed home.

Posada Carriles, who is neither a U.S. citizen nor a lawful permanent resident, could not accompany his fellow terrorists to Miami and began to scheme to

join them later. Finally, in March of 2005 he illegally arrived in Miami and applied for asylum. For weeks he lived openly in that city, even going shopping at the mall, without U.S. authorities detaining him.

Venezuela requested in May of 2005 Posada's preventive detention for the purpose of extraditing him to Venezuela to stand trial for 73 counts of first degree murder relating to the downing of the passenger plane in 1976. Rather than exercising an extradition detainer on him, the Department of Homeland Security instead did nothing. It wasn't until Posada called a bizarre press conference in Miami on May 16, 2005 where he openly boasted that the DHS wasn't even looking for him, that government officials felt they had no choice but to detain him. He was detained immediately after the press conference and gingerly escorted in a golf cart with no handcuffs to a waiting helicopter.

Posada was charged with illegal entry into the United States and thus began a legal charade designed to divert attention from the extradition request that still remains unattended by the Department of Justice. As relief from deportation, Posada first claimed he was still a permanent resident of the United States. In the alternative, he asked for asylum and protection from removal under the Convention Against Torture (CAT). Although it is true that he had been a permanent resident in the 1960s, Posada had long ago abandoned that status. After all, he has spent almost the last forty years living and killing abroad. Because of his long history of terror, as a matter of law he does not qualify for asylum. That left him only with the possibility of CAT relief.

It was then that we witnessed one of the sorriest episodes of legal maneuvering ever by Department of Homeland Security (DHS) attorneys. Those handling the immigration matter of Posada Carriles at the Immigration Court in El Paso, Texas set the table for Posada to win CAT relief.

Posada called only one witness in his immigration case – a so-called expert on Venezuela who testified that in his expert opinion, Posada would be tortured if returned to Caracas. The witness testified that Venezuela tortures prisoners and that Posada would surely be tortured if sent back. That witness was none other than Joaquín Chaffardet, friend, business partner and lawyer of Luis Posada Carriles in Venezuela. Chaffardet had also been Posada's boss at the DISIP in the early 1970s, a man that Posada has been close to for the past

forty years.

Yet the DHS never even cross-examined him! Its attorney never even raised the possibility that Chaffardet was not an objective, disinterested witness but instead was biased in favor of his friend, partner and client. Other than Chaffardet's questionable testimony, no other evidence in support of the theory that Posada would be tortured in Venezuela was presented.

DHS' tactic worked. Immigration Judge William Abbott credited Chaffardet's testimony as credible and found a "clear probability" that Posada would be tortured if returned to Venezuela. Judge Abbott ordered his removal from the United States, but not to Venezuela or Cuba because he would be tortured there. DHS declined to appeal the decision, and began a quest to find a third country that would take him. Since it has thus far refused to slap an extradition detainer on him (as Venezuela has requested numerous times), the U.S. government was legally faced with a choice to either release Posada or declare him a threat to the community. It chose neither.

Instead, on January 11, 2007, the Bush Administration indicted Posada on seven counts of immigration fraud. Rather than charge him with murder and terrorism, it charged him with lying on an immigration form about his manner of entry into the United States. Posada claims that he entered the United States on foot at the Mexican border, with the help of a coyote. The United States government has evidence that he entered the country by sea on a yacht called *El Santrina* with the help of several accomplices.

On repeated occasions, the U.S. government has used the fact that it is prosecuting Posada for immigration fraud to stonewall Venezuela's extradition request. But the prosecution of Posada for lying has been so sloppy that on May 8 of last year, Judge Kathleen Cardone dismissed the indictment with prejudice, alleging that the interview process was flawed with faulty translations and that some of the tapes are impossible to decipher.

Judge Cardone also said that the fraud case is one that the government should not have brought. The written decision bristles with Judge Cardone's anger at the government. "The realm of this case is not, as some have suggested, terrorism. It is immigration fraud. Terrorism, and the determination of whether or not to classify an individual as a terrorist, lies within the sound discretion of the executive branch. It does

not lie with this Court."

Judge Cardone also points out that had the jury convicted Posada for lying on an immigration form, the most time she could have given him under federal sentencing guidelines would have been six to twelve months in prison. Posada, in other words, would have gotten time served.

She concluded by getting to the heart of the matter: "This Court will not...overlook Government misconduct because Defendant is a political hot potato. This Court's concern is not politics; it is the preservation of criminal justice."

What is even more scandalous is that the U.S. government need not have turned to the courts to try and keep this terrorist locked up. All it needed to do was to apply the Patriot Act. It chose not to do so, knowing full well that its sloppily prepared prosecution for lying would fall apart and that Posada would be released.

The government has appealed Judge Cárdenas decision, and the case is now pending before the U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Meanwhile, Posada Carriles is free to roam the streets of Miami and to peddle his fourth-grade quality artwork among like-minded fellow exiles at the so-called "Big Five Club" in Miami and at Alpha 66 celebrations. Alpha 66 is a well-known Cuban exile terrorist organization that the FBI allows to freely operate in Miami. At a recent gathering of supporters in Miami, Posada called once again for violence against Cuba. The federal government has done nothing to curtail his incitements to violence.

The Posada Carriles case reveals United States government misconduct at the highest level. Its failure to extradite or prosecute Posada for terrorism is in open violation of Resolution 1373 of the United Nation's National Security Council: a resolution that President George W. Bush himself pushed through to enactment in the days following the terrorist attacks on 9-11.

Venezuela asks for Posada's extradition, but others would be satisfied if the United States prosecuted him in the United States for 73 counts of first degree murder in relation to the downing of the plane. Indeed international law obligates the United States to prosecute him here, if it does not extradite him. Article 7 of the Montreal Convention on Civil Aviation says that: "the contracting State in the territory of which the

alleged offender is found shall, if it does not extradite him, be obliged, without exception whatsoever and whether or not the offence was committed in its territory, to submit the case to its competent authorities for the purpose of prosecution. Those authorities shall take their decision in the same manner as in the case of any ordinary offence of a serious nature under the law of that State.”

Thus, the United States has little discretion in this case. It must either prosecute Luis Posada Carriles as a terrorist or extradite him to Venezuela – or possibly to Panama (see Addendum).

ADDENDUM:

After the conference reported above had concluded, the Panamanian Supreme Court, on June 30, 2008, overturned the pardon granted to Posada in 2004 by outgoing President Mireya Moscoso – the pardon which enabled him to come to the United States. In mid-August 2008, Panamanian vicepresident Samuel Lewis Navarro indicated Panama would soon request the United States to extradite Posada to Panama to serve out the remaining four years of his prison term.

This would place the United States in a difficult position. It does not mind offending Venezuela, with which it has poor relations anyway, but Panama, with which it has very good relations, would be something else again.

Only days later, in what seemed an obvious effort to fend off a new extradition request, the long-dormant U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans suddenly came to life, overturned Judge Cardone’s ruling and ordered that Posada be tried in El Paso on immigration fraud charges.

As this report goes to press, the case remains in a state of flux. The case has not yet been taken up in El Paso and Panama has not formally asked for Posada’s extradition. What seems clear, however, is that the first will not necessarily obviate the second. Even if Posada is convicted on the immigration fraud charge in the United States, once having served his U.S. sentence, he could then be returned to Panama to complete his term there. And, one can well imagine, having completed it, he would find a Venezuelan request for his extradition awaiting him as he left the Panamanian jail.

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES:

WAYNE S. SMITH is a Senior Fellow at the Center for International Policy. A former diplomat, Smith was Chief of Mission at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana (1979-82) and is the author of *The Closest of Enemies: A Personal and Diplomatic History of the Castro Years* (W. W. Norton, 1988), among other books.

DR. ROSEANNE NENNINGER is a naturopathic doctor in Port Jefferson, New York. Nenninger graduated from the National College of Naturopathic Medicine in 1996. Prior to Naturopathic school, she worked as a public school teacher in New York and Oregon. Nenninger received her Bachelor’s degree in French and her Master’s degree in Liberal Studies from SUNY Stonybrook. She is the sister of Raymond Persaud, a victim of the bombing of Cubana Flight 455 who was on his way to attend medical school in Cuba when the plane was shot down.

PETER KORNBLUH is a Senior Analyst at The National Security Archive and has worked with the Archive since April 1986. He currently directs the Archive’s Cuba Documentation Project, which has centralized and disseminated dozens of CIA, FBI, and State Department records on the violent actions of Luis Posada Carriles. Kornbluh is the author/editor/co-editor of a number of Archive books: *The Iran-Contra Scandal: The Declassified History* (The New Press, 1993), *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962* (The New Press, 1998) and *Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba* (The New Press, 1998).

JOSE PERTIERRA practices law in the District of Columbia at the law firm of Pertierra & Toro, P.C. He has a J.D. from George Washington University Law School and an M.A. Degree in Philosophy from Georgetown University. Pertierra is a recipient of the prestigious Human Rights Award from the American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA) for his work on behalf of victims of human rights abuse in Guatemala. Pertierra also received an AILA Commendation for excellence in advocacy work on behalf of immigrants in the United States.

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