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WE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

161644
FG006-01

December 16, 1995

Mr. Antonio Herrera-Vaillant
VenAmCham
Torre Credival, Piso 10
2da. Av. Campo Alegre
Apartado 5181
Caracas 1010-A Venezuela

Dear Tony:

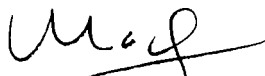
I have carefully reviewed your personal correspondence regarding Cuba, and I have discretely forwarded it to the proper people dealing with this important issue. Your thoughts are substantive and insightful and will be helpful in our continuing deliberations on the best way to achieve a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba.

On another note, I thoroughly enjoyed being with you and your VenAmCham colleagues. I found our time together very productive. Your membership represents the highest degree of professionalism, and certainly your leadership is appreciated by all.

I saw the President upon my return from Caracas and conveyed your warm regards as a classmate and friend. He appreciates your thoughtfulness as well as your continuing friendship.

Keep up your good work, and I look forward to seeing you again soon either when you are in the United States or when I return to Venezuela.

Personally,



Mack McLarty

MACK McLARTY

December 16, 1995

To: Rick Nuccio

Tony Herrera is Vice President/General Manager of VenAmCham, and an impressive professional. I forward his private comments for your consideration.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'm. f' with a stylized flourish at the end.

Attachment

cc: Alexander Watson



VENAMCHAM

JUAN ANTONIO MICHELENA
PRESIDENT

RAFAEL NUÑEZ
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

ANTONIO HERRERA-VAILLANT
VICE-PRESIDENT/GENERAL MANAGER

Caracas, 11 December 1995

PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE

The Honorable Thomas J. McLarty
Special Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mack,

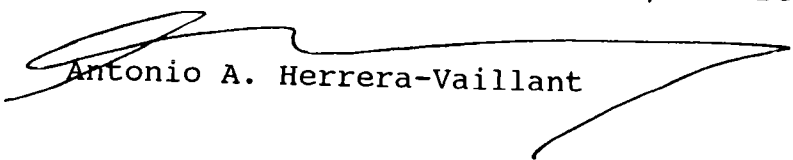
While meeting last May at the Council of the Americas and AACCLA in Washington, and now in Caracas, I have raised the Cuba issue with you. As mentioned, here are a few ideas which I hope will prove new and helpful. This is yet another area in which "gridlock" might be broken through creativity.

New approaches could generate considerable domestic support within the United States - and would be deeply appreciated by Cubans on every side who want to become part of a solution, and not part of the problem.

Almost thirty years ago, President Clinton and I attended the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service together. I also had contact with him at Senator Fulbright's office, as I was Associate Producer of ABC's "Issues and Answers" (1964/70). During the 1992 campaign we corresponded in reference to Venezuela.

I am therefore interested and willing to pursue the enclosed ideas further, at whatever appropriate level within the administration. If the standstill on Cuba is broken constructively, we all win.

I thank you for your attention, and remain,


Antonio A. Herrera-Vaillant

SOME IDEAS ON CUBA

The goal of installing democracy and civil liberties in Cuba should remain unchanged. Goals, however, can be reached in different ways, and a third of a century experience with current policy has led to **"gridlock"** and standstill. A new approach to Cuban affairs is long overdue.

At the start of "glasnost", Mr Gorbachev said to the United States: "We are going to do something terrible to you, we are going to **deprive you of an enemy.**" The United States might consider this in dealing with the Cuban regime.

Many former exiles are now U.S. citizens, but only a minority make the politics of revenge a way of life, manipulating their dual role to involve U.S. policy with a foreign domestic issues. This roadblock needs to be overcome.

Here are some ideas:

1. The **politics of revenge** that inspired all sides of the internal Cuban conflict for over 35 years should be replaced with an approach more in tune with the Cuban Catholic hierarchy's efforts toward social healing, dialogue, reunion and reconciliation. Foreign governments, including the U.S., can be appropriately helpful in this approach.

2. More attention should be paid to promoting the **basic qualities** of true democracy (i.e. tolerance of dissent, freedom of expression); rather than more formal political mechanisms and structures.

3. Fidel Castro personality-centered analysis should give way to comprehensive evaluation of the multiple elements that go into Cuba's present society (i.e. the new generations within Cuba). Many of Cuba's problems go far beyond ideology.

4. Policy issues on the U.S.-Cuba agenda (i.e. Guantánamo, human rights, compensation), should be separated from issues clearly identified as internal (i.e. political structure, economic policy). No "blueprint" for Cuba's future can be imposed from abroad.

5. Former exiles, now U.S. nationals, should be persuaded that they cannot at the same time enjoy American citizenship and act upon purely internal Cuban issues, particularly in the economic and political areas (other than human rights, which are universal). No sovereign nation will tolerate such **political duality.**

Caracas, December 1995