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**Cuba Envoy**

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program for the removal of Castro from power and to bring a peaceful transition to Cuba. In other words address the root of the problem and not the symptoms, which we all agree is Castro, himself.

They feel however that for this effort to be effective a strong Public Diplomacy Campaign should be implemented ahead of the commission's visit to educate the public, media and key opinion makers in Europe on Cuba and the Bill.

Some of the issues suggested include:

1. Castro's terrorist and drug connections,
2. The current state of labor slavery in Cuba,
3. Violations of human rights.
4. The fact that the bill does not interfere with any country's sovereign right to nationalize or intervene any asset but if a country exercises that right there must be fair compensation.
5. Who specifically will be affected by the Bill.
6. Castro's failures to respond to economic incentives.
7. Castro's personality and behavior is similar to Hussein and Kadaffi, and his disdain for Western values and unwillingness to accept even the most obvious changes makes it impossible to negotiate with Castro a peaceful transition.

Fourth: The implementation could be as follows:

1. The W/H could release the appointment of the members and the objectives of the mission as soon as possible,
2. The Public Diplomacy Campaign in the EC, is developed and implemented.
3. The commission is briefed and supported by a team of knowledgeable diplomats, politician, business persons and academics.
4. The commission strategy is adjusted based on the results of the Public Diplomacy Campaign. The actual trips and meetings should be scheduled to start after the elections.

Fifth: The commission should include in addition to the EC, Russia, Canada and Mexico. Latin America and the former Eastern Block countries could be followed in a second effort.

The credibility and commitment of the "Democrats" was again mentioned, however the President's clear standing against Castro was acknowledged, in addition The Vice-President's own personal statement made to some of the persons in attendance was also discussed.

We believe that we must at all times keep the transparency and credibility of this effort at the forefront. Additional extensions in the enforcement of the Bill could be politically supported if a credible joint effort program for a peaceful transition could be implemented with the EC.

The attached editorial from the Globe and Mail of Toronto, Canada is an excellent example of an educational piece, and Professor Jaime Suchlicki's "U.S. Policy and the Castro Challenge" were recommended reading materials.

# Castro's unhappy Cuba

This editorial is reprinted from The Globe and Mail of Toronto, Canada.

*W. H. H. Kingtime*

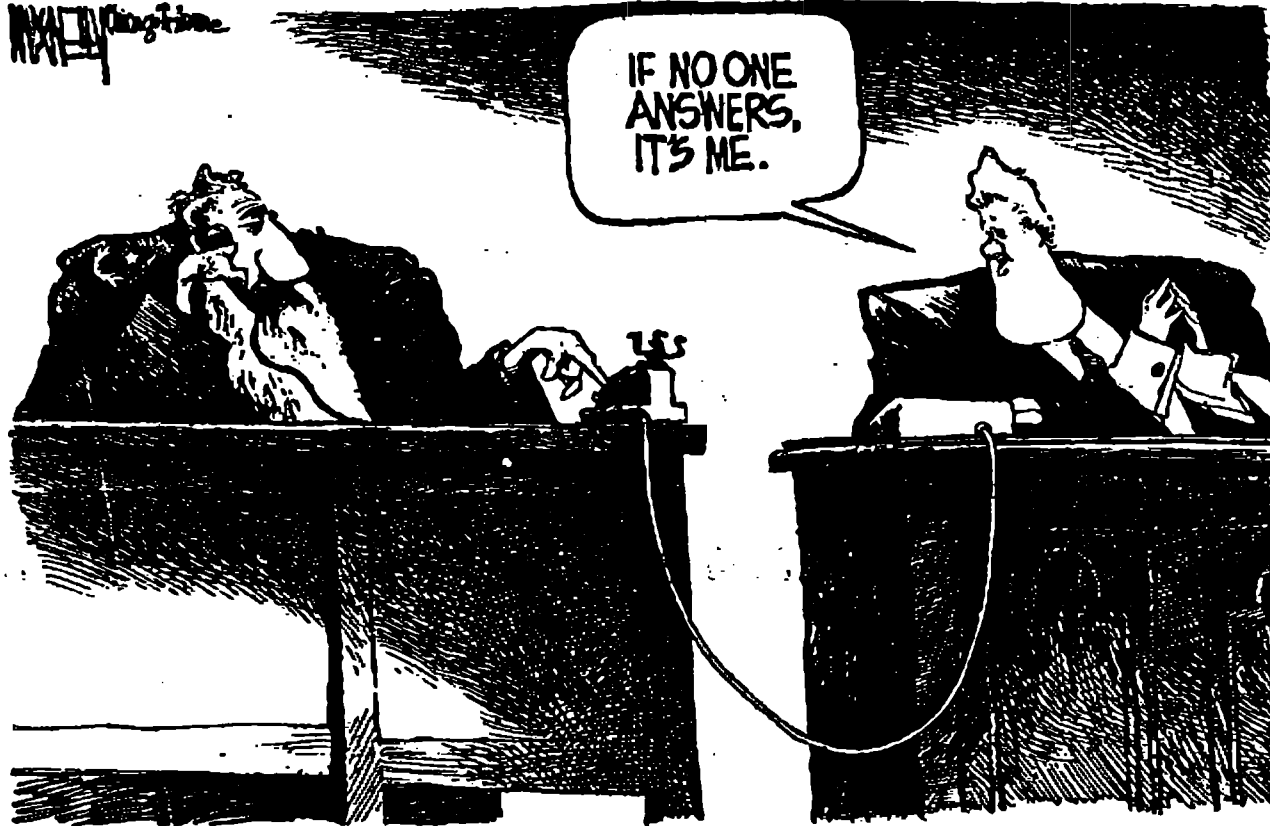
**T**HAT THE Helms-Burton act is a foolish piece of legislation, more about politics than justice, is not in dispute here. Bill Clinton has shrewdly suspended the right of U.S. companies to sue, though it would have been more effective to veto the bill when he had the opportunity.

That said, it would be wrong to assume opposition in Canada and elsewhere to legislation aimed at foreign companies doing business in Cuba is an implicit endorsement of the regime there, as Fidel Castro would like Cubans to believe. The world has good reason to condemn Washington for its arbitrary assertion of extraterritoriality, but Mr. Castro fools only himself in trying to turn that to his moral advantage. Let there be no mistake, with or without U.S. intervention, the truth about Cuba is the same as it has been since Mr. Castro took power in 1959: This is an authoritarian regime without democratic rights or economic freedoms. Indeed, Cuba is an anachronism which might be quaint were it not so sad. As the rest of Latin America has embraced democracy, Cuba remains the only real dictatorship left in the region.

That Cuba is autocratic is not new; what is depressing is that it remains so. Under Mr. Castro's leadership, Cuba has not changed with the rest of the world. It isn't that Cuba is communist; it is that it remains *unrelentingly* communist, refusing any concession to the 1990s.

Consider first democratic rights. There was a time Cuba was one of several banana republics in Latin America. But try to find another regime as repressive in the hemisphere. Haiti? Nicaragua? Argentina? Today all are full of fledgling democracies.

Mr. Castro offers the patina of reform. In recent months his government has released political prisoners before the end of their sentences, prosecuted fewer dissidents, agreed to a limited degree of human-rights monitoring, and ratified a human-rights treaty.



With all that, though, Human Rights Watch/Americas concluded that this is fussing on the fringes. The regime continues to deny freedom of expression, assembly, association, privacy, and due process of law. There are still a spate of laws prohibiting "enemy propaganda," "clandestine printing," and "contempt of authority."

Political prisoners — estimated at 600 by Amnesty International in 1995 — fill the jails. Police still arrest, detain, and harass activists. Journalists are intimidated for reporting outside state channels. Civic and political organizations are denied recognition. Trials are conducted without due process.

Consider economic freedom. In

1994, the government attempted some modest measures of reform. It allowed foreign investment, legalized the U.S. dollar, allowed some self-employment and production. Like political reform, though, the effect has been illusory. "Cuba's economy is among the world's least free," reports Freedom House in its annual survey.

Cubans cannot hold property. The sole legal labor organization is controlled by the government; organizing independently is forbidden. All wages are set by the government. There is no stock exchange and no commercial lending. All international trade is negotiated by the government. Cubans are not allowed to participate directly in

any foreign venture.

According to Freedom House, every aspect of the economy is controlled by the government. Meanwhile, the black market has surged, unemployment is high, and corruption is widespread.

Yes, Cuba has had some successes in improving health care and eliminating illiteracy. Still, it ranks 79th of the 179 countries of the United Nations Development Index, which is mediocre at best.

By any measure, the case against Cuba under Mr. Castro is clear. His is a country of no democracy, no free market, little individual freedom, scant prosperity, and frustrated hope.

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*Miami Herald  
8/5/96*

P. 02  
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**U.S. Policy and the Castro Challenge.****Jaime Suchlicki\***

United States views and policy toward Castro's Cuba have been influenced by a variety of erroneous assumptions. First and foremost there is the strong belief that economic considerations could influence Castro's policy decisions and that an economically deteriorating situation would force the Cuban leader to move Cuba toward a market economy and eventually toward political reforms. This has not happened. Castro has introduced limited economic reforms in an attempt to muddle through a difficult situation. Yet, the reforms are not structurally profound nor are they propelling Cuba to the market place. In Cuba economic decisions are influenced by political and ideological considerations.

The second assumption is that leaders from other countries are very much like American leaders except that they speak a different language! We assume that these leaders share our values and perceptions, and that, therefore, they will behave as we do. We believe that we can negotiate with them most, is not all our problems; that we can find common ground and work out differences.

Nothing could be further from the truth. There are leaders, particularly in the developing world, that don't share Western values. They see the world very differently than we do. Perhaps the result of their educational and cultural background; perhaps the result of their own experiences, they think and act very differently. Iraq's Hussein, Lybia's Kadaffy, and Cuba's Castro belong to this group. Hitler and Lenin belonged to it in the past. What characterizes these leaders is a self righteous assurance that they know what's best for their countries and an unwillingness to compromise their views even to the extent of sacrificing their people in the pursuit of their ideas. They are anti Western and particularly anti-American. They have a commitment to remain in power since they believe that no other individual can carry out the anointed task of transforming and leading their countries. Compromise is seen as short term, sometime forced -- tactical moves to achieve long term strategic objectives. Negotiations with these leaders are usually of little value, and agreements of short duration.

Our long held belief that through negotiations and incentives we can influence Castro's behavior has been weakened by Castro's unwillingness to provide major concessions to the United States or to other Western leaders. Castro prefers to sacrifice the economic well-being of his people rather than cave in to demands for a different Cuba, politically and economically. Neither economic incentives nor punishment have worked with Castro in the past. They are not likely to work in the future.

Which brings us to the obvious conclusion that not all differences and problems in international affairs can be solved through negotiations or can be solved at all, an assumption that has permeated American foreign policy for decades. There are international disputes that are not

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negotiable and can only be solved either through the use of force, or through prolonged patience until the leadership disappears or situations change. While some differences naturally can be solved through negotiations, others are irreconcilable.

Yet the belief that Cuba's economic crisis will lead to major political changes continues to permeate American thinking toward Cuba. We seem to cling to an outdated economic determinism in trying to understand events in other societies and the motivations of their leaders. Despite growing economic difficulties, Castro does not seem to budge and the Cubans have not rebelled and forced out the present leadership.

Optimistic appraisals of a rapid end to the Castro regime were also encouraged by the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. To many, Cuba would be the next domino to fall. Unlike Eastern Europe, Cuba was not dominated by a corrupt and weakening Communist party led by second or third generation leaders who lacked real political legitimacy. Cuba is dominated by a strong military and by the original leader that made the revolution. Despite diminishing popularity, Castro retains a degree of legitimacy. Not unlike Tito in Yugoslavia, Franco in Spain, and Lenin in Russia, Castro remains as the leader who overthrew the old, and established the new order. He conquered power by force and only will relinquish it either dead or by force. Once changes occurred in the Kremlin and the Soviet leadership refused to intervene in Europe, like it had done in the past, anti-Soviet, nationalistic forces surfaced to take political control.

No such circumstance exists in Cuba. The Cuban Communist Party is a Castro creation and a Castro dominated institution. While receiving massive aid from the USSR, Castro usually proclaimed his independence from the Soviets and appealed to Cuban nationalism. The leadership within the military and the party is Fidelista, loyal to the maximum leader. They apparently share and evidently follow the leader's views and commands. Either because of fear for their own safety, concern about a future without Castro, or shared ideology, they have remained generally loyal.

Unlike Eastern Europe, Cuba's security apparatus is monolithic and highly centralized. Castro learned the Rumanian lesson well where forces from the Ministry of the Interior and the military fought each other. He eliminated possible rivals within the military and security forces and placed the Ministry of the Interior under the control of the head of the Military, a Fidel and Raúl trusted officer. The possibility of factionalism in the military is also diminished by the constant rotation of officers which prevent the creation of personal loyalties within the services and by tight supervision and control, both electronically and through the party and counter-intelligence units within the military. Fear and distrust characterizes the higher echelons of the military. Trusting no one, it is difficult for a disgruntled military leader to share his unhappiness with others or to plan actions against Fidel. Even if able to obtain the support of a few colleagues, it is impossible for unhappy officers to secure the support of large number of military personnel whose loyalties and beliefs are unknown. Rebellion within the Armed Forces is,

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therefore, unlikely.

Only in a situation of massive disturbances and popular upheaval in which the security apparatus is unable to establish order, will the military be called in to repress the population. Under this scenario, it is likely that factionalism, desertions and unrest will occur within the military, hastening the collapse of the Castro regime. Up to now, the Castro brothers have refrained from using the military to deal with popular discontent, perhaps aware of the potential dangers involved.

Among the Cuban population there is a strong belief about the efficacy of the security services and an overwhelming fear of their repressive capabilities. Castro has dealt harshly with real and potential enemies; he has infiltrated and destroyed oppositionist groups and has prevented the development of any civilian group that threatens his authority. Recently opponents of the regime have been given the choice of long imprisonment or exile.

This is not to say that there is no opposition in Cuba. This manifests itself in low productivity in the workplace, alienation from the party and from the constant demands of the leadership, graft and corruption and increasing desire to migrate from the island. Independent groups of journalists and professionals as well as religious organizations have flourished recently under very difficult circumstances. Many of their leaders have shown enormous courage in defying the regime. Yet it is likely that the security apparatus has infiltrated these groups and that they will eventually be discredited and destroyed.

Fearing the system's repression and the dreaded possibility of long term prison terms, the Cubans seem resigned to await the end of the Castro era and better times. Disillusionment and alienation characterizes present day Cuban society. Resistance and open defiance carries too high a price, a price Cubans are unwilling to pay.

The possibility of regime continuity, therefore, seems stronger for Cuba than it was for other communist states. Although their end came suddenly and swiftly in 1989, it took decades of decay to critically weaken the East European regimes, and even Soviet disengagement was required to hasten their collapse. In Poland, where the trade union Solidarity was born in 1980 as the first nongovernment trade union in Communist history, a military-led government took control and remained in power for a decade. In China, the Communist regime obtained a new lease on life following Mao's death in 1976, initially through Deng's reforms and then ultimately through increased repression, particularly against student protesters.

In Latin America, many noncommunist authoritarian regimes held out for decades despite external pressures and internal weakness -- among them, Trujillo's regime in the Dominican Republic, Somoza's dynasty in Nicaragua, Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile and the PRI's in Mexico. The latter case is particularly instructive. Despite profound financial and economic crises and the erosion of popular support for the official party, the PRI-based regimes have remained sufficiently strong to stay in power, while radically altering Mexico's economic course.

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The Castro regime is bound to draw lessons from the negative experiences of Eastern Europe and the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and to incorporate the lessons offered by the Chinese and Mexican experiences. While these experiences are interesting and instructive, it is doubtful that Castro needs any foreign examples to influence his predilections on how to govern, or to reinforce his dislike for democracy and the electoral process; he seems to have done pretty well in maintaining his totalitarian control for the past 37 years.

\*Jaime Suchlicki is Professor of History and International Studies at the University of Miami. He is preparing an updated edition of *Cuba: From Columbus to Castro*, from which this excerpt is taken. He is also the author of the recently published *Mexico: From Montezuma to NAFTA*.

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 FAX: 305-262-8802

RE: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of pages including cover sheet: 6

**Message:**

Attached is the information weel  
had discussed over the phone.

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1 STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, U.S. SENATOR FROM  
2 CONNECTICUT

3 Senator Dodd: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate  
4 that very much, and apologize for being a couple of minutes  
5 late getting here. But let me begin by thanking you for  
6 holding this hearing. It is extremely worthwhile and  
7 important. While certainly the vote in the Senate and the  
8 House did not reflect a necessarily significant controversy  
9 because the law passed overwhelmingly, it certainly, I think  
10 you would have to agree, is controversial in what the  
11 implications are for it. So I want to begin by thanking you  
12 for doing this, because I think regardless of one's view on  
13 this it ought to be something we follow fairly carefully in  
14 terms of understanding the implications of the legislation.

15 It will not come as a surprise to either of my two  
16 colleagues here that I think the Helms-Burton legislation is  
17 terribly flawed legislation, in my own view. I opposed its  
18 enactment, and but for a senseless shutdown of two civilian  
19 aircraft by the Cuban Government, which was properly and  
20 roundly condemned in this country, I believe we probably would  
21 not be talking about the passage, at least in its present  
22 form, of the Helms-Burton legislation. Notwithstanding that  
23 despicable act by the Castro Government last February, I  
24 continue to believe that the Helms-Burton Act is not in the  
25 interest of the United States, and is unlikely to achieve its

1 economic interests.

2           Fortunately, to date the scope of possible retaliation  
3 against Helms-Burton is limited to actions taken pursuant to  
4 Title IV of the act, which mandates the exclusion of certain  
5 aliens who have confiscated properties of United States  
6 nationals or otherwise benefitted from such properties. I  
7 look forward to hearing the administration on the  
8 implementation of this title and the international reaction  
9 that has ensued.

10           I certainly supported the President's decision on July  
11 16th to suspend important provisions of Title III for a period  
12 of 6 months. Without that decision, U.S. nationals would have  
13 shortly been prepared to sue foreign entities or individuals,  
14 including the Cuban Government, in U.S. courts for damages in  
15 connection with transactions related to Cuban property  
16 formerly owned by them. I and others in Congress, as well as  
17 members of the American business community, strongly urge the  
18 President to take that decision. It is my hope that Title III  
19 will never become effective, because it will impose a serious  
20 burden on U.S. courts, damage our standing in the  
21 international economy, and unnecessarily complicate our  
22 ability to react and to facilitate positive changes in Havana  
23 when that moment comes.

24           When this legislation was under consideration in the  
25 Congress, I think it is fair to say that the business

1 talking about as we enter a global marketplace that is going  
2 to require a higher degree of sophistication in dealing with  
3 problems.

4 That is not in any way to diminish the importance of  
5 trying to build international consensus about changing the  
6 government in Cuba. I will take a backseat to no one in my  
7 determination to see that happen. But to do so in a way that  
8 not only does not contribute to that goal, in my view, but  
9 does serious damage to our own self interest, I think is  
10 terribly misplaced and misguided. Again, I am in a small  
11 minority, apparently, who feel that way in the Senate at this  
12 date, but I think ultimately it will become a majority view.

13 Mr. Chairman, again, I thank you for holding the hearing.

14 Senator Coverdell: Thank you, Senator Dodd.

15 Now, Ms. Hillman, we will go back in panel order. We  
16 have already heard from Secretary Davidow. Would you proceed  
17 with your statement?

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1 community and foreign governments did not take it seriously,  
2 as they should have, in my view. The general response to it  
3 was this is terrible, but I am not worried because it will  
4 never become law. Today everyone takes this matter very  
5 seriously.

6 I regret, Mr. Chairman, that we do not have a panel of  
7 business representatives here today to discuss their concerns  
8 about this law; nevertheless, I believe that the witnesses  
9 with us today will enable us to begin to explore some of the  
10 very complicated questions and implications of this law. And  
11 again, I thank you for holding the hearing.

12 I would just end, Mr. Chairman, on pointing out, and I  
13 will leave names out for obvious reasons, but I received a  
14 call the other day from a major business in the United States  
15 that was about to enter into a multimillion dollar agreement  
16 with a major Italian firm, a multibillion dollar Italian firm,  
17 where the CEO of that firm was denied a visa to come to this  
18 country under this law in order to conclude the business deal  
19 and relationship.

20 As we enter the 21st century, that is ridiculous, in my  
21 view, and to have us in a situation where we are denying not  
22 only this potential business relationship that would benefit  
23 Americans and put people to work, even the children of that  
24 CEO were denied visas. That sounds like almost 17th century  
25 or 16th century actions rather than something we would be

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1 stated purpose of fostering a peaceful transition to democracy  
2 and free market principles in the island of Cuba.

3 I think it is fair to say, Mr. Chairman, that this  
4 legislation has provoked significant controversy  
5 internationally because of its extraterritorial application;  
6 perhaps more than any other legislation of its kind that I  
7 know of on the books of the United States. Since its passage  
8 other governments, many of whom are close friends of our  
9 Nation, have taken every opportunity possible to raise their  
10 concerns to United States officials and to warn that  
11 retaliatory actions against the United States and its citizens  
12 and commercial entities will be imposed in response to action  
13 taken against their citizens.

14 This matter has been raised at the annual meeting of the  
15 OAS in Panama, at the recent economic summit in France, at  
16 periodic ministerial meetings of the OECD, at virtually every  
17 international event where economic issues are a possible topic  
18 for discussion and criticism. Formal complaints have been  
19 filed under the provisions of NAFTA and GATT. Such criticism  
20 and legal actions will intensify as various provisions of  
21 Helms-Burton take effect, in my view. I am increasingly  
22 concerned that Helms-Burton is becoming a major distraction  
23 that is beginning to undermine U.S. leadership in these  
24 international fora, and impede the ability of the United  
25 States to effectively espouse a myriad of other important U.S.

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the persons contacted, even with reservation, are willing to assist. From these calls the following concept evolved, please let me know if we should implement it or any suggestions.

Assemble four local "informal advisory groups"; one of business people, one of academics, one on local/national political issues and one to discuss Castro's potential actions and counteractions. From each one of these groups representatives will be selected for a meeting in DC or locally with the ambassador and/or any other appropriate members of our administration.

To help overcome the skepticism of the community during this process we should:

1. Figure a way to keep the community informed without endangering the quiet diplomacy needed by the ambassador.
2. Assure and re-assure the community that there are no "secret agendas". The objective of the mission is not to undermine the Law but to seek the support of our allies to bring about a peaceful transition in Cuba.
3. Have in place a "rapid response team" to address any efforts to discredit, editorialized, or politicized the work of the ambassador.
4. Select carefully and limit the persons to be designated to be the local spokesperson and/or media contact.
5. Discourage the public expression of dissenting opinions by "prominent democrats or members of the administration."

We believe that the Cuban American community understand the sensitivity of the Ambassador's mission and will respect and support him.

Regards

Jorge

## Los del exilio rechazan invitación de enviado

ciente. Mas Canosa no respondió a las llamadas de El Nuevo Herald el martes.

A pesar de la negativa de Mas Canosa, Eizenstat lo llamó por teléfono.

"Estamos desilusionados, especialmente con la Fundación. Yo tenía interés de reunirme con Jorge Mas Canosa. Respeto los esfuerzos que han realizado a favor de los cubanos", dijo Eizenstat. "Espero que en otro momento podamos reunirnos".

Eizenstat dijo que la negativa de algunos grupos demuestra el nivel de escepticismo que existe con respecto a esta gestión.

"Podemos concertar una reunión pero no los podemos obligar a asistir", dijo Eizenstat. "Yo comprendo el escepticismo".

No obstante, Eizenstat se reunió con representantes de unas 40 organizaciones de exiliados, algunos de las cuales favorecen una solución negociada con el gobierno de Castro.

*José Miró Torra, presidente de la Brigada 2506, señaló que no se reuniría con grupos que apoyan al gobernante cubano Fidel Castro.*

El día empezó con un encuentro con los familiares de cuatro voluntarios miamenses que murieron en febrero, cuando dos avionetas de Hermanos al Rescate fueron derribadas por cazas cubanos en aguas internacionales. Le siguieron académicos y activistas de organizaciones que responden a diversas ideologías.

"Ahora tengo un gran sentido del porqué de mi misión", dijo Eizenstat.

Ramón Saúl Sánchez, líder del Movimiento Democracia, y José Basulto, presidente de Hermanos al Rescate, salieron de la reunión con perspectivas muy diferentes.

"Debemos darle la latitud para demostrar que es una medida que va a durar más allá de las elecciones", dijo Sánchez. "Que es un esfuerzo serio".

En opinión de Sánchez, los elementos más importantes son la búsqueda de solidaridad internacional para llevar la democracia a Cuba y para apoyar al movi-

miento disidente en la isla.

Para Basulto el panorama es más nebuloso.

"Este pasó por aquí como el cometa Halley", dijo Basulto. "Es otra visita de una persona bien intencionada, pero hace falta el apoyo y la disposición al cambio en Cuba del gobierno de Estados Unidos".

Hoy Eizenstat viajará a Nueva Jersey. A principios de la próxima semana espera visitar México y Canadá, para iniciar el trabajo. En septiembre tiene previsto un viaje a Europa para establecer contacto con los gobiernos aliados.

"Yo no quería iniciar los viajes de esta misión sin conocer y com-

prender los puntos de vista de la comunidad cubana", dijo Eizenstat. "En mi misión, yo soy la voz que ellos necesitaban".

### Muchos acudieron a cita con Eizenstat

Algunos de los representantes de organizaciones de exiliados cubanos, o figuras independientes, que se reunieron con Stuart Eizenstat el martes durante su visita a Miami:

- Leonardo Viota, Agenda Cuba.
- Emma Rego, Municipios de Cuba en el Exilio.
- Julio Estorino, Municipios de Cuba en el Exilio.
- Ramón Saúl Sánchez, Movimiento Democracia.
- José Basulto, Hermanos al Rescate.
- Juan Carlos Benitez, Directorio Revolucionario Democrático.
- Huber Matos, Cuba Independiente y Democrática.
- Ricardo Martínez Cid, Unión Liberal Cubana.
- Jesús Permuy, Centro de Derechos Humanos.
- José Cancela, Facts About Cuban Exiles (FACE).
- Luisa García Toledo, activista.
- Antonio Jorge, economista.
- Juan Ruiz, Unidad Cubana.
- Juan Reinerio González, activista.
- Rafael Sánchez Avallí, Puente de Jóvenes Cubanos.
- Nicolás Gutiérrez, Puente de Jóvenes Cubanos.
- Luis Aguilar León, director de la sección Opiniones de El Nuevo Herald.
- Juan Clark, sociólogo.
- Rolando Borges, Ex Club de Presos Políticos.
- Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, Cambio Cubano.
- Ramón Cernuda, Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Derechos Humanos.

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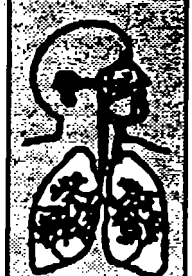
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# Grup

ENVIADO, DE 1A

posible para que el [Bill] Clinton la vea. Roberto Rodríguez Aranda, presidente de la Junta Cubana, "Nuestro apoyo es favorable a Helms-Burton".

José Miró Torra, jefe de la Brigada 2506, señaló que se reuniría con grupos que se oponen al gobierno cubano. "Fic".

"Esa reunión es para nosotros, no para que opinen los otros", dijo Miró. "Si va a sopesar los intereses de los grupos que se oponen a Castro, a nosotros no nos interesa".

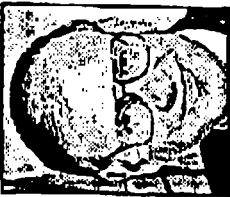
El lunes, Jorge Mas Cordero, presidente de la junta directiva de la Fundación, dijo en una reunión con las autoridades locales que no se reunirá con Eizenstat, porque él comenzó a apoyar a Helms-Burton, desconfianza de la comunidad cubana y una visita de unas horas no

# Wiggin on Cuba issues meets skeptics

YVONNE CORZO  
Staff Writer

before beginning an internal defense of the Helms-Burton Law, the White House's new bill on Cuba heard first Miami's exile community day.

Stuart Eizenstat made a one-stop in Miami, meeting with representatives from about 40 organizations. From here, he will go to U.S. allies in the Americas and Europe to explain byatives of Helms-Burton law, which aims to penalize foreign investment in properties confiscated under the Cuban revolution, has incensed many



*Stuart Eizenstat's role is to coax other countries into toughening their policies toward Cuban President Fidel Castro.*

U.S. trade partners.

Eizenstat will also try to coax the countries into toughening their policies toward Cuban President Fidel Castro.

"The United States has spent 50 years supporting democracy and freedom in Europe," he said.

"It's only right that, at a time when the U.S. is confronting the single repressive regime remaining in the Western Hemisphere, our allies should help us."

Several anti-Castro organizations boycotted Tuesday's round of talks, among them the Cuban

American National Foundation, the Cuban Patriotic Board and Brigade 2506.

"We cannot believe that [Eizenstat] invited people who opposed the Helms-Burton law, played along with communists, and did everything they could to get President Clinton to veto it," said Roberto Rodriguez Aragon, Patriotic Board chairman. "Our support for Helms-Burton is unwavering."

Among the groups whose representatives Eizenstat met Tuesday at the Miami International

PLEASE SEE ENVOY, 38

INSIDE

Recondall "Reco"



Wiggins, who wrongly gambled that a jury would acquit him of killing a German tourist, pleaded guilty to two robbery cases in exchange for prosecutors waiving the death penalty.

Wiggins

28.

## A skeptical reception for Clinton's envoy

ENVOY, FROM 18

Airport Hotel were some that favor a negotiated solution to the tensions with the Castro government.

Jose Miro Torra, president of Brigade 2506, said he would not meet with groups willing to negotiate with Castro.

"If [Eizenstat] is going to take into consideration the opinion of groups that support Castro, we are not interested" in meeting with him, he said.

On Monday, foundation Chairman Jorge Mas Canosa said on several radio programs that he would not meet with Eizenstat because the Clinton appointee was not familiar with the Cuban community and because his one-day visit to Miami was not long enough.

Mas Canosa did not return several calls from The Herald.

"We are disappointed," Eizenstat said. "I was interested in meeting with Jorge Mas Canosa. I respect the [foundation's] efforts on behalf of Cubans and hope that we can get together at some other time."

The day began with a meeting with the relatives of four Brothers to the Rescue volunteers, who died Feb. 24 when Cuban warplanes downed their Cessnas over the Florida Straits.

Later, Eizenstat met with Cuban scholars and activists from groups of diverse ideologies.

*Eizenstat met with relatives of the Brothers to the Rescue volunteers who died.*

Among them were Ramon Saul Sanchez, leader of the Democracia Movement, and Jose Basulto, president of Brothers to the Rescue.

"We must give [Eizenstat] the opportunity to demonstrate that his efforts will continue beyond the elections, that it is a serious endeavor," Sanchez said.

Basulto was less optimistic. "He came through here like Halley's Comet," he said, referring to the comet that appears every 76 years. "This is just another visit by a well-intentioned person. What's needed is the support of the United States government and its willingness to effect change in Cuba."

Eizenstat travels today to New Jersey. Early next week he will go to Mexico and Canada. In September, he plans to travel to Dublin, London, Brussels and Madrid.

"I didn't want to begin the trips without learning and understanding the viewpoints of the Cuban community," he said. "In my mission, I am the voice they need."

ha debilitado el apoyo popular

# Alpa del comunismo cubano

El Partido Comunista gobernante ha debilitado la economía y ha generado incertidumbre y el crimen. El partido gobernante en el poder ha insistido en que practica los 11 millones de cuba-

El análisis político que las autoridades de Cuba con el objetivo de equilibrar la sociedad

Lo que llamó "contradicción" el apoyo a la Revolución cubana, sobre todo en los que se han cometido errores.

El análisis, publicado en el periódico, muestra un incremento de la criminalidad personal, así como la falta de armonía con la acción del

## Polémicas y recelo reciben a enviado de Clinton

Por CYNTHIA CORZO  
Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

En una maratónica sesión de reuniones, Stuart Eizenstat, el recién nombrado subsecretario de Estado para la Promoción de la Democracia en Cuba, conoció el martes de primera mano las preocupaciones, las metas y los recelos de los exiliados de Miami.

Eizenstat viajó a Miami antes de iniciar conversaciones con aliados de Estados Unidos, a fin de conseguir apoyo para promover una transición pacífica hacia la democracia y una apertura económica en Cuba, así como para explicar los objetivos de la Ley Helms-Burton.

"Estados Unidos ha pasado 50 años apoyando la democracia y la libertad en

Europa", dijo Eizenstat. "Es correcto que ahora, cuando Estados Unidos trata de combatir al único régimen represivo que queda en el hemisferio occidental, nuestros aliados nos ayuden".

Pero no se pudo alejar de las polémicas. Varias organizaciones anticastristas se negaron a participar en las reuniones celebradas en el hotel del Aeropuerto Internacional de Miami. La Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, la Junta Patriótica Cubana y la Brigada 2506 declinaron asistir.

"No concebimos que se convoque para una misma reunión a los elementos que combatieron la Ley Helms-Burton, haciéndole juego al comunismo, e hicie-



Eizenstat

# Echazan invitación de enviado

*Airó Torra, presidente de la Brigada señaló que no se reuniría con grupos que en el gobernante cubano Fidel Castro.*

Empezó con un encuentro millares de cuatro voluntarismos que murieron o, cuando dos avionetas ranos al Rescate fueron is por cazas cubanos en ternacionales. Le siguie- lémicos y activistas de ciones que responden a ideologías.

"tengo un gran sentido ue de mi misión", dijo

Saúl Sánchez, líder del nto Democracia, y José presidente de Hermanos e, salieron de la reunión ectivas muy diferentes.

"Debemos darle la latitud para demostrar que es una medida que va a durar más allá de las elecciones", dijo Sánchez. "Que es un esfuerzo serio".

En opinión de Sánchez, los elementos más importantes son la búsqueda de solidaridad internacional para llevar la democracia a Cuba y para apoyar al movi-

miento disidente en la isla.

Para Basulto el panorama es más nebuloso.

"Este pasó por aquí como el cometa Halley", dijo Basulto. "Es otra visita de una persona bien intencionada, pero hace falta el apoyo y la disposición al cambio en Cuba del gobierno de Estados Unidos".

Hoy Eizenstat viajará a Nueva Jersey. A principios de la próxima semana espera visitar México y Canadá, para iniciar el trabajo. En septiembre tiene previsto un viaje a Europa para establecer contacto con los gobiernos aliados.

"Yo no quería iniciar los viajes de esta misión sin conocer y com-

prender los puntos de vista de la comunidad cubana", dijo Eizenstat. "En mi misión, yo soy la voz que ellos necesitaban".

## Muchos acudieron a cita con Eizenstat

Algunos de los representantes de organizaciones de exiliados cubanos, o figuras independientes, que se reunieron con Stuart Eizenstat el martes durante su visita a Miami:

- Leonardo Viota, Agenda Cuba.
- Emma Rego, Municipios de Cuba en el Exilio.
- Julio Estorino, Municipios de Cuba en el Exilio.
- Ramón Saúl Sánchez, Movimiento Democracia.
- José Basulto, Hermanos al Rescate.
- Juan Carlos Benítez, Directorio Revolucionario Democrático.
- Huber Matos, Cuba Independiente y Democrática.
- Ricardo Martínez Cid, Unión Liberal Cubana.
- Jesús Permy, Centro de Derechos Humanos.
- José Cancela, Facts About Cuban Exiles (FACE).
- Luisa García Toledo, activista.
- Antonio Jorge, economista.
- Juan Ruiz, Unidad Cubana.
- Juan Reinerio González, activista.
- Rafael Sánchez Avallí, Puente de Jóvenes Cubanos.
- Nicolás Gutiérrez, Puente de Jóvenes Cubanos.
- Luis Aguilar León, director de la sección Opiniones de El Nuevo Herald.
- Juan Clark, sociólogo.
- Rolando Borges, Ex Club de Presos Políticos.
- Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, Cambio Cubano.
- Ramón Cernuda, Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Derechos Humanos.

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**News Clips**

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# Clinton to name diplomat on Cuba

## Commerce Department official will urge allies to pressure Havana

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS  
Herald Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — President Clinton has tapped Stuart Eizenstat, a Commerce Department official with European experience, to become his special envoy on Cuba, administration and congressional sources said Tuesday.

Eizenstat, a 53-year-old Chicago native who is currently the undersecretary for international trade, faces the daunting task of trying to convince European, Canadian and Latin American allies to join Washington in placing greater pressure on the government of Cuban President Fidel Castro to accept democratic reforms.

Eizenstat's resume suggests no specific knowledge of Cuban affairs, and he is not as well known in Cuban Miami as some other contenders for the post. A domestic-policy adviser in the Carter White House, he recently served nearly three years as the U.S. representative to the European Union.

"You say 'Stu Eizenstat' in Miami, and they're all going to say, 'Who?'" said an official who advises the White House on exile matters. "But you need a guy who knows the Europeans and to massage them."

The administration plans to announce his appointment today.

### Harsh criticism

The U.S. policy of trying to isolate Cuba economically has drawn harsh criticism from its allies, particularly in the wake of the Helms-Burton Act aimed at penalizing foreign investment in properties confiscated under the Cuban revolution.

Last month, Clinton suspended Title III, one of the most important provisions of Helms-Burton, for six months. That provision would allow longtime U.S. citizens — and eventually, naturalized Cuban Americans — to sue foreign companies in U.S. courts if they "traffic" in confiscated property.

At the same time, Clinton named an intensive, diplomatic

toward Cuba. At the end of that period, Clinton said, he would assess progress on reaching a common approach before deciding whether to suspend the provision again.

"Now the time has come for our allies and friends to do more — to join us in taking concrete steps to promote democracy in Cuba," Clinton declared July 16. "They can join our efforts to promote a transition to democracy in Cuba, or they can face the risk of full implementation of Title III."

Among the steps that Clinton would like the allies to take: "increasing pressure on the [Castro] regime to open up politically and economically; supporting forces for change on the island; withholding foreign assistance to Cuba; and promoting business practices that will help bring democracy to the Cuban workplace."

### Bitter climate

Several European diplomats complain that the United States is now directing its strong-arm anti-Castro tactics against them. The bitter climate is exacerbated by new U.S. anti-terrorism legislation that penalizes foreign firms investing heavily in Iran and Libya.

Adding to the tension is the administration's gradual introduction of sanctions under Title IV of Helms-Burton. The State Department has already denied U.S. entry to top executives, their immediate families and board members from a Canadian mining company with vast Cuban holdings. It's expected to move next against Grupo Damos, a Mexican telecommunications firm refurbishing Cuba's antiquated phone system.

Eizenstat failed to respond to phone calls Tuesday from The Herald, White House and State Department spokesmen declined to comment.

In making his choice, Clinton had also considered Dante Facell, Miami native and longtime chairman of the House International Affairs Committee, and Bernard Aronson, former assistant secretary of state for inter-



WITH SOVIET LEADERS: Cuban President Fidel Castro met Leonid Brezhnev, left, and Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Despite outliving both Soviet leaders and outlasting nine U.S. presidents,

# Castro, 70, talks c On birthday, Cuban leader c

By JUAN O. TAMAYO  
Herald Staff Writer

Cuba celebrated President Fidel Castro's 70th birthday Tuesday with accolades that for the first time hinted at his mortality and underlined the growing talk on the island about a post-Castro era.

"After the wake" has become a code phrase in Cuba for the belief that significant changes are all but impossible while Castro still rules and keeps the island on its communist course.

Until recently, Castro was seen by many Cubans as the only leader with the power and agility needed to manage a peaceful transition toward open markets and democracy, said one Havana author, who asked for anonymity.

But after Cuba's Feb. 24 downing of two Brothers to the Rescue planes and its tightening of controls on fledgling free markets, a rising number of Cubans see Castro as an impediment to change, the author added.

"For better or worse, Fidel is our future," he said.

Talk of Castro's mortality would have been indiscreet not long ago. While revolutionary families consider it almost obligatory to hang his picture at home, Cuba has avoided the worst of the "cult of personality" once bestowed on Stalin and Mao.

Juventud Rebelde, newspaper of the communist youth, published an eight-page supplement on Castro on Sunday. One story was headlined "The Lion



THEN AND NOW: Fidel Castro in 1959, left, and 1996.

Tamer," and an editor wrote "being near Fidel ... a special power to overcome." And Cuban television interviewed Castro for the first time in a Cuban audience for the first time. Castro questioned his health, his age and even his actual death!

"I feel good. I always feel good, and I believe in the man, who in recent years has looked alternately weak and tired, alert and lethargic, physically well and in need of help walking."

"The CIA did everything to ruin my health, and here I am 70 years old," he told the television interviewer.

Cubans invited to dinner with him say he eats almost exclusively spaghetti and vegetables often limps from a bad knee and still stays up until 4 a.m. and talks about anything from biology to U.S. politics.

Castro, lately appears growing nostalgic, some c

ENVOY

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THEN AND NOW: Fidel Castro in 1959, left, and 1996.

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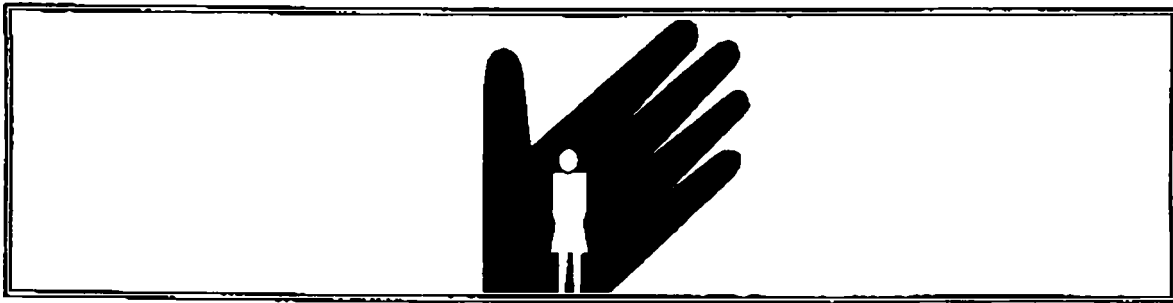
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**Letters**

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**GRUPO DE APOYO A LA DISIDENCIA  
Support Group to the Dissidence**

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Internet: [Cubano1841@aol.com](mailto:Cubano1841@aol.com)  
[Cubano@Juno.com](mailto:Cubano@Juno.com)

**FAX TRANSFER FORM**

**Date: August 19, 1996**

**To: Ms. Lula Rodriguez**

**From: Frank Hernandez-Trujillo**

**Re: Support for policy on Cuba**

**Number of pages (including this form): 4**



G.A.D.

## Grupo de Apoyo a la Disidencia

### Support Group to the Dissidence

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August 19, 1996

Ms. Lula Rodriguez  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.  
*Via Fax*

Dear Ms. Rodriguez:

Enclosed please find copies of the letters sent to both President Clinton and Mr. Stuart Eizenstat congratulating them for the decision to name a commission to deal with the Helms-Burton issue.

Grupo de Apoyo a la Disidencia, and its sister program Cuban Peace Corps, has received the support from several other organizations, such as Puente de Jovenes Profesionales Cubanos, Agenda Cuba, ex-Club, Colegio de Pedagogos, Coalicion de Mujeres Cubanas, and is administered by veterans of the U.S. Armed Forces, members of the board of directors of the Cuban American Veterans Association, CAVA.

Congratulations on your activities on behalf of the national interest of this country, and the cause of Cuban freedom.

Sincerely,



Frank Hernandez-Trujillo  
Director



G.A.D.

## Grupo de Apoyo a la Disidencia

### Support Group to the Dissidence

• 1000 Ponce de Leon Blvd. • Suite 306 • Coral Gables, FL 33134 • Telephone (305) 447-2713 • Fax (305) 265-0311 INTERNET: cubano1841@aol.com

August 17, 1996

President Bill Clinton  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.  
*Via Fax*

Dear Mr. President:

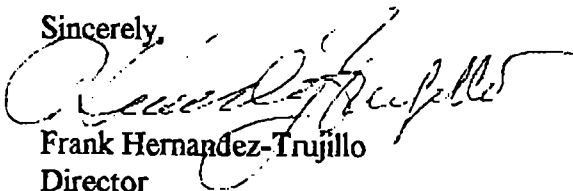
Once again your Administration shows its concern to find a solution to the Cuban problem by naming a special team headed by Mr. Eizenstat, and assisted by Mrs. Madeleine Albright and Mr. Dante Fascell.

Grupo de Apoyo a la Disidencia/Support Group to the Dissidence has been working for the past two years towards the goal of developing a civil society in Cuba capable of bringing the desired changes towards democracy. Our programs has been based on both Tract II of Graham- Torricelli, and Title II of LIBERTAD, and is providing material support to members of the dissidence, religious groups, independent journalists, educators, unions, etc. At this time, we have more than 200 reliable contacts throughout the island, who serve as collection and delivery centers. In spite of very limited resources, almost everyone connected to the independent movement knows of GAD.

The Cuban Peace Corps Project was developed as a follow up program to GAD, with the purpose of preparing groups of volunteers willing to travel to Cuba to assist a government of transition to democracy. It is administered by Cuban-American veterans of the U.S. Armed Forces, members of the Cuban-American Veterans Association.

We wish to offer our support to your efforts, and reiterate our faith in your efforts to promote democracy in Cuba. May God bless you and your family.

Sincerely,



Frank Hernandez-Trujillo  
Director

cc: Rep. Robert Menendez



G.A.D.

## **Grupo de Apoyo a la Disidencia** ≡|||≡|||≡|||≡|||≡|||≡|||≡|||≡||| **Support Group to the Dissidence**

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August 17, 1996

Mr. Stuart Eizenstat  
Subsecretary of State for the Promotion  
of Democracy in Cuba  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.  
*Via Fax*

Dear Mr. Eizenstat:

Once again the Administration shows its concern to find a solution to the Cuban problem by naming you in your new post. Receive our most sincere congratulations and also our humble support.

Grupo de Apoyo a la Disidencia/Support Group to the Dissidence has been working for the past two years towards the goal of developing a civil society in Cuba capable of bringing the desired changes towards democracy. Our programs has been based on both Tract II of Graham- Torricelli, and Title II of LIBERTAD, and has provided material support to members of the dissidence, religious groups, independent journalists, educators, unions, etc. At this time, we have more than 200 reliable contacts throughout the island, who serve as collection and delivery centers. In spite of very limited resources, almost everyone connected to the independent movement knows of GAD.

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We wish to offer our support to your efforts, and please feel free to let us know if we may be of any assistance.

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(201) 823-2000

275 HOBART STREET  
PERTH AMBOY, NJ 08861  
(908) 324-8212

**FACSIMILE COVER SHEET**

Date: 8-13

To: Dyanne Velasco

From: Jodi Christensen

*Reffer  
8-14*

Pages to follow: 2

Re:

Message:

Phone: (202) 225-7919. Fax: (202) 226-0792

**ROBERT MENENDEZ**  
13TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION  
AND INFRASTRUCTURE

SUBCOMMITTEES:  
AVIATION  
WATER RESOURCES

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEE:  
WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATIC WHIP AT LARGE



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
Washington, DC 20515-3013

REPLY TO:

1730 LONGWORTH HOUSE O.B.

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3013

DISTRICT OFFICES:

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JERSEY CITY, NJ 07306  
(201) 222-2028

864 AVENUE C  
BAYONNE, NJ 07002  
(201) 823-2900

278 HOBART STREET  
PATERBORO, NJ 08861  
(908) 324-8212

August 13, 1996

The Honorable Doris Meissner  
Commissioner  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
425 I Street NW  
Washington, D.C. 20536-0001

Dear Commissioner:

I am writing to bring to your immediate attention the plight of seven individuals fleeing from Cuba who were rescued on the high seas yesterday.

Eduardo Gonzalez Miranda, Marilyn Miranda Gonzalez (his wife), Yanet Gonzalez Miranda (their minor daughter), Ariolis Miranda, Pedro Morejon Miranda and his wife and daughter were part of a group of 27 individuals who were rescued after their boat capsized on Monday. They are currently being detained on the Coast Guard cutter Nantucket near Marathon Key.

The mother of Eduardo Gonzalez Miranda, Ana Maria Miranda perished when the boat capsized and her remains have been taken to Miami, Florida where a memorial service will be held.

The Miranda family has a long history of political dissent against the Castro regime and has subsequently been persecuted for their outspoken opposition. If they are returned to Cuba they are certain to be persecuted.

The Miranda's have extensive family ties in the United States and Affidavits of Support from U.S. Citizen and Lawful Permanent Resident relatives have been filed for each individual.

I am requesting that the Miranda's be paroled into the United States to meet with their lawyer and file their asylum claims.

Your prompt attention to this serious matter is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

ROBERT MENENDEZ  
13TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION  
AND INFRASTRUCTURE

SUBCOMMITTEES:  
AVIATION  
WATER RESOURCES

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS

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DEMOCRATIC WHIP AT LARGE



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
Washington, DC 20515-3013

REPLY TO:

1730 LONGWORTH HOUSE O.B.  
WASHINGTON, DC 20516-3013

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JERSEY CITY, NJ 07306  
(201) 222-2828
- 654 AVENUE C  
BAYONNE, NJ 07002  
(201) 823-7900
- 275 HOBART STREET  
PERTH AMBOY, NJ 08861  
(908) 324-4212

August 13, 1996

The Honorable Leon Panetta  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Panetta:

I am writing to request your immediate intervention on behalf of the 27 individuals who were rescued on the high seas yesterday after their boat capsized as they were fleeing Cuba.

I am requesting that they be paroled into the United States where they can be thoroughly interviewed by an agent of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.


I am particularly concerned about seven members of the Miranda family, Eduardo Gonzalez Miranda, Marilyn Miranda Gonzalez (his wife), Yanet Gonzalez Miranda (their minor daughter), Ariolis Miranda, Pedro Morejon Miranda and his wife and daughter who are part of the group being held on the Coast Guard cutter Nantucket near Marathon Key.

The Miranda family has a long history of political dissent against the Castro regime and has subsequently been persecuted for their outspoken opposition. If they are returned to Cuba they are certain to be persecuted.

The Miranda's have extensive family ties in the United States and Affidavits of Support from U.S. Citizen and Lawful Permanent Resident relatives have been filed for each individual.

Your assistance and intervention in this matter is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

  
Robert Menendez  
Member of Congress

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## **Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker**

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**News Clips**

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OK

To: Eric Eve

530 1383

Fr: Suzanna  
Valdez

Re: Menendez  
FYI

+1 page

# THE WHITE HOUSE

## OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

FAX: (202) 456-6218  
PHONE: (202) 456-2930

**TO:** \_\_\_\_\_

**FROM:** SUZANNA VALDEZ  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

**DATE:** \_\_\_\_\_

**RECEIVER FAX:** \_\_\_\_\_

**RECEIVER PHONE:** \_\_\_\_\_

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**ROBERT MENENDEZ**  
13TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION  
AND INFRASTRUCTURE  
SUBCOMMITTEES:  
AVIATION  
WATER RESOURCES  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS  
SUBCOMMITTEES:  
WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS  
DEMOCRATIC WHIP AT LARGE



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
Washington, DC 20515-3013

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WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3013  
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 276 HEMMILL STREET  
PERTH AMBOY, NJ 08861  
(808) 324-6217

**News From**  
**CONGRESSMAN BOB MENENDEZ**

For Immediate Release  
August 14, 1996

Contact: Michael Hutton  
(202) 225-7919  
Jose Alvarez  
(201) 222-2828

**MENENDEZ PRAISES CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HUMANITARIAN DECISION ON  
DECEASED RAFTERS**

Washington, D.C. -- Representative Bob Menendez praised the Clinton Administration today for its decision to grant humanitarian visas to the families of Ana Maria Miranda and Arisleidi Ravelo, who died while seeking freedom. Menendez had urged the White House yesterday to grant humanitarian visas to the immediate family members and requested that anybody with an asylum claim be paroled into the United States and processed by the INS.

"I am pleased the Administration has granted humanitarian visas to several of the family members and I urge the INS to transfer those remaining individuals who are seeking asylum to the Krome Detention Center for a full airing of their asylum claims. I am deeply saddened by the Miranda and Ravelo families' loss." Menendez said.

"While this is not a change in policy, this is the responsible and humane thing to do given the tragic circumstances of the situation." Menendez continued.

Menendez contacted Chief of Staff Leon Panetta as well as Attorney General Janet Reno yesterday to request White House's intervention on behalf of the 27 individuals who were rescued on the high seas Monday after their boat capsized as they were fleeing Cuba.

**ROBERT MENENDEZ**  
13TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION  
AND INFRASTRUCTURE

SUBCOMMITTEES:  
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WATER RESOURCES

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House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-3013

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JERSEY CITY, NJ 07306  
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## News From CONGRESSMAN BOB MENENDEZ

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# MATCHING BEER TO MEALS

SOME GOURMETS LOOK FOR THE PERFECT MATCH FOR EACH COURSE — LIVING & ARTS, 1D

## THE WEATHER

Partly sunny;  
thunderstorms in spots.  
11/79  
Details, page 3B

# The Miami Herald

THE FOREMOST DAILY NEWSPAPER OF FLORIDA

**FINAL**  
Late Sports  
★★★★

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1996

35 Cents

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## A tamer GOP targets Clinton

### Party denounces 'broken promises'

By DAVID HESS and STEVEN THOMAS  
Herald Washington Bureau

SAN DIEGO — Republicans trained their sights Tuesday on President Clinton during the second day of the GOP's national convention — criticizing his economic policies and "broken promises," but avoiding personal attacks that might appear too harsh.

Mindful of the positive image it wants to project on national television this week, the GOP tempered much of the hard-edged criticism that had marked its attacks on the president over the past three years.

Speaker after speaker focused mainly on the policy differences between the president and Bob Dole, in an attempt to follow the advice of Dole running mate Jack Kemp.

"There's been too much preaching; we need more persuasion," Kemp said Tuesday.

New York Rep. Susan Molinari, who delivered the keynote address, concluded the evening with a mild rebuke of the president's economic program and his agility

### REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

■ **Tonight's highlights:** Nomination of Bob Dole for president; Dole's wife, Elizabeth, and daughter Robin will speak; speeches by Dan Quayle and James Baker.

■ **Live TV coverage:** C-SPAN, 7-11 p.m.; CNN, 8-11 p.m.; PBS, 8-10 p.m.; CBS, 9-11 p.m.; ABC and NBC, 10-11 p.m.

■ **Inside today's Herald:**

✓ Dave Barry looks for news, 10A.  
✓ Television review, 1D.

for switching positions on issues.

She chided him for "playing politics" with Medicare and for breaking promises. "He promises one thing and does another. . . . Bill Clinton's promises have the life span of a Big Mac on Air Force One," Molinari said.

Molinari spoke of her hopes for her 3-month-old daughter.

"At the end of the day while I'm rocking Susan Ruby to sleep, I look down and

PLEASE SEE CONVENTION, 10A



Associated Press

**MILD REBUKE:** Keynote speaker Susan Molinari, a New York congresswoman, said President Clinton 'promises one thing and does another.' Tuesday's speeches contained few references to Whitewater, Clinton's draft record and other favorite targets.

## Corporate giants put stamp on convention

SAN DIEGO — Out on the tarmac of the county's executive airport, the Lear jets, the Cessnas and the Falcons are lined up, almost wingtip to wingtip, occupying the airfield like an invading air force.

But these private planes don't owe their allegiances to any country; they belong to corporations like Anheuser-Busch, AT&T, Texaco and more. And they aren't here to cause trouble; they are here to cause parties.

Behold the political convention, 1996.

Forget images of sweating, smoking party pols gathered in back rooms to strike deals, juggle candidate slates, forge language on platforms and actually engage in politics.

Like "A Day at the Races" at the Del Mar thoroughbred club, courtesy of Browning-Ferris Industries. Or the California beach party with Jan and Dean, Frankie Avalon and others, made possible by



**TOM FIEDLER**  
POLITICAL EDITOR

PLEASE SEE CORPORATIONS, 10A

## A NEW LOOK AT JUPITER



## U.S. to let in k'n o' ratters

day.  
New York Rep. Susan Molinari, who delivered the keynote address, concluded the evening with a mild rebuke of the president's economic program and his agility

...hope or her hopes for her 3-month-old daughter.

"At the end of the day while I'm rocking Susan Ruby to sleep, I look down and

PLEASE SEE CONVENTION, 10A

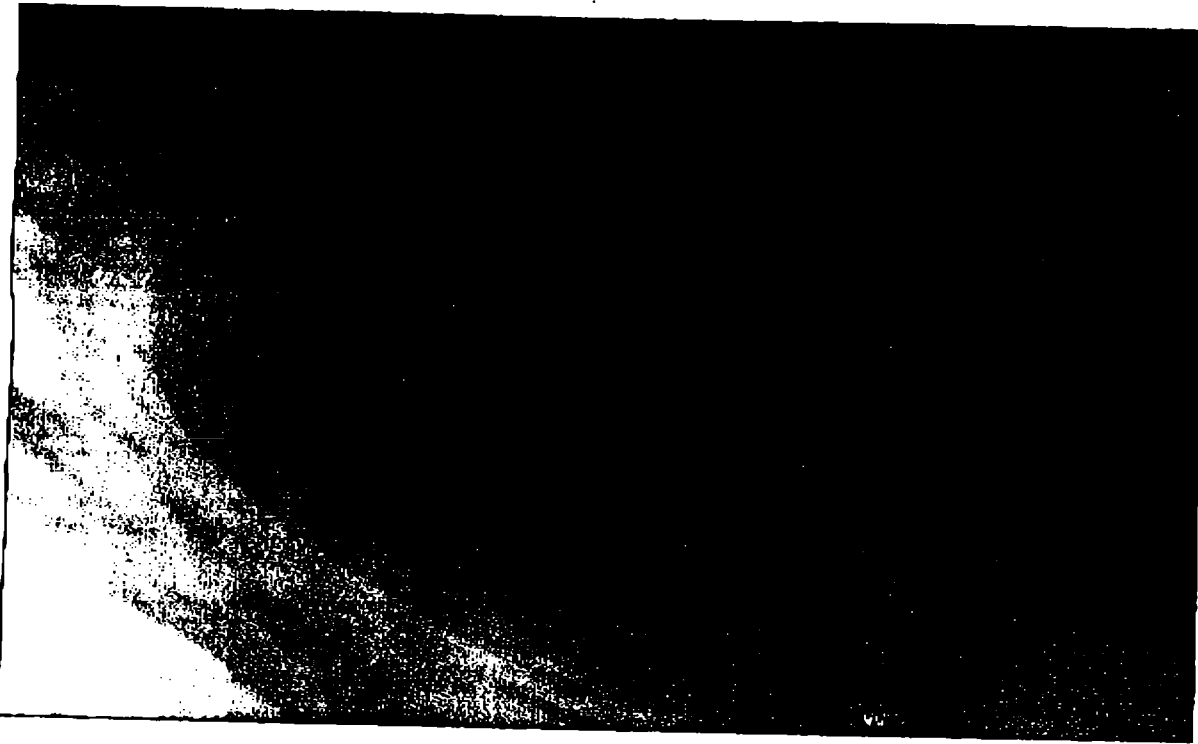
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Associated Press

...of Browning-Ferris Industries. Or the California beach party with Jan and Dean, Frankie Avalon and others, made possible by

PLEASE SEE CORPORATIONS, 10A

## A NEW LOOK AT JUPITER



Associated Press / NASA

This image of Jupiter's Great Red Spot, a storm nearly twice the size of Earth, is a mosaic of two images taken by the Galileo spacecraft in June. Galileo's new images of Jupiter's frozen moon

Europa are giving scientists hints that its crust might be sliding on a layer of slush or even water — the fundamental ingredient for life. The photo was released Tuesday by NASA. Story, 5A.

## U.S. to let in kin of rafters lost at sea

### Others' claims will be weighed

By **SUSANA BELLIDO**  
And **MARIA A. MORALES**  
Herold Staff Writers

**KEY WEST** — The White House is expected to announce today that at least five relatives of the Cuban rafters who perished at sea will be granted humanitarian visas, congressional sources said Tuesday.

Because both Ana Maria Miranda, 47, and 17-month-old Aristeidi Ravelo died, the relatives who accompanied them on the boat will be granted visas, the sources said.

Others in the group of 27 rafters whose asylum claims are found to have merit will be transferred to Krome Detention Cen-

ter, the sources said. Seven of them were turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Key West late Tuesday, said Jeff Hall, a Coast Guard spokesman. The others remained on the Coast Guard cutter Nantucket.

Three were hospitalized and were identified as Marilyn Miranda Gonzalez, 28, Ana Maria Miranda's daughter-in-law; Mitagros Calvo Puente, 32; and Calvo's son, Mario Noda Calvo, 9. Marilyn Miranda had a twisted or broken ankle and high fever. Calvo had severe pain and bruised ribs. Mario had minor injuries.

"We were so full of hope that we would arrive," said Marilyn Miranda on Tuesday night.

The plight of the group was discussed Tuesday evening "at the highest levels of the Department of Justice," said Dan Kane, a spokesman for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in

PLEASE SEE RAFTERS, 9A

INSIDE

U.N. police

Anti-smoking

**INSIDE**

**Clinton to name special Cuba envoy**

**Cuba News**

■ The job of Stuart Eizenstat, a Commerce Department official little known in the Miami exile community, will be to persuade allies to join Washington in placing greater pressure on Castro, 7A.



**Marlins' kindly trade: Pendleton to Atlanta**

■ The Marlins send Terry Pendleton to Atlanta on Tuesday, giving the 36-year-old third baseman, who has been in four World Series without taking home a ring, a last chance to win it all, 9C.

**Sports**

**JUA deficit much lower than expected**

**Consumer News**

■ Florida homeowners and the insurance industry can breathe a sigh of relief: The Joint Underwriting Association won't need as much money from private insurers and their policyholders, 7B.

**Yearning for more computer power?**

**CyberGuide**

■ Two critical questions to ask yourself: What does my computer *not* do that I really want or need it to do? How many parts of my computer are inadequate for what I want to be able to do? 1D.

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10227

77766 13333

The Miami Herald  
Publishing Company

**U.N. police are linked to smugglers**

**Ties could taint Bosnian peace effort**

By PHILIP BRUCKER  
Special to The Herald

**BUGOJNO, Bosnia-Herzegovina** — Senior officials in the United Nations police force in Bosnia are collaborating with a drug and weapons-smuggling ring that has strong links with foreign Islamic fighters, according to well-placed Bosnian police officials and American officers in the U.N. mission.

The ties between the U.N. police and known criminals have led angry American police officers to allege that the U.S. deputy police commissioner in charge of an internal U.N. investigation is mishandling a scandal that could permanently taint the U.N. police mission.

Robert Wasserman, the U.N.'s deputy police commissioner, denied that the case is being mishandled. He said he is pushing to get to the bottom of the smuggling ring.

Informed of the allegations against certain U.N. police officials in Bosnia, State Depart-

PLEASE SEE BOSNIA, 6A



Associated Press

**OREGON BATTLES HUGE FIRE**

A rancher tries to douse flames on Tub Springs Canyon Loop in Oregon, where a creeping blaze has engulfed 140,000 acres in the Ashwood-Antelope area. Gov. John Kitzhaber declared a state of emergency.

**Anti-smoking combo may take the thrill away**

**Nicotine patch and drug could help kick the habit**

**TORONTO — (AP)** — Scientists have developed a one-two chemical punch that might help smokers kick the habit by spoiling the pleasures of cigarettes.

The combination consists of a nicotine patch plus another substance that blocks nicotine's effects. Small, preliminary studies suggest that this might work better than a regular patch.

The idea is to rob smoking of its rewards, such as the taste of tobacco and the tranquilizing and alertness-inducing effects of nicotine.

"We have the prospect of ruining the enjoyment of a cigarette," said psychologist Jed Rose.

Rose is chief of the nicotine research laboratory at the Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Durham, N.C., and a professor in psychiatry at Duke University Medical Center in Durham. He discussed the research Tuesday at a meeting of the American Psychological Association.

Harry Lando, a psychologist who studies smoking cessation at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, noted the work is preliminary but said, "I think it is very promising."

Nicotine produces its effects by binding to certain sites on brain cells called receptors. This triggers the pleasurable but addicting effects.

To interrupt that, Rose has been working with

PLEASE SEE SMOKING, 11A

three years.  
for switching positions on issues.

PICTURE

# U.S. to let in kin of rafters lost at sea

## Others' claims will be weighed

By SUSANA BELLIDO  
And MARIA A. MORALES  
Herald Staff Writers

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Three were hospitalized and were identified as Marilyn Miranda Gonzalez, 28, Ana Maria Miranda's daughter-in-law; Milagros Calvo Puente, 32; and Calvo's son, Mario Noda Calvo, 9. Marilyn Miranda had a twisted or broken ankle and high fever. Calvo had severe pain and bruised ribs. Mario had minor injuries.

"We were so full of hope that we would arrive," said Marilyn Miranda on Tuesday night.

The plight of the group was discussed Tuesday evening "at the

Domingo Miranda, 55, the brother of Ana Maria Miranda. "The news that our other relatives will be allowed to come to the U.S. gives us some consolation."

Others who attended the wake were strangers moved by the family's loss.

"It's really a shame that people have to take these kinds of measures to look for a better life," said Ana Gonzalez, 80, a resident of Little Havana. "Though I don't know anyone on that boat, I feel their pain."

The funeral procession for Ana Maria Miranda will leave the funeral home at 1 p.m. today for the burial at Woodlawn West Cemetery in Hialeah.

### Advocates' requests

Meanwhile, refugee advocates in Miami pushed for what the group hoped for when it set out on the crossing: a future in the United States.

Under current U.S. policy, Cuban rafters are returned to their country unless they reach American shores or prove that they qualify for political asylum. In some extreme cases, authorities will grant humanitarian visas.

This group of rafters is such a case, said Arturo Cobo, coordinator of the Transit Center for Cuban Refugees near Key West.

"At least the parents should be released," he said. "They deserve to be there so they can say the last goodbye to this girl. They have plenty of sorrow and suffering ahead, for the rest of their lives."

U.S. Reps. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart, both Miami Republicans, wrote Tuesday to Attorney General Janet Reno on behalf of the group.

"We're asking for political asylum for these people who have

### On radio

Anguished family members in Miami spent most of Tuesday as guests of Spanish radio talk shows, asking the Clinton administration to parole their relatives and discussing the political persecution they would face if returned to Cuba.

Tomas Ravelo, 40, a resident of Hialeah Gardens, spoke of never having met his 17-month-old granddaughter, Arisleidi. All he wants now is for his son and the child's mother to be released so they can attend her funeral in Miami, he said.

"It feels like someone's ripped out a piece of my heart. It's extremely painful," he said. "Whoever has lost a child knows what kind of pain we're all going through right now."

Boaters found the bodies of Miranda and Arisleidi floating some 25 miles south of Marathon about 10 a.m. Monday. Minutes later, they discovered 27 other Cubans clinging to a capsized 30-foot boat nearby. Among them were the girl's parents and the woman's son.

The group ran into trouble hours into their voyage about 11 p.m. Sunday, when their outboard engine malfunctioned. Several leaned over to check what was wrong. The boat overturned. Autopsies determined that the two victims drowned.

### Two still missing

Still missing are two men who split from the group and headed aboard a rubber raft, toward some lights they thought were Key West. A Coast Guard plane combed 5,000 square miles between the Keys and Miami on Tuesday looking for the two. At nightfall, they suspended the search indefinitely.

Relatives in Miami knew of the group's plans to cross the Straits but weren't sure when they would attempt the crossing, said Roman Ravelo, the little girl's uncle. When they first heard of the group found Monday, they called around and eventually determined that one of the victims was their young relative.

From friends in Cuba, they determined that the group of relatives and friends from Havana, Bahia Honda and Puerto Esperanza left Sunday night from near Mariel, Ravelo said.

Late that night, the group was clinging to their overturned 30-

highest levels of the Department of Justice," said Dan Kane, a spokesman for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington. He said a decision should be made by today.

Ana Maria Miranda and Arisleidi drowned in the Florida Straits this weekend as they were trying to reach U.S. soil. While the Mirandas held a wake Tuesday night for Ana Maria in Little Havana, the Ravelos planned to take the body of the toddler to Miami.

More than 200 mourners crowded the Metropolitan Funeral Home in Little Havana to pay their last respects to the Miranda family.

"This is very painful," said

endured a great tragedy," Ros-Lehtinen from San Diego, where she's attending the Republican National Convention.

"If asylum is out of the question, family members should at least be allowed to attend the funerals of their loved ones," she added.

Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, addressed the issue in a letter to President Clinton's chief of staff Leon Panetta and asked for humanitarian parole for the 27 survivors.

"Their return to Cuba will most certainly be met by Cuban government reprisals," Mas Canosa wrote.

took overglass boat. Miranda said her husband, Eduardo Gonzalez, was looking for flares under the boat when he discovered the body of his mother.

"He gave her a kiss, and then just kept on helping the others because most didn't know how to swim," Miranda said.

Paper Miami Herald

AUG 14 1996

Page 5 of 14

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**Nuccio**

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OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING  
 ROOM 469  
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500  
 FAX: 202-456-5125

Date: 9/21/95

TO: cc: Suzanna Valdez

FAX: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: RICHARD A. NUCCIO  
SPECIAL ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CUBA

PHONE: 202-456-5194

Number of Pages including cover sheet: 2

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
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HERMINIO SAN ROMAN

WATER'S DIRECT NO.:  
860-7043

September 20, 1995

VIA FACSIMILE AND U.S. MAIL  
Richard A. Nuccio, Special Advisor  
to the President and the Secretary of  
State for Cuba

Dear Rick:

Once again the Administration failed to provide political cover to its loyal friends and supporters in South Florida. The President's failure to include during his speech a brief and simple statement on the most passionate subject in Cuban Dade County "Cuba" provided significant amount of aggravation here in Dade County. Particularly, I was interviewed by one of the local Spanish TV stations before the event and they specifically asked whether the President was going to make any reference to Cuba during his speech?. My response followed established patterns to always mention it and of course, I responded "yes".

No one understands better than myself our overall objectives and goals for the campaign in the State of Florida. However, such small details served not only to attract a certain segment of the community to support our President (the 25% to 35% factor), but also it helps many of us to fundraise within such segment.

I am not asking for an intricate policy statement. I'm only requesting the President to engage this community as well as the prior Republican Administration's did.

I deeply regret to use you to vent my frustrations. However, as one of the President's friend, part of the so called Cuban Gere Group, I intend to do everything and anything within my powers to re-elect him.

Thank you for your guidance.

Sincerely,  
*H. San Roman*  
Herminio San Roman

HSR/ag

09/11/95 17:34 3053768950

MIAMI HERALD

+++ VIVA AMERICA

002

# The Miami Herald

A Knight-Ridder Newspaper

David Lawrence Jr.  
 Publisher and Chairman  
 (305) 376-3525  
 Fax: (305) 376-8950

August 21, 1995

Richard A. Nuccio  
 Special Advisor to the President  
 and Secretary of State for Cuba  
 The White House  
 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Rick:

Thank you for getting in touch.

What you are entitled to is what everyone else is entitled to, that being fairness. Always. These are newspapers, with no interest in being "political" instruments.

We're not perfect. Can't be. No human institution can be.

But we can surely promise that our integrity is not up for grabs. It will never be.

Let me stay away from "conspiracy theories" and such, or we'll all go bonkers. The wisest course I can take is to make sure your letter is shared with several key Herald and El Nuevo Herald people. All are committed to newspapering of integrity, fact-finding, fairness and thoughtfulness. Whenever you think we fall short of any of those standards, we need to know.


The next time you're in town, I hope you'll sit down with the several principal editors of El Nuevo Herald and discuss this directly. Luis Aguilar is in charge of the editorial pages there; Tony Espetia and Barbara Gutierrez lead the news side.

Tenga fé...

Sincerely,

Dave Lawrence

cc: El Nuevo Editor-Opinion Pages Luis Aguilar, Herald Executive Editor Doug Clifton, El Nuevo Managing Editor Tony Espetia, El Nuevo Executive Editor Barbara Gutierrez, Herald Editor Jim Hampton, Herald Associate Editors Martha Musgrove and Tony Proscio



AMH

*Handwritten:* Joseph  
at the  
aw

*Handwritten:* coordinate  
w/ Rich  
& let me know  
AMH

AUGUST 24, 1995

MEMO FOR ALEXIS HERMAN  
FROM: DOUG SOSNIK  
SUBJECT: ENCLOSED LETTER

I am enclosing a letter from Mr. Joseph Ginarte discussing a meeting he had with Richard Nuccio. Mr. Ginarte attended a Reelect coffee with the President at the White House and then met with Richard Nuccio to discuss Cuban policy.

Please handle this letter as you deem appropriate.

AMH 29 1995

GINARTE, O'DWYER, WINOGRAD & LARACUENTE

ATTORNEYS AT LAW  
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PETER C. GRUBER<sup>2,3</sup>  
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—  
ROGER GUARDA, CLAIMS MGR.  
WILLIAM GINARTE, CLAIMS REP.  
  
PLEASE REPLY TO  
NEWARK OFFICE  
FAX: 1-201-643-1857

August 15, 1995

<sup>1</sup> CERTIFIED CIVIL TRIAL ATTORNEY  
<sup>2</sup> OF COUNSEL  
<sup>3</sup> ADMITTED TO FL ONLY  
<sup>4</sup> ADMITTED TO NY ONLY  
<sup>5</sup> ADMITTED TO NJ & PA  
<sup>6</sup> ADMITTED TO NJ & NY  
<sup>7</sup> ADMITTED TO NJ, NY & PA  
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VIA FAX & REGULAR MAIL

Terry McAuliffe  
National Finance Chairman  
P.O. Box 19300  
Washington D.C. 20036

VIA FAX & REGULAR MAIL

Mr. Doug Sosnik  
Director of Political Affairs  
The White House  
Washington D.C.

Dear Messrs. Sosnik and McAuliffe:

It was great to see you at the White House this past Thursday, August 3rd. The breakfast meeting with the President went very well and all of us there were able to engage in a frank and open discussion of important issues facing us in the upcoming election.

After the meeting with the President, I had a lengthy discussion of the Cuba issue with Richard Nuccio. My concern is that the administration's present Cuba policy is hurting our ability in New Jersey to get the President reelected. Certainly, statements made by Richard Nuccio last month which were quoted extensively in the Cuban American press did not help the situation. I advised Mr. Nuccio that significant steps should be taken immediately to allow us in New Jersey to regain the Cuban American vote. Senator Ray Lesniak and Congressmen Toricelli and Menendez have done a tremendous amount of work over the years in bringing Cuban Americans into the Democratic Party. Unfortunately,

Page: 2

Dated: August 15, 1995

in the last few months there is a sense in this community that their views are being ignored by the administration; that they are somehow being cut out of the process.

I advised Mr. Nuccio that we need to reopen the lines of communication with this community. We need to open a dialogue; move towards common ground if we are to have any success in regaining this important voting block. I believe that the President said it best last week when he said that New Jersey will be won or lost next year by "either one or two percentage points". I am not sure that Mr. Nuccio understands the political implications of the administration's present Cuba policy.

I therefore suggest that substantive steps be taken to reassure this community that the administration will maintain a firm stand against Castro. From a policy perspective it makes sense to take a strong stand against Castro; if he wants the U.S. to lift travel restrictions and ultimately the embargo all he has to do is allow free, independently audited elections and undertake meaningful political and economic reforms.

Since the meeting with Mr. Nuccio a week and a half ago, I have not heard from him nor have I seen anything which would lead me to believe that he is following through on my suggestions. Therefore, I am asking for your help and input into this matter. I would appreciate the opportunity to meet with you personally to discuss this further. I will telephone your office next week.

Very truly yours,

  
JOSEPH A. GINATE, ESQ.

JAG/wg

cc: Senator Raymond Lesniak

MEMORANDUM FOR ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: SUZANNA VALDEZ  
DATE: SEPTEMBER 11, 1995  
SUBJECT: JOSEPH GINARTE LETTER

---

Mr. Ginarte's letter of August 15th raises some concerns about our public outreach efforts pertaining to the Cuba issue. In particular, the letter focuses on how we are addressing the concerns of the Cuban-American community as we approach next year's election.

We seem to be neglecting the concerns of the politically active and powerful Cuban-Americans that adhere to a more conservative view towards Cuba and that will play pivotal roles in two key states: Florida and New Jersey. I would specifically stress the importance of this constituency in New Jersey, where they may possibly be the swing vote in 1996.

I recommend that we bring in someone from within the Administration that can help assure that we are meeting the needs of this constituency. Raymond Ruga, Cuba Desk Officer in the Pentagon, former campaign staffer and a Cuban-American, has done press and outreach work for us in the past and could be useful in improving our relations with this important community.

*Celia*

**MIVIA CORP.**

5870 S.W. 8th. St. Suite 7  
Miami, Florida 33144

**Fax Cover Sheet**

DATE:	<u>10-10-95</u>	TIME:	<u>3:30 AM</u>
TO:	<u>Susanna Valdez</u>	FAX:	<u>202-456-6218</u>
FROM:	<u>Jorge L. Bolanos</u>	PHONE:	305-261-2600
		FAX:	305-262-8802

RE: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of pages including cover sheet: \_\_\_\_\_

Message:

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**Jorge L. Bolaños**  
5870 S.W. 8 Street, Suite 7 • Miami, Florida 33144  
Phone (305) 262-0080 • Fax (305) 262-8802

September 29, 1995

Mr. David M. Strauss  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
Office of the Vice President  
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. Strauss:

Our group walked out of our meeting with a sense that the policies of our President and Vice President are in tune with our community, in spite of the existing misconceptions and past misunderstandings.

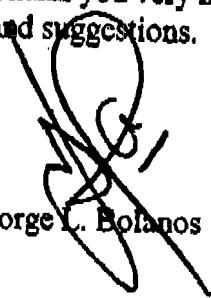
The commitments to work with Mr. Nuncio to negotiate language for the "Libertad Act" acceptable to the White House and to help promote the credit our President and Vice-President deserve was honest and sincere.

We strongly believe that if in addition, we quickly carry out the following steps:

1. the drafting and release, in its most moderate tone, of the white paper on the President's policy on Cuba ( A political visit by the President or the Vice President to Little Havana could be used for its release.)
2. to stop meetings or giving signs of encouragement, in fact and appearance, to the "Dialogueros" (groups and individuals who promote the unconditional negotiations with Castro and very liberal interpretations of the Torricelli Bill.) and,
3. that only one controlled and very moderate voice is heard on Cuban issues from the White House

we can begin the process of reestablishing credibility. And furthermore, this will also give us the time to develop an effective strategy for the coming year, and the ability to recruit the support from other key members of our community.

Thank-you very much for taking so much of your time to listen to our concerns and suggestions. We are encouraged and hopeful.

  
Jorge L. Bolaños

## TALKING POINTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Revised: September 27, 1995

Objective of the meeting:

Briefing for Vice President Al Gore, senior members of his staff and members of the NSC on the feeling and perceptions of a group of Cuban Americans, discuss areas of mutual misunderstandings, and explore possible actions to restore confidence in the Administration while preserving or advancing the U.S. national interest.

Disclaimer.

The individuals attending this meeting do not represent any organizations nor the feelings or opinions of the Cuban American Communities. The opinions and ideas expressed herewith or at the meeting are exclusively those of the individual attending the meeting.

Introduction

We support the U.S. policy of calibrated responses to meaningful and substantial political and economic changes in Cuba.

We support a peaceful transition to a truly democratic and open society in Cuba with full respect for human rights and an open market economy.

In the past three years, the Castro government has introduced minor economic changes:

1. These changes are not significant, are not structurally profound, are reversible at any time by the Cuban government and do not indicate any move toward an open market economy. Fidel Castro, in his July 26, 1995 speech reaffirmed his opposition to a market economy and emphasized his continuous belief in Marxism-Leninism.

2. There has been no political opening in Cuba. If anything repression has increased. Like Saddam Hussein, Muhamar Kadhafi and other totalitarian leaders, Castro has not given any evidence that he is willing to relinquish power or create in Cuba a pluralistic society.

3. The president's Cuba policy is under severe criticism in the Cuban-American community. But, as evidenced by the lead column in the August 12 of "El Nuevo Herald" (The Miami's Spanish-Language paper), many thoughtful opinion leaders want to believe that the President shares their objective of a free and democratic Cuba. There has been however serious miscommunication and misinterpretations that are clouding the Cuban American's community ability to support the President's policy.

### Recommendation.

To restore confidence, and clearly define the President's policy toward Cuba, the President may consider implementing the following recommendations:

1. The President should state that it is in the best interest of the United States to maintain the present policy until the Castro regime, or a successor regime, engages in a meaningful transition toward democracy.
2. The President and his Administration should repeatedly and publicly reassure the Cuban-American community of his willingness to work for a free and democratic Cuba. He should do so by reaffirming his backing for the dual policy of tightening the economic sanctions supporting the internal opposition in Cuba and taking a few specific actions. The president and his advisors should reassure the Cuban American community that no change in the U.S. policy is contemplated until there is truly a transition to democracy in Cuba.
- 3.- The U.S. should be consistent in this policy, speak with one voice and attempt to build international consensus regarding the need to bring about democracy in Cuba.

"Personnel is Policy and Perception is Reality" It makes eminent administrative (and political) sense to reassign any Cuba responsibilities to individuals who are not tainted by their personal ideological considerations and are familiar with dealing with the media and the public. The President should appoint U.S. officials at the Department of State and the National Security Council who support his policy.

4. Mobilize international support for the dissident movement inside Cuba. Urge allies and trading partners who are doing business in Cuba to provide political and material support to human-rights groups, non-government organizations, labor movements, independent journalist, and other elements of the opposition.
5. Increase the power and frequency of broadcasting to Cuba through Radio and TV Marti, in both shortwave and broad band to overcome Castro's jamming. The Board should be re-structure and a Director appointed.
6. Publicize the continuing gross and consistent violation of human rights which has been condemned by every international human rights monitoring group. Utilize all means of communications available to the U.S. to publicize the repressive state in Cuba.
7. The U.S. should expand its support and contacts with organization and groups in the island dedicated to creating a civilian-democratic society.
8. Publicly announce that the U.S. will condition any change in current U.S. policy (such as restoring dollar remittances or travel by Cuban-Americans) on prior restoration of civil and political rights in Cuba.
9. Humanitarian aid -- food and medicine -- should be permitted to go to the Cuban people but

only through bona-fide religious groups and non-governmental organizations.

10. The President should develop a strategy to support an acceptable "Cuba Liberty and Democracy Solidarity Act."

11. In addressing the U.N. should use language similar to the one used at the Summit of the Americas regarding democracy in Latin America. See attached appendix II.

12. The U.S. embargo as well as that the travel ban should be continued and reaffirmed publicly until there is an irreversible transition towards democracy in Cuba.

13. The U.S. should oppose the completion of the Juragua nuclear plant in Cuba and work with friendly governments and international organizations to prevent this dangerous facility from becoming operational in the island.

14. The U. S. should oppose the presence of Russian personnel/facilities in the island, including but not limited to the Lourdes electronic facilities and the Cienfuegos naval station.

## Appendix II

I am proud to be here as the representative of a democratic nation. Last December in Miami, Florida, I had the privilege of having all the Presidents of the freely elected heads of state of the Americas. The heads of every single nation in this hemisphere attended - with only one exception: Cuba. Never in the history of the Americas has such a high proportion of the population lived under democratic governments. The Western Hemisphere now consists entirely of freely-elected governments, with only the sad exception of Cuba: where the government has for thirty-six years dominated every single aspect of political and economic life, to the point where today a once prosperous island is completely impoverished. The United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, has repeatedly condemned Cuba for continued gross and consistent violations of human rights. But the wave of democracy which has swept the Western Hemisphere will not escape Cuba. All of us in the Americas look forward to the day when Cuba can once again rejoin the family of free and prosperous nations. We look forward to working with and helping the people of Cuba to rebuild in Freedom.

E X E C U T I V E   O F F I C E   O F   T H E   P R E S I D E N T

26-Oct-1995 12:21pm

TO:           Suzanna Valdez

FROM:         Richard Nuccio  
              Office of Public Liaison

CC:           Alexis M. Herman

SUBJECT:      RE: cub-am mtgs

If you are receiving complaints about communication of Cuba policy you should direct them to me. When I came here Suzanna I asked for your help and intimate involvement in outreach work. Your answer was that you were too busy and that you wanted to "get out of Cuba policy." Then you said that you would help find someone else to help out. You never did that nor responded to any other requests for help I've asked for. I'm frankly angry that you serve as a separate channel on Cuba issues. I'm working too hard and under too much pressure already for this kind of intervention by you. Let's talk about this, until we can please refer any calls on Cuba to me. That's why I'm here.



October 1995

NOV 26 1995

## Haiti But Not Cuba?

By Jeane J. Kirkpatrick

*An important bill working its way through Congress would deny loans and financial assistance to Fidel Castro's repressive dictatorship while promising comprehensive support for a post-Castro, democratic Cuba. Given the Clinton administration's enthusiasm for "restoring democracy" in Haiti, its strong opposition to the Cuban Liberty and Democracy Solidarity Act is difficult to understand.*

What has happened to the Clinton administration's enthusiasm for promoting democracy in the Caribbean? When Haiti was the issue, "restoring democracy" had top priority. The Clinton team was indefatigable in pressing demands before the U.N. Security Council—to tighten an already punitive economic embargo, to further isolate the country, to secure a mandate for the use of force to remove Haitian "dictators" who constituted a threat to international peace and security.

Now, however, the Clinton team faces a demand to take action in Cuba against Fidel Castro's repressive one-party dictatorship. The Republican Congress confronts the Clinton administration with the Cuban Liberty and Democracy Solidarity Act, also known as the Libertad Act, the Helms-Burton Act (in the House), the Helms-Dole Act (in the Senate).

And though President Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher made clear their opposition, the Libertad Act passed the House with a large veto-proof margin and is headed for similar success in the Senate, where it has twenty-five cosponsors, including a number of Democrats.

---

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. This essay appeared in the *New York Post* on October 4, 1995.

The Libertad Act applies to Cuba the experience gained in the campaigns that transformed the governments of South Africa and Haiti. It reviews Fidel Castro's systematic abuse of basic human and democratic rights, his practice of terrorism and drug trafficking, and his persistent threats to U.S. national security. It urges the president to seek action in the U.N. Security Council on an economic embargo against Cuba, to deny Cuba loans and other financial assistance from international institutions and the United States.

In addition, it bars from doing business in the United States any foreign persons or corporations that have acquired U.S. property confiscated by the Cuban government; it calls on the Clinton administration to end Russian use of electronic listening posts in Cuba (at Lourdes); it would subtract from U.S. aid to Russia any amount paid to Cuba for use of these facilities; it calls on the U.S. government to prevent the completion of nuclear reactors in Cuba.

Finally, it describes the comprehensive economic, political, social support and assistance that will be made available to a democratic Cuba.

The Libertad Act is already having a chilling effect on potential investors, as

intended, and it has precipitated a great debate. All its provisions are opposed by the Clinton administration and by diverse friends of Cuba, many of whom have supported U.S. assistance for Havana for decades.

Arguments against Libertad fall in three main categories: that it will make the hard lives of ordinary Cubans harder still; that it will interrupt and impede the moves toward reform that the Cuban government has undertaken in the past two years; that it will enhance Cuba's isolation and block the beneficial effects that would flow from the market reforms that have been introduced.

The bill's proponents respond that it is not the U.S. embargo that has destroyed Cuba's economy and created the chronic shortages and grinding poverty that afflict the island. Rather, socialist practices and one-party rule have prevented growth, economic development, and political democracy.

Castro's obsession with control has blunted the positive effects of the reforms of the past two years. The regime welcomes foreign investment but does not permit investors the freedom needed to hire and fire workers or to make a profit. It permits private markets for a few products, but the number and scale are so small they cannot have a significant effect on the economy. It now makes self-employment an option in some

fields, but the self-employed must pay higher taxes that undercut any economic advantage gained from entrepreneurship. The government permits tourism, but chronic shortages leave tourists dissatisfied.

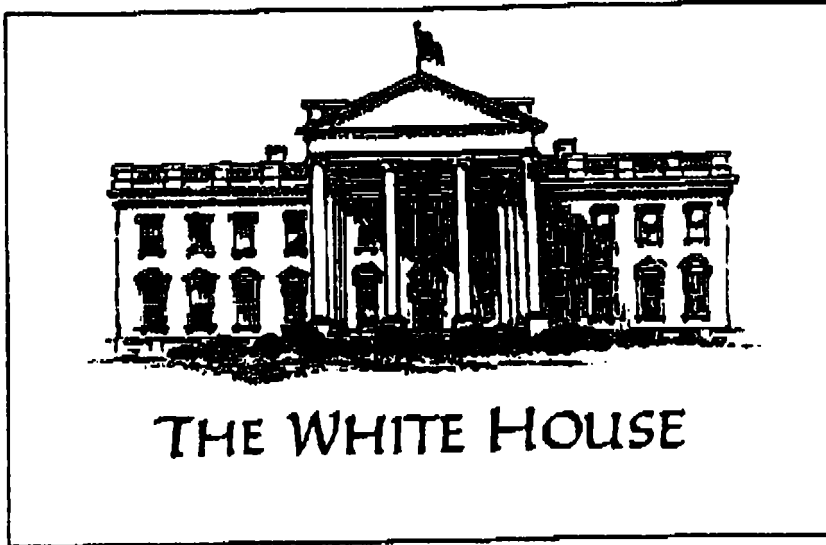
It is this pattern of giving and taking away that bodes so ill for the prospects of economic change under Castro.

The end of the Soviet Union and the socialist economic bloc meant for Cuba the end of subsidies, guaranteed markets, and other economic, technological, and military support. It was a hard blow. But the regime survived, essentially unaffected by the democratic revolution that swept the Western Hemisphere in the 1980s and Europe in the 1990s.

The reforms taken so far are too limited and too timid to start up the Cuban economy. Castro is still giving the "revolution" priority over freedom and prosperity.

Castro detests capitalism, and because he is unwilling to permit Cubans basic market choices, the strategies that encourage greater freedom and higher production in China will not have the same effects in Cuba. Fidel feels as he did in 1991 when he said: "A revolutionary must be a man who, even if he is left alone, continues to fight for his ideas."

The Libertad Act proposes to leave him alone.



**OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING  
 ROOM 469  
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500  
 FAX: 202-456-5125**

Date: 12/4/95

TO: Suzanna (cc)

FAX: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: RICHARD A. NUCCIO  
SPECIAL ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CUBA  
 PHONE: 202-456-5194

Number of Pages including cover sheet: 2

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
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**OA/ID:** 9445

## MEMORANDUM TO ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: RAYMOND RUGA DEC 12 1995 

SUBJECT: CUBA MATTERS

---

**Nuccio Meeting:** Following are highlights of meeting between Rick and I on present and upcoming Cuba issues.

**Mendez-Lake Meeting:** Meeting, which is scheduled for Wednesday, December 13, is to include Mr. Lake, Secretary Rubin, Attorney General Reno, and Nuccio to discuss embargo enforcement issues. Recommend there be White House political representation.

**Nuccio statements in Miami:** Rep. Menendez and Rep. Diaz-Balart have raised an issue over their concerns of statements made by Rick alluding to possible lifting of travel sanctions if the Cuban-American congressional members are unable to constrain travel by their constituents. I disagree with this approach, since it only exacerbates our already troubled relations with Cuban-American members, particularly Congressman Menendez. I recommended we first approach congressional members privately with concerns, look for common ground and try to work with them in accomplishing our objectives. We cannot win a credibility contest on Cuba against these representatives in their own back yards.

**Helms-Burton Bill:** I feel, and Rick seems to concur, that we should try to engage the congress in negotiating on the Helms-Burton bill to produce legislation we can sign. This approach, coupled with a strong outreach in the Cuban-American community detailing our concerns, will help us score points by emphasizing what we have in common with the community and show that the President still strongly believes in their cause. Fighting this legislation without producing an alternative just magnifies the alienation the voting segment of the Cuban-American community feels toward the administration.

**Telecommunications Review:** We spoke of pending review and of possible meeting between the administration and US telecommunication executives to discuss possible investment in Cuba's telecommunication system. This is a bad idea that we will be hard pressed to explain to a skeptical electorate. Believe we should hold off on this indefinitely.

**CC: Rick Nuccio  
Lee Satterfield  
Suzanna Valdez**