

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: Cresencio S. Arcos, Jr. Candidate for Member (PA) President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. (10 pages)	01/22/1999	P2, P5
002. note	re: [Arcos Cresencio] (1 page)	01/28/1999	b(6)
003. report	[Duplicate of 001] (10 pages)	01/22/1999	P2, P5
004. memo	Rick Foss-Lacey to Lisa Winston, re: Results of Interview with Cresencio S. Arcos, Jr. (6 pages)	01/29/1999	P1/b(1), P2
005. memo	Christine Puffer and Rick Foss-Lacey to Lisa Winston, re: Results of Interview with Cresencio S. Arcos, Jr. (2 pages)	02/01/1999	P2, P6/b(6)
006. form	SF-86 (11 pages)	09/24/1998	P6/b(6)
007. form	Financial Disclosure Report (5 pages)	09/21/1998	P6/b(6)
008. memo	Gino J. Del Sesto to Stacy Reynolds and Ginny Canter, re: PA Appointment at President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, White House [partial] (1 page)	09/15/1998	P6/b(6)
009. form	Personal Data Statement Questionnaire (6 pages)	09/21/1998	P6/b(6)
010a. form	I-9 for Magloire Fernandez (1 page)	02/04/1999	P6/b(6)
010b. form	Passport for Magloire Fernandez (1 page)	11/1996	P6/b(6)
011a. form	I-9 for Magloire Fernandez (1 page)	02/04/1999	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Counsel's Office

OA/Box Number: CF 1458

FOLDER TITLE:

[Appointees] Arcos, Cresencio

Kara Ellis
2006-1001-F
ke1359

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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011b. form	Passport for Magloire Fernandez (1 page)	11/1996	P6/b(6)
012. memo	Christopher Ashley to Amy Comstock re: Crescencio S. Arcos, Jr. (3 pages)	04/14/1999	b(6)
013. form	Interview of Proposed Presidential Sub-Cabinet Appointee (10 pages)	01/28/1999	P6/b(6)
014. form	Call/Visit Memorandum re: Arcos (1 page)	03/07/1999	b(6)
015. form	Call/Visit Memorandum re: Arcos (2 pages)	ca. 1999	b(6)
016. memo	Thomas Marusin to Charles F.C. Ruff, re: Tax Check Report (1 page)	04/09/1999	P6/b(6)
017. form	Financial Disclosure Report (4 pages)	09/21/1998	P6/b(6)
018. note	Handwritten notes from Arcos Interview (8 pages)	01/29/1999	P1/b(1), P2
019. memo	Christine Puffer and Rick Foss-Lacy to Lisa Winston, re: Results of Interview with Cresencio S. Arcos, Jr. (9 pages)	02/08/1999	P1/b(1), P2
020a. form	Request for Investigation (1 page)	ca. 12/1998	P6/b(6)
020b. form	SF 86 (3 pages)	ca. 12/1998	P6/b(6)
020c. form	Citizenship information (1 page)	ca. 12/1998	P6/b(6)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
020d. form	Disclosure and Authorization [partial] (1 page)	ca. 12/1998	P6/b(6)
020e. form	Re: Immigration Addendum [partial] (1 page)	ca. 12/1998	P6/b(6)

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: KDE DATE: 01/09/2012
2006-1001-F

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CRESENCIO S. ARCOS, Jr.
Candidate for Member (PA)
President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

Mr. Arcos is currently the Regional Vice-President for International Public Affairs for Latin America at AT&T Corporation, where he has worked since 1995.¹

Mr. Arcos has published a variety of articles relating to foreign service and Central and Latin America, among other issues.²

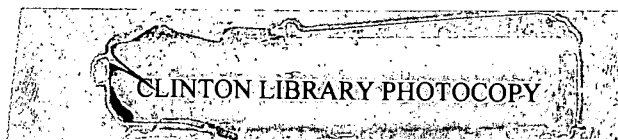
Comments Regarding Honduran Human Rights Abuses

On March 8, 1993, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL reported that Honduran political analysts, journalists, politicians and businessmen had commended Mr. Arcos for criticizing the Honduran military's "traditional role as a parallel government in Honduras as well as criticizing specific crimes and human rights abuses involving military personnel." Following mounting public criticism, Honduran President Rafael Callejas convened a commission to create a list of recommended reforms.

¹ Mr. Arcos received an A.A. from San Antonio College in 1964, a B.A. from the University of Texas in 1966, and an M.A. from Johns Hopkins University in 1973. Mr. Arcos also attended St. Mary's University from 1962 to 1963 and from 1966 to 1967, the University of Oregon from 1970 to 1971, and George Washington University from 1977 to 1978.

Mr. Arcos served in a variety of positions in the United States Foreign Service from 1971 to 1995. In part, Mr. Arcos served as Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Crime from 1993 to 1995, and as the United States Ambassador to Honduras from 1989 to 1993. Prior to that time, he was the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and in 1993 he served on the Department of State's North American Free Trade Agreement Task Force. From 1986 to 1987, Mr. Arcos served as the White House Coordinator for Public Diplomacy on Central America and was the Deputy Coordinator in the Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America at the Department of State. Mr. Arcos also worked as the State Department's Deputy Director of the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office from 1985 to 1986.

² Due to the limited nature of this public record vet and current staffing limitations, none of Mr. Arcos's writings was reviewed.

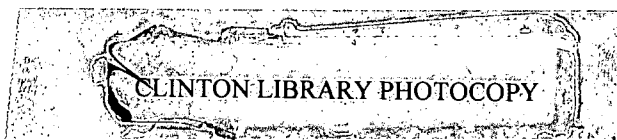


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On April 3, 1993, the ECONOMIST cited comments by Mr. Arcos, "one of Honduras's most outspoken critics," as evidence of the reversal of United States policy regarding relations with that country. The shift in policy was reported to have been a "vital element" in the efforts by Hondurans to fight human rights abuses at the hands of the military. The article reported that United States military aid to Honduras had been significantly reduced, to which Mr. Arcos was quoted as stating, "We're not buying anti-communism any more."

On May 2, 1993, the HOUSTON CHRONICLE reported that, because of the changed United States stance toward Honduras, the United States Embassy had been placed "in the unusual position of trying to rein in the [Honduran] armed forces." The article reported that Mr. Arcos, as United States ambassador, had encouraged "a popular outcry" following the murder of a young woman purportedly at the hands of military personnel. Mr. Arcos reportedly intervened and pressured the military to bring the accused men to justice after the military refused to arrest the suspects. However, President Callejas reportedly called Mr. Arcos' comments regarding the murder "irresponsible." According to the article, Mr. Arcos, with the support of the State Department, criticized Honduran and other Latin American judicial systems. Mr. Arcos was quoted as stating that justice in Honduras "should not be turned into a viper that only bites the bare-foot . . . so those that wear boots are immune," which was thought to refer to army officials. This statement reportedly "stunned and angered the military," but otherwise won him popular "broad support for his high-profile diplomacy." Students reportedly marched on the United States embassy in 1991 in support of Mr. Arcos and United States policy.

According to the July 9, 1993, REUTERS NORTH AMERICAN WIRE, a former Honduran army colonel who had been found guilty of the aforementioned murder was the first military officer found guilty of such a serious crime in that country. The article noted that Mr. Arcos had sought the trial, publicly condemning the impunity of Honduran military officers. On July 11, 1993, the LOS ANGELES TIMES reported that the United States had been a "curious ally in the protest movement" as many Hondurans had been encouraged to denounce human rights abuses after Mr. Arcos did so. Senior military officers reportedly sought to have Mr. Arcos, identified in the article as "an advocate for human rights," removed from the country after he called for "a fair application of justice."



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Investigated Regarding U.S. Involvement in Human Rights Abuses

On June 14, 1995, the BALTIMORE SUN reported that the Honduran Attorney General's office was going to investigate two former United States ambassadors, including Mr. Arcos, in its probe of the disappearance of 184 Hondurans during the 1980s. The investigation reportedly was ordered after it was discovered that in the 1980s the CIA and the State Department worked with a secret Honduran military unit, even though it was known that the unit was kidnaping, torturing and killing Hondurans. In addition, it was reported that the Reagan Administration deliberately misled Congress and the public about Honduran military abuses. When investigators sought to interview Mr. Arcos during a visit to Honduras, the United States embassy intervened, claiming that he had diplomatic immunity.

The BALTIMORE SUN reported on June 18, 1995, that, during Mr. Arcos' tenure as the press spokesman at the United States embassy, he informed the United States ambassador, John Dimitri Negroponte, of the abduction of a Honduran journalist and his wife by the military. According to the article, officials at the United States embassy were concerned that if news of the abduction reached the United States that it might erode "carefully assembled public support for the Central America program operating out of Honduras." Mr. Arcos reportedly warned the then-ambassador, "If they do this guy, then we're in trouble. We cannot let this guy get hurt. . . It would be a disaster for our policy." Mr. Arcos was quoted as asserting that, after his warning, the ambassador approached the Honduran armed forces chief, General Gustavo Alvarez, "to manifest his concern." Ultimately, the abductees reportedly were released and allowed to travel to the United States on the condition that they not discuss the torture they had suffered. The United States embassy was reportedly similarly silent, and did not mention the case in the human rights report for 1982. The article reported that the Reagan Administration used State Department human rights reports to promote its policy objectives, and would exclude evidence of human rights abuses of governments it supported, while reporting negatively on regimes it opposed. Mr. Arcos reportedly explained the different treatment by noting that, "Invariably, the result in this process was to magnify your enemies' misdeeds and minimize your friends' misdeeds." Similarly, in a July 30, 1995, SACRAMENTO BEE article regarding the Reagan Administration's dealings in Honduras, Mr. Arcos was quoted as stating that Gen. Alvarez had been "a darling of the Reagan administration." During Gen. Alvarez's service, President Reagan had reportedly ordered "an aggressive, largely secret thrust against communism in Central America."

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Secret Meeting with Colombian President Samper Regarding Drug Trafficking

On July 21, 1996, the WASHINGTON POST reported that a United States Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) agent had leaked to the press tapes of police intercepts showing that the Cali drug cartel had financed Ernesto Samper's successful campaign for president of Colombia. Subsequently, Mr. Arcos reportedly met with President-elect Samper as an emissary of President Clinton and the secretary of state, and informed the President-elect that the United States was "very concerned" about what was occurring. According to the article, President-elect Samper initially responded with belligerence and defiance, but became more conciliatory as Mr. Arcos reviewed the evidence showing that drug money had been involved in his campaign. Mr. Arcos reportedly offered President-elect Samper a deal wherein the United States would act as if the allegations of corruption were not credible if the Colombian government acted as if no drug money had been received, in addition to other demands. Although President-elect Samper reportedly agreed to the demands, he in turn demanded that the United States issue a statement declaring that the allegations were baseless. Mr. Arcos reportedly refused this demand, and the meeting ended in tension, with no deal struck and Colombian officials trying to calm Mr. Arcos. Almost two years later, the ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE reported on May 31, 1998, that, under the rule of President Samper, Colombia had been ravaged economically and "wracked by drug-related murders, leftist guerrilla violence, [and] rightist paramilitary violence and mayhem." The article stated that "some former U.S. officials" felt that the United States government's efforts following the above-noted meeting to isolate President Samper had worsened the situation in Colombia. Bernard W. Aronson, formerly a State Department official in charge of Latin America, was quoted as saying that the United States "went overboard in trying to isolate Samper while we didn't have much else going in our policy. The guerrillas deliberately took advantage of the vacuum."

Relations with Cuba

On November 21, 1993, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL reported that Honduran officials and business persons had been evaluating doing business with Cuba. Mr. Arcos reportedly had "constantly pressured Honduras to keep its distance from Cuba." Despite his efforts, relations between the two nations reportedly improved, with Honduran officials opposing the United States-led trade embargo and praising a variety of Cuban social programs.



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The BUFFALO NEWS reported on January 20, 1998, that Pope John Paul II was going to visit Cuba. Mr. Arcos was quoted as saying the visit was occasioned because the Pope and Fidel Castro "need each other" as the papal visit gave Fidel Castro "legitimacy" and the Pope sought to "save souls." According to the article, other analysts opined that Fidel Castro hoped that the Pope's visit would generate pressure to end the trade embargo.

Critical of Latin American Telecommunications Regulation

On June 10, 1996, the JOURNAL OF COMMERCE published an opinion piece by Mr. Arcos wherein he suggested that telecommunications ministers and regulators from Latin America "accelerate the [telecommunications] liberalization process." Mr. Arcos reportedly also stated that he understood that "politicians [saw] telecommunications as a government fund-raiser and long-term political patronage system." Mr. Arcos exhorted governmental officials to "acknowledge that this industry is too dynamic for the government to direct" and to "create a regulatory environment" supportive of open competition.

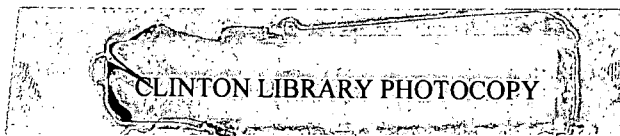
In the July 1, 1998, issue of TELE.COM, Mr. Arcos was quoted as asserting that Latin American independent telecommunications carriers "think that the way to destroy their competition is by going to the government. It has nothing to do with products or pricing, it is what friends you have in power."

Critical of Clinton Administration's Drug Policy with Mexico

An article in the April 14, 1996, SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE reported that Mr. Arcos wanted the United States to "pursue a more aggressive anti-drug policy with Mexico." According to the article, Mr. Arcos had been quoted in a book as suggesting that the Clinton Administration "was reluctant to speak out loudly against Mexico's cocaine cartels" and drug-related corruption, which permitted drug traffickers to make inroads and become more firmly entrenched.

Critical of U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America

On May 8, 1997, the WASHINGTON POST reported that Mr. Arcos had stated at a forum on United States policy toward Central America and the Caribbean that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States "didn't know what the hell to do." Mr. Arcos reportedly stated that, "What we have is managed benign neglect," asserting



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that, "There is no policy and no money from the United States." However, the article reported that Richard Feinberg, who had resigned as the Clinton administration's National Security Council director of inter-American affairs, asserted at the same forum that the United States did not need to focus on the Central American region because, as unlike other "crisis regions," it was at peace and progressing economically.

Critical of U.S. Trade Policy in South America

On March 26, 1996, HERITAGE FOUNDATION REPORTS published an opinion piece by Mr. Arcos wherein he criticized the United States for "shirking our role as the natural leader in promoting economic liberalization" in Latin American countries. Mr. Arcos asserted in the article that the United States was "on the verge of losing [a] strategic advantage" by failing to use its power and influence to be a "force for positive change in the Americas." Mr. Arcos cited "election year politics in the U.S." as one of the reasons why "the Hemispheric trade agenda at this moment appears to be a rudderless ship." He warned about Brazil's increasing influence in "promoting a Hemispheric trade regime different from the NAFTA." Mr. Arcos also characterized Ross Perot and Pat Buchanan as "free trade opponents," asserting that "free trade would be under attack" during Mr. Buchanan's political campaign. An opinion piece published in the June 10, 1996, DALLAS MORNING NEWS asserted that Mr. Arcos was correct in stating that the lack of United States leadership in the region had created a "political vacuum" that Brazil was filling.

Defended Embassy Staff's Efforts to Release Wrongfully Imprisoned Americans

On March 20, 1995, the NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL reported that Mr. Arcos had testified at a civil trial brought by Americans who sued the U.S. government for damages resulting from their imprisonment in Honduras after an American-led drug sting went wrong. The arrests reportedly came after the Honduran police discovered 45 kilos of cocaine which the United States Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and the Belize National Police had planted on a Belize Air International plane on which the Americans had flown. According to the article, the drugs had been planted by the DEA in an effort to catch drug smugglers who were to retrieve it in Miami, the flight's ultimate destination. However, the article reported that the DEA failed to inform the Honduran police of their actions. The flight crew and passengers were reportedly arrested by the Honduran police when the plane stopped at a Honduran airport and the drugs were discovered, and they were imprisoned for days in terrible conditions, during which time they were beaten and abused. According to the article, the

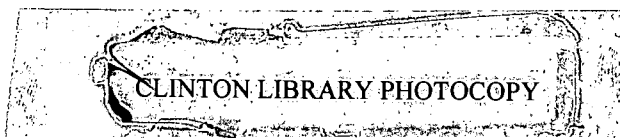
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American captives contended that the United States government was slow to respond to their predicament, asserting that an American embassy official did not visit them until their fourth day of imprisonment. Mr. Arcos reportedly testified that he and the embassy staff sought to procure the American captives' release "promptly," but that Honduran President Callejas had "blasted the U.S. government for running a sting operation in his country without permission." Mr. Arcos reportedly testified that "there was little he could do immediately" as President Callejas had "made it clear that he could not override the judiciary and order the men released." Ultimately, the captives were released after the United States issued a "letter of exoneration," exonerating the Hondurans from any responsibility for imprisoning the Americans.

Criticism of Honduran Government

On October 17, 1991, INTER PRESS SERVICE reported that Mr. Arcos had termed budget deficit reductions by the Honduran government "insufficient." However, President Callejas reportedly rejected the suggestion that greater efforts to reduce the deficit should be made. President Callejas was quoted as stating that he managed the Honduran government and that, if he were to listen to all of Mr. Arcos' opinions, "there would probably still be Contra Guerrillas in Honduras." According to the article, a "group of Honduran military officers" had sought to have President Callejas declare Mr. Arcos "persona non grata" because he was purportedly "interfering too much in the country's internal affairs." The February 6, 1992, edition of INTER PRESS SERVICE reported that Mr. Arcos had asserted that governmental bureaucracy and increased military spending were preventing economic growth in Honduras. The article reported that Mr. Arcos had previously "angered some military circles and politicians of the ruling Nationalist Party" to the extent that they demanded that he be requested to leave the country.

On January 5, 1993, INTER PRESS SERVICE reported that Mr. Arcos had stated that the Honduran government had to achieve a rapid economic growth rate in order to improve its credibility with the international finance community. The article stated that Mr. Arcos was shortly due to conclude his ambassadorship to Honduras, and that he denied that his departure was in any manner related to his pressuring the Honduran government to reduce public spending and cutback the armed forces. The article mentioned the Honduran army's efforts to remove Mr. Arcos from the country, during which time the Honduran Foreign Ministry admitted that the country's relations with the United States had entered "a delicate" period.



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Defended American Aid to Honduras

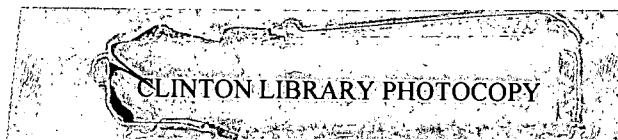
An article in the October 18, 1993, LOS ANGELES TIMES reported that critics of American foreign aid asserted that, "Honduras probably stands out as the shining example of misspent U.S. money" as there was "little to show for the nearly \$2 billion in American taxpayer money spent in Honduras during the last decade." Mr. Arcos reportedly responded to such criticisms by asserting that the United States did not ask the Hondurans "to do anything except to be a base for the Contras . . . Maybe they didn't use all the money the way we wanted, but the place stayed afloat." However, according to the article, various politicians, analysts and diplomats asserted that the Honduran democracy was "still very much influenced by an army built and buttressed by American dollars."

Trade Dispute

The April 5, 1993, DALLAS MORNING NEWS reported Hondurans were "enraged" when the European Community decided to allow its protectorates and former colonies to import bananas to Europe without imposing tariffs or quotas. Honduras, whose main export was bananas, was reportedly not among the countries exempted from the tariffs. Mr. Arcos was quoted as saying that the European position regarding bananas "sen[t] a signal" to other countries that "protectionism is acceptable." Mr. Arcos also reportedly asserted that Europe was trying to "put the screws to American commercial interests," asserting that Europe would be willing to expand its banana imports from other countries if United States companies did not dominate the industry.

Allegations Mr. Arcos Influenced Honduran President's Decisions

On October 8, 1991, the INTER PRESS SERVICE reported that the Honduran government had denied that the United States embassy influenced Honduran President Callejas' economic or political decisions. According to the article, "[o]pposition groups" had alleged that recent economic decisions by President Callejas had been related to "frequent routine visits" by Mr. Arcos, who was then the United States Ambassador. Mr. Arcos reportedly said that his discussions with the Honduran president sought to "revise" an economic adjustment program which had begun in March of 1990, as well as to "foster Honduras' economic growth." The Honduran Presidential spokesman, Gilberto Goldstein, rejected the "unfounded accusations," and denied that Mr. Arcos' comments had "another message," or that Mr. Arcos did not



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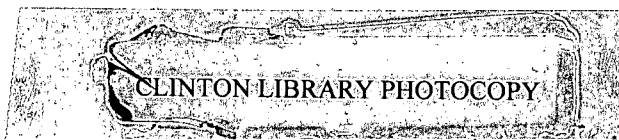
respect Honduras' sovereignty.

Involvement with the Contras

In a January 8, 1988, article the WASHINGTON POST identified Mr. Arcos as one of the "key players in the [Reagan] administration's high-pressure public relations campaign to keep aid flowing to the Nicaraguan contras." Mr. Arcos, as the coordinator for public diplomacy on Central America at the White House was also characterized as a "top contra expert" who advised senior White House officials on the status of the contra program and public relations efforts to support the same. Mr. Arcos reportedly had "regular contact with many of the key U.S. officials and contra leaders involved in the [Honduran] war" and had "close relationships with top Honduran officials." According to the article, Mr. Arcos was "at the center of the administration's attempt to capitalize" on the defection of Major Roger Miranda Bengoechea, a top-level Nicaraguan Sandinista defector. Mr. Arcos reportedly "drew the ire of many members of the Washington press corps" when he was involved in the decision to not present Maj. Miranda at an open news conference, but instead elected to limit initial interviews to reporters from four news organizations. Mr. Arcos was reportedly "expected to play [a] pivotal [role] in the administration's campaign to win congressional approval of renewed military aid to the contras."

NEWSDAY reported on April 18, 1989, that Mr. Arcos, as Deputy United States Assistant Secretary of State for Central America, had brokered an agreement with the Contras to suspend Jose Benito Bravo Centeno, the head of intelligence for the Contras, after he was convicted of human rights abuses. In doing so, Mr. Arcos reportedly informed the Contras that if Mr. Bravo were not suspended the United States would discontinue financially supporting them. Although the Contras reportedly had agreed to the deal, it was later determined that they had violated the same. The article reported that the Contras had been "accused of frequent human-rights abuses" for years.

On January 30, 1990, REUTERS reported that Mr. Arcos, who had recently been appointed Ambassador to Honduras, had stated that the United States "[had] an obligation" to continue its humanitarian aid to Nicaraguan Contra rebels camped in Honduras. The article noted that the Contras in Honduras were supposed to have disarmed themselves about a month previously according to a regional peace plan, but that most had refused to do so. According to the article, the former Honduran President, Jose Azcona, refused to receive Mr. Arcos in December of 1990 as he



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believed that the United States had interfered with Honduran elections held in November.

The LOS ANGELES TIMES reported on March 1, 1990, that Mr. Arcos participated in a United States effort to persuade all Nicaraguan combatants, including both the Sandinistas and the Contras, to defuse tensions and cooperate with the newly-elected Nicaraguan government. In this regard, Mr. Arcos reportedly visited Contra camps along the Nicaragua border, urging the rebels to "cool it." On March 12, 1990, NEWSWEEK reported that Mr. Arcos had "delivered a blunt message to contra commander Israel Galeano," that the rebels were "history" and had to make the best deal possible to return to Nicaragua. The Contras, however, reportedly were reluctant to return as they had not been given "real guarantees" that they would not be subjected to reprisals. Mr. Arcos was quoted in the April 24, 1990, ST. PETERSBURG TIMES as stating that, "In exactly 10 days, we'll be out of the picture" with respect to the Contras. The article noted that the United States, after spending eight years and hundreds of millions of dollars supporting the Contras, wanted to be "rid of the rebels."

Aside from the above, a limited review of the available public record revealed no information that might bear negatively on Mr. Arcos's candidacy, generate controversy, or disqualify him from serving as a Member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

January 22, 1999



DETERMINED TO BE AN
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2006-1001-F

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CRESENCIO S. ARCOS, Jr.
Candidate for Member (PA)
President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

Mr. Arcos is currently the Regional Vice-President for International Public Affairs for Latin America at AT&T Corporation, where he has worked since 1995.¹

Mr. Arcos has published a variety of articles relating to foreign service and Central and Latin America, among other issues.²

Comments Regarding Honduran Human Rights Abuses

On March 8, 1993, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL reported that Honduran political analysts, journalists, politicians and businessmen had commended Mr. Arcos for criticizing the Honduran military's "traditional role as a parallel government in Honduras as well as criticizing specific crimes and human rights abuses involving military personnel." Following mounting public criticism, Honduran President Rafael Callejas convened a commission to create a list of recommended reforms.

¹ Mr. Arcos received an A.A. from San Antonio College in 1964, a B.A. from the University of Texas in 1966, and an M.A. from Johns Hopkins University in 1973. Mr. Arcos also attended St. Mary's University from 1962 to 1963 and from 1966 to 1967; the University of Oregon from 1970 to 1971, and George Washington University from 1977 to 1978.

Mr. Arcos served in a variety of positions in the United States Foreign Service from 1971 to 1995. In part, Mr. Arcos served as Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Crime from 1993 to 1995, and as the United States Ambassador to Honduras from 1989 to 1993. Prior to that time, he was the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and in 1993 he served on the Department of State's North American Free Trade Agreement Task Force. From 1986 to 1987, Mr. Arcos served as the White House Coordinator for Public Diplomacy on Central America and was the Deputy Coordinator in the Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America at the Department of State. Mr. Arcos also worked as the State Department's Deputy Director of the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office from 1985 to 1986.

² Due to the limited nature of this public record vet and current staffing limitations, none of Mr. Arcos's writings was reviewed.

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On April 3, 1993, the ECONOMIST cited comments by Mr. Arcos, "one of Honduras's most outspoken critics," as evidence of the reversal of United States policy regarding relations with that country. The shift in policy was reported to have been a "vital element" in the efforts by Hondurans to fight human rights abuses at the hands of the military. The article reported that United States military aid to Honduras had been significantly reduced, to which Mr. Arcos was quoted as stating, "We're not buying anti-communism any more."

On May 2, 1993, the HOUSTON CHRONICLE reported that, because of the changed United States stance toward Honduras, the United States Embassy had been placed "in the unusual position of trying to rein in the [Honduran] armed forces." The article reported that Mr. Arcos, as United States ambassador, had encouraged "a popular outcry" following the murder of a young woman purportedly at the hands of military personnel. Mr. Arcos reportedly intervened and pressured the military to bring the accused men to justice after the military refused to arrest the suspects. However, President Callejas reportedly called Mr. Arcos' comments regarding the murder "irresponsible." According to the article, Mr. Arcos, with the support of the State Department, criticized Honduran and other Latin American judicial systems. Mr. Arcos was quoted as stating that justice in Honduras "should not be turned into a viper that only bites the bare-foot . . . so those that wear boots are immune," which was thought to refer to army officials. This statement reportedly "stunned and angered the military," but otherwise won him popular "broad support for his high-profile diplomacy." Students reportedly marched on the United States embassy in 1991 in support of Mr. Arcos and United States policy.

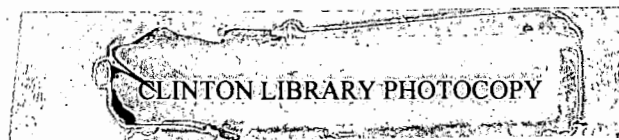
According to the July 9, 1993, REUTERS NORTH AMERICAN WIRE, a former Honduran army colonel who had been found guilty of the aforementioned murder was the first military officer found guilty of such a serious crime in that country. The article noted that Mr. Arcos had sought the trial, publicly condemning the impunity of Honduran military officers. On July 11, 1993, the LOS ANGELES TIMES reported that the United States had been a "curious ally in the protest movement" as many Hondurans had been encouraged to denounce human rights abuses after Mr. Arcos did so. Senior military officers reportedly sought to have Mr. Arcos, identified in the article as "an advocate for human rights," removed from the country after he called for "a fair application of justice."

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Investigated Regarding U.S. Involvement in Human Rights Abuses

On June 14, 1995, the BALTIMORE SUN reported that the Honduran Attorney General's office was going to investigate two former United States ambassadors, including Mr. Arcos, in its probe of the disappearance of 184 Hondurans during the 1980s. The investigation reportedly was ordered after it was discovered that in the 1980s the CIA and the State Department worked with a secret Honduran military unit, even though it was known that the unit was kidnaping, torturing and killing Hondurans. In addition, it was reported that the Reagan Administration deliberately misled Congress and the public about Honduran military abuses. When investigators sought to interview Mr. Arcos during a visit to Honduras, the United States embassy intervened, claiming that he had diplomatic immunity.

The BALTIMORE SUN reported on June 18, 1995, that, during Mr. Arcos' tenure as the press spokesman at the United States embassy, he informed the United States ambassador, John Dimitri Negroponte, of the abduction of a Honduran journalist and his wife by the military. According to the article, officials at the United States embassy were concerned that if news of the abduction reached the United States that it might erode "carefully assembled public support for the Central America program operating out of Honduras." Mr. Arcos reportedly warned the then-ambassador, "If they do this guy, then we're in trouble. We cannot let this guy get hurt. . . It would be a disaster for our policy." Mr. Arcos was quoted as asserting that, after his warning, the ambassador approached the Honduran armed forces chief, General Gustavo Alvarez, "to manifest his concern." Ultimately, the abductees reportedly were released and allowed to travel to the United States on the condition that they not discuss the torture they had suffered. The United States embassy was reportedly similarly silent, and did not mention the case in the human rights report for 1982. The article reported that the Reagan Administration used State Department human rights reports to promote its policy objectives, and would exclude evidence of human rights abuses of governments it supported, while reporting negatively on regimes it opposed. Mr. Arcos reportedly explained the different treatment by noting that, "Invariably, the result in this process was to magnify your enemies' misdeeds and minimize your friends' misdeeds." Similarly, in a July 30, 1995, SACRAMENTO BEE article regarding the Reagan Administration's dealings in Honduras, Mr. Arcos was quoted as stating that Gen. Alvarez had been "a darling of the Reagan administration." During Gen. Alvarez's service, President Reagan had reportedly ordered "an aggressive, largely secret thrust against communism in Central America."



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Secret Meeting with Colombian President Samper Regarding Drug Trafficking

On July 21, 1996, the WASHINGTON POST reported that a United States Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) agent had leaked to the press tapes of police intercepts showing that the Cali drug cartel had financed Ernesto Samper's successful campaign for president of Colombia. Subsequently, Mr. Arcos reportedly met with President-elect Samper as an emissary of President Clinton and the secretary of state, and informed the President-elect that the United States was "very concerned" about what was occurring. According to the article, President-elect Samper initially responded with belligerence and defiance, but became more conciliatory as Mr. Arcos reviewed the evidence showing that drug money had been involved in his campaign. Mr. Arcos reportedly offered President-elect Samper a deal wherein the United States would act as if the allegations of corruption were not credible if the Colombian government acted as if no drug money had been received, in addition to other demands. Although President-elect Samper reportedly agreed to the demands, he in turn demanded that the United States issue a statement declaring that the allegations were baseless. Mr. Arcos reportedly refused this demand, and the meeting ended in tension, with no deal struck and Colombian officials trying to calm Mr. Arcos. Almost two years later, the ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE reported on May 31, 1998, that, under the rule of President Samper, Colombia had been ravaged economically and "wracked by drug-related murders, leftist guerrilla violence, [and] rightist paramilitary violence and mayhem." The article stated that "some former U.S. officials" felt that the United States government's efforts following the above-noted meeting to isolate President Samper had worsened the situation in Colombia. Bernard W. Aronson, formerly a State Department official in charge of Latin America, was quoted as saying that the United States "went overboard in trying to isolate Samper while we didn't have much else going in our policy. The guerrillas deliberately took advantage of the vacuum."

Relations with Cuba

On November 21, 1993, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL reported that Honduran officials and business persons had been evaluating doing business with Cuba. Mr. Arcos reportedly had "constantly pressured Honduras to keep its distance from Cuba." Despite his efforts, relations between the two nations reportedly improved, with Honduran officials opposing the United States-led trade embargo and praising a variety of Cuban social programs.



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The BUFFALO NEWS reported on January 20, 1998, that Pope John Paul II was going to visit Cuba. Mr. Arcos was quoted as saying the visit was occasioned because the Pope and Fidel Castro "need each other" as the papal visit gave Fidel Castro "legitimacy" and the Pope sought to "save souls." According to the article, other analysts opined that Fidel Castro hoped that the Pope's visit would generate pressure to end the trade embargo.

Critical of Latin American Telecommunications Regulation

On June 10, 1996, the JOURNAL OF COMMERCE published an opinion piece by Mr. Arcos wherein he suggested that telecommunications ministers and regulators from Latin America "accelerate the [telecommunications] liberalization process." Mr. Arcos reportedly also stated that he understood that "politicians [saw] telecommunications as a government fund-raiser and long-term political patronage system." Mr. Arcos exhorted governmental officials to "acknowledge that this industry is too dynamic for the government to direct" and to "create a regulatory environment" supportive of open competition.

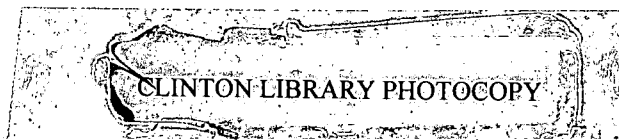
In the July 1, 1998, issue of TELE.COM, Mr. Arcos was quoted as asserting that Latin American independent telecommunications carriers "think that the way to destroy their competition is by going to the government. It has nothing to do with products or pricing, it is what friends you have in power."

Critical of Clinton Administration's Drug Policy with Mexico

An article in the April 14, 1996, SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE reported that Mr. Arcos wanted the United States to "pursue a more aggressive anti-drug policy with Mexico." According to the article, Mr. Arcos had been quoted in a book as suggesting that the Clinton Administration "was reluctant to speak out loudly against Mexico's cocaine cartels" and drug-related corruption, which permitted drug traffickers to make inroads and become more firmly entrenched.

Critical of U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America

On May 8, 1997, the WASHINGTON POST reported that Mr. Arcos had stated at a forum on United States policy toward Central America and the Caribbean that, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States "didn't know what the hell to do." Mr. Arcos reportedly stated that, "What we have is managed benign neglect," asserting



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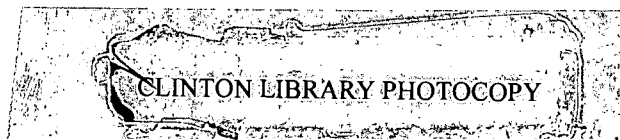
that, "There is no policy and no money from the United States." However, the article reported that Richard Feinberg, who had resigned as the Clinton administration's National Security Council director of inter-American affairs, asserted at the same forum that the United States did not need to focus on the Central American region because, as unlike other "crisis regions," it was at peace and progressing economically.

Critical of U.S. Trade Policy in South America

On March 26, 1996, HERITAGE FOUNDATION REPORTS published an opinion piece by Mr. Arcos wherein he criticized the United States for "shirking our role as the natural leader in promoting economic liberalization" in Latin American countries. Mr. Arcos asserted in the article that the United States was "on the verge of losing [a] strategic advantage" by failing to use its power and influence to be a "force for positive change in the Americas." Mr. Arcos cited "election year politics in the U.S." as one of the reasons why "the Hemispheric trade agenda at this moment appears to be a rudderless ship." He warned about Brazil's increasing influence in "promoting a Hemispheric trade regime different from the NAFTA." Mr. Arcos also characterized Ross Perot and Pat Buchanan as "free trade opponents," asserting that "free trade would be under attack" during Mr. Buchanan's political campaign. An opinion piece published in the June 10, 1996, DALLAS MORNING NEWS asserted that Mr. Arcos was correct in stating that the lack of United States leadership in the region had created a "political vacuum" that Brazil was filling.

Defended Embassy Staff's Efforts to Release Wrongfully Imprisoned Americans

On March 20, 1995, the NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL reported that Mr. Arcos had testified at a civil trial brought by Americans who sued the U.S. government for damages resulting from their imprisonment in Honduras after an American-led drug sting went wrong. The arrests reportedly came after the Honduran police discovered 45 kilos of cocaine which the United States Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and the Belize National Police had planted on a Belize Air International plane on which the Americans had flown. According to the article, the drugs had been planted by the DEA in an effort to catch drug smugglers who were to retrieve it in Miami, the flight's ultimate destination. However, the article reported that the DEA failed to inform the Honduran police of their actions. The flight crew and passengers were reportedly arrested by the Honduran police when the plane stopped at a Honduran airport and the drugs were discovered, and they were imprisoned for days in terrible conditions, during which time they were beaten and abused. According to the article, the



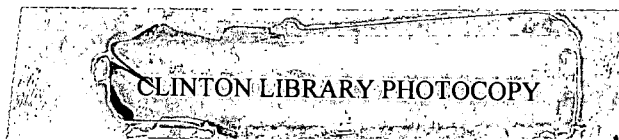
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American captives contended that the United States government was slow to respond to their predicament, asserting that an American embassy official did not visit them until their fourth day of imprisonment. Mr. Arcos reportedly testified that he and the embassy staff sought to procure the American captives' release "promptly," but that Honduran President Callejas had "blasted the U.S. government for running a sting operation in his country without permission." Mr. Arcos reportedly testified that "there was little he could do immediately" as President Callejas had "made it clear that he could not override the judiciary and order the men released." Ultimately, the captives were released after the United States issued a "letter of exoneration," exonerating the Hondurans from any responsibility for imprisoning the Americans.

Criticism of Honduran Government

On October 17, 1991, INTER PRESS SERVICE reported that Mr. Arcos had termed budget deficit reductions by the Honduran government "insufficient." However, President Callejas reportedly rejected the suggestion that greater efforts to reduce the deficit should be made. President Callejas was quoted as stating that he managed the Honduran government and that, if he were to listen to all of Mr. Arcos' opinions, "there would probably still be Contra Guerrillas in Honduras." According to the article, a "group of Honduran military officers" had sought to have President Callejas declare Mr. Arcos "persona non grata" because he was purportedly "interfering too much in the country's internal affairs." The February 6, 1992, edition of INTER PRESS SERVICE reported that Mr. Arcos had asserted that governmental bureaucracy and increased military spending were preventing economic growth in Honduras. The article reported that Mr. Arcos had previously "angered some military circles and politicians of the ruling Nationalist Party" to the extent that they demanded that he be requested to leave the country.

On January 5, 1993, INTER PRESS SERVICE reported that Mr. Arcos had stated that the Honduran government had to achieve a rapid economic growth rate in order to improve its credibility with the international finance community. The article stated that Mr. Arcos was shortly due to conclude his ambassadorship to Honduras, and that he denied that his departure was in any manner related to his pressuring the Honduran government to reduce public spending and cutback the armed forces. The article mentioned the Honduran army's efforts to remove Mr. Arcos from the country, during which time the Honduran Foreign Ministry admitted that the country's relations with the United States had entered "a delicate" period.



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Defended American Aid to Honduras

An article in the October 18, 1993, LOS ANGELES TIMES reported that critics of American foreign aid asserted that, "Honduras probably stands out as the shining example of misspent U.S. money" as there was "little to show for the nearly \$2 billion in American taxpayer money spent in Honduras during the last decade." Mr. Arcos reportedly responded to such criticisms by asserting that the United States did not ask the Hondurans "to do anything except to be a base for the Contras . . . Maybe they didn't use all the money the way we wanted, but the place stayed afloat." However, according to the article, various politicians, analysts and diplomats asserted that the Honduran democracy was "still very much influenced by an army built and buttressed by American dollars."

Trade Dispute

The April 5, 1993, DALLAS MORNING NEWS reported Hondurans were "enraged" when the European Community decided to allow its protectorates and former colonies to import bananas to Europe without imposing tariffs or quotas. Honduras, whose main export was bananas, was reportedly not among the countries exempted from the tariffs. Mr. Arcos was quoted as saying that the European position regarding bananas "sen[t] a signal" to other countries that "protectionism is acceptable." Mr. Arcos also reportedly asserted that Europe was trying to "put the screws to American commercial interests," asserting that Europe would be willing to expand its banana imports from other countries if United States companies did not dominate the industry.

Allegations Mr. Arcos Influenced Honduran President's Decisions

On October 8, 1991, the INTER PRESS SERVICE reported that the Honduran government had denied that the United States embassy influenced Honduran President Callejas' economic or political decisions. According to the article, "[o]pposition groups" had alleged that recent economic decisions by President Callejas had been related to "frequent routine visits" by Mr. Arcos, who was then the United States Ambassador. Mr. Arcos reportedly said that his discussions with the Honduran president sought to "revise" an economic adjustment program which had begun in March of 1990, as well as to "foster Honduras' economic growth." The Honduran Presidential spokesman, Gilberto Goldstein, rejected the "unfounded accusations," and denied that Mr. Arcos' comments had "another message," or that Mr. Arcos did not



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respect Honduras' sovereignty.

Involvement with the Contras

In a January 8, 1988, article the WASHINGTON POST identified Mr. Arcos as one of the "key players in the [Reagan] administration's high-pressure public relations campaign to keep aid flowing to the Nicaraguan contras." Mr. Arcos, as the coordinator for public diplomacy on Central America at the White House was also characterized as a "top contra expert" who advised senior White House officials on the status of the contra program and public relations efforts to support the same. Mr. Arcos reportedly had "regular contact with many of the key U.S. officials and contra leaders involved in the [Honduran] war" and had "close relationships with top Honduran officials." According to the article, Mr. Arcos was "at the center of the administration's attempt to capitalize" on the defection of Major Roger Miranda Bengoechea, a top-level Nicaraguan Sandinista defector. Mr. Arcos reportedly "drew the ire of many members of the Washington press corps" when he was involved in the decision to not present Maj. Miranda at an open news conference, but instead elected to limit initial interviews to reporters from four news organizations. Mr. Arcos was reportedly "expected to play [a] pivotal [role] in the administration's campaign to win congressional approval of renewed military aid to the contras."

NEWSDAY reported on April 18, 1989, that Mr. Arcos, as Deputy United States Assistant Secretary of State for Central America, had brokered an agreement with the Contras to suspend Jose Benito Bravo Centeno, the head of intelligence for the Contras, after he was convicted of human rights abuses. In doing so, Mr. Arcos reportedly informed the Contras that if Mr. Bravo were not suspended the United States would discontinue financially supporting them. Although the Contras reportedly had agreed to the deal, it was later determined that they had violated the same. The article reported that the Contras had been "accused of frequent human-rights abuses" for years.

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January 22, 1999



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Jane Schaffner
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FOLDER TITLE:

Arcos, Cresencio S. (Jr.) [4]

Jamie Metrailer
2006-1001-F
jm446

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