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DATE:

7/6/94PHONE # (305) 599-1800
FAX # (305) 599-0404

TO:

Mr. Peter Shokow

FAX # ()

FROM:

Fernando Rojas

PAGES TO FOLLOW:

15

(NOT INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

☐ FOR YOUR INFORMATION☐ PLEASE TELEPHONE ME☐ FOR YOUR FILES☐ PLEASE COMMENT☐ PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT☐ PLEASE SIGN☐ PLEASE HANDLE☐ PLEASE COMPLETE☐ PER YOUR REQUEST☐ PER PHONE CONVERSATION☐ OTHER

COMMENTS:

I have been remiss in sending you
this, which Lula Rodriguez asked me to
forward to you some time ago.
Thank you for all your help
in scheduling Jorge tomorrow!

IF THIS FAX TRANSMITTAL IS INCOMPLETE, PLEASE CALL (305) 599-1800
FOR ASSISTANCE.

REMARKS BY MR. JORGE MAS CANOSA
CHAIRMAN OF THE CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION
CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY COMMEMORATION LUNCHEON
MIAMI, FLORIDA
MAY 20, 1994

Whosoever builds, also dreams. Today we are commemorating a work that was the result of a dream. On each occasion in which we must speak to our compatriots, we attempt to find something significant, profound and transcendent which will contribute to establish a clear sense of direction for our national agenda as a community of exiles in a diaspora that has already lasted far too long. Today, after hearing the words of our President, Bill Clinton, we must express our enormous gratitude and recognize in him a man that has demonstrated vision and loyalty for the cause of universal freedom, and especially for the freedom of our country -- Cuba.

Today is a day of celebration because this afternoon, in spite of all that has been said and written concerning Cuban-Americans and the torrent of criticism that has rained down upon this community, the words of our Apostle, José Martí, have been fulfilled. The will of a nation has been forged in a crucible of duty, a crucible of ideals and aspirations that are fused together in a vocation and commitment to the freedom of the people of Cuba, and the desire to redeem our native land.

This afternoon, it is clear why there has been such an effort to divide and separate us Cubans. I share my table today with illustrious Cuban-Americans from the Democratic Party. I remember when, on May 20, 1981, just several blocks from this Omni Hotel -- there at the Four Ambassadors [Hotel] -- we stated that: "The Cuban American National Foundation has not been created for partisan politics. The Cuban American National Foundation is not Republican nor Democrat. The Foundation is Cuban-American. It has been conceived to defend the ideals of a free and democratic Cuba, not to play partisan politics."

This beautiful message that all of you have heard from President Bill Clinton, continues to make good the promise that he made to us in the city of Tampa one week before the elections, when the then presidential candidate looked at me in the eyes and declared: "I am going to support the embargo. I am going to support the cause of a free Cuba. I am going to support Radio and TV Marti." Two years later, President Bill Clinton makes us proud of his leadership by asserting in his message to the Cuban American National Foundation that "the time has come for Cuba." With that statement, The President of the United States echoed the longing and aspirations of all Cubans. This is how a national leader fulfills the promises that he has made to a people who suffer, a people who struggle. Two years later, President Bill Clinton fulfills the promise he made to the Cubans who live in freedom. Two

years later, we all gather together -- liberal and conservative Cubans, Republicans and Democrats, illustrious Cuban-American Democrats that have made possible this message.

This afternoon, we can clearly state with pride that, in this crucible of freedom, the Cuban soul is united. Sharing with us are Maria Elena Toraño, a woman that feels for and thinks about Cuba; Paul Cejas; and Jorge Perez, a young Cuban that was born in Argentina and who feels strongly and deeply the pain of the Cuban people. And when we have with us at this luncheon a Cuban from the entrepreneurial class, like Alfie Fanjul, breaking bread with a humble black Cuban like [exiled president of the Confederation of Cuban Workers union] Facundo Pomar, the soul of the Cuban nation becomes one. Because the "eternal Cuba", the Cuba that is always above the colors of race, or the lineage of men or women, the "eternal Cuba" refuses to die in the feelings and thoughts of each and every Cuban, regardless of wherever one finds oneself, or the good fortune with which some of us may have been blessed, or the scarcities some of us may be forced to endure.

While I was watching the video of our testimony in Washington [before Rep. Charles Rangel's hearings on U.S.-Cuba policy], I realized that on that occasion we had also fulfilled the promise we made fourteen years ago -- that the Cuban American National Foundation was going to fight for the democratic ideals of the Cuban people and that it was going to speak on behalf of all

Cubans. The Foundation's mission was not only reflected in the testimony we delivered in the hostile environment of those Congressional hearings, an environment extremely critical of the Cuban exile community; but also in the Cuban American National Foundation's defense of the people of Cuba who walk the streets of the island each day. Our organization has provided support and refuge for those, who under the most absolute abandonment known in the history of the Americas, toil and struggle for the freedom of our homeland.

Yesterday evening -- May 19, the anniversary of the death of José Martí -- in the El Cerro neighborhood of Havana, a group of young Cubans, women and men, challenged tyranny by laying a floral wreath at the foot of a statue of our Apostle [Jose Marti] in defiance of the regime. By remembering the Apostle, we remember the virtues and the right of our people to fight for their freedom.

The Cuban American National Foundation must also extol, whenever the opportunity presents itself, the memory of the women that have gone through Castro's political prisons. Women like Caridad Roque, who is here with us this afternoon, and Gisela Sánchez. This is why we must remember that, when President Clinton speaks of the struggle of the people of Cuba, we cannot forget the humble presence here today of Vilma Fernández and her young son, Pablo, a Cuban woman that has just arrived from the island, without resources, forsaken, disoriented, uprooted, who left behind in

Castro's political prisons her husband and dissident leader, Pablo Reyes. Thank you, Vilma.

How many of us here know of Pablo Reyes? Pablo Reyes was a man who, with a tape recorder under his arm, for months and months dared to challenge Castro's tyranny by interviewing the Cuban people on the street and transmitting these interviews back to Cuba through the U.S. government's Radio Marti and The Voice of the Foundation radio. He was the first Cuban on the island who gathered hundreds of interviews from the general populace in Cuba in support of the Cuban Democracy Act, the bill sponsored by [Congressman] Robert Torricelli which is the cornerstone of our policy recommendations in the search for freedom and our efforts to redeem the rights of the Cuban people, a bill for which President Clinton has once again pledged his support this afternoon. Pablo was arrested on the charge of "independent journalism." In his dark and sad prison cell, amidst torture, Pablo Reyes must know that this video has also been made possible because he was courageous enough to give up his life, to sacrifice his family, their future and their well-being, so that the nations of the world would know that there are Cubans with dignity, who ask for solidarity, and who bear the sacrifice as examples to the world that the "eternal Cuba" -- the democratic Cuba of our forefathers' dreams -- has not perished in the heart and soul of the Cuban nation.

Think of Joel Dueñas, a young epileptic Cuban, imprisoned by the Castro dictatorship and later released on account of the international pressure brought to bear on the regime by the work, the perseverance and the persistence of the Cuban exile community, a community that 34 years later continues to cry out for freedom and justice for our people. An exile community, that like those remarkable Cubans I have just mentioned, place aside all partisanship and do not forget their heritage or the future of our people to which they, too, like all of us, belong.

Let us not forget the women of Cuba. Angela Herrera of the Cuban Democratic Coalition or Caridad Acuña of the Maceísta Movement for Dignity. Let us also remember those women who today remain in Castro's political prisons -- women like Carmen Arias, Maria Elena Aparicio and Aurea Feria. Let us remember Clara Boitel, a mother who saw her son assassinated in the political prisons of Cuba, just like the mother in the township of Regla that only a few days ago saw her son beaten to death by the repressive mobs of the Castro regime.

All of us in this room today are responsible for something that no one can deny us: having kept alive the torch of freedom and our love for Cuba, brightened by a resplendent light that has spanned the farthest reaches of our universe.

When the Cuban exile community has been the victim of powerful

critics, when we have unjustly received the permanent wrath of those that cannot admit nor recognize that our people continue the struggle after all these years, it has been the Cubans in the factories of places like Hialeah, the Cubans who last night watched with pride as Rafael Palmeiro of the Baltimore Orioles continued his hitting streak, the Cubans who, like those in the tobacco factories of Tampa and Key West a century ago during our War of Independence [from Spain], have persisted in their support, have held fast in the trenches, and have not lowered the flag of freedom and the hope of returning to a homeland of liberty, a homeland of prosperity.

That is why, on this occasion, as we anticipate that the end is near, as we observe that the President of the United States -- Democratic President Bill Clinton, in whom Castro had placed so much hope for a change in U.S. policy towards Cuba -- echoes the feeling of our people by saying that "for Cuba, the time has come", we must also pay homage to the Cubans in Hialeah, the Cubans in the factories of New Jersey and New York, and to those Cubans in California, in Puerto Rico, and even in Moscow, that have not forgotten their homeland.

The 20th of May is also a propitious date to extol the unity among our compatriots that we contemplate here today -- rich and poor, black and white, Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives. This is an excellent opportunity to reiterate a

promise that the Cuban American National Foundation has made: that we will never betray our people, that we will not fail those of you who have placed your trust on our shoulders, those of you that have managed to weather this storm for over 34 years.

Having faced Castro and his allies, like the Soviet Union and large segments of the world press, the Cuban American community, through virtue and hard work, has been able to overcome the petty differences that plague all humanity and are able today to tell the world that we Cuban Americans -- as we stated emphatically in the U.S. Congress -- are not going to apologize for our success, for our achievements, or for our triumphs. We are not going to be relegated to second class citizenship in this world.

If President Clinton, along with the civilized nations of the world, can procure, rightly so, the return to Haiti of the democratically elected President of that nation -- an action with which we sympathize and which has our support -- then the international community of nations, the U.S. government, and President Clinton should not prevent we Cubans from also attempting to restore in Cuba not a man but, more importantly, a democratic system, using the same resources that this country is willing to utilize. President Clinton has not discarded the possibility of the use of arms against the dictatorship in Haiti. This is a legitimate action in the eyes of this government and of the nations that make up the Security Council of the United Nations, which have

just set up an international embargo against Haiti. Beginning today, the Cuban American National Foundation will promote inside Cuba the same action that President Clinton undertakes for Haiti. Our resources will focus on Cuba itself in order to assist and aid our compatriots on the island so that, through the ways and means that the people of Cuba consider appropriate, a liberating action can take place that will finally bring together all Cubans in a democratic system of government with respect for human rights, as a path to achieve peace and happiness for our people. This is in the international arena.

On the national stage, we Cubans likewise are not going to become second class citizens. Accompanying us here today is a renowned Peruvian, Alvaro Vargas Llosa. Alvaro Vargas Llosa comes from a great literary, political, and historical heritage. He is an honest and a decent man. He was sharing with me moments ago the injustices committed by the international press against the Cuban exile community. My personal theory is that Castro would have become an insignificant factor in Cuba's history, easily overthrown, if not for the material aid he received from the Soviet Union and the moral and political support he received from a large segment of the world press.

Regarding what has recently transpired in Cuba on account of the recent efforts by some to set up a "dialogue" and come to an understanding with Castro, the Cuban exile community -- and

rightfully so -- has manifested its opposition and rejected the genuflection and the indignant and submissive conduct of those that met with Castro, which we all saw on television. As a result of a prudent, civilized, and dignified protest in which the exile community has participated, an organization that monitors human rights which has recently arrived in Miami, now wishes to investigate the norms of conduct of the Cuban exile community. I want to remind this human rights organization that there is no ethnic group in the history of the United States with a lower crime rate than of the Cuban American community. There is no ethnic group more respectful of the rights of citizens than the Cuban Americans. If Americans were not investigated by such groups -- and rightfully so -- when they protested against the war in Viet Nam, when they, right or wrong, took to the streets to protest the conflict in Southeast Asia, and if they do not investigate when Americans take to the streets to protest abortion, then they do not have a right to consider us second class citizens, with the acquiescence of the press, and try to take away our right to protest, to express our opinions decently and respectfully.

And we shall continue to knock on the doors of the U.S. Congress, the White House, the State Department, human rights organizations, the doors of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Argentine President Carlos Menem, and of all of the presidents that we have visited, to tell them that the Cuban people do not give up and do not surrender. We Cubans have set a precedent in this

country, a precedent that has surpassed that of the Poles, that of the Hungarians, that of the Rumanians, the Lithuanians and the Russian exiles. Thirty four years after our struggle began, the President of the United States recognizes what the Cuban exiles are doing. He does this when he acknowledges that the Cuban American National Foundation has placed the cause of a free Cuba center stage and has taken it to the embassies of the world. Today Castro is ostracized politically. Meanwhile, the Cuban exile community, backed by the right and reason that accompanies our cause, will continue to fight with the dignity and honor typical of our ethnic group in this diaspora, so that we are respected and granted consideration. We have received nothing free of charge. Nothing has been handed to us. Each one of you, stalwarts of this effort known as the Cuban American National Foundation, who donate thousands of dollars to this cause, has earned with his or her own hands, with the sacrifice of your pocketbook and the passion of your hearts, the right of participation that we have won in the political and economic landscape of this country, and which we are going to win in the history of mankind.

Without backing down or surrendering, we are going to re-establish a homeland and give back to our native country the freedom and democracy that it has not enjoyed in 34 years. We are not second class citizens in this world. The rights that are given, granted and recognized for the people of Haiti must be likewise recognized for the Cuban people. The right that all human beings

have and that all citizens of the free world enjoy to protest peacefully, must also be granted to the Cuban exiles. The world should know that we Cubans long ago stopped retreating. That we only know how to march forward with our heads held high. That we have our imperfections, we make mistakes, but we also have many virtues.

If this were not so, we could not share an afternoon like this with these political prisoners. One of them came up to me to pay a financial debt and I said to him: "We free Cubans are the ones who are indebted to you", to these political prisoners who have served 20, 25, 28 years of their lives without surrendering. A man like Roberto Martin Perez, who spent in solitary confinement 18 of the 28 years he served in political prison. There are so many political prisoners who have inspired us in this struggle, whose commitment to freedom has been ignored by a press sympathetic to Castro, but whose patriotism and dedication we honor. To exalt and praise what others wish to ignore and to forget. That is why, my friends, it is up to us, above all those of us in this room today, to think about and act upon what we hear and see each day.

Which of us here has not heard the horror stories of those Cubans who recently arrive from the island, the stories they tell, the tragedy they live and suffer, the sense of confusion they feel. Frequently we are horrified by what is happening in Cuba, the spiritual and moral trauma of our people, which is even worse than

the physical and material dilemma. At times, it looks as if our existence as a nation is actually disappearing. And yet, when one dreams, one builds. We must demonstrate, not only for others, but for ourselves, that through our dedication, and prudent yet daring action, we can provide a rebirth for the nation.

As the President of our Foundation, Pepe Hernández, told me yesterday during a meeting, a Cuban must not feel like the "balsero" (rafter) that successfully crossed the Straits of Florida a few days ago. His first sentence upon arriving here was, "I have been saved from Cuba." It saddens us, it breaks our hearts to have to listen to a Cuban say these words after being forced to abandon the homeland that lives immortally inside each of us. Our crisis is that we are losing our sense of nationhood. It is the responsibility of those of us here this afternoon, and of the thousands of others that could not attend this commemoration but who are united with us in the desire to see a dignified, honorable Cuba, to promote through our own dedicated efforts and our commitment to Cuba, this sense of nationhood.

We must take away from Castro what he has no right to possess. We must give back to the people of Cuba the sense of direction, purpose and belonging that this dictator has taken away from the Cuban people. It is up to us, fellow Cubans, to show others, as well as our own people, that our struggle has been guided not only by the desire to eradicate injustice in Cuba, but by the longing to

cultivate the virtues of a people that want to be respected, be free and be happy.

Liberty, respect for human rights, democracy, a multi-party system, frequent and fair elections, a free market economy, privatization, the decentralization and reduction of government, limits on governmental activities, and an affinity for the rich traditions of a society that has been purified by the heroism, sacrifice and dedication of the Cuban people must be the moral pillars upon which we base the republic of which we dream. That republic which the next 20th of May -- May 20, 1995 -- we will proclaim throughout the entire Republic of Cuba. A republic of liberty, of all Cubans united in one prayer. We long to repeat then the words of Cuban General Maximo Gomez who said to Jose Miguel Morales Gomez, after more than three decades of fighting for independence: "We have finally arrived." And with the tone of pride that is typical of our people, we will also reaffirm on that day what Cuba's first President, Tomas Estrada Palma, said in the Red Room of the Presidential Palace in Havana when U.S. General Leonard Wood, on another 20th of May gone by, turned over to him the presidency of the republic - "Do not forget that Carlos Manuel de Cespedes was the faith of the revolution, Marti was the prophet of independence." And let us all, together, proclaim on May 20th, 1995 -- as our forefathers did on that historic day nearly a century ago -- "A new republic. A republic born of the frustrations of so many years. The republic of which Marti once

dreamed and which all Cubans yearn. A republic in which respect for the dignity of each individual will become the first law of the land and the cornerstone stone of a great and new democracy."

Thank you.

Pool #4
July 18, 1994
Miami Int'l Airport

Just minutes before boarding Air Force One at Miami International Airport around 3:15 p.m., Clinton held an impromptu press conference. While the president spoke to the local press waiting at the airport, the national press was kept behind him, and due to airplane noise, out of earshot. He told reporters that he deplored the incident and that it was "another example of the brutal nature of the Cuban regime." Your pool knew nothing of this incident before arrival at the airport, but Dee Dee and Bruce Lindsey both said that the local press had been trying to ask the president about the incident earlier in the day. Here is Dee Dee's unconfirmed summary: the Cuban government firehosed a tugboat just off Cuban shores, causing the death of an undetermined number of people including, apparently, some children. Dee Dee had a Spanish language newspaper with a banner headline about the incident.

Clinton took one other question. Asked how long it would take before he'd make a decision on invading Haiti, he said he'd been talking with other countries and that "we haven't ruled anything out."

--Susan Miller, Newsweek

July 20, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY SODERBERG AND RICHARD FEINBERG

FROM: Joe Velasquez
SUBJECT: Cuban Boat Incident

As you know the attack by the Cuban government on the boat of escapees has become a major issue in Miami and in other Cuban American communities.

The President should issue a public statement condemning the attack. It would help our domestic politics considerably. I have no idea how it will affect other things we may have in play.

If you agree we should act on this today. Attached are some articles on the problem and a draft statement (that needs some work).

Please advise.

recent
During my trip to South Florida I saw the pain and suffering the Cuban *American Community* were experiencing because of the brutal act committed on July 13 by four Cuban fireboats; the sinking of a tugboat full of luckless escapees, among them women and children. Close to 40 are reported dead or missing, many having gone down with the tugboat.

The latest link in the long chain of Castroite atrocities, so long ignored by the mainstream international media, must not be tolerated. We must acknowledge the countless human rights violations that have occurred in Cuba, cited by the United Nations Commission of Human Rights and Amnesty International, among others.

The tragedy of people relentlessly oppressed by the world's oldest dictatorship; silenced by imprisonment and torture, risking death at sea for freedom must be openly condemned in the name of justice, freedom, and humanity. The United States cannot remain silent while people are being brutalized anywhere in the world.

In the words of Cuban hero, Jose Marti, "to watch a crime in silence is to condone it."

Sinking of tugboat off Cuba 'brutal,' Clinton says

Symbolic wakes staged in Havana, sources report

By CYNTHIA CORZO
Herald Staff Writer

The sinking of a refugee-laden tugboat by four Cuban fireboats Wednesday — an incident in which about 40 people were reported missing or dead — has aroused the anger of Cubans on the island and a strong condemnation from President Clinton.

"It's a human tragedy," said Clinton, who was in Miami on Monday to attend the opening of the National Council of La Raza's annual convention. "I deplore it as . . . another example of the brutal nature of the Cuban regime."

According to sources in Cuba, symbolic wakes to honor the dead have been staged in the Havana suburbs of El Cotorro and Guanabacoa.

"They're sowing the seeds of the people's wrath," David Buzzi, a human rights activist, said in a phone call from Havana. "It's a criminal act and the people cry for justice."

A Mass for the dead will be said today at 2 p.m. at the Havana Cathedral, according to information received Monday by the Cuban American National Foundation.

Traditionally, public demonstrations in Cuba have been quashed by the authorities, and demonstrators are often imprisoned.

"The people have taken to the streets," said Mercedes Marrero, 46, a Miami resident with relatives in Cuatro Caminos, a Havana neighborhood. Six of

*'They're sowing the
seeds of the people's
wrath.'*

DAVID BUZZI,
human rights activist in Havana

those relatives were in the tugboat; three are missing and presumed dead; three survived. The tugboat reportedly carried 72 people when it was rammed and sunk by fireboats.

The crews of the fireboats "committed murder," Marrero said. "Those poor innocent people [on the tugboat] were seeking freedom."

A nephew in Cuba told Marrero in a phone call that, after knocking refugees overboard using high-pressure hoses, the fireboats made eddies to drag the people underwater.

Most of the people died inside the tugboat, Marrero said, when the fireboat crews aimed their hoses at the hold and filled it with water.

Cuban officials in Washington rejected the accounts of the survivors and their relatives, calling them "lies."

"This is all part of the campaign against the Cuban revolution," said Rafael Dausa, a special envoy at the Cuban Interests Section.

Dausa said the Cuban government "is doing everything possible to bring this unpleasant incident to an end."

Murder at sea

Has our hemisphere grown so used to the Cuban regime's savagery that it cannot summon a cry of outrage for the nearly 40 Cuban refugees sent to their watery deaths by Fidel Castro's government? The "prudent" silence over Cuba's murderous sinking of a tugboat loaded with escapees is without justification.

Would this complicitous silence greet the murder of innocent men, women, and children fleeing other places? The murdered refugees' only crime was to make a desperate attempt to flee Cuba. Soon after the group of 72 began their escape aboard a decrepit tug, Cuban fire fighting boats attacked them. According to eyewitnesses, the refugees signaled their readiness to surrender and to return to port. The escapees even held up some of the small children for the

BY CASTRO'S AGENTS
The Cuban regime's murder of escaping refugees ought to inspire outrage — particularly among Cuba's foreign business partners.

attackers to see, screaming that more than 20 children were on board.

Such pleas did not deter Castro's men, who turned potent fire hoses on the refugee vessel, sweeping passengers overboard. The pursuit craft then rammed the tugboat repeatedly, capsizing

it. Tragically, all of the children hiding in the tug's hold apparently died. The adult survivors are in jail. Where on earth is a mute world's conscience?

Countries with substantial investments in Cuba — Spain, Mexico, and a few others — have a special obligation to denounce this crime perpetrated by Cuba's government against the unarmed refugees. Like investors in the South Africa of apartheid, Cuba's foreign business partners ought to feel particularly ashamed of the actions of the regime that their capital is helping to sustain.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR LULA RODRIGUEZ

From: Joe Velasquez

Subject: Attached Letter and Memoranda Regarding Cuba

Can you tell me what you think of the following letter from R.E. Fernandez?

The memo from Lauredo is FYI.

Thanks for your help.

FERNANDEZ & SANDERSON, P.A.
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

R.E. FERNANDEZ
STUART W. SANDERSON

OF COUNSEL
ELIO E. MULLER, JR.

109 SOUTH MOODY
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33609
(813) 251-5991
FAX (813) 254-7532

July 25, 1994

Joe Velasquez
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Deputy Director of
Political Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Velasquez:

First of all allow me to thank you for meeting with my daughter, Laura Ann, on an hour's notice. The presidency of Girls' Nation was a remarkable experience for her and obviously for the rest of the family.

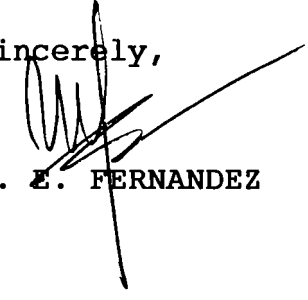
It was a pleasure meeting with you for breakfast at the White House. As promised I am enclosing a copy of a letter previously sent to the President. Again the letter makes no reference to the most recent developments involving the detention in the Florida Keys of Colonel Orlando Rodriguez, United States Army retired. As you may recall from our conversation Orlando Rodriguez has a chest full of metals earned while honorably serving this country. The Border Patrol agents that detained him treated him in a way unbecoming any member of law enforcement. This incident adds fuel to the fire we are facing with the lack of prosecution of the pro-Castro violators, on one hand, and the continuing arrests and detention of Cuban-Americans and Cuban freedom fighters. I have enclosed two articles for your review on increasing scrutiny on the "free" Cubans.

During our discussion I told you of the problem in Florida in terms of continuing to gain support from the Cuban-American community towards the Democratic Party and this administration. Just as Mr. Mas Canosa told you there is a perception that the President is receding from his campaign position on Cuba. In terms of articulate facts you asked about, supporting my opinion, I would further point out that just a couple of months ago while I was at the Bal Harbour fundraiser a reference to Cuba was deleted from the President's speech and added back at the last minute after heated discussion. I hope the gains we have worked so very hard to make are not eroded by the concerns I voiced at our meeting.

Joe Velasquez
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Deputy Director of
Political Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20500
July 25, 1994
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I will be glad to keep you posted of developments and will await your reply on the subject of my letter to the President. My meeting at Foreign Assets was most productive and I left with an impression that they are truly enforcement oriented. The problem is that after I visited Justice and the State Department, everyone's perception appears to support the one I shared with you. I am fully confident with support from the White House we can correct what you said was a misconception and what I believe is a clear impression. Again let's make sure Florida is instrumental in keeping the President on course six more years.

Sincerely,



R. E. FERNANDEZ

REF/ir

FERNANDEZ & SANDERSON, P.A.
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

R.E. FERNANDEZ
STUART W. SANDERSON

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July 6, 1994

Bill Clinton, President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

It is with tremendous concern and a deep sense of respect for your office that I bring for your consideration an issue of great importance to all Cuban-Americans in this country. In the last three months Florida has become an example of the application of unequal justice. The consequences of continuing in this posture are far reaching and indeed could set a dangerous national precedent. I believe in your commitment to the restoration of a free and democratic form of government in Cuba and your support of efforts that will achieve that result. Likewise, I know your administration would never allow the promotion of disrespect for the laws of this land.

As you know, the Cuban social and economic structure has collapsed. While other countries invest in Cuba it is well known that the regime's salvation could only come from American tourism and related business ventures. Faced with crisis and no longer enjoying the Soviet subsidy, in the last two years the Cuban government has promulgated plans that if carried out successfully will lead to the abrogation of the embargo, more appropriately called the Trading With The Enemy Act. As part of this plan, Roberto Robaina, the Cuban Minister of Foreign Relations, has suggested the creation of a climate for change which includes academic, cultural and athletic interchanges as a way to reach the traditionally more liberal and probably more gullible sectors of the American people. Castro has thus enlisted new agents of influence to develop Cuba's interests here in America.

About three months ago a fellow by the name of Bob Winters began promoting a yacht race from Sarasota to Havana. By his own admissions we were able to establish that he was closely associated with U.S./Cuba trade specialists in Washington, D.C. as well as Orlando Perez and other Cuban government officials in Havana. Winters visited Cuba a number of times in preparation of this ill fated event, at all times promoting the "humanitarian" aspects of

Bill Clinton, President
Washington, D.C. 20500
July 6, 1994
Page Two

the trip. The Cuban-American community was outraged at developing information and I personally provided voluminous evidence to officials of the City of Sarasota, to the Sarasota Sailing Squadron, to race participants directly, and most important of all, to the appropriate federal law enforcement agencies including the Federal Bureau of Investigations and Customs.

As the date of the race approached, much publicity began to surround claimed threats of violence against the participants, ostensibly by the Cuban-Americans here in this country. Nothing could have been further from reality. Peaceful protests were exemplary in the exhibition of tolerance. Law enforcement in Sarasota commended me for the commitment and the fulfillment of the same. Meanwhile Winters, Aligood, Perez, Robaina and others must have laughed loudly as they witnessed what was taking place. Here were Cuban agents of influence openly discussing with sailors the avoidance of paper trails, how they would violate the law, how no one was going to tell them where to travel, how they could spend their money where they wished, how the embargo provisions were going to be violated, all in the presence of men and women who had withstood decades of imprisonment in Castro's jails for their political ideology and who held back as they had never done before. The Cuban-Americans and ex-political prisoners waited and trusted the system and all their activities remained within the law.

As predicted, Winters arrived in Havana and began to promote the sale of memberships at the Cuban yacht club, Marina Hemingway. The Cuban hosts hosted very little. News reporters who went on the trip have written dozens of stories of fistfuls of U.S. dollars being spent by the sailors. Carts loaded with souvenirs, rum and cigars were emptied into the vessels. Tours visited nightclubs like Tropicana and even the Museum of the Revolution. The marina alone was documented to have made more money for the Cuban government the first day the sailors arrived than in the previous six months. Winters has now decided to stay in Cuba, has left his wife and son, his house and his debts behind and is working for the Cuban government. Eighty-six yachts and over four hundred Americans violated statutory provisions that subject the vessels to seizures and each individual outside of the media to penalties of up to ten years and \$50,000.00 in fines for each violation, as set forth in 31 C.F.R. 515.201 et seq. Upon their return, the sailors and the promoter, Sarasota Sailing Squadron, have basically disassociated themselves from Winters, extended an unaccepted qualified apology which serves no purpose, and continue to rant and rave fearlessly about violating federal law. To them it is all a big joke, a good time, no harm done. To the rest of America, it is anarchy.

Bill Clinton, President
Washington, D.C. 20500
July 6, 1994
Page Three

Mr. President, Rolando Nieves, a political prisoner for sixteen years who among other terrible experiences survived the infamous "drawers" at San Ramon in Cuba and Antonio Perez-Quesada, four scores old at the time he was prosecuted for doing the same thing he had done for the CIA fifty-six times before, were standing next to me on October 14, 1988, when a magistrate in Key West refused to grant them bond because he found they were a danger to America. Detained they awaited trial for six months because they possessed gasoline, black powder and detonators in a craft headed outside of United States territorial waters, never intending to violate any American law or do anything but act consistent with efforts they believed would help liberate their homeland. You may recall back in 1988 the Cold War was still a bit chilly and barbed wire and gun turrets separated the East from the West. Not long after their acquittal I was present at Perez-Quesada's funeral, as he never recovered from a cold that began during his detention in a federal institution. Since that first case, I have defended other freedom fighters, all of course pro bono and always the reason given by government agents was the law. As one prosecutor told me "...I don't have my heart in this Ralph, but we are not a nation of heroes, we are a nation of laws."

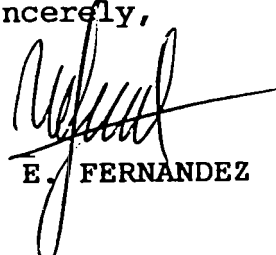
I have been asked by federal authorities to in essence prepare a case for prosecutorial review involving the embargo violations. Mr. President, I should not have to do the homework for this nation. I have exposed my family, my friends and myself to great danger over the last few years. A quick call to the FBI's intelligence unit will confirm that Cuba's DGI has executed anti-Castro leaders while on American soil. Cuban defectors such as General Rafael Del Pino and DGI Colonel Florentino Aspillaga have been debriefed and have confirmed these homicides. I have in my possession tapes and letters of threats against Eusebio Penalver, a former commander of Castro's rebel army and now the Afro-Cuban president of the World Federation of Cuban Former Political Prisoners who spent twenty-eight years in Cuba's prisons and who has yet to visit the White House under any administration; of threats against Roberto Pizano, another ex-political prisoner of eighteen years and the only democratically elected leader of any Cuban community and the representative of this area, and of course, me.

We have earned the scorn of Castro's people and of a very small but vocal percentage of individuals in America who in some way support his government. Then I read newspapers and I have to tell these valiant men and women not to believe what they have read, to continue abiding by the law, and to exhibit restraint, for at some point there will be justice. And again we read, see and hear that other groups are using the regatta as an example that

Bill Clinton, President
Washington, D.C. 20500
July 6, 1994
Page Four

America will not enforce its laws. Mr. President, as the most important political leader in this planet, which you are, I ask you if you think defiance of federal law in the great state of Florida is just? Is this a nation of laws except for the privileged few? Have you changed your position from the final days of your campaign and your strong endorsement of the Cuba Democracy Act, which position prompted then President George Bush to sign it in Miami? Mr. President I believe the answers are all the same, a resounding no. I ask you to direct the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Treasury to enforce the law.

Sincerely,



R. E. FERNANDEZ

REF/ir

Copies to:

Janet Reno, Attorney General
Lloyd Bentsen, Secretary of Treasury
Bob Graham, United States Senator
Connie Mack, United States Senator
Sam M. Gibbons, United States Congressman
Lawton Chiles, Governor

FLORIDA

The Herald

SECTION
FRIDAY,
JULY 22, 1994

B

Rescue group members investigated

TAMPA — (AP) — Four members of a group that helps rescue Cuban refugees fleeing the island nation are the targets of a U.S. Border Patrol probe.

The members of Operacion Libertad, which means Operation Liberty, face federal charges for rescuing 22 Cubans whose raft had washed ashore in the Florida Keys, officials said.

Border Patrol spokesman Michael Sheehy refused comment, saying the investigation is still under way.

"They say what we did was legally wrong," said retired Army Col. Orlando Rodriguez, a Cuban native who served in the U.S. Special Forces and lives in Tampa. "But we feel what we did was morally right. We did not set out to break any laws."

Rodriguez said he, boat captain Tony Zas and his wife Maria, and Aldo Fernandez sailed out of Marathon July 12. A day later, the group spotted a mirror reflecting from Cay Sal

Banks, a cluster of rocks between Cuba and the Keys. The crew drew closer and found 22 Cubans clinging to a rock, their raft destroyed.

"The family was desperate and crying," Rodriguez said. "When that woman handed me her 10-year-old boy and said, 'Save him,' none of us had the heart to leave those people."

The crew tried to radio the U.S. Coast Guard after finding the Cubans, but there was no

response, Rodriguez said. Zas said the crew took the refugees to the Coast Guard station in Marathon.

The Border Patrol subsequently seized their 31-foot boat and questioned the crew for several hours before releasing them.

The crew said the Border Patrol told them they could be in violation of three laws: smuggling aliens, overloading the boat and not carrying enough life jackets.

Crew captains are required to

help to seafarers in distress under federal law. Unless their own crew or boat is endangered, captains face a \$1,000 fine and up to two years in prison for not providing assistance.

At the same time, U.S. immigration law prohibits picking up refugees en route to a foreign port and bringing them to the United States.

"We might have broken U.S. law, but we didn't break God's law," Zas said. "We made a human decision."

FLORIDA FOCUS

Search for boy, 10, intensifies

By TOM SHARP
Associated Press

GATLINBURG, Tenn. — Floridian Phillip Roman fought back tears Thursday describing his 10-year-old son, who has been missing in the Great Smoky Mountains for three days.

"He is a strong boy. He plays football.



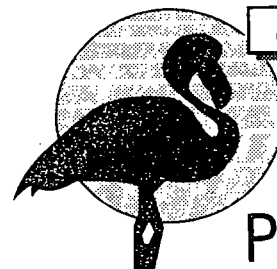
Tribe seeks to overturn Everglades legislation

Attorney claims act is a 'breach of trust'

By LORI ROZSA
Herald Staff Writer

The Micosukee Indians, outraged over what they call a woe-

SALES



4 5 6 7 17
FANTASY 5
 LOS NUMEROS GANADORES DE AYER
CASH 3 1 4 8
PLAY 4 6 6 1 5

B

VIERNES 22 DE JULIO DE 1994 / EL NUEVO HERALD

Comandos de exiliados bajo la lupa de EU

Por **ALFONSO CHARDY**
 Redactor de El Miami Herald

El gobierno de Estados Unidos está incrementando la vigilancia de los grupos de comandos de cubanos exiliados porque cree que están preparando nuevos ataques a los turistas y a las instalaciones dedicadas a fines turísticos en Cuba.

Durante los últimos ocho meses, por lo menos media docena de embarcaciones y más de 100 armas pertenecientes a distintos comandos fueron confiscadas y retenidas por agentes de aduana de Estados Unidos. Las operaciones se llevaron a cabo con la colaboración de fuerzas de la Oficina Federal de Investigación (FBI) asignadas para vigilar las actividades de los comandos, manifestó un oficial federal

relacionado con las operaciones.

Las enérgicas medidas marcan un cambio en la actitud oficial estadounidense hacia los comandos de exiliados. En la década de los 60, la Agencia Central de Inteligencia (CIA) financió y organizó ampliamente la invasión de Bahía de Cochinos y las subsiguientes operaciones contra Castro. A pesar de que el gobierno estadounidense comenzó a desalentar las operaciones de los comandos en 1970, no retenía los equipos confiscados durante mucho tiempo.

"Durante los años 70 y los 80, las autoridades nos devolvían rápidamente las armas y las embarcaciones", dijo Sargén. "Ahora no nos las devuelven".

Paul Miller, un vocero del FBI en Miami, declinó hacer ningún comentario.

Pero Michael Sheehan, un vocero del Departamento de Aduanas de Estados Unidos, dijo que efectivamente las autoridades federales están preocupadas por el hecho de que los comandos pudieran amenazar la seguridad de los viajeros a Cuba.

"Nuestra preocupación es que vayan allí y agredan a personas inocentes o a turistas, como pudiera suceder en un tiroteo cualquiera en los Estados Unidos", dijo Sheehan.

Entre los equipos recientemente incautados se cuentan armas y cuatro embarcaciones de Alfa 66, la más antigua organización paramilitar de exiliados en Miami. Los agentes federales también están vigilando estrechamente las actividades de otros grupos de exiliados que han hecho declaraciones públicas acerca de acciones

militares en Cuba, dijo la fuente federal. Los principales entre ellos son un grupo que se separó de Alfa 66 y la Unidad Cubana, manifestó.

Andrés Nazario Sargén, el líder de Alfa 66, confirmó que, desde febrero, los agentes federales habían incautado barcos y armas pertenecientes a su organización, pero negó que hubieran estado planeando atacar a turistas o a sitios turísticos en Cuba.

"Nuestra estrategia sigue siendo la misma", dijo Sargén, "ayudar a fomentar una rebelión armada en Cuba".

Sin embargo, la fuente manifestó que los agentes federales estaban particularmente preocupados con Alfa 66, ya que

VEA COMANDOS, 2

Camitar

DAME UN POQUITO



OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

PHONE: (202) 456-6257
FAX: (202) 456-7929

JOE VELASQUEZ TOM EPSTEIN RETA LEWIS LINDA MOORE

ETER SHAKOW JOE TRAHERN KAREN ANDERSON MAUREEN ATTA

OTHER _____

cc:

LULA RODRIGUEZ

date:

ex Number:

205-0792

Office Number:

message:

of Pages 14
(including cover)



Summit of the Americas 1994

Suzanna Joe
FVI
Reta
175 N.W. First Avenue
Miami, Florida 33128
(305) 372-1994
Fax (305) 372-1993

MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 25, 1994
TO: Reta Lewis
FROM: Luis Lauredo *LL/en*
RE: RADIO & TV MARTI

Attached you will find good coverage of President Clinton's support of Radio and TV Marti in Diario Las Americas, as well as publication of the President's letter to Dr. Horacio Aguirre, all on Page 1.

Please share with Suzanna Valdez and Joe Velazquez.

Regards.

LL/en

Attachment

cc: Suzanna Valdez
Joe Velazquez

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY SODERBERG

FROM: JOE VELASQUEZ

SUBJECT: Radio and TV Marti and the Cuban Community

Just a note to say thanks for giving us a heads up on the Radio and TV Marti letter last week. A simple thing like that got us front page coverage and good press in Miami.

I've attached the articles, *quales son en Espanol, para su informacion.*

We should keep this success in mind.

Thanks.

**Samper anuncia que
encarcelará a los jefes del
"cartel" de Cali**

Página 2-A

**Vigilia patentiza el luto por
las víctimas del castrismo**

Página 1-B

**Instituto Cervantes
abrirá tres centros en la
Europa del Este**

Página 14-B

CERRAR
A EDICION

Departamento de
Estado desmiente
versión publicada en
Argentina sobre aviso
de actos terroristas

WASHINGTON, D.C. (Es-
pecial para DIARIO LAS
AMERICAS) En vista de
que algunos diarios argen-
tinos han hecho eco de una
falsa conversación entre
Embajador Robert Gel-
bard, Subsecretario de Esta-
do de los Estados Unidos con
Embajador argentino Jor-
ge Vázquez, en el sentido de
que el Embajador Gelbard
habría dicho en el pasado mes de
marzo al Secretario de Es-
tado para Seguridad e Inte-
rrelaciones de Argentina, Dr.
Carlos Anzorreguy, sobre la
posibilidad de un acto terro-
rista como el acaecido en
Buenos Aires, el Departa-
mento de Estado de los
Estados Unidos, ha informado que
no existe tal conversación ni
informe.

Apoyo incondicional de Clinton a Radio y TV Martí

Por RAUL VERRIER

El presidente de Estados Unidos, Bill Clinton en una carta enviada al presidente del Senado reiteró su apoyo incondicional a la continuación de las actividades de Radio y Televisión Martí. En su carta Clinton expresa:

Estimado presidente:

Le estoy escribiendo para exponerle mi apoyo a Radio y Televisión Martí. Durante mi campaña presidencial, activamente apoyé el buen trabajo de Radio y Televisión Martí, ahora como Presidente he asegurado que mi administración respaldará firmemente a la oficina de transmisiones a Cuba en sus esfuerzos por llevar la verdad a esa nación. Estimo que tanto Radio Martí

• *Facilitó la intervención presidencial rechazando una enmienda reduciendo los fondos para Radio y TV Martí.*

• *Aprueba el pleno del Senado enmienda condenando al régimen cubano por el hundimiento del remolcador "13 de Marzo".*

• *Poema "Barbarie", de Luis Mario, inspirado en el hundimiento del remolcador "13 de Marzo", en la página 14-B.*

como Televisión Martí han hecho una genuina contribución a la causa de los derechos humanos y la democracia en el hemisferio. Ambas emisoras han promovido los objetivos a corto y largo plazo de la política de Estados Unidos.

Apoyándolas a ambas será enviar un fuerte mensaje de solidaridad a esos que luchan en cualquier parte contra la tiranía. Quiero agradecerle su apoyo en este avance de nuestros intereses nacionales asegurando que el

pueblo cubano debe tener libre acceso a noticias no manipuladas e informaciones cuyo represivo régimen le niega. Estoy urguyendo al Congreso para que apoye mi petición en favor de Radio y Televisión Martí.

Sinceramente,
Bill Clinton

La carta está dirigida al honorable Ernest F. Hollings, presidente del Comité de Apropiaciones del Senado.

La carta del Presidente fue enviada al senador Ernest F. Ho-

llings, presidente del comité senatorial de apropiaciones en ocasión de discutirse el proyecto de enmienda a los fondos de Televisión Martí recientemente aprobado por el Senado.

El senador republicano Bob Dole, en su defensa de mantener esos fondos dijo: "Este no es un asunto de partidos, la Administración quiere dinero para Radio y Televisión Martí, ya que las mismas defienden los intereses de Estados Unidos, apoyo al Presidente y apoyo TV Martí" agre-

(Pasa a la Pág.13-A Col.1)

**En el aniversario 41 de
DIARIO LAS AMERICAS**

**"DIARIO LAS AMERICAS
es un magnífico ejemplo de la noble
tradición periodística estadounidense"**

**Ordena Clinton "aumento
inmediato y masivo" de**

...poyándolas a ambas será en-
...ar un fuerte mensaje de solida-
...dad a esos que luchan en cual-
...quier parte contra la tiranía.
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La carta del Presidente fue
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(Pasa a la Pág.13-A Col.1)

En el aniversario 41 de DIARIO LAS AMERICAS

umento vo" de nda

**"DIARIO LAS AMERICAS
es un magnífico ejemplo de la noble
tradición periodística estadounidense"**

*Dice el Presidente Clinton con motivo del
aniversario cuarenta y uno de este periódico*

El Director de DIARIO LAS AMERICAS ha recibido del presidente de los Estados Unidos, Bill Clinton, en ocasión del cuarenta y un aniversario de la fundación de este periódico, el siguiente mensaje cuyos honrosos conceptos publicamos con agradecimiento:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, 15 de julio de 1994

Felicidades a los escritores, personal y a todos los que dan su respaldo al DIARIO LAS AMERICAS en ocasión de celebrar ustedes su aniversario cuarenta y uno.

Su periódico es un magnífico ejemplo de la noble tradición periodística estadounidense. Ustedes son un mensajero para las comunidades de habla española a través del Hemisferio, comunicando fielmente algunos de los más dramáticos e inspiradores acontecimientos de la historia de nuestra nación. Su periódico contribuye mucho a la comunidad cubanoamericana y es parte integral del rico ancestro cultural de nuestra nación.

Deben de sentirse orgullosos de producir una publicación tan exitosa y tan leída. La longevidad del Diario es un tributo a la calidad de su personal y de los lectores que han apoyado a este excelente periódico desde 1953.

Mis mejores deseos por su éxito continuado.

Bill Clinton

A continuación publicamos con agradecimiento el texto de otra carta recibida con motivo del aniversario 41 de DIARIO LAS AMERICAS celebrado el lunes 4 de julio de 1994.

NESTOR CARBONELL CORTINA

22 de julio de 1994

Dr. Horacio Aguirre
Director
DIARIO LAS AMERICAS

Mi distinguido amigo:

...del cuadragésimo primer aniversario de la fundación
...a sus hijos y a

por la vida

una de sus manos una botella de
aplicado a su esposa en el campo
tras que la enferma da el pecho a
). Más de un millón de ruandeses
dos en Zaire y según las Naciones
de ellos. (Telefoto AFP).

Ordena Clinton "aumento inmediato y masivo" de la ayuda

(Viene de la Pág.1-A)

to de EE.UU. también aumentará la capacidad de recepción de ayuda en la zona del este de Zaire, donde están los campamentos de refugiados, y les abastecerá de agua potable para combatir el brote de cólera que se ha declarado en la región.

Como medidas más urgentes, Clinton anunció el envío, de 20 millones de bolsas individuales que contienen un tratamiento para hidratar a la población afectada.

Según fuentes del gobierno, en estas operaciones participará un millar de militares estadounidenses procedentes de las bases

de EE.UU. en Europa, pero el Pentágono ha precisado que su misión será sólo humanitaria.

El Presidente indicó que Estados Unidos apoyará el inmediato despliegue de una misión de paz de la ONU en Ruanda, de modo que la situación política del país se establezca y los refugiados puedan regresar a sus lugares de origen.

"El doble objetivo de esta misión es, primero, ayudar a los refugiados, y después crear las condiciones de seguridad para que puedan regresar a sus lugares de origen", dijo.

Asimismo, en su mensaje a las nuevas autoridades de Kigali, Clinton dijo que su reconocimiento por parte de la comunidad internacional, incluido Estados Unidos, "depende de la formación de un gobierno de amplia base, del respeto a la ley y de sus esfuerzos por promover la reconciliación nacional".

La grave situación de los refugiados ruandeses comenzó en abril, al desencadenarse una guerra civil entre los miembros de las tribus tutsi y hutu, a raíz de la muerte en atentado del presidente del país, Juvenal Habyarimana, de la etnia hutu.

Apoyo incondicional de Clinton a Radio y TV Martí

(Viene de la Pág.1-A)

gando: "No enviemos una señal a Castro en el sentido que su resistencia es la razón para terminar nuestros esfuerzos en apoyo a la libertad. Nosotros no terminamos Radio Europa Libre o Radio Libertad, porque la Unión Soviética interfiriera sus transmisiones. Radio y Televisión Martí son la única forma para que el pueblo en la isla pueda escuchar sobre sus compatriotas muertos mientras trataban de encontrar la libertad la semana pasada. No demos una victoria a Castro una semana después del asesinato de inocentes mujeres y niños cubanos".

La enmienda de Bob Dole restaurando los fondos cortados por la Cámara de Representantes fue copatrocinada por el senador

republicano por la Florida, Connie Mack, que en su mensaje al Pleno del Congreso dijo: "La TV Martí envía un importante mensaje de libertad al pueblo de Cuba, ella debe continuar transmitiendo ese mensaje de la esperanza".

Seguidamente al retiro de la enmienda del senador Max Baucus, se procedió a la lectura y aprobación por amplio margen de una enmienda conjunta de los senadores Dole y Mack donde se condena al hundimiento del remolcador "13 de Marzo" por agentes del gobierno de Cuba. La enmienda en su apéndice B establece que:

1.— El Senado de Estados Unidos condena al gobierno de Cuba por el deliberado hundimiento

del "13 de Marzo" que provocó la muerte de alrededor de 40 cubanos entre ellos 20 niños.

2.— El Senado urge al Presidente para que solicite del representante permanente de Estados Unidos en las Naciones Unidas para que pida una resolución del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas que:

a) Condene el hundimiento del "13 de Marzo".

b) Facilite una investigación total supervisada internacionalmente sobre el incidente y

c) Urge al gobierno cubano a dejar en libertad y cesar de intimidar a todos los sobrevivientes del hundimiento del "13 de Marzo".

Explotación petrolera en Cuba podría dañar a playas de la Florida y a Varadero

(Viene de la Pág.1-A)

agua, con una plataforma (jack-up) denominada Stainton Atena, que no aparece registrada en ninguna de las publicaciones técnicas de la materia, y un equipo inadecuado podría provocar un derrame de petróleo que las corrientes marinas pudieran llevar no sólo a Varadero, sino a las playas de la Florida, con sus desastrosas consecuencias ambientales".

Las posibilidades de un derrame y sus consecuencias en caso de volver a encontrar petróleo en la zona que están perforando, fueron sugeridas

pozo Cupey 1, que fue perforado por la Canadian-Northwestern, subsidiaria de la compañía Sherritt, inc., que importa y asesora la producción de nickel de Cuba.

Estas informaciones sobre el trasiego de compañías extranjeras que están lucrando con los recursos y riquezas de Cuba -aprovechando esta especie de liquidación que les está ofreciendo Fidel Castro en su desesperada apuesta por la supervivencia- son parte del cuadro total de la explotación petrolera como parte del proyecto mediante el cual el tirano Castro está entregando el país

MEMO OF ACTION

TO: Ram Emmanuel, Director
Office of Political Affairs, The White House

FROM: Maria Elena Torano

RE: Cuban-American Entrepreneurship, Consultation to Russia

DATE: March 17, 1993

Since the days of the Carter administration, the hard line attitude toward Cuba, shared by the U.S. government and Cuban-American exiles, has been changing—although not publicly. Right-wing, conservative elements, who make a living out of keeping the "Cuban issue" alive, still control the airwaves in South Florida and feed the local population with expectations of imminent change in Cuba, and promote a continuation of the stay-tough policy. Cuban baby-boomers, however, are more receptive to exploring options. The Cuban issue, therefore, remains highly sensitive, requiring careful addressing by the Clinton administration.

There have been some viable interactions between Cuban-Americans and Yeltsin, starting with his visit to Miami in late 1989 while Gorbachev was still in power. Since that time, there have been several meetings between leaders of the conservative Cuban American National Foundation (Jorge Mas Canosa) and the new Russian leadership both in Moscow and Miami. It is my belief that the Foundation successfully established strong rapport with Russian policy makers resulting in a better understanding and warmer relationships between Moscow and Miami. Some important decisions, such as moving the Aeroflot operation from Havana to Miami, were concrete results of that new understanding.

Since Bush left office, however, the involvement of Cuban-Americans ceased in certain foreign policy issues affecting Russian/Cuban relations. There is now a vacuum of representation that needs to be filled. Although diminishing somewhat, the Foundation continues to have a strong power base among Miami's Cubans, but lacks access in this new administration. It is important, therefore, to find alternative Cuban-American leaders who are more aligned with the Clinton administration's values and ideas. While not as visible as Mas Canosa, they do exist. In an effort to identify a few for you, within the next two weeks I will provide a list of "characters" who know the Cuban issue well and who could become valuable resources to the President and Secretary Christopher.

Following his participation in the Clinton-Yeltsin April 9 meeting, I believe it is important for Secretary Christopher to visit Miami and to meet with business and community leaders to brief them on the U.S./Russian initiatives. I am enclosing a letter of invitation sent to Christopher by former Ambassador to Panama Ambler Moss, currently Dean of Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Miami, offering to facilitate a forum to address hemispheric issues. This could be an appropriate platform from which to address this critical issue in Miami if it includes a properly coordinated agenda and a selective guest list. This could be a very symbolic step, recognizing that the majority of residents in South Florida have suffered the Communist experience and would identify and wholeheartedly support the President's agenda. In other words, Ram, let the Clinton administration and Cuban-Americans embrace Russia's democratic struggle together.

A number of follow-up actions should be established, but it is difficult for me to develop a complete strategy in 72 hours. The Christopher visit could be the beginning of a process to recapture the Cuban-American vote, and it will give us Clinton supporters a good beginning on which to build.

One such follow-up action is based upon the belief that perhaps no other business group in the U.S. understands more completely the differences in doing business under both a Communist and Market Economy than Cuban-Americans. No other immigrant group in recent U.S. history has made that transition more successfully or more rapidly. Cuban-American business persons are avid proponents of Democracy and own too-vivid memories of the failures of Communism. In Florida, Cuban-Americans have succeeded where others have failed because of a strong entrepreneurial talent and an indomitable will to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to succeed.

Since the fall of Communism in Europe, expectations of a free Cuba have led local Cuban-Americans to study in great detail what needs to be done in Cuba itself to help those who were brought up under Communism and whose work values are so different from that of workers and business people in a Market Economy. Cuban-Americans believe they have the know-how to help others achieve similar success as independent, entrepreneurial business owners.

* Given that it is in the interest of the U.S. government to help the Russian government preserve and enhance its efforts to convert from a Communistic to a Market Economy; and

* Given that it is in the interest of President Clinton and the Democratic Party to win the support of the Florida Cuban-American community,

I suggest the following:

1. The U.S. government should establish a special volunteer program composed of successful Cuban-American entrepreneurs to go to Russia as soon as possible to act as

pro-bono independent consultants to small, family-owned, start-up Russian companies. It is our belief that they would be well-accepted in Russia because of their similar experiences with both economic systems, and because of their personal backgrounds starting and successfully operating retail, wholesale, manufacturing and service companies here in the U.S.

2. Establish an exchange bringing Russian workers, technicians, professionals, etc., to the U.S. as AID did with the Peace Scholarship program in Latin America and the Caribbean. Miami could be one of the key cities for the exchange.
3. President Clinton personally should come here to Miami to announce the formation of the above programs and his selection of a local Cuban-American Democrat to lead the effort. The personal visit is important to show that a Democratic U.S. president has respect for the energy and talent of Cuban-Americans and that their contribution is important and valued. Such an action might well go a long way toward capturing much of the pivotal Cuban-American vote here at the same time helping the Russian entrepreneur.

Enclosure



March 18, 1993

2000 North 14th Street, Suite 450
Arlington, Virginia 22201
703-243-3608 Fax 703-243-2317

Mr. Ram Emmanuel
Director, Office of Political Affairs
The White House
West Wing
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ram:

Your response to my suggestion that the Administration use the Russian Democratic initiative to gain some political capital in Miami was most encouraging.

Having planned a trip to Paris with a departure on March 18, I did not want to wait until my return on March 30 to send a preliminary document to you.

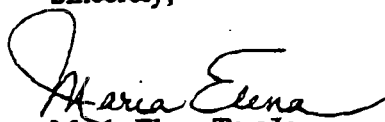
The ideas need careful evaluation and refinement, but at least they give an historical perspective of what has occurred in building Russian and Cuban-American relations under the Bush Administration. It is important that we don't drop the ball now!

I hope this document sparks some interest and that we can further discuss it in the immediate future.

I will be in Paris for ten days but will return to Miami on March 30, and then to Washington later that same week. My office will have my Paris fax number, so feel free to contact me if something comes up before my return.

Much can be done to turn around a good percentage of the Cuban-American vote, but it needs to be done with caution, calculation, and a lot of political savvy. I believe a few of us can help, and it is a task we would welcome.

Sincerely,


Maria Elena Torano
President & CEO

MET/lm

Attachments

May 14, 1993

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
VIA FAX: (202) 456-2259

Mr. Ram Emanuel
Director, Office of Political Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: JAM DATE: 7/11/18
2016-0920-F

Dear Ram,

I have learned that President Clinton will be meeting with a group of Cuban-Americans on May 20th in commemoration of Cuban Independence Day.

While I believe you are aware of the importance of having the President continue the tradition of hosting this annual event at The White House, this visit would offer a great opportunity to highlight our country's leadership in offering financial and technical help which would be of great meaning to Cuban-Americans.

As you and I briefly discussed at The White House a couple of months back, and I further expanded on a memorandum written at your request, U.S. actions in support of the democratic process in Russia carry considerable political weight with Cubans who were forced to leave their country because of communism.

While no one can predict when conditions will change in Cuba and the President should not make more than cursory comments in support of the reinstatement of democracy in the island, he could use the U.S./Russia initiative as a program that could easily be replicated in the island once current conditions have changed.

Perhaps you might be aware that there is a congressional effort in place to lift the Cuban embargo. While I personally believe that the impact of the trade embargo (Graham - Torricelli Bill) is mostly symbolic and that it will not bring about the results that we all desire, the President should avoid getting embroiled in this issue. However, he should be made aware that this issue might come up on May 20th and a definition of his position could be requested during a question and answer period or through press interviews, if these are allowed.

Mr. Ram Emanuel
May 14, 1993
Page 2

Please let me know if I can be of further assistance. We share the commitment of helping the President's reelection in 1996 the achievement of a higher percent of the Cuban-American vote will again impact on the final outcome of winning Florida.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Maria Elena Torano". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "M" and "E".

Maria Elena Torano
President & CEO

MET/jhd
Enclosures



FEB 18 '94 14:12

**Unidad Cubana, Inc.**

P.O. Box 1973 • Miami, Florida 33135

TEL.: 849-8950 • FAX: 849-7054

February 18, 1994

The Honorable Albert Gore
Vice President of
the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Vice President Gore:

On behalf of Cuban Unity, a Cuban-exile organization that represents over 100 other Cuban-exile groups, I am writing to thank you and President Clinton for your strong support of a free and democratic Cuba and ask that this principled policy be maintained.

In particular, I wish to express the unwavering support of the Cuban-American community for the U.S. economic embargo against Castro's 35-year dictatorship. As you know, Castro's tyranny has perpetrated horrific abuses of human rights and has denied the Cuban people even the most basic of democratic and civil liberties.

Castro has refused to heed the call of the community of nations by preventing a United Nations human rights monitor from entering the country. I point this out because the Cuban people and the Cuban-American community know that you and President Clinton are foremost advocates of justice and respect for human rights.

Mr. Vice President, in order for you to see, first-hand, the overwhelming support in the Cuban-American community for the Clinton Administration's policy toward Cuba, Cuban Unity has organized a march on the U.S. Congress for February 24th, at 12:00 A.M.. This march will unite Cuban-Americans from all over the country and will clearly show that the Cuban-American community fully supports the U.S. embargo toward the Castro dictatorship.

Until all political prisoners are released, civil and human rights are respected, free and fair elections are held, and democracy is developed, the United States should not consider lifting the embargo or negotiating with the Castro regime. With the cause of freedom and democracy so close to victory in Cuba, now is not the moment to give Castro the life-saver he so desperately desires to continue his dictatorial rule.

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Page Two

Thank you once again for maintaining a principled and strong position in favor of Cuba's freedom. If possible, the leadership of Cuban Unity would like to personally express our gratitude to President Clinton while we are in Washington, D.C. on the 24th. Please let us know if this meeting would be possible.

Finally, I would like to extend an open invitation for you and the President to attend our march on the 24th. That way, you and President Clinton can witness the overwhelming support Cubans and Americans feel toward the Clinton Administration's policy and the U.S. embargo toward Cuba.

Sincerely,

Modesto Castaner
President

CUBA: OVERALL U.S. POLICY

Q. What is current U.S. policy towards Cuba?

A. o THE POLICY OF ISOLATING CUBA HAS BEEN IN PLACE FOR OVER 30 YEARS. IT IS BASED ON OUR BELIEF THAT CUBA PURSUES POLICIES INIMICAL TO AMERICAN VALUES AND U.S. INTERESTS. THE POLICY TOWARD CUBA WILL CHANGE WHEN CUBA ENDS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND ADOPTS INTERNAL DEMOCRATIC REFORM, MOST IMPORTANTLY FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION.

-- THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR WORLDWIDE POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS, AND CONSISTENT WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT WHICH HAVE BEEN ENDORSED BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

o THE ELEMENTS OF THIS POLICY ARE: THE ABSENCE OF NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES; DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION OF CUBA IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS; ENFORCEMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC EMBARGO; AND THE FLOW OF INFORMATION TO CUBA THROUGH MEDIA BROADCASTS AND PUBLICATIONS.

-- THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT HAS CHOSEN A PATH OF DEFIANCE, FORCING THE CUBAN PEOPLE TO ENDURE DEPRIVATION AND REPRESSION. THE U.S. IS SADDENED BY THE PLIGHT OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE DEMOCRATIC AND MARKET-BASED REFORMS COULD GREATLY IMPROVE THEIR LIVES.

o THE UNITED STATES IS NOT AN AGGRESSIVE THREAT TO CUBA. OUR DESIRE IS FOR THE CUBAN PEOPLE TO BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

o THE U.S. IS CONCERNED ABOUT GROUPS OUTSIDE CUBA CARRYING OUT VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST CUBA. VIOLENCE WILL ONLY LEAD TO MORE VIOLENCE AND INNOCENT LIVES MAY BE LOST. CHANGE SHOULD COME PEACEFULLY. U.S. LAWS MUST BE RESPECTED.

SPEECH BY
ALEXANDER F. WATSON
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
BEFORE THE
CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL
FOUNDATION
OCTOBER 26, 1993

It is a particular pleasure to be here to address the Cuban American National Foundation. I am so much reminded of the great benefit that the United States has reaped from the tragedy that befell Cuba over 30 years ago. Those Cubans who have fled oppression to freedom in the United States represent the best of the immigrant spirit that has made this country strong. The hard work, entrepreneurial spirit and vibrant culture of the Cuban people continue to enrich our country greatly. As a nation, we are enormously appreciative of these contributions to our society.

Throughout this hemisphere, there are great currents leading nations toward greater political freedom, more open economics and stronger cooperation among democracies. Cuba cannot remain immune to these currents and stands today at a crossroads. There is no question the current regime is reeling from the accumulated policy failures of decades of repression and mismanagement. Communism has been discredited worldwide; its economic model of a command economy has been a failure everywhere it has been tried. In our hemisphere, Cuba alone clings to the disastrous, dispiriting philosophy of total economic and political control by government. Its neighbors have embraced free market economies in vibrant democratic frameworks and most are prospering. In contrast, hopelessness and scarcity characterize the daily life of the average Cuban, a people long known for optimism springing from the fertile valleys and hills of the "Pearl of the Antilles."

Lamentably, the regime that has repressed the Cuban people for over three decades shows no signs of political reform, or of granting freedom to the Cuban people. It shows no sign of recognizing the human rights it denies the Cuban people, or of submitting itself to a true test of popular will, not with a forced rally in a plaza, but in the privacy of a voting booth.

The United States looks forward to the day when the Cuban people can enjoy fundamental freedoms. Human rights and democracy are two of the pillars of United States foreign policy under the Clinton administration, and are at the core of our policy towards Cuba. The United States will continue to strive to help all the peoples of the world, including the Cuban people, enjoy the benefits of freedom and the right to choose their leaders in free and fair elections. As President Clinton has said,

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"I do not believe the United States can have normal relations with any country that has abandoned democracy, including Cuba. With Cuba, our goal is to promote a peaceful transition to democracy. We believe that the people of Cuba deserve to be free to determine their own future, by expressing their will in free elections."

We know that three decades of totalitarian government have not quenched the desire of the Cuban people to be free, to decide for themselves the future of their country, and to benefit from the fruits of their labor. Yet, these desires remain suppressed by a state apparatus which seeks to prevent free speech, thought or action. Our response is clear. As is outlined in the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, which this administration fully supports, our relations will not improve and the embargo will not be lifted until such time as there are democratic reforms and respect for human rights in Cuba.

Yet, as Deputy Secretary Wharton told the Americas Society and Council of the Americas on May 3,

"We hope the Cuban people win their freedom through the kind of peaceful transition which has brought so many other nations into the democratic community. We oppose attempts to bring change through violence. But our policy -- through the Cuban Democracy Act -- is to refuse support for the Castro dictatorship while opening a door to a

democratic Cuba to rejoin the inter-American community. Soon the time will come when the Cuban government can no longer defy political gravity and deny basic guarantees of liberty for the Cuban people."

The questions which face us today are what can the United States do, what can the American people do, to facilitate the realization of freedom by the Cuban people and to help the Cuban people while they remain in the hammerlock of the Castro regime?

We are doing several things.

o We fully support the Cuban Democracy Act as a tool to promote democratic change in Cuba. The mandated provisions of the Cuban Democracy Act are now in place and we, like you, will work energetically to follow through on its implementation. The shipping restrictions are being observed. Since the bill was signed last year, no licenses have been issued for trade by U. S. subsidiaries except those related to pre-existing contracts. The Act has also been enormously helpful at this time of great physical suffering in Cuba by permitting the American people to extend a helping hand to the Cuban people, through private donations of food and medicines to private individuals and to non-governmental organizations. As you know, the administration has licensed many large shipments of

-3-

private aid to the Cuban people since that time. I believe that this aid will help build trust and confidence between the United States and the people - I repeat the people - of Cuba. Such trust can help speed the end of the nightmare to which they have been subjected for so long.

o We continue to broadcast free news and information to the people of Cuba. Radio and TV Marti underline this administration's commitment to promote the flow of information and ideas to the Cuban people. We are committed to the right of the Cuban people to learn what is going on in their country and the outside world, and the administration will not waver in its support for that right. I am very grateful that Congress heeded President Clinton's appeal and voted to provide funding for fiscal year 1994 for this invaluable program. Now more than ever, the Cuban people need the kind of information that Radio and TV Marti provide.

o We continue to inform the world community of Cuba's human rights abuses. Our embassies all over the world regularly raise these abuses with host countries, the press and influential decisionmakers. This has contributed to passage at the United Nations and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights of a string of resolutions we have drafted that condemn Cuba for its human rights violations. There is no longer any credible nation which disagrees with us on the issue of human rights in Cuba; the countries that still vote with Cuba are such human rights pariahs as Libya, Iraq and North Korea.

Cuba claims that there are no human rights abuses on the island. If that is the case, why won't the regime allow the UN's special rapporteur on human rights to visit? What is the government trying to hide? I again appeal to the government of Cuba to cooperate with the United Nations, and to let the special rapporteur visit.

o We have also taken steps to improve the ability of the Cuban people and American people to communicate freely. Under the Cuban Democracy Act, we have permitted U.S. telecommunications companies to begin talks with the Cuban government about improved phone service. Our offer is fair and similar to that we make to any other country in the region: full current settlement at normal commercial rates. We know how important it is to Cuban-Americans to be able to talk to their loved ones on the island, and we are hopeful that the Cuban government will reach an agreement on the basis of the fair and reasonable offers now under discussion.

o The flow of information that stems from travel between countries is a key ingredient in weakening a dictatorship. By the same token, the economic windfall that open travel would provide Cuba could well prolong the suffering of a people under a totalitarian system. That is something that no American would favor. Therefore, our travel policy is balanced to support legitimate travel -- that of family members yearning to

-4-

see loved ones, journalists reporting on events in Cuba, academics engaged in serious research, diplomats and individuals conducting humanitarian and some educational and religious work -- while firmly opposing tourist or business travel. Further, we will not permit travelers to be charged exorbitant fees for unwanted services.

One major issue that must be resolved is the settlement of claims by U.S. persons against Cuba. As you know, Cuba confiscated without compensation extensive American personal and corporate property. The United States remains dedicated to adequate compensation for these losses by the government of Cuba at the earliest possible opportunity, as called for in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and reinforced by the Cuban Democracy Act.

The end of six billion dollars a year in Soviet military and economic aid has exposed the barrenness of Castro's economic policies. The Cuban people now know, if they ever had any doubt, that their government's economic policies are an abject failure. They have little to show for over \$100 billion in squandered Soviet aid except for misery, scarcity and ever-tighter rationing. The government's response has been in the right direction and -- for the benefit of the Cuban people we hope they will continue -- but up to now has been too little, too late. The dollarization of the economy -- imagine, the Castro government acknowledging the U.S. dollar as legal tender -- only provides the stamp of approval for what had become common practice. Authorization for self-employment -- outlawed since 1968 -- is a small but significant step toward economic reform but still sets up a series of bureaucratic hoops for people to jump through, and still denies them the right to form companies or generate employment for others. The much-vaunted biotech and tourist industries cannot prosper, existing as they do in an imploding and grossly inefficient command economy.

There is, of course, a solution to Cuba's crushing problems. Ask any Cuban-American: it's the free market economy operating in a democratic society. I am convinced that if a democratic government were to unleash the creative and business skills of the Cuban people, the island would regain its place among the very wealthiest nations of this hemisphere in a very short time. The United States stands ready to help Cuba make the transition to a free-market economy. This approach is outlined in the Cuban Democracy Act, in which Congress calls on the President to assist a free Cuba by ending the embargo, providing emergency relief and encouraging Cuba's admission or reentry to international financial institutions.

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I would now like to turn to a misconception that has emerged from time to time in the press and elsewhere, and that is that the Clinton administration intends to soften its policy towards the Cuban regime. This is false. We can neither ignore nor negotiate away the human and political rights of the Cuban people. There will be no upgrade in relations until those rights are respected. In the meantime, we will continue to pursue those issues which over the years and through successive administrations have been determined to be in our national interest. Some which benefit the United States are:

- o The continued operation of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, which issues visas, protects our citizens, maintains contact with activists and reports first-hand on events in Cuba;
- o Legal and orderly migration from Cuba, and an end to alien smuggling activities and dangerous sea voyages which put innocent lives at risk. The experts -- the House of Transit in Key West and Brothers to the Rescue in Miami -- estimate that anywhere from three to ten Cubans fail to reach our shores -- many tragically lost at sea -- for every one that makes it across safely;
- o The return to Cuba of dangerous criminals who came in the Mariel boatlift. This will free up much-needed prison space, and save the U.S. taxpayer millions each year;
- o The provisions of enhanced private humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people -- working through newly established and strengthened non-governmental organizations.
- o The pursuit of narcotics traffickers, wherever they may be found;
- o Safety in the air and on the high seas; and,
- o The prosecution of those who violate our Neutrality laws, and who recklessly endanger their own lives as well as the lives of innocent civilians.

Some have confused the pursuit of objectives which will benefit the United States with an alleged but non-existent upgrade in relations with Cuba. Let there be no confusion: our commitment to human rights and democracy for the Cuban people is unshakable.

Lastly, let me also be clear on another aspect of U.S. policy which the Cuban dictatorship has long tried to obscure: the claim that the United States has aggressive designs on Cuba. This claim is false. We have no intention of invading or dominating the island. The future of Cuba is something for the people of Cuba to determine, through free and fair elections under international observation. The people of Cuba need to know that they have friends in the people and government of the United States. We are eager to reach out to

-6-

them and to help them reconstruct their country, which has been all but destroyed by over thirty years of failed policies. Those Cubans who are on the island also need to know that they have friends in the great Cuban diaspora, in Miami, New York, Madrid and elsewhere. There is no doubt that, when freedom returns to Cuba, those many Cubans in exile, like yourselves, will turn their hearts, their minds and their pocketbooks, their industry and their creativity, to help reconstruct their homeland, the homeland of Jose Marti. That is the promise of the the Cuban Democracy Act -- and all of us working together will make it happen.

Very soon.

THE CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT:
ONE YEAR LATER
ALEXANDER F. WATSON
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NOVEMBER 18, 1993

P Cuba

Mr. Chairman, thank you for this opportunity to discuss recent developments in Cuba, U.S. Cuban policy, and the impact of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992.

Let me state at the outset that President Clinton's policy toward Cuba is to maintain our economic embargo until there is true democratic reform and respect for human rights, while reaching out to the Cuban people to alleviate their distress. He does not intend to deviate from this policy.

Cuba today is confronting the most serious economic crisis in its history. Six billion dollars in annual Soviet aid has ended. The ensuing economic collapse has laid bare the simple, sad truth that Cuba's inefficient, planned economy is unable to meet its people's most basic needs. Remember that in the 1950's, Cuba had a per capita income among the very highest in Latin America; today, it is among the very lowest. Foreign trade has fallen by 75%. Factories are closing, under- and unemployment may well be approaching forty percent and the 1992 sugar harvest was the smallest in 30 years. Rationing has never been tighter. Milk is only available to children under seven, and Cubans are authorized but one shirt, one pair of shoes and one pair of pants or a skirt per year.

These tragic facts should come as no surprise. They are the result of the failures of Cuba's command economy. Command economies everywhere have produced shortages and rationing, whether in Europe, the Soviet Union, Africa, southeast Asia -- or the Caribbean.

In the face of this economic disaster, the Cuban government has made some grudging modifications, but they have been too little and too late. The government's first priority is clear: to maintain control of the Cuban people. For example, individual private enterprise, abolished in 1968, is again permissible, but the individual must fall within one of about 130 specific categories, and register with and be approved by the state. Those engaged in private enterprise cannot be university graduates and may not hire another person or form a company. Farmers still cannot sell their produce to city dwellers, and it is still illegal for Cubans to freely buy and sell their homes or make a private investment.

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Cuba touts its high priority tourism and biotechnology industries in which it has invested so much scarce hard-currency resources. However, these industries cannot succeed in resolving Cuba's pressing economic needs, mired as they are in centralized inefficiency. In addition, Cuba maintains an enormous and costly military and security apparatus. Its armed forces, although smaller than in the past, are still the third largest in Latin America, after only Brazil and Mexico, countries with populations significantly larger than Cuba's. Its massive state security forces seek to control every detail of the daily life of the average Cuban. They are an enormous drain on the Cuban economy. More importantly, however, they indicate the regime's determination to maintain absolute political control.

The modest economic changes I have outlined have not been accompanied by political change. Basic human rights remain repressed and democratic practices are not tolerated.

In short, Cuba is a country at a dead end.

Its economic and political systems have failed, and provide the Cuban people with neither the prosperity nor the freedom that they long for. Their daily existence is marked by scarcity, rationing and long lines. Their future under the current regime is without hope.

What is our response to this human tragedy, in a country just 90 miles from our shores? On the one hand, we will continue our diplomatic, political and economic isolation of the Cuban government and maintain our economic embargo as a form of leverage and pressure on the Cuban Government to start to meet the economic and political needs of its people. On the other hand, we will actively reach out to the Cuban people with humanitarian assistance, an offer of improved telecommunications and an increased flow of information. This two-track policy, which is reflected in the Cuban Democracy Act, is supported by this Administration because it meets our strategic as well as our humanitarian interests as a nation.

These two tracks are clearly complementary. As the authors of the Cuban Democracy Act wisely recognized, we must make it clear that the regime's denial of basic human rights is and will remain unacceptable to the United States, while still reaching out to the Cuban people.

Against this backdrop of Cuba's current situation, let me review the Act section by section.

Section 1703 of the Cuban Democracy Act correctly describes current U.S. policy. We believe that the future of Cuba is for the people of Cuba to decide through free and fair elections under international observation. We believe that the economic embargo and diplomatic isolation are the best ways to maintain

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pressure on the Cuban government to adopt democratic reforms and to start respecting the human rights of the Cuban people. We also want the Cuban people to know, to use the words of Section 1703, that we are also willing to "reduce the sanctions in carefully calibrated ways in response to positive developments in Cuba." To date, we have seen no movement towards democracy or towards respect for human rights.

Section 1704 authorizes the President to suspend foreign assistance to any country that provides assistance, including loans, leases or credits at non-market rates, to Cuba. We continue to monitor this situation closely. Although six billion dollars a year in Soviet assistance to Cuba has ended, we have made very clear to the Russian government repeatedly and at the very highest levels the potential and serious consequences of any contravention of this provision. Earlier this year, Russia announced a \$380 million credit to complete projects started by the Soviet Union in Cuba, and we are monitoring the agreement to ensure that it is on strict market terms. Many western countries, such as Sweden, Canada and Germany, have ended their modest aid programs to Cuba due to human rights concerns. Others, such as Mexico and Venezuela, no longer provide goods to Cuba on concessional terms because Cuba failed to pay back earlier concessional credits. Although the EC and Spain have made loans for humanitarian assistance to Cuba in 1993, France is the only country we know of that maintains an assistance program to Cuba today. Neither France nor the EC receives any U.S. aid; Spain is a candidate for some IMET funds. Spain's loan to Cuba, however, was for humanitarian purposes, specifically the purchase of food.

Section 1705, "Support for the Cuban People," is being implemented. Food donations to Cuba-based individuals or non-governmental organizations have been deregulated. Medicine and medical supplies may be licensed by the Department of Commerce for private donation to individuals and non-governmental organizations in Cuba. The humanitarian sale of medicine to Cuba may also be licensed, when there is adequate on-site inspection and other appropriate means to verify that the export is not misused.

Since the CDA was passed last year, licenses valued at over \$3 million have been authorized for large humanitarian aid shipments to Cuba. These have included medicines and dental, medical and hospital supplies to numerous non-governmental organizations in Cuba, including the Cuban Red Cross, the Cuban Ecumenical Council, the Cuban Baptist Convention, the Jewish Casa de la Comunidad Hebrea and CARITAS Cuba, the charitable organization of the Catholic Bishops.

Earlier this year, the Administration also authorized the "Basta!" organization to send two flotillas from Key West, Florida, with cargos of medical and hospital supplies for the Cuban Red Cross and other non-governmental groups. These large shipments are in addition to the thousands of fully-licensed

- 4 -

packages that individuals send to their relatives on the island. We continue to look at ways to streamline procedures for sending humanitarian goods directly to the Cuban people.

I want to emphasize, Mr. Chairman, that there are legal means to provide significant amounts of humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people. This Administration will continue to vigorously oppose politically-motivated efforts to undermine the U. S. economic embargo.

In regard to telecommunications, the Cuban Democracy Act authorizes "efficient and adequate" telecommunications between the U.S. and Cuba. Under guidelines issued by the administration, U.S. companies are now negotiating with Cuban authorities for a substantial increase in telephone links, with full current settlement at standard international rates. Unfortunately, the Cuban response has initially been less than positive. However, we know how important it is to Cuban-Americans to be able to talk with their loved ones, and will continue working for better phone links.

In regard to direct mail delivery, our approach to Cuba in the past for such service met with a negative Cuban response. We hope that subsequent overtures will be more fruitful.

On assistance to support democracy in Cuba, The National Endowment for Democracy continues to support human rights projects related to Cuba, disbursing over \$500,000 in FY-93. These projects are undertaken by a wide variety of groups outside of Cuba, such as Freedom House, the Jose Marti Foundation, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, the Cuban Committee for Human Rights and the Human Rights Information Bureau. They are designed to promote nonviolent democratic change, as the CDA calls for.

Section 1706(a), the prohibition on licensing trade with Cuba by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms, has been in effect since the Act was signed on October 23, 1992. The Department of the Treasury has ceased to issue licenses for trade with Cuba by U.S.-owned or -controlled firms located in third countries that had previously been permitted under certain circumstances by Treasury's Cuban Assets Control Regulations. Subsequent to the Act's passage, and consistent with its provisions, Treasury only licensed such transactions where the underlying contracts were entered into before the Act was enacted.

Section 1706(b), sanctions on vessels calling at Cuban ports, has also been implemented. The Department of Treasury, in coordination with the Customs Department, has issued notices to all United States port authorities, informing all shipping agents of the CDA prohibitions. All indications have been that notification deterred such vessels coming into our ports to load or unload cargo.

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Sections 1707 and 1708 concern U.S. aid and assistance to a transitional and to a democratic Cuban government. We of course will be ready to help Cuba in appropriate ways in its transition to democracy, once the process is underway. We have read the draft "Free Cuban Support Act" legislation proposed by Congressman Menendez and several co-sponsors with interest and wish to work with this committee on ways to respond to the inevitable change in Cuba.

Although the CDA does not deal extensively with the issue of travel to Cuba, I believe it is an important issue to address, since it has received widespread attention in the past few months. The freedom to travel is a right that Americans cherish. As you know, U.S. law does not prohibit travel to Cuba. It does, however, prohibit spending money on travel to Cuba except for certain authorized categories, such as a visit with close relatives, or professional journalists reporting on events in Cuba. Over 15,000 American citizens and residents traveled legally to Cuba last year. The U.S. government has no desire to keep its citizens from learning about the country of Cuba, its people and its culture, but we do want to deny the Cuban government hard currency. We do not want to prolong the suffering of the Cuban people under a dictatorship, which could happen were the Cuban government to receive the economic windfall open travel would provide.

In October, the State Department gave provisional approval to the application of a licensed air charter service provider to increase flights to Cuba following changed visa procedures by the Cuban government. The Congress and the Administration were concerned that we not acquiesce in any attempt by the Cuban government to require individuals going to visit relatives to purchase hotel accommodation packages in order to obtain expedited visas. Therefore, the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) issued a General Circular advising licensed travel service providers that they could sell such packages only if a traveler voluntarily indicated he wished to stay in a hotel.

We have been monitoring the new travel procedures carefully since the issuance of the OFAC circular. Information received from the air charter service provider indicates there has been compliance with the circular. We intend to work with OFAC to continue close monitoring of these travel-related transactions to ensure that any hotel packages sold are purchased on a voluntary basis. Meanwhile, we have begun a policy of approving additional flights, after a careful review, on a month-to-month basis. The demand, however, has not been as great as the air charter service providers anticipated.

Also on the subject of travel, approximately one hundred and seventy members of the Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom to Travel took a protest trip to Havana the second week of October. Their publicly stated goal was to violate the embargo's ban on travel-related expenditures and assert an

- 6 -

unqualified right to travel for any reason. Customs officials interviewed many of the protesters and confiscated passports which had Cuban entry stamps as evidence of travel to Cuba, for possible use in prosecutions. The Department of Justice is reviewing the situation to determine if there is sufficient evidence to warrant prosecution. As with humanitarian donations, the President's policy on travel is to support both the letter and the spirit of the embargo.

The other major travel-related issue eliciting significant interest has been the ongoing interagency review of the free-flow of information as it relates to all economic sanctions programs, which Secretary Christopher told Congressman Berman we would undertake. We seek to strike a balance between the U.S. interest in promoting democracy through enhanced information exchange, including by travel, and our pursuit of other U.S. foreign policy and security goals. On Cuba, the President's dual commitment is to enforce a strong economic embargo against the Cuban regime, while reaching out to the people of Cuba.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the importance of both tracks of our policy and how closely they are intertwined one with the other. Without the embargo -- and vigorous enforcement of its provisions -- our leverage to promote peaceful change would dissipate overnight. Without humanitarian assistance and information sharing, our policy would be needlessly harsh and could add to the suffering of the Cuban people.

Taken as a whole, we have a comprehensive, well reasoned program -- the result of close collaboration between Congress and the Executive, and one which enjoys bipartisan support. We are saying "no" to a dictatorial government as we give an emphatic "yes" to the people who suffer under it. And we look forward to the day when the Cuban people regain their freedom, their economic security, and the bright future they have been denied for so long.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD FEINBERG

From: Joe Velasquez
Subject: Cuban Rally

What do you think of the rally described in the attached memo? We need your advice on action.

Please advise. I can be reached at x6-6257.

Thanks.

~~Violent~~ violent factions
may be involved --
Admin should stay out

MEMORANDUM

TO: Maria Arias,
Joe Velazquez & Reta Lewis
White House Political Affairs

FROM: Herminio San Roman

RE: February 24, 1994 Rally in the Capitol

DATE: February 11, 1994

Unida Cubana (Cuban Unity) an umbrella organization composed of approximately one hundred Cuban-American organizations its calling for all Cuban-American exiles around the country and all organizations to participate in a rally on Capitol Hill to support the President's strong position on Cuba and also, in appreciation to all members of Congress that have supported the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 (February 24, celebrates the 99th anniversary of the Cuban War of Independence).

I strongly believe that this is a great opportunity to gain additional support from Cuban-Americans for President Clinton. Although the President's track record on Cuban policy is solid as far as Cuban-Americans are concern, we shall take advantage of each and every opportunity to increase the President's popularity within the Cuban-American community.

We clearly understand that the President cannot attend this rally, I suggest that someone representing the President reads a letter from the President addressed to both Cubans in the island and in exile describing as he has done many times, his support for the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, as the law of the land. In addition, since our community feels threaten by the Bill presented by Representative Rangel from New York, requesting an end to the embargo on the island, the President should include language indicating that he rejects any legislation that intends to lift the embargo without first obtaining from the Cuban government the following concessions:

1. Free and democratic elections in the island, supervised by international observers.
2. Participation in those elections without any restrains governmental interference by all dissident organizations within the island.
3. The end of the constant human rights violations by Castro's government.

SENT BY: SIEGFRIED, KIPNIS

: 2-11-94 : 2:10PM :

305-443-3292-

202 456 7929: # 5/ 6

Dept.	Phone # 262-4433
Fax # 443-3292	

Just a reminder that this language although seems awfully strong, it has been the President's position in dealing with Castro's regime. I can assure you that continuing a strong policy towards Cuba will facilitate the President's ability to obtain support for his domestic policy.

LAW OFFICES

SIEGFRIED, KIPNIS, RIVERA, LERNER, DE LA TORRE & PETERSEN, P.A.

SUITE 1102

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MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS
DANIEL DAVIS, P.F.
JAMES F. HARRINGTON
ELISABETH D. KOZLOW
H. HUGH MCCUNNELL
SAMUEL A. PERSAUD

FILE NO.

REPLY TO:

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: JOE VELAZQUEZ, RITA LEWIS, PETER SHAKOW
FAX #: 1-202-456-7929
PHONE #: 1-202-456-6257

FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS *Maria*
FAX #: (305) 443-3292
PHONE #: (305) 442-3334
FILE #:

RE: RALLY AT U.S. CAPITOL

DATE: February 11, 1994
TIME: 1:59 pm
NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 5

MESSAGE: There is a march scheduled for February 24, 1994.
The purpose of the march is to re-emphasize the
Cuban community's support for the embargo against
Castro and his government.

*P.S. I sent A copy of ALL of this
to Vce. President.*

Maria

The information contained in this transmission is attorney privileged and confidential. It is intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copy of this communication is strictly prohibited.

*Richard Farber
What do you think
need your advice*

But you may want to hurry. They only have 1,000 certificates — and those have gone fast in other cities where the program has been tried.

"It's a huge financial commitment, so we're hoping other com-

Officials in Hartford, Conn., canceled a gun buy-back effort recently when profiteers began turning in cheap weapons for the gift certificates.

Hartford-area pawnshops reported a run on the inexpen-

one case, a man turned in 39 Chinese-made rifles worth about \$70 each for a profit of about \$1,200.

Still, Miami Police Chief Calvin Ross said there will be no limit to the number of guns a person can turn in to Miami police

"It's not a matter of where you got the gun or how much you paid for it. It's a matter of getting it off the street," Ross said.

The certificates are good at all FootLocker stores. The guns will be dumped into the ocean, Ross said.

lot better than the ment," said Miramar ager Eric Soroka. "It I like they're moving in direction."

The proposed legis the word "draft" st each of its 56 pages, earlier bill that Dade and Miramar administ would have given the too much power. The sion more narrowly c company's intent in se emmental rights.

The right to conde erty, for instance, wou only to acquire land water or sewer lines o systems. Blockbuster : fied it would pay prop to all local government

"We have tried to responsive to the com got," said Jim Blosser to Blockbuster Chai Wayne Huizenga. "I we've addressed the th principal objections. I see what their reaction:

One reaction, fro Commissioner Alex

Exiles plan rally to ask Clinton not to lift Cuba embargo

By ALFONSO CHARDY
Herald Staff Writer

A group of Cuban exiles in Miami is organizing a Washington, D.C., rally in two weeks to urge President Clinton to resist renewed pressures to lift the Cuba trade embargo.

Organizers hope thousands of exiles from Miami and other U.S. cities will attend the demonstration at the Capitol on Feb. 24, the 99th anniversary of the start of Cuba's independence war against Spain.

The rally is being organized by Cuban Unity, a Miami exile organization that drew tens of thousands of people for an anti-

Castro demonstration on Calle Ocho last October.

Cuban Unity, an umbrella organization of 80 anti-Castro groups, has chartered a Boeing 727 and 25 buses to transport Miami exiles to Washington.

Other groups in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and other cities are asking local exiles to join the rally.

Details will be announced at 11:30 a.m. today at the headquarters of Brigade 2506, the Bay

HOTLINES

■ **Organizers** of the pro-embargo rally in Washington, D.C., at 11:30 a.m. Feb. 24 have set up a hotline for reservations. Call 443-4131 from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Monday through Saturday.

■ **Anti-embargo** forces also have set up a hotline for their New York rally Saturday at the Symphony Space Theater, Broadway and 95th Street in Manhattan. For details, call (212) 633-6646.

of Pigs veterans association.

"We're doing this to neutralize the new offensive against the embargo," said Cuban Unity President Modesto Castaner. "With the rally, we're asking President Clinton to stand firm."

Hearings begin March 15 in Washington on the Free Trade With Cuba Act, a bill to lift the embargo that was introduced by Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y.

Rangel will address an anti-embargo rally in New York on Saturday. On March 6, the anti-embargo religious group Pastors for Peace plans to carry its third big shipment of aid to Cuba.

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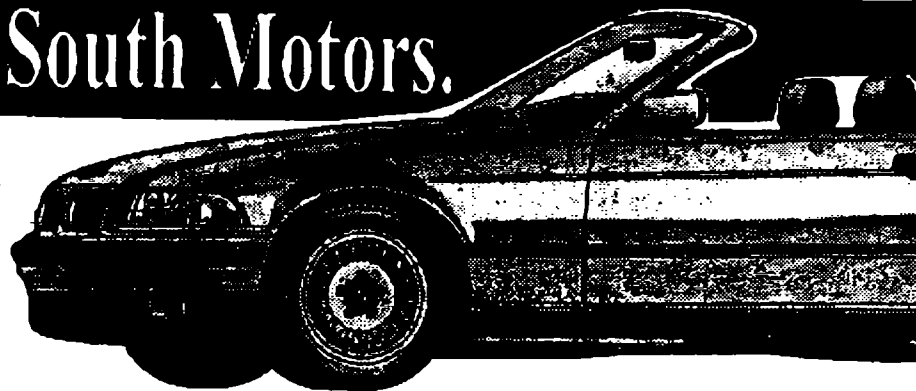
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Handl
2/10/94

Consul: Israel won't renew relation

By ALFONSO CHARDY
Herald Staff Writer

Israeli diplomats Thursday sought to reassure Cuban Jews in Miami that Israel has no intention of renewing relations with Cuba. Ruhama Hermon, the Israeli consul in Miami, telephoned principal leaders of the Cuban-Jewish community in response to statements on Cuba by Israel's chief rabbi, Yisrael Lau, who represents Israel's Ashkenazi Jews of European ancestry, met with Fidel Castro in Havana Tuesday and effusively praised the Cuban leader. "A great friend of the Jewish people," Lau said.

Ari Storch, the media and public relations officer at the Israeli Consulate, said his office received several calls about Lau's remarks. "Callers wanted us to clarify the purpose of the chief rabbi's visit to Cuba," said Storch.

Lau, he said, went to Cuba to visit the island's tiny Jewish community as a religious leader, not as a representative of the Israeli government.

What's more, he added, Israel has no intention of restoring relations with Cuba as long as Castro remains officially hostile to the Jewish state. Cuba broke relations with

Israel in radical A
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Four
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Exile leaders want embargo tightened

Cuban exile leaders hope an anti-Castro rally in two weeks in Washington, D.C., will convince President Clinton to toughen the trade embargo on Cuba.

At a news conference Thursday in Little Havana, more than two dozen exile leaders said the 30-year-old embargo will succeed in overthrowing Fidel Castro only if the rest of the world joins it.

"We must internationalize the embargo," said Luis Figueroa, a spokesman for Cuban Unity. "If there have been worldwide embargoes against South Africa and Haiti, why not against Cuba?"

Cuban Unity is organizing the Feb. 24 rally at the U.S. Capitol to mark the 99th anniversary of the start of Cuba's war of independence.

Among the top exile leaders who attended the news conference: former political prisoner Andres Vargas Gomez, Metro

HOW TO GO

■ If you want to attend the Washington rally, call 443-4131 for information or reservations.

■ Buses will leave from the Orange Bowl between 10 and 11 a.m. Feb. 23. Round trip fare: \$60. A chartered plane will depart from Miami International Airport Feb. 24 at 6 a.m. Round trip ticket: \$169.

■ The rally is scheduled Feb. 24 at 11:30 a.m. in front of the U.S. Capitol.

Commissioner Pedro Reboredo, Alpha 66 commando leader Andres Nazario Sargen and veteran Spanish-language radio celebrities Tomas Garcia Fuste and Armando Perez Roura. Figueroa predicted that 3,000 to 5,000 exiles from Miami and other U.S. cities will converge on the nation's capital for the rally. One plane and 25 buses have been chartered to ferry exiles from Miami.

Trucker who caused may quickly be back

By GAIL EPSTEIN
Herald Staff Writer

Despite his poor driving record, the Orlando tractor-trailer driver responsible for tying up traffic on the Palmetto Expressway for four hours Wednesday could be back on the road at any time.

The reason: Before Wednesday, none of Paul J. Stewart's six tickets in the last 5½ years involved a major traffic violation in a commercial vehicle.

Minor infractions — such as not wearing a seat belt — and violations in noncommercial vehicles don't count against Florida's 335,000 licensed commercial drivers, said Stan Arline, of the Department of Highway Safety in Tallahassee.

"What may be an improper lane change in a 2,000-pound automobile won't necessarily produce the deadly results that a 70,000-pound truck would," said Arline. "So those become major

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Ask About Our "Sign & Drive Program"

BRAND NEW 1993½
INFINITI G-20
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FOR ONLY 36 MONTHS!
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At Start/Total Payments/Purchase Option At Lease End: G-20 \$239/\$1689/\$8404/\$11,100; J-30 \$399/\$2849/\$14,364/\$20,196. 15c per mile over 45,000 miles. plus

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VISTA

THE MAGAZINE FOR ALL HISPANICS

TO: MR. JOE VELASQUEZ

COMPANY: _____

FAX: (202) 456-7929FROM: ALFRED ESTRADADATE: 11/11/93TIME: 4:20 PMNUMBER OF PAGES TO
FOLLOW:1

COMMENT: As per my previous fax, enclosed is a copy
of the article that came out in the "Diario
Las Americas" Re: NAFTA/Jorge Mas Canosa.

Pág. 10-B -DIARIO LAS AMERICAS VIERNES 12 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1993

Si el TLC entre México y EE.UU. no beneficia a Fidel Castro, los cubanos debemos respaldarlo

Afirma Jorge Mas Canosa.

El Tratado puede resultar muy beneficioso para la futura reconstrucción de Cuba. Si el presidente Salinas nos ofrece garantías de que México y el Tratado no brindarán asistencia al gobierno comunista de Cuba, nosotros, en la Fundación, respaldaremos el Tratado de Libre Comercio, afirmó Jorge Mas Canosa en declaraciones a DIARIO LAS AMERICAS.

"Los cubanos del exilio somos el mejor testimonio y el ejemplo más visible de la prosperidad que representa un sistema de libre mercado. Por naturaleza, y principios, los cubanos libres somos firmes creyentes en el intercambio comercial libre. La era de mayor prosperidad en la post-guerra se logró entre los países que derribaron sus barreras arancelarias y tarifas aduaneras", declaró Mas Canosa.

Hablando sobre el tema de la



JORGE MAS CANOSA

futura reconstrucción de Cuba, sin Fidel Castro, Mas Canosa dijo: "para lograr una rápida recuperación de la economía cubana y alcanzar índices de verdadera prosperidad e indepen-

dencia económica, Cuba necesitará de un Tratado de Libre Comercio con los Estados Unidos. Si ahora fracasan las negociaciones entre México y los EE. UU., la Cuba democrática le costaría mucho trabajo lograr un Tratado de Libre Comercio con los Estados Unidos. De triunfar esas negociaciones, entonces sería relativamente fácil incorporar a la nueva Cuba al mercado común de Norteamérica.

Preguntado sobre su respaldo al Tratado que actualmente se discute entre ambos países y el cual será sometido a una votación, en el Congreso en Washington, el próximo 17 de noviembre, Mas Canosa afirmó: "Estamos pendientes de ciertos trámites y entrevistas. Tan pronto se cumplan, y obtengamos las seguridades que buscamos, nuestra organización y yo personalmente respaldaremos el Tratado de Libre Comercio. Yo creo en ese concepto y creo que es muy beneficioso para México, los EE.UU., Canadá y el futuro de Cuba".

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 13, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JOE VALASQUEZ

FROM: RICHARD E. FEINBERG 
SUBJECT: Meeting with Cuban-Americans in Miami

I had a good meeting with Maria V. Arias Rodham, Simon Ferro, Jorge Bolanos and several of their colleagues in Ms. Rodham's offices in Miami yesterday. They presented several action recommendations that I want to pass on to you:

- 1) Consult with the Cuban-American Community (CAC) on the appointments being made for the directorship of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting and for its advisory board.
- 2) Keep the CAC appraised, as appropriate, of the work of the Congressionally-mandated panel reviewing our broadcasting to Cuba.
- 3) Look into the availability of airplanes, currently situated at an Air Force base in Arizona, for use by "Brothers to the Rescue."
- 4) Initiate regular, perhaps semi-annual, reports on the careful monitoring of the delivery of humanitarian assistance aid to NGOs in Cuba, as provided for under the Cuban Democracy Act.
- 5) Have the President and/or other senior officials direct swearing-in ceremonies of nationalized U.S. citizens in the Miami area.
- 6) Establish a Presidential Advisory Commission on U.S. policy toward a post-Castro Cuba. (We agreed that such a commission would have to eschew high-profile political leaders so as not to appear to be a government-in-exile.)
- 7) Keep the CAC informed regarding U.S. policy toward Cuba via visits by State Department officials, and the routine provision of major policy statements (e.g. the Vice President's Mexico City address).

Let's discuss how best to follow up on these interesting ideas.



Sent to Rich Feinberg,
Jeff Watson
11/5

VIA TELEFAX

November 3, 1993

The Honorable Joe Velasquez
Deputy Assistant to the President
& Deputy Director of Political Affairs
The White House - Old Executive Office Bldg.
17th Street & Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Joe:

I just wanted to send you a note to follow up on our meeting of last week.

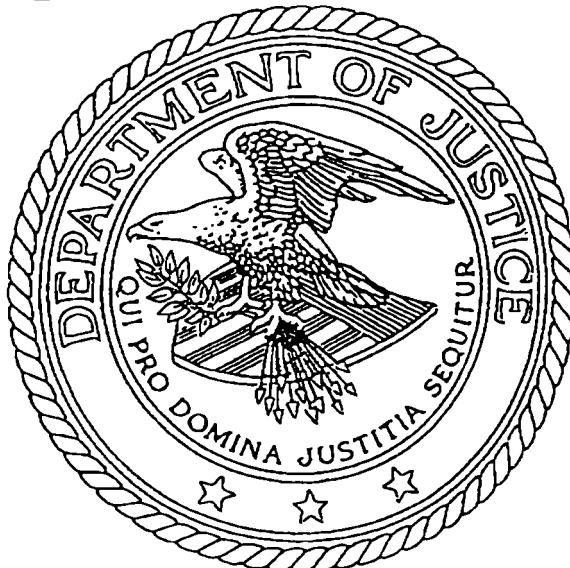
As you know, we are eager to take a public position on NAFTA and would like to be of assistance to the Administration in this process. Since our meeting, however, we have not received any of the information which we discussed regarding the Congress and the votes with which we might be of assistance.

I firmly believe, Joe, that we can work together on NAFTA. I appreciate the fact that you understand the serious concerns the Cuban American community has regarding possible benefits which may flow to the Castro dictatorship as a result of NAFTA. I am also certain you understand our position becomes that much more difficult with news of Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina's visit with Salinas scheduled for this week and Mexico's vote this morning at the United Nations in favor of a Cuban resolution criticizing the U.S. embargo. This vote is a very serious matter with the Cuban American community.

I am confident, however, that we can address these concerns expediently and satisfactorily, and I look forward to speaking with you soon. I hope and trust that we will be able to cooperate on this important issue of great interest to all of us.

Warmest regards,

Jorge L. Mas
Chairman



OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

DATE:

10/14/93

TO:

Joseph Velasquez

FACSIMILE NO.

(202) 456-7929

TELEPHONE NO.

456-6257

FROM:

Lula Rodriguez

FACSIMILE NO.

202/514-0548 0468

TELEPHONE NO.

202/514-2001 3892

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET _____

COMMENTS:

**PRESS RELEASE
NOTA DE PRENSA**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 13, 1993

FOR INFORMATION CONTACT
Fernand Rojas (305) 592-7768

**PRESIDENT CLINTON URGES CONTINUATION OF RADIO & TV MARTI /
HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE APPROVES FUNDING**

A House-Senate conference committee this afternoon approved \$21 million in funding for Radio & TV Marti, the U.S. broadcasts of uncensored news and information to the people of Cuba. The measure comes just hours after President Clinton urged Members of Congress to support the programs.

The Congressional action and the President's letter came in spite of repeated editorial attacks by the The New York Times and The Miami Herald against TV Marti at a time when the Administration is working to improve the efficacy of the program. Recent defectors have substantiated the importance of the programs in promoting democracy on the island, and the yearning of the Cuban people to receive TV Marti.

The Administration has continuously reaffirmed its support of the programs as important tools of public diplomacy and called for full funding in its 1994 budget presented to the Congress.

Furthermore, the Clinton Administration has stated its commitment to make TV Marti work. Several weeks ago, the Administration authorized changing the direction of TV Marti's signal in an effort to circumvent Cuba's extensive and costly jamming efforts concentrated in central Havana. A subsequent report, declassified last week, said "TV Marti found a crack in [the] Cuban Electronic Curtain."

"We appreciate President Clinton's and the Congress' leadership and their reaffirmation of support in the fight for democracy in Cuba," said CANF president Francisco Hernandez, "It also demonstrates the irrelevance of certain newspaper editorial boards in this country who have been urging the U.S. government to summarily cancel TV Marti, thus granting a desperate Fidel Castro a much needed political victory."



PRESS RELEASE NOTA DE PRENSA

13 de octubre de 1993

PRESIDENTE CLINTON RECOMIENDA CONTINUACION DE RADIO Y TV MARTI / COMITE CONJUNTO DEL SENADO Y LA CAMARA APRUEBAN FONDOS

Un comité conjunto del Senado y la Cámara de Representantes del Congreso norteamericano aprobó esta tarde la asignación de 21 millones de dólares en fondos para Radio y Televisión Martí, agencias del gobierno federal que realizan transmisiones informativas y noticiosas al pueblo de Cuba. La aprobación se llevó a cabo sólo horas después que el Presidente Bill Clinton instó a los miembros del Congreso a respaldar las transmisiones.

La medida congressional y la carta presidencial se efectuaron a pesar de los repetidos ataques de los rotativos The New York Times y The Miami Herald en contra de TV Martí precisamente en el momento en que la administración del Sr. Clinton está buscando formas de mejorar la eficacia de esta programación federal. Desertores que han escapado recientemente de las garras del castrocomunismo han verificado la importancia que tienen dichos programas en la promoción de los valores democráticos dentro de Cuba y el anhelo del pueblo cubano de recibir adecuadamente a TV Martí.

La administración presidencial ha reafirmado continuamente su apoyo a esta programación federal que ha calificado como importantes instrumentos de diplomacia e incluyó una petición para que estos recibieran fondos completos en el presupuesto de 1994 que entregó al Congreso.

Además, la administración de Bill Clinton ha declarado públicamente su compromiso de hacer de TV Martí un medio de comunicación eficaz. Hace varias semanas, la administración autorizó un importante cambio en la dirección de la señal de TV Martí hacia Cuba con el fin de evadir los esfuerzos extensivos y costosos que emplea el régimen castrista en interferir las transmisiones que hasta fecha reciente se han concentrado en el centro de la ciudad de La Habana. Un informe posterior a este cambio que fue desclasificado por el gobierno federal la semana pasada reportó que "TV Martí ha encontrado una rendija en la cortina electrónica cubana".

Francisco "Pepe" Hernández, Presidente de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, declaró: "Agradecemos el liderazgo del Presidente Bill Clinton y del Congreso federal y esta reafirmación de su apoyo en la lucha por la libertad y la democracia en Cuba. Queda demostrada la irrelevancia de ciertas juntas editoriales periodísticas en este país que han estado presionando al gobierno federal para que cancele de repente a TV Martí, otorgándole a un Fidel Castro en crisis una victoria política que busca desesperadamente".

PARA MAS INFORMACION: Fernando Rojas (305) 592-7768



Hispanic

RESULTS OF SURVEY BY ROBERT SCHROFT & ASSOCIATES
OCTOBER 20, 1993

MIAMI

	Hispanic (Non-Cuban)	Cubans
CANF	55% Support vs. 25%	82% Support vs. 9%
Jorge Mas	71% Support vs. 18%	76% Support vs. 16%

HIALEAH

	All Hispanics
CANF	77% Support vs. 9%
Jorge Mas	68% Support vs. 16%

CUBAN AMERICANS AGES 18 TO 49

Jorge Mas	60% Support vs. 23%

CUBAN AMERICANS AGES 50 OR MORE

Jorge Mas	83% Support vs. 13%

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

	All Hispanics	Cubans
	61% Support vs. 34%	59% Support vs. 34%

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

May 18, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN VIDEOTAPING FOR CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Library

5:33 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: On this May 20th, Cuban Independence Day, I wish to convey to you, the people of Cuba, the best wishes of the American people. We fully share your hopes and aspirations for a future when you can enjoy freedom and democracy. For over three decades, Cuba has suffered under an inhumane dictatorship. It's my deep and committed desire that the Cuban people will live in liberty.

The centerpiece of my administration's foreign policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean has been a commitment to democracy, human rights and accountable government. A welcome tide of democratic government has swept throughout the hemisphere. The will of the people is being expressed through democratic elections and the strengthening of the rule of law.

Only two countries in the entire hemisphere remain outside this democratic community of nations -- Cuba and Haiti. And we are working hard for the restoration of the freely and fairly elected constitutional government of President Aristide in Haiti. Cuba's time has also come.

We wish for the people of Cuba what we wish for all people of the Americas -- freedom of the press and speech, protection from arbitrary arrest and respect for due process, and the rule of law. We wish for the people of Cuba what we strive for for ourselves -- prosperity, an environment where our basic needs are met and where our children can grow and develop spiritually and in safety. We wish, on this historic anniversary, for a prosperous, vibrant, flourishing democracy that frees the creativity of the people of Cuba.

Let me be clear. We maintain the trade embargo against the Castro regime because the United States does not want to do anything that could strengthen the dictatorship. At the same time, the Cuban Democracy Act allows humanitarian assistance and the free flow of communications and ideas that can help to alleviate the suffering and isolation of the Cuban people. It is for this reason that I will continue to support Radio and TV Marti; they are an important window to the world.

The United States has no quarrel with the Cuban people. There is a long history of mutual cooperation and admiration between our two peoples. Only the dictatorship stands between our two nations. The United States will continue to encourage the dream of a free and democratic Cuba. As Jose Marti, hero of Cuba and of the Americas said, "We love liberty, because in it we see the truth." The whole world has now seen the truth of the failure of dictatorship. I pray that soon the Cuban people will enjoy the freedoms, the rights, the privileges that they deserve as human beings and that democracy so vigorously guarantees.

END

5:35 P.M. EDT

(ALTERNATE INTRO)

5:37 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I am pleased to join my colleagues Senator Bob Graham, Governor Lawton Chiles and the other members of Congress that are participating in this historic commemoration of Cuba's Independence Day.

I congratulate the Cuban American National Foundation and its Chairman, Hor' heh Mas Canosa, for your commitment to the cause of a free and democratic Cuba. Thirteen years ago, you faced long odds in bringing this cause before an apathetic -- and in many cases, unsupportive -- world community.

I share your passionate desire for Cuba to join the community of democratic nations here in our own hemisphere. The Cuban American National Foundation has played an important role in keeping the cause of a free Cuba before the American people. You have rightfully made use of your democratic freedom in the United States to advance the cause of freedom in your native Cuba.

END

5:39 P.M. EDT

[ALTERNATE CLOSE]

5:40 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I pray that very soon the Cuban people enjoy the freedoms, rights and privileges that they deserve as human beings, and that democracy so vigorously guarantees.

To the Cuban American community in the United States, and to the Cuban American National Foundation, I thank you for helping us all to remember the suffering of the people of Cuba. You have never forgotten the tragedy of your native land. I am entirely confident your work and sacrifice will soon achieve the ultimate goal -- Cuba will be free. Thank you and God bless you.

END

5:41 P.M. EDT

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DATE:

Nov. 17 1993

MESSAGE:



Cuban Committee For Democracy (CCD)

CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES: LOOKING FORWARD A SYMPOSIUM

December 3, 1993, Capital Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

7:30 a.m. - Registration

8-9:30

President: Honorable Alexander Watson, *Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America**

9:45-11:45

PANEL 1 - THE UNITED STATES AND CUBAN ECONOMIC ISSUES

Moderator & Opening Presentation: Arturo Villar, *Latin American Business Reports*

Panelists: Maria Dolores Espina, *Florida International University*
Pedro Monreal, *Centro de Estudios Sobre America (Cuba)**
George Plinio Munizán, *International Economic Consultant*
Matias Travieso-Díaz, *Shaw, Piunna, Potts & Townbridge*

12-1:30 p.m. Lunch: Senator John Kerrey (D Nebraska)*

1:45-3:45

PANEL 2 - CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES: POLITICAL DIMENSIONS

Moderator & Opening Presentation: Alfredo Durán, *Miami, Florida*

Panelists: Juan Antonio Blanco, *Fundación Félix Varela, (Cuba)**
Jorge I. Domínguez, *Inter-American Dialogue & Harvard University*
María Cristina Herrera, *Miami Dade Community College, Kendall Campus*
Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *State University of New York, College at Old Westbury*

4-5:30

PANEL 3 - CUBAN EXILE POLITICS

Moderator & Opening Presentation: Alejandro Portes, *Johns Hopkins University*

Panelists: Enrique Baloyra, *Coordinadora Social Democrática*
Siro del Castillo, *Partido Democrático Cristiano de Cuba**
Magda Montiel Davis, *Miami, Florida*
Juan Suárez Vilas, *Unión Liberal Cubana*
Jorge Tila, *Cruzada Cubana*

For advanced registration please send enclosed RSVP along with a check or money order or, please call Silvia Rodriguez (301) 309-1919, Marl Teri Vichet (305) 573-3967 or May L. Varona (212) 704-9700.

* Invited but not confirmed.

1481 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10036
(212) 704-8700
(212) 704-8812 Fax

P.O. Box 6760
Friendship Station
Ann Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
(301) 309-1919
(301) 300-1029 Fax

P.O. Box 370708
Miami, Florida 33137-0708
(305) 873-1887



Cuban Committee For Democracy (CCD)

The Board of Directors
and the Executive Committee
Cordially invite you to the banquet

FOR ONE CUBA

with Oscar Arias
former President of Costa Rica
recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize

A PEACE PLAN FOR A DEMOCRATIC CUBA

Friday, December 3, 1993

Reception 6:30 p.m.

Banquet 7:30 p.m.

The Capital Hilton
16th and K Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
\$55 per person or \$550 per table

RSVP

New York (212) 704-9700 Mary L. Varona
Washington, D.C. (301) 309-1919 Silvia Rodriguez
Miami (305) 573-1687 Mari Teri Vishot

Alfredo Duran, Banquet Chairman
Marcelino Miyares, President

1481 Broadway
New York N.Y. 10036
(212) 704-9700
(212) 704-9812 Fax

P.O. Box 5750
Falmouth Station
1006 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
(301) 309-1919
(301) 309-1920 Fax

P.O. Box 370709
Miami, Florida 33137-0709
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Cuban Committee For Democracy (CCD)

RSVP

(A.S.A.P.)

Symposium

☐ Yes, I will attend the symposium on December 3, 1993.
Admission is free.

☐ Please reserve _____ seats for breakfast at \$20 per person.

☐ Please reserve _____ seats for lunch at \$35 per person.

Banquet

☐ Yes, I will attend the BANQUET on December 3, 1993 at 7:30 p.m.
Please reserve _____ seats at \$55 per person.

Name _____ Phone () _____

Address _____ Fax () _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

RSVP by faxing this form NOW to (301) 309-1929

Note: Admission to the symposium is free. However, we have to charge for breakfast and lunch to cover costs. The same applies to the banquet fee.

For advance registration information on symposium & banquet call: Mary L. Varona (212) 704-9700
Sylvia Rodriguez (301) 309-1919
Mari Teri Vicent (301) 373-3967

Please make checks or money orders payable to CCD and send to: PO Box 5739 Friendship Station
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**Cuban Committee
For Democracy (CCD)**

Travel Arrangements for CCD Launching in Washington, D.C.

**Corporate World Travel
3899 N.W. 7th Street, Suite 214
Miami, Florida 33126
TEL: (305) 642-8448
Tel/Fax: (305) 642-4754**

Contact person: Maria Navarro

Airfare: Roundtrip to Washington, D.C. from Miami on American Airlines
is \$200 plus \$20 tax.

Hotel: ~~\$112.00 double room~~ Capital Hilton.*

*Regular rates for that time of year are \$230 for a double room.

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(305) 573-1607

B. Alex / J. Buggs
Fyl -

JOE
REIA

MEMORANDUM

TO: Representative Lincoln Diaz Balart
FROM: Rob Schroth
RE: Miami/Hialeah survey results
DATE: December 2, 1993

Saludos.

As we discussed earlier, I share your opinion of the political progress President Clinton has made within the Cuban-American community in South Florida... progress I attribute to you and others who have spread the word that this Democrat is different when it comes to our nation's policy toward Cuba.

As promised, here are the numbers from the poll I conducted for WLTV-23 and the Miami Herald between October 14-17, 1993.

Opinions of Bill Clinton

	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
Miami Cuban-Americans*	59%	34%
Hialeah Cuban-Americans*	64%	29%

*n=251 Cuban-Americans in Miami (+/- 6%)

*n=286 Cuban-Americans in Hialeah (+/- 6%)

As you correctly pointed out, these results are made even more impressive considering that the President only received 18% of the Cuban-American vote last November.

Let's talk again soon.

5335 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Suite 700
Washington, DC 20015

202 686-1351

NOV 15TH

November 11, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO [SEE DISTRIBUTION LIST]

From: Joe Velasquez, Deputy Assistant to the President
for Political Affairs

Reta Lewis, Special Assistant to the President
for Political Affairs

Re: Meeting With Cuban-American Leaders on November 15th

The Office of Political Affairs has arranged a meeting with leaders from the Florida Democratic Party and Florida's Cuban-American community for Monday, November 15th at 2:00 p.m. in room 476 of the Old Executive Office Building.

The purpose of the meeting is to discuss the current state of Florida Democratic politics in the context of the 1994 and 1996 elections. The focus of this meeting will be on the expansion of Democratic support in Florida's Cuban-American community.

Monday's meeting will also be an opportunity to open discussions regarding the Administration's relationship and involvement with the Cuban-American community.

We hope that you will be able to participate in this very important meeting. If you have any questions or would like additional information, please do not hesitate to contact one of us at X6257.

Thank you.

Attachment

cc: Joan Baggett
Craig Smith, DNC Political

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**MEETING WITH FLORIDA DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1993, 2:00 P.M.
ROOM 476, OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING**

(Working Document -- For Internal Use Only)

- I. Opening and Introductions - Joan Baggett
- II. The Working Relationship Between the White House
and the Democratic National Committee - Joan Baggett
- III. The Importance of Florida in the 1994 and 1996
Elections - Craig Smith, DNC
- IV. The Importance of Latino Support in the 1994 and 1996
Elections - Joe Velasquez
- V. Discussion of Cuban American Issues (such as:)
 - *Cuban-American appointments (Boards &
Commissions, Judges, U.S. Attorneys, Political
Appointments--such as Cuban Broadcasting position)
 - *Opportunities to expand the base of Latino
support within Florida and nationwide
 - *Development of a surrogate group within the
Cuban-American community