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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech Files Draft Files
Subseries: Chronological Files, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13532
Folder ID Number: 13532-006

Folder Title:
Cuban Independence Day 5/22/90 [OA 5374]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	16	3	3

McNally/Simon
May 20, 1990
Draft Four (B:CUBA)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
THE SOUTH LAWN
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1990, 2:00 P.M.

[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS] Thank you. Thank you -- each of you -- for joining us at the White House for this important anniversary.

But we gather here today -- not only to commemorate an anniversary -- but to celebrate a democratic movement -- and to re-dedicate our efforts to the unfinished work of that movement.

In his final year as President, Dwight Eisenhower promised that America would do its best in the struggle to ensure that "communism [makes] no inroads into the free world."

Today, 30 years later, the talk is no longer of communist in-roads -- but communist hold-outs. \\\

The hold-out is Cuba. An island nation today surrounded on all sides not only by water -- but also by freedom. \\\

What a difference a year makes. When I met with you last May, television screens around the world burned with the image of a brave man and a bloody shirt -- the victim of Panama's lead-pipe politics. Today, Billy Ford holds office as the elected vice president of one of the continent's newest democracies.

But not the newest democracy. That honor belongs to Nicaragua -- and the courageous people who never gave up hope.

Panama. Nicaragua. Paraguay. Chile. The new breeze they call the Revolution of '89 swept across the world almost with a life of its own. But part of that life sprang from four decades of American resolve -- four decades of purpose and perseverance

from people like the freedom-loving Cuban-Americans we welcome to the White House today.

That American resolve had a name. It was called "containment." And it worked. Because today, the only thing anyone's trying to contain is the genie that's out of the bottle -- the spirit we call democracy.

Unlike communism, it cannot be denied.

When I took office, I promised you that "The day of the dictator is over." And earlier this spring, the last remaining dictator in South America turned over his presidential sash to a freely elected civilian president.

The last remaining dictator in South America -- but not the last remaining dictator in the Americas.

One remains. The Last Dictator. Fidel Castro. \\\

No man is an island. But there's an island that is one man. He's not a leader -- he's a prisoner of his ideology -- an ideology he maintains by intimidation and force, by informants and fear. An ideology whose failure is clear -- except in the mind of the dictator of Cuba; for if he conceded the failure of his idea, he must also concede his claim to power. \\\

I think of those who fill Castro's isolation cells, jailed and mistreated for the sole "crime" of openly expressing their views. People like Mario Chanes [CHON-es], who fought alongside Castro, and then dared to challenge his dictatorship. Today he sits in isolation in a bare concrete cell. Held nearly 29 years,

now in failing health, he is believed to be the world's longest serving political prisoner.

It's ironic that Castro confines Cuba's champions of freedom to jail cells. Because the Cuba he's constructed stands today cut off from the forces of democracy and freedom that surround it. And it's getting more isolated, and more alone, all the time.

Castro talks of "revolution." But he cannot ignore the Revolution of '89. Castro claims to represent the oppressed masses. But it was an electrician from Gdansk -- a playwright from Prague -- a housewife from Manila -- that stood up for the workers of the world. \\\

Across Eastern Europe, the comrades of Castro have given way to the common ground of democracy. Thanks to a switch in position by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, this spring the U.N. showed its resolve to continue to monitor human rights abuses in Cuba. It marked the first instance of Cuba's former communist allies turning against Castro on an internal political issue in an international organization.

The change -- and the contrast -- could not be more stark. Today, 99 percent of the people of this hemisphere live either in a democracy or a country that is on the democratic road. And one percent live under one dictator.

But one percent -- like one dictator -- is one too many. \\
Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century. \\
Time is running out on communism. \\\

And time is running out on dictators like you. \\\

For over thirty years, Castro has turned his back on the future by driving thousands of patriotic Cubans from his shores. These brave exiles arrived in the United States and other countries and built a new life. But they never forgot an old dream. A dream of new opportunities and new horizons. Not the American dream -- but the dream of the Americas -- soon to be the world's first democratic hemisphere. \\\

And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first lands sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

And just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end. That means an end to repression at home. And an end to subversion abroad. Mr. Castro -- time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. And Mr. Castro -- time and tide wait for no man. \\\

One year ago today, I stood with you and challenged Fidel Castro to "take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections and full democracy." I challenged him to "let the will of the people prevail."

He's responded with the same hollow claim he's repeated for 32 years -- that he has the popular support of the Cuban people. Well, he must be using the same pollster that showed Daniel Ortega winning by 30 points! \\\

Mr. Castro, do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test. **Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the rules:** Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring during the election -- and sufficient time for the opposition to organize a campaign. No interference with independent candidates and rallies. And permit independent newspapers and broadcasting.

You do this -- do it fairly -- and Cuba will regain its place in the community of nations.

You play by democratic rules, and you'll see: Victory for freedom. Victory for justice. Victory for Cuba and her people.

\\

**Unchain those ballot boxes. Let the people decide. **

If you deny them that right, history will not "absolve you" -- as you have so often claimed. To cite your old comrade Nikita Khrushchev -- the only thing HISTORY will do is BURY YOU. \\

The Revolution of '89 promises a new era for the New World. Not a world without borders -- but a world without barriers -- a world where our horizons are as limitless as the imagination.

In this, I ask each of you here today and every American for a renewed commitment to the cause of freedom and democracy. And I thank you for coming to the White House today -- and for honoring the ideal of a free and independent Cuba with your commitment every day.

Thank you -- God bless you -- and: **Viva Cuba Libre!** \\

#

1990 MAY 17 PM 3-24

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 05/17/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
(05/16 draft three)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐	WINSTON	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon, Thursday, 05/17, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

MEMORANDUM TO: CHRISS WINSTON

May 17, 1990

The NSC Staff concurs upon inclusion of comments as annotated on the draft.

cc: Cicconi


Brent Scowcroft

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 16 PM 5:21

McNally/Simon
May 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:CUBA)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
THE SOUTH LAWN
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1990, 2:00 P.M.

Thank you. Thank you -- each of you -- for joining us at the White House for this important anniversary.

But we gather here today -- not only to commemorate an anniversary -- but to celebrate a ^{democratic} movement -- and to re-dedicate our efforts to the unfinished work of that movement. ✓

In his final year as President, Dwight Eisenhower promised that America would do its best in the struggle to ensure that "communism [makes] no inroads into the free world."

Today, 30 years later, the talk is no longer of communist in-roads -- but communist hold-outs. \\

The hold-out is Cuba. An island nation today surrounded on all sides not only by water -- but also by freedom. \\\

What a difference a year makes. When I met with you last May, television screens around the world burned with the image of a brave man and a bloody shirt -- the victim of Panama's lead-pipe politics. Today, Billy Ford holds office as the elected vice president of one of the continent's newest democracies.

But not the newest democracy. That honor belongs to Nicaragua -- and the courageous people who never gave up hope.

Panama. Nicaragua. Paraguay. Chile. The new breeze they call the Revolution of '89 swept across the world almost with a life of its own. But part of that life sprang from four decades of American resolve -- four decades of purpose and perseverance

from people like the freedom-loving Cuban-Americans we welcome to the White House today.

George Kennan coined the phrase
That American resolve had a name. ^{It was} ~~(Ike)~~ called ~~[it]~~ "containment." And it worked. Because today, the only thing anyone's trying to contain is the genie that's out of the bottle -- the spirit we call democracy.

Unlike communism, it cannot be denied.

When I took office, I promised you that "The day of the dictator is over." And earlier this spring, the last remaining dictator in South America turned over his ^{presidential oath} ~~(sword)~~ to a freely elected civilian president.

The last remaining dictator in South America -- but not the last remaining dictator in the Americas.

One remains. The Last Dictator. Fidel Castro. \\\

~~No man is an island. But there's an island that is one man.~~

^{prisoner of his ideology}
~~He's not a leader -- he's a warden. The Cuban people are not his constituents -- they're his prisoners.~~

We cannot verify that it is windowless; there is room to walk
I think of those who fill Castro's isolation cells, jailed and mistreated for the sole "crime" of openly expressing their views. People like Mario Chanes, who fought alongside Castro, and then dared to challenge his dictatorship. Today he sits in isolation in a ^{small} ~~[windowless]~~ cell. Bare concrete. ~~[So tiny there's no room to walk.]~~ Held nearly ²¹ ~~50~~ years, now in failing health, he is believed to be the world's longest serving political prisoner.

^{jail}
It's ironic that Castro confines such champions of freedom to ~~[isolation]~~ cells. Because the Cuba he's constructed stands

[Given Cuba's lack of diplomatic isolation we have changed the sentence.]

cut off from the forces of democracy and freedom that surround it. today ~~as one of the largest isolation cells on Earth.~~ And it's getting more isolated, and more alone, all the time. ✓

Across Eastern Europe, the comrades of Castro have given way to the compadres of democracy. Thanks to ^{A SWITCH IN POSITION (The backing of many UN Time supports UNAS ALSO)} ~~backing by~~ Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, this spring the ~~United States~~ scored its first ever victory in 30 years of efforts to get the U.N. ^{showed its resolve to continue to monitor} ~~to condemn~~ human rights abuses in Cuba. It marked the first instance of Cuba's former communist allies turning against Castro on an internal political issue in an international ^{organization} ~~institution~~. ✓

The change -- and the contrast -- could not be more stark. Today, 99 percent of the people of this hemisphere live either in a democracy or a country that is on the democratic road. And one percent live under one dictator.

But one percent -- like one dictator -- is one too many. \\\

Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century. \\\

Time is running out on communism. \\\

~~And time is running out on you.~~ \\\

^{Forever} Thirty years ~~ago~~, Castro ^{has} turned his back on the future ~~(when)~~ ^{by driving} ~~he drove~~ thousands of patriotic Cubans from her shores. ~~(on the~~ ✓

~~beaches of Miami and the beaches of San Juan)~~ ^{in the United States and other countries} these brave exiles have arrived and built a new life. But they never forgot an old ✓

dream. A dream of new opportunities and new horizons. Not the American dream -- but the dream of the Americas ^{soon to be} -- the world's first ~~(completely)~~ democratic hemisphere. \\\

And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first lands sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

And just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end. That means an end to ^{repression} ~~suppression~~ at home. And an end to subversion abroad. Mr. Castro -- time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. And Mr. Castro -- time and tide wait for no man. \\\

One year ago today, I stood with you and challenged Fidel Castro to "take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections and full democracy." I challenged him to "let the will of the people prevail."

He's responded with the same hollow claim he's repeated for 32 years -- that he has the popular support of the Cuban people. Well, he must be using the same pollster that showed Daniel Ortega winning by 30 points! \\\

Mr. Castro, do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test. Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the [same] rules: Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring ~~ff~~ during the election ~~ff~~ and ^{sufficient time for the opposition to organize.} ~~during~~ the campaign. No interference with independent candidates [independent efforts] ^{and} independent rallies, ^{And permit newspapers and broadcasting,} ~~independent papers.~~ ^{organize.}

[[You do this -- do it fairly -- and you win -- and the United States will lead the international effort to lift the

[Electoral conditions in Nicaragua were not fair.]

⁵ will regain its place in
(~~economic sanctions against~~) Cuba ~~(and bring it back into)~~ the
community of nations.]]

[~~But I predict a different result if you face the truth -- if~~
you face history -- as squarely as did your Marxist comrades in
Central Europe and Central America.]

You play by ~~the same~~ ^{democratic} rules. And you'll see the same result:
Victory for freedom. Victory for justice. Victory for Cuba and
her people. \\\

[Castro talks of "revolution." But he cannot ignore the
Revolution of '89. Castro claims to represent the oppressed
masses. But it was an electrician from Gdansk -- a playwright
from Prague -- a housewife from Manila -- that stood up for the
workers of the world. And the forces of freedom they unleashed
are heading towards him like a tidal wave.]

~~Mr. Castro: You must face the Cuban people at the polling~~
~~place -- or be swept aside by the tides of history.~~

Unchain those ballot boxes. Let the people decide. \\\

^ If you deny them, history will not absolve you!
The Revolution of '89 promises a new era for the New World.
Not a world without borders -- but a world without boundaries --
a world where our horizons are as limitless as the imagination.

In this, I ask you and every American for a renewed
commitment to ^{the} ~~this just~~ cause ^{of freedom and democracy}. And I thank you for coming to the
White House today -- and for honoring the ^{ideal} ~~history~~ of ^{a free and independent} ~~this~~ ^{Cuba}
~~movement~~] with your commitment every day.

Thank you -- ^{Viva Cuba Libre} ~~(and God bless Cuba)~~ and the United States.

#

[Such a
prediction gives
Castro no
incentive to
hold an
election]

[This is
redundant &
anticlimatic.
Should be
used earlier
in the speech,
if retained.]

[Provocative,
seems like we are
giving for
revolution]

[Take-off
on Castro's
famous
"history will
absolve me"
speech]

Thank you. Before I begin, I want to extend a special welcome to Governor Martinez. \\ Florida's congressional delegation is well represented with Sen. Connie Mack, Sen. Bob Graham, Rep. Porter Goss and **one of your own, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen.** \\ Also here: Sen. Phil Gramm and Rep. Larry Smith.

~~And I feel as if those~~
That horizon can include
a new relationship between
the United States and Cuba.
But ~~that~~ can only be based
on the sound foundation of
common principles -- ~~the~~
~~hope that principles of~~
~~freedom and democracy,~~
~~and~~ freedom and respect
for individual rights.
When that day comes, as
I pray it shall, we will
be able to ~~start~~ ^{start} a new
chapter in the proud history
of the Cuban people.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1990 MAY 18 PM 1:59

May 18, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *AW for CW*

FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *EMW*

SUBJECT: REMARKS FOR CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY RALLY

I. SUMMARY

Attached is draft remarks for Tuesday's South Lawn rally marking Cuban Independence Day.

II. DISCUSSION

On Tuesday afternoon, May 22, you will address approximately 2,000 Cuban Americans on the South Lawn to celebrate Cuban Independence Day.

One year ago, at this same event, you called on Castro to hold a plebescite in Cuba. Your remarks (10 minutes, on teleprompter) are designed to echo this challenge with a call for free elections in Cuba, with international monitoring, as was done in Nicaragua.

Balanced by the broad view and temperate tone of the remarks you will deliver at the Council of the Americas earlier that same morning, this "rally" speech is intended to further isolate Fidel Castro in the eyes of world opinion as the last hold-out of communism and dictatorship in the Western Hemisphere. Especially given the large Cuban-American audience for this speech, the rhetoric in this draft includes a "campaign rally" style with plenty of applause lines.

McNally/Simon
May 20, 1990
Draft Four (B:CUBA)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
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The hold-out is Cuba. An island nation today surrounded on all sides not only by water -- but also by freedom. \\\

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from people like the freedom-loving Cuban-Americans we welcome to the White House today.

That American resolve had a name. It was called "containment." And it worked. Because today, the only thing anyone's trying to contain is the genie that's out of the bottle -- the spirit we call democracy.

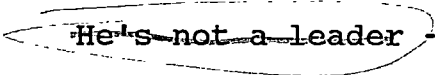
Unlike communism, it cannot be denied.

When I took office, I promised you that "The day of the dictator is over." And earlier this spring, the last remaining dictator in South America turned over his presidential sash to a freely elected civilian president.

The last remaining dictator in South America -- but not the last remaining dictator in the Americas.

One remains. The Last Dictator. Fidel Castro. \\\

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~~He's not a leader~~ -- He's a prisoner of his ideology -- an ideology he maintains by intimidation and force, by informants and fear. An ideology whose failure is clear -- except in the mind of the dictator of Cuba; for if he conceded the failure of his idea, he must also concede his claim to power. \\


I think of those who fill Castro's isolation cells, jailed and mistreated for the sole "crime" of openly expressing their views. People like Mario Chanes [CHON-es], who fought alongside Castro, and then dared to challenge his dictatorship. Today he sits in isolation in a bare concrete cell. Held nearly 29 years,

Castro's attempts to block the voices of truth, including Radio Marti and TV Marti, show his own lack of confidence in the Cuban people. But the United States will continue to stand for principle, and we will continue to broadcast the truth. We will keep faith with the Cuban people.

3

now in failing health, he is believed to be the world's longest serving political prisoner.

It's ironic that Castro confines Cuba's champions of freedom to jail cells. Because the Cuba he's constructed stands today cut off from the forces of democracy and freedom that surround it. And it's getting more isolated, and more alone, all the time.

Castro talks of "revolution." But he cannot ignore the Revolution of '89. Castro claims to represent the oppressed masses. But it was an electrician from Gdansk -- a playwright from Prague -- ^{newspaper publisher} ~~a housewife from Manila~~ ^{Managua} -- that stood up for the ^{people} ~~oppressed by tyranny~~ ~~workers of the world.~~ //

Across Eastern Europe, the comrades of Castro have given way to the common ground of democracy. Thanks to a switch in position by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, this spring the U.N. showed its resolve to continue to monitor human rights abuses in Cuba. It marked the first instance of Cuba's former communist allies turning against Castro on an internal political issue in an international organization.

The change -- and the contrast -- could not be more stark. Today, 99 percent of the people of this hemisphere live either in a democracy or a country that is on the democratic road. And one percent live under one dictator.

But one percent -- like one dictator -- is one too many. //

~~Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century.~~ //

~~Time is running out on communism.~~ //

~~[And time is running out on dictators like you.] \\\~~

For over thirty years, Castro has turned his back on the future by driving thousands of patriotic Cubans from his shores. These brave exiles arrived in the United States and other countries and built a new life. But they never forgot an old dream. A dream of new opportunities and new horizons. Not the American dream -- but the dream of the Americas -- soon to be the world's first democratic hemisphere. \\\

And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first lands sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

~~And~~ just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end.

That means an end to repression at home. And an end to subversion abroad. ~~[Mr. Castro --]~~ time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. ~~[And Mr. Castro --]~~ ~~time and tide wait for no man.~~ \\\

One year ago today, I stood with you and challenged Fidel Castro to "take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections and full democracy." I challenged him to "let the will of the people prevail."

He's responded with the same hollow claim he's repeated for 32 years -- that he has the popular support of the Cuban people.

Well, he must be using the same pollster that showed Daniel Ortega winning by 30 points! \\\

Today, Castro is out of step even in his own world of communism. Elsewhere, in places such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Nicaragua, and the Soviet Union, communist leaders are listening to the voice of the people. They are beginning to turn to free markets and free elections.

As time runs out on the 20th century, time is also running out on communism.

should⁵, to his credit,
Mr. Castro ^{should} do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test.

Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the rules: Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring during the election -- and sufficient time for the opposition to organize a campaign. No interference with independent candidates and rallies. And permit independent newspapers and broadcasting.

You do this -- do it fairly -- and Cuba will regain its place in the community of nations.

~~You play by democratic rules, and you'll see: Victory for freedom. Victory for justice. Victory for Cuba and her people.~~

////

Unchain those ballot boxes. Let the Cuban people decide. ///

If ~~you deny them~~ that right ^{is denied them}, ~~history will not "absolve you"~~ ^{history and the Cuban people will}
remember. And make no mistake, the truth will someday be written, for the triumph of
[as you have so often claimed. To cite your old comrade Nikita]
liberty in Cuba is inevitable, of that we are certain, because the spirit of the Cuban people cannot
[Khrushchev -- the only thing HISTORY will do is BURY YOU.] //// be broken,

The Revolution of '89 promises a new era for the New World.

Not a world without borders -- but a world without barriers -- a world where our horizons are as limitless as the imagination.

Insert yellow
In this, I ask each of you here today and every American for a renewed commitment to the cause of freedom and democracy. And I thank you for coming to the White House today -- and for honoring the ideal of a free and independent Cuba with your commitment every day.

Thank you, ^{and} -- God bless you. [and: Viva Cuba Libre!] ///

#

1990 MAY 17 PM 3:21

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/90

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(05/16 draft three)

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REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

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cc: Cicconi

Brent Scowcroft

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

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No man is an island. But there's an island that is one man.
He's not a leader -- ^{prisoner of his ideology} ~~he's a warden~~. ~~The Cuban people are not his constituents -- they're his prisoners.~~

I think of those who fill Castro's isolation cells, jailed and mistreated for the sole "crime" of openly expressing their views. People like Mario Chanes, who fought alongside Castro, and then dared to challenge his dictatorship. Today he sits in isolation in a ^{small} ~~(windowless)~~ cell. Bare concrete. ~~[so tiny there's no room to walk.]~~ Held nearly ²⁹ ~~59~~ years, now in failing health, he is believed to be the world's longest serving political prisoner.

It's ironic that Castro confines such champions of freedom to ^{jail} ~~(isolation)~~ cells. Because the Cuba he's constructed stands

George
Kennedy
coined the
phrase

IT IS NOT GOOD
TO BE
THIS
PRISONER

We cannot
verify that
it is
windowless;
there is
room to
walk

[Given Cuba's lack of diplomatic isolation we have changed the sentence.]

cut off from the forces of democracy and freedom that surround it. today ~~as one of the largest isolation cells on Earth.~~ And it's getting more isolated, and more alone, all the time. ✓

Across Eastern Europe, the comrades of Castro have given way to the compadres of democracy. Thanks to ^{A SWITCH IN POSITION (THE BACK-...)} ~~backing by~~ Bulgaria, ^{... BY THE} Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, ^{THE NEW YORK TIMES} this spring the ~~United States~~ ^{WAS ALSO} scored its first ever victory in 30 years of efforts to get the U.N. ^{showed its resolve to continue to monitor} ~~to condemn~~ human rights abuses in Cuba. It marked the first instance of Cuba's former communist allies turning against Castro on an internal political issue in an international ^{organization} ~~institution~~. ✓

The change -- and the contrast -- could not be more stark. Today, 99 percent of the people of this hemisphere live either in a democracy or a country that is on the democratic road. And one percent live under one dictator.

But one percent -- like one dictator -- is one too many. \\\

Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century. \\\

Time is running out on communism. \\\

~~And time is running out on you.~~ \\\

^{dictators like} ~~And time is running out on you.~~ \\\

^{For ever} Thirty years ~~ago~~, Castro ^{has} turned his back on the future ~~when~~ ^{The President should not get into personal things. SEEMS UNPRESIDENTIAL.} ✓

^{by driving} ~~he drove~~ thousands of patriotic Cubans from her shores. ~~On the~~ ✓

^{have} ~~beaches of Miami and the beaches of San Juan~~ these brave exiles ^{in the United States and other countries} ✓

[^] arrived and built a new life. But they never forgot an old ✓

dream. A dream of new opportunities and new horizons. Not the American dream -- but the dream of the Americas -- ^{soon to be} the world's first ~~completely~~ democratic hemisphere. \\\ ✓

And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first lands sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

And just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end. That means an end to ^{repression} suppression at home. And an end to subversion abroad. Mr. Castro -- time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. And Mr. Castro -- time and tide wait for no man. \\\

One year ago today, I stood with you and challenged Fidel Castro to "take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections and full democracy." I challenged him to "let the will of the people prevail."

He's responded with the same hollow claim he's repeated for 32 years -- that he has the popular support of the Cuban people. Well, he must be using the same pollster that showed Daniel Ortega winning by 30 points! \\\

Mr. Castro, do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test.

Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the same rules: Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring ~~ff~~ during the election ~~ff~~ and ^{sufficient time for the opposition to organize.} ~~running~~ the campaign. No interference with independent candidates ^{and} independent efforts, independent rallies, ^{And permit newspapers and broadcasting.} independent papers.

[[You do this -- do it fairly -- and ~~you win~~ -- and the United States will lead the international effort to lift the

[Electoral conditions in Nicaragua were not fair.]

⁵ will regain its place in
(~~economic sanctions against~~) Cuba (~~and bring it back into~~) the
community of nations.]]

[Such a prediction gives Castro no incentive to hold an election.]
~~[But I predict a different result if you face the truth -- if
you face history -- as squarely as did your Marxist comrades in
Central Europe and Central America.]~~

You play by ~~the same~~ ^{democratic} rules. And you'll see the same result:
Victory for freedom. Victory for justice. Victory for Cuba and
her people. \\\

[This is redundant & anticlimactic. Should be used earlier in the speech, if retained.]
[Castro talks of "revolution." But he cannot ignore the
Revolution of '89. Castro claims to represent the oppressed
masses. But it was an electrician from Gdansk -- a playwright
from Prague -- a housewife from Manila -- that stood up for the
workers of the world. And the forces of freedom they unleashed
are heading towards him like a tidal wave.]

[Provocative, seems like we are sailing for revolution.]
~~Mr. Castro: You must face the Cuban people at the polling
place -- or be swept aside by the tides of history.~~

[Take-off on Castro's famous "History will absolve me" speech.]
Unchain those ballot boxes. Let the people decide. \\\
^ If you deny them, history will not absolve you!
The Revolution of '89 promises a new era for the New World.
Not a world without borders -- but a world without boundaries --
a world where our horizons are as limitless as the imagination.

In this, I ask you and every American for a renewed
commitment to ^{the} ~~this just~~ ^{of freedom and democracy} cause. And I thank you for coming to the
White House today -- and for honoring the ^{ideal} ~~history~~ of ^{a free and independent} ~~this~~ ^{Cuba}
~~movement~~] with your commitment every day.

Viva Cuba Libre
Thank you -- (~~and God bless Cuba~~) and the United States.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/90ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 05/17/90SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
(05/16 draft three)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
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DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐	WINSTON	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon, Thursday, 05/17, with a copy to my office.
Thanks.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 16 PM 5:21

McNally/Simon
May 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:CUBA)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
THE SOUTH LAWN
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1990, 2:00 P.M.

Thank you. Thank you -- each of you -- for joining us at the White House for this important anniversary.

But we gather here today -- not only to commemorate an anniversary -- but to celebrate a movement -- and to re-dedicate our efforts to the unfinished work of that movement.

In his final year as President, Dwight Eisenhower promised that America would do its best in the struggle to ensure that "communism [makes] no inroads into the free world."

Today, 30 years later, the talk is no longer of communist in-roads -- but communist hold-outs. \\\

The hold-out is Cuba. An island nation today surrounded on all sides not only by water -- but also by freedom. \\\

What a difference a year makes. When I met with you last May, television screens around the world burned with the image of a brave man and a bloody shirt -- the victim of Panama's lead-pipe politics. Today, Billy Ford holds office as the elected vice president of one of the continent's newest democracies.

But not the newest democracy. That honor belongs to Nicaragua -- and the courageous people who never gave up hope.

Panama. Nicaragua. Paraguay. Chile. The new breeze they call the Revolution of '89 swept across the world almost with a life of its own. But part of that life sprang from four decades of American resolve -- four decades of purpose and perseverance

from people like the freedom-loving Cuban-Americans we welcome to the White House today.

That American resolve had a name. Ike called it "containment." And it worked. Because today, the only thing anyone's trying to contain is the genie that's out of the bottle -- the spirit we call democracy.

Unlike communism, it cannot be denied.

When I took office, I promised you that "The day of the dictator is over." And earlier this spring, the last remaining dictator in South America turned over his sword to a freely elected civilian president.

The last remaining dictator in South America -- but not the last remaining dictator in the Americas.

One remains. The Last Dictator. Fidel Castro. \\\

No man is an island. But there's an island that is one man. He's not a leader -- he's a warden. The Cuban people are not his constituents -- they're his prisoners.

I think of those who fill Castro's isolation cells, jailed and mistreated for the sole "crime" of openly expressing their views. People like Mario Chanes, who fought alongside Castro, and then dared to challenge his dictatorship. Today he sits in isolation in a windowless cell. Bare concrete. So tiny there's no room to walk. Held nearly 30 years, now in failing health, he is believed to be the world's longest serving political prisoner.

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Across Eastern Europe, the comrades of Castro have given way to the compadres of democracy. Thanks to backing by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, this spring the United States scored its first-ever victory in 30 years of efforts to get the U.N. to condemn human rights abuses in Cuba. It marked the first instance of Cuba's former communist allies turning against Castro on an internal political issue in an international institution.

The change -- and the contrast -- could not be more stark. Today, 99 percent of the people of this hemisphere live either in a democracy or a country that is on the democratic road. And one percent live under one dictator.

But one percent -- like one dictator -- is one too many. \\\

Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century. \\\

Time is running out on communism. \\\

And time is running out on you. \\\

Thirty years ago, Castro turned his back on the future when he drove thousands of patriotic Cubans from her shores. On the beaches of Miami and the beaches of San Juan, these brave exiles arrived and built a new life. But they never forgot an old dream. A dream of new opportunities and new horizons. Not the American dream -- but the dream of the Americas -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first land sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

And just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end. That means an end to suppression at home. And an end to subversion abroad. Mr. Castro -- time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. And Mr. Castro -- time and tide wait for no man. \\\

One year ago today, I stood with you and challenged Fidel Castro to "take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections and full democracy." I challenged him to "let the will of the people prevail."

He's responded with the same hollow claim he's repeated for 32 years -- that he has the popular support of the Cuban people. Well, he must be using the same pollster that showed Daniel Ortega winning by 30 points! \\\

Mr. Castro, do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test. Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the same rules: Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring -- during the election -- and during the campaign. No interference with independent candidates, independent efforts, independent rallies, independent papers.

[[You do this -- do it fairly -- and you win -- and the United States will lead the international effort to lift the

economic sanctions against Cuba and bring it back into the community of nations.]]

But I predict a different result if you face the truth -- if you face history -- as squarely as did your Marxist comrades in Central Europe and Central America.

You play by the same rules. And you'll see the same result: Victory for freedom. Victory for justice. Victory for Cuba and her people. \\\

Castro talks of "revolution." But he cannot ignore the Revolution of '89. Castro claims to represent the oppressed masses. But it was an electrician from Gdansk -- a playwright from Prague -- a housewife from Manila -- that stood up for the workers of the world. And the forces of freedom they unleashed are heading towards him like a tidal wave.

Mr. Castro: You must face the Cuban people at the polling place -- or be swept aside by the tides of history.

Unchain those ballot boxes. Let the people decide. \\\

The Revolution of '89 promises a new era for the New World. Not a world without borders -- but a world without boundaries -- a world where our horizons are as limitless as the imagination.

In this, I ask you and every American for a renewed commitment to this just cause. And I thank you for coming to the White House today -- and for honoring the history of this movement with your commitment every day.

Thank you -- and God bless Cuba and the United States.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks -- Cuban Independence Day

Pursuant to Jim Cicconi's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter. We have no objection to the draft remarks, subject to the insertion of a new sentence at page 4, paragraph five, line four, after the word "campaign", reading as follows: "Sufficient time for the opposition to organize."

cc: James W. Cicconi

92 : IIA 71 XW 06
50 MAY 17 ALL : 26

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/90ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 05/17/90SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
(05/16 draft three)

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HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon, Thursday, 05/17, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

No comment

90 MAY 17 PM 12:50

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 16 PM 5:21

McNally/Simon
May 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:CUBA)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
THE SOUTH LAWN
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1990, 2:00 P.M.

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But we gather here today -- not only to commemorate an anniversary -- but to celebrate a movement -- and to re-dedicate our efforts to the unfinished work of that movement.

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Today, 30 years later, the talk is no longer of communist in-roads -- but communist hold-outs. \\\

The hold-out is Cuba. An island nation today surrounded on all sides not only by water -- but also by freedom. \\\

What a difference a year makes. When I met with you last May, television screens around the world burned with the image of a brave man and a bloody shirt -- the victim of Panama's lead-pipe politics. Today, Billy Ford holds office as the elected vice president of one of the continent's newest democracies.

But not the newest democracy. That honor belongs to Nicaragua -- and the courageous people who never gave up hope.

Panama. Nicaragua. Paraguay. Chile. The new breeze they call the Revolution of '89 swept across the world almost with a life of its own. But part of that life sprang from four decades of American resolve -- four decades of purpose and perseverance

from people like the freedom-loving Cuban-Americans we welcome to the White House today.

That American resolve had a name. Ike called it "containment." And it worked. Because today, the only thing anyone's trying to contain is the genie that's out of the bottle -- the spirit we call democracy.

Unlike communism, it cannot be denied.

When I took office, I promised you that "The day of the dictator is over." And earlier this spring, the last remaining dictator in South America turned over his sword to a freely elected civilian president.

The last remaining dictator in South America -- but not the last remaining dictator in the Americas.

One remains. The Last Dictator. Fidel Castro. \\\

No man is an island. But there's an island that is one man. He's not a leader -- he's a warden. The Cuban people are not his constituents -- they're his prisoners.

I think of those who fill Castro's isolation cells, jailed and mistreated for the sole "crime" of openly expressing their views. People like Mario Chanes, who fought alongside Castro, and then dared to challenge his dictatorship. Today he sits in isolation in a windowless cell. Bare concrete. So tiny there's no room to walk. Held nearly 30 years, now in failing health, he is believed to be the world's longest serving political prisoner.

It's ironic that Castro confines such champions of freedom to isolation cells. Because the Cuba he's constructed stands

today as one of the largest isolation cells on Earth. And it's getting more isolated, and more alone, all the time.

Across Eastern Europe, the comrades of Castro have given way to the compadres of democracy. Thanks to backing by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, this spring the United States scored its first-ever victory in 30 years of efforts to get the U.N. to condemn human rights abuses in Cuba. It marked the first instance of Cuba's former communist allies turning against Castro on an internal political issue in an international institution.

The change -- and the contrast -- could not be more stark. Today, 99 percent of the people of this hemisphere live either in a democracy or a country that is on the democratic road. And one percent live under one dictator.

But one percent -- like one dictator -- is one too many. \\
 Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century. \\
 Time is running out on communism. \\
 And time is running out on you. \\\

Thirty years ago, Castro turned his back on the future when he drove thousands of patriotic Cubans from her shores. On the beaches of Miami and the beaches of San Juan, these brave exiles arrived and built a new life. But they never forgot an old dream. A dream of new opportunities and new horizons. Not the American dream -- but the dream of the Americas -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first land sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

And just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end. That means an end to suppression at home. And an end to subversion abroad. Mr. Castro -- time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. And Mr. Castro -- time and tide wait for no man. \\\

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He's responded with the same hollow claim he's repeated for 32 years -- that he has the popular support of the Cuban people. Well, he must be using the same pollster that showed Daniel Ortega winning by 30 points! \\\

Mr. Castro, do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test. Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the same rules: Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring -- during the election -- and during the campaign. No interference with independent candidates, independent efforts, independent rallies, independent papers.

[[You do this -- do it fairly -- and you win -- and the United States will lead the international effort to lift the

economic sanctions against Cuba and bring it back into the community of nations.]]

But I predict a different result if you face the truth -- if you face history -- as squarely as did your Marxist comrades in Central Europe and Central America.

**You play by the same rules. And you'll see the same result: Victory for freedom. Victory for justice. Victory for Cuba and her people. **

Castro talks of "revolution." But he cannot ignore the Revolution of '89. Castro claims to represent the oppressed masses. But it was an electrician from Gdansk -- a playwright from Prague -- a housewife from Manila -- that stood up for the workers of the world. And the forces of freedom they unleashed are heading towards him like a tidal wave.

Mr. Castro: You must face the Cuban people at the polling place -- or be swept aside by the tides of history.

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Thank you -- and God bless Cuba and the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Cuban Independence Day

We have reviewed the attached draft and have no suggested changes from a policy standpoint. We approve of the draft remarks in their current form.

cc: James W. Cicconi

67 : 11A 21 MAY 90

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/90ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 05/17/90SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
(05/16 draft three)

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RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 16 PM 5:21

McNally/Simon
May 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:CUBA)

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And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first land sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

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#

Simon edits

McNally/Simon
May 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:CUBA)

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TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1990, 2:00 P.M.

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But we gather here today -- not only to commemorate an anniversary -- but to celebrate a movement -- and to re-dedicate our efforts to the unfinished work of that movement.

In his final year as President, Dwight Eisenhower promised that America would do its best in the struggle to ensure that "communism [makes] no inroads into the free world."

Today, 30 years later, the talk is no longer of communist in-roads -- but communist hold-outs. \\\

The hold-out is Cuba. An island nation today surrounded on all sides not only by water -- but also by freedom. \\\

What a difference a year makes. When I met with you last May, television screens around the world burned with the image of a brave man and a bloody shirt -- the victim of Panama's lead-pipe politics. Today, ^{*Guillermo*} ~~Billy~~ Ford holds office as the elected vice president of one of the continent's newest democracies.

But not the newest democracy. That honor belongs to Nicaragua -- and the courageous people who never gave up hope.

Panama. Nicaragua. Paraguay. Chile. The new breeze they call the Revolution of '89 swept across the world almost with a life of its own. But part of that life sprang from four decades of American resolve -- four decades of purpose and perseverance

from people like the freedom-loving Cuban-Americans we welcome to the White House today.

That American resolve had a name. Ike called it "containment." And it worked. Because today, the only thing anyone's trying to contain is the genie that's out of the bottle -- the spirit we call democracy.

Unlike communism, it cannot be denied.

When I took office, I promised you that "The day of the dictator is over." And earlier this spring, the last remaining dictator in South America turned over his sword to a freely elected civilian president.

The last remaining dictator in South America -- but not the last remaining dictator in the Americas.

One remains. The Last Dictator. Fidel Castro. \\\

No man is an island. But there's an island that is one man. He's not a leader -- he's a warden. The Cuban people are not his constituents -- they're his prisoners.

I think of those who fill Castro's isolation cells, jailed and mistreated for the sole "crime" of openly expressing their views. People like Mario Chanes, ^[CHANN-es] who fought alongside Castro, and then dared to challenge his dictatorship. Today he sits in isolation in a windowless cell. Bare concrete. So tiny there's no room to walk. Held nearly 30 years, now in failing health, he is believed to be the world's longest serving political prisoner.

It's ironic that Castro confines such champions of freedom to isolation cells. Because the Cuba he's constructed stands

today as one of the largest isolation cells on Earth. And it's getting more isolated, and more alone, all the time.

Across Eastern Europe, the comrades of Castro have given way to the compadres of democracy. ~~Thanks to backing by~~ Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, ^{joined countries from around the world} this spring the United States, ^{led by Armando Valladares,} scored its first-ever victory in 30 years of efforts to get the U.N. to condemn human rights abuses in Cuba. It marked the first instance of Cuba's former communist allies turning against Castro on an ~~internal political~~ ^{human rights} issue in an international institution.

The change -- and the contrast -- could not be more stark. Today, 99 percent of the people of this hemisphere live either in a democracy or a country that is on the democratic road. And one percent live under one dictator.

But one percent -- like one dictator -- is one too many. \\
Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century. \\
Time is running out on communism. \\
And time is running out on you. \\\

Thirty years ago, Castro turned his back on the future when he drove thousands of patriotic Cubans from her shores. On the beaches of Miami and the beaches of San Juan, these brave exiles arrived and built a new life. But they never forgot an old dream. A dream of new opportunities and new horizons. Not the American dream -- but the dream of the Americas -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\

*these suggestions are from State.
I think NSC will have similar comments*

And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first land sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

And just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end. That means an end to suppression at home. And an end to subversion abroad. Mr. Castro -- time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. And Mr. Castro -- time and tide wait for no man. \\\

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Mr. Castro, do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test. Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the same rules: Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring -- during the election -- and during the campaign. No interference with independent candidates, independent efforts, independent rallies, independent papers. *media.*

[[You do this -- do it fairly -- and you win -- and the United States will lead the international effort to lift the

economic sanctions against Cuba and bring it back into the community of nations.]]

But I predict a different result if you face the truth -- if you face history -- as squarely as did your Marxist comrades in Central Europe and Central America.

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Mr. Castro: You must face the Cuban people at the polling place -- or be swept aside by the tides of history.

Unchain those ballot boxes. Let the people decide. \\\

The Revolution of '89 promises a new era for the New World. Not a world without borders -- but a world without boundaries -- a world where our horizons are as limitless as the imagination.

In this, I ask you and every American for a renewed commitment to this just cause. And I thank you for coming to the White House today -- and for honoring the history of this movement with your commitment every day.

Thank you -- and God bless Cuba and the United States.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 05/17/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
(05/16 draft three)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐	WINSTON	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon, Thursday, 05/17, with a copy to my office.
Thanks.

RESPONSE:

No Comments, except p. 1.

5/16/90

30 MAY 17 11:30 AM '90

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 16 PM 5:21

McNally/Simon
May 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:CUBA)

Acknowledgements
should include
Congresswoman
Ileana Ros-
Lehtinen

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
THE SOUTH LAWN
TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1990, 2:00 P.M.

Thank you. Thank you -- each of you -- for joining us at the White House for this important anniversary.

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Today, 30 years later, the talk is no longer of communist in-roads -- but communist hold-outs. \\\

The hold-out is Cuba. An island nation today surrounded on all sides not only by water -- but also by freedom. \\\

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from people like the freedom-loving Cuban-Americans we welcome to the White House today.

That American resolve had a name. Ike called it "containment." And it worked. Because today, the only thing anyone's trying to contain is the genie that's out of the bottle -- the spirit we call democracy.

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It's ironic that Castro confines such champions of freedom to isolation cells. Because the Cuba he's constructed stands

today as one of the largest isolation cells on Earth. And it's getting more isolated, and more alone, all the time.

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The change -- and the contrast -- could not be more stark. Today, 99 percent of the people of this hemisphere live either in a democracy or a country that is on the democratic road. And one percent live under one dictator.

But one percent -- like one dictator -- is one too many. \\
 Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century. \\
 Time is running out on communism. \\
 And time is running out on you. \\\\"

Thirty years ago, Castro turned his back on the future when he drove thousands of patriotic Cubans from her shores. On the beaches of Miami and the beaches of San Juan, these brave exiles arrived and built a new life. But they never forgot an old dream. A dream of new opportunities and new horizons. Not the American dream -- but the dream of the Americas -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. \\\\"

And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first land sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

And just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end. That means an end to suppression at home. And an end to subversion abroad. Mr. Castro -- time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. And Mr. Castro -- time and tide wait for no man. \\\

One year ago today, I stood with you and challenged Fidel Castro to "take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections and full democracy." I challenged him to "let the will of the people prevail."

He's responded with the same hollow claim he's repeated for 32 years -- that he has the popular support of the Cuban people. Well, he must be using the same pollster that showed Daniel Ortega winning by 30 points! \\\

Mr. Castro, do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test. Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the same rules: Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring -- during the election -- and during the campaign. No interference with independent candidates, independent efforts, independent rallies, independent papers.

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Castro talks of "revolution." But he cannot ignore the Revolution of '89. Castro claims to represent the oppressed masses. But it was an electrician from Gdansk -- a playwright from Prague -- a housewife from Manila -- that stood up for the workers of the world. And the forces of freedom they unleashed are heading towards him like a tidal wave.

Mr. Castro: You must face the Cuban people at the polling place -- or be swept aside by the tides of history.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/16/90ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 05/17/90SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY
(05/16 draft three)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
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FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon, Thursday, 05/17, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

NO COMMENT. THANKS.

Holly Williamson
5-16-90

60 : 11v 21 MAY 90

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

Document No. 141628

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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RESPONSE:

OK S.R.

32 : 01A 11 MAY 90

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 16 PM 5:21

McNally/Simon
May 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:CUBA)

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(05/16 draft three)

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GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon, Thursday, 05/17, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

May 17, 1990

MEMORANDUM TO: CHRISS WINSTON

The NSC Staff concurs upon inclusion of comments as annotated on the draft.

cc: Cicconi


Brent Scowcroft

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 16 PM 5:21

McNally/Simon
May 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:CUBA)

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George Kennen coined the phrase
 That American resolve had a name. ^{It was} ~~(Ike)~~ called ~~it~~ "containment." And it worked. Because today, the only thing anyone's trying to contain is the genie that's out of the bottle -- the spirit we call democracy.

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The last remaining dictator in South America -- but not the last remaining dictator in the Americas.

One remains. The Last Dictator. Fidel Castro. \\\\
 No man is an island. But there's an island that is one man.
 He's not a leader -- he's a ^{prisoner of his ideology} ~~warden~~. The Cuban people are not his constituents -- ~~they're his prisoners..~~

We cannot verify that it is windowless; there is room to walk
 I think of those who fill Castro's isolation cells, jailed and mistreated for the sole "crime" of openly expressing their views. People like Mario Chanes, who fought alongside Castro, and then dared to challenge his dictatorship. Today he sits in isolation in a ^{small} ~~windowless~~ cell. Bare concrete. ~~[So tiny there's no room to walk.]~~ Held nearly ²⁹ ~~30~~ years, now in failing health, he is believed to be the world's longest serving political prisoner.

It's ironic that Castro confines such champions of freedom to ^{jail} ~~isolation~~ cells. Because the Cuba he's constructed stands

[Given Cuba's lack
of diplomatic isolation
we have changed the sentence.]

cut off from the forces of democracy and freedom that surround it.
today ~~(as one of the largest isolation cells on Earth.)~~ And it's
getting more isolated, and more alone, all the time. ✓

Across Eastern Europe, the comrades of Castro have given way
to the compadres of democracy. Thanks to ^{A SWITCH IN POSITION (THE BACKING}
~~backing by~~ Bulgaria, ^{BY MANY LEAD}
Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, this spring the ~~United States~~ ^{TIME SUPPORTED}
~~scored its first ever victory in 30 years of efforts to get the~~ ^{WAS ALSO}
~~U.N. [to condemn]~~ ^{showed its resolve to continue to monitor} human rights abuses in Cuba. It marked the first
instance of Cuba's former communist allies turning against Castro
on an internal political issue in an international ^{organization} ~~institution~~. ✓

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Mr. Castro, time is running out on the 20th Century. \\\

Time is running out on communism. \\\

~~And time is running out on you.~~ ^{dictators like} \\\ \\\ \\\ \\\ - ^{The President should not}
^{get this personal? IT.} ✓

^{Forever} ~~Thirty years (as)~~ ^{has} Castro turned his back on the future ~~(when)~~. ✓

^{by driving} ~~(he drove)~~ thousands of patriotic Cubans from her shores. ~~(on the~~ ✓

~~beaches of Miami and the beaches of San Juan)~~ ^{in the United States and other countries} these brave exiles ✓

^{have} ~~arrived~~ and built a new life. But they never forgot an old ✓

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And it's a dream that spans 500 years. Cuba, among the first lands sighted by Columbus and the seafaring pioneers of the Old World, has become the last to see the vision of the New.

And just as the story of modern America began in Cuba, it is in Cuba that the grim chapter called "communism" should end. That means an end to ^{repression} suppression at home. And an end to subversion abroad. Mr. Castro -- time is running out on the dictators. The tide of freedom is rushing in. And Mr. Castro -- time and tide wait for no man. \\\

One year ago today, I stood with you and challenged Fidel Castro to "take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections and full democracy." I challenged him to "let the will of the people prevail."

He's responded with the same hollow claim he's repeated for 32 years -- that he has the popular support of the Cuban people. Well, he must be using the same pollster that showed Daniel Ortega winning by 30 points! \\\

Mr. Castro, do what Daniel Ortega did. Put it to a test. Hold free elections. Hold fair elections. And play by the [same] rules: Secret ballots. Secure balloting. International monitoring ~~ff~~ during the election ~~ff~~ and ^{sufficient time for the opposition to organize} ~~during~~ the campaign. No interference with independent candidates ^{and} ~~independent efforts~~. Independent rallies, ^{And permit newspapers and broadcasting,} ~~independent papers~~.
 [[You do this -- do it fairly -- and ~~you win~~ -- and the United States will lead the international effort to lift the

(Electoral conditions in Nicaragua were not fair.)

⁵ will regain its place in
(~~economic sanctions against~~) Cuba (~~and bring it back into~~) the
community of nations.]]

[~~But I predict a different result if you face the truth -- if~~
~~you face history -- as squarely as did your Marxist comrades in~~
~~Central Europe and Central America.~~]

You play by ~~the same~~ ^{democratic} rules. And you'll see the same result:
Victory for freedom. Victory for justice. Victory for Cuba and
her people. \\\

[Castro talks of "revolution." But he cannot ignore the
Revolution of '89. Castro claims to represent the oppressed
masses. But it was an electrician from Gdansk -- a playwright
from Prague -- a housewife from Manila -- that stood up for the
workers of the world. And the forces of freedom they unleashed
are heading towards him like a tidal wave.]

~~Mr. Castro: You must face the Cuban people at the polling~~
~~place -- or be swept aside by the tides of history.~~

Unchain those ballot boxes. Let the people decide. \\\
If you deny them, history will not absolve you!
The Revolution of '89 promises a new era for the New World.
Not a world without borders -- but a world without boundaries --
a world where our horizons are as limitless as the imagination.

In this, I ask you and every American for a renewed
commitment to ~~this just~~ ^{the} cause. And I thank you for coming to the
White House today -- and for honoring the ~~history~~ ^{ideal} of ~~this~~ ^{a free and independent}
~~movement~~ with your commitment every day. ^{Cuba}

Thank you -- ~~and God bless Cuba~~ ^{Viva Cuba Libre} and the United States.

#

[Such a
prediction gives
Castro no
incentive to
hold an
election]

[This is
redundant &
anticlimatic.
Should be
used earlier
in the speech,
if retained.]

[Provocative,
seems like we are
calling for
revolution]

[Take-off
on Castro's
famous
"History will
absolve me"
speech]