

# FOIA MARKER

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Cuba [Folder 2] [1]

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                       | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001a. memo               | Philip Caplan to President Clinton re: Next steps on Cuba (1 page)                                  | 12/29/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 001b. memo               | Samuel Berger to President Clinton re: Next steps on Cuba (5 pages)                                 | 12/23/1998 | P1/b(1)     |
| 002. memo                | Bab Nash to President Clinton re: Advisory Board for Cuba<br>Broadcasting (Non-Selection) (3 pages) | 01/08/1998 | b(6)        |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Public Liaison  
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2016-0920-F

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### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



United States Department of State

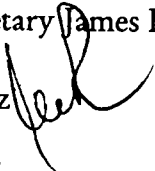
Washington, D.C. 20520

January 13, 1999

NOT FOR THE SYSTEM

MEMORANDUM

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: Assistant Secretary James P. Rubin  
FROM: Lula Rodriguez   
RE: Roll-out plan for new measures on Cuba

In order to keep the public informed about our Cuba policy we have worked closely with the NSC, CCA, and WHA in developing an ongoing public and media outreach plan. We have maintained regular contact with the Cuban American community and NGOs, frequently getting their input on policy questions and furthering their understanding of the measures announced on January 5.

Public Outreach

May 8, 1998

Michael Ranneberger visits Miami for outreach to the Cuban American community.

May 13-18, 1998

Lula Rodriguez and Michael Ranneberger visit Miami for outreach to the Florida Governor's Advisory Committee and for press outreach.

September 18, 1998

Assistant Secretary Romero and Jeff de Laurentis visit Miami and meet with Bishop Roman and other members of the Miami archdioceses to discuss Cuba.

October 22, 1998

Full day US-Cuba policy briefing at Department of State and the White House for emerging Cuban American community leaders from Miami and Tampa. They were briefed on US policy by senior administration officials from the State Department, Treasury Department, US Coast Guard, USIA, USAID, and the NSC. This was a successful effort to reach beyond established groups in the Cuban American community.

November 13, 1998

Sent informational packet to Cuban Americans who attended the October 22 briefing.

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December 1, 1998

The Bureau of Public Affairs hosted a half day US-Cuba Policy briefing for area NGOs and Cuban Americans from New Jersey, who were recommended by Congressman Menendez. There were 13 participants.

December 3, 1998

Assistant Secretary Koh visited Miami with CCA Director Michael Ranneberger and met with the Cuban American National Foundation, Office of Cuba Broadcasting, Diario Las Americas, and the Miami Herald. In addition, Assistant Secretary Koh met with several of the community leaders who had attended the October policy briefing and with a small group of human rights activists.

December 4, 1998

Assistant Secretary Rubin visited Miami and was the guest lecturer at Miami Dade Community college for a class on Mass Communications. Later that day, he was interviewed by Michael Putney on WPLG channel 10, regarding Cuba and the Middle East. In addition, he met with influential leaders in the Jewish-Cuban community.

December 10, 1998

The four members of the Internal Dissidence Working Group, currently imprisoned in Cuba, were highlighted by the President in his remarks commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Public Affairs invited Ms. Ruth Montaner, a Cuban American human rights activist and representative of the four dissidents in the US, to sign the Declaration for Human Rights Defenders in their name. This event was well publicized in South Florida media.

December 11, 1998

Sent informational packet to Cuban Americans who attended the October 22 briefing. This packet contained information on the Secretary's meeting with the three Cuban American Congressmen, Assistant Secretary Koh's trip to Miami, and the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including POTUS speech.

December 15-28, 1998

Following up on the briefing in October, Lula Rodriguez conducted consultation phone calls to the Cuban American leaders and the "core group."

December 21-25, 1998

Radio Marti broadcasts the Secretary's Christmas message to the Cuban people 3 times a day during this period. Diario Las Americas and El Nuevo Herald print the Secretary's message.

January 4, 1999

Public Affairs helped arrange consultation calls for Under Secretary Eizenstat to the "core group." Lula Rodriguez placed calls in the evening to 13 Cuban American community leaders (from the October 22 briefing), informing them of the new measures. Public Affairs also worked with the office of Senator Bob Graham to coordinate media outreach.

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January 5, 1999

Talking points were blast faxed to community leaders early in the morning and the "core group" was sent via overnight express mail, a packet containing POTUS/Secretary of State's statements, fact sheets, and Q's and A's.

Public Communications posted a special segment on Cuba on the State Department's web page with links to POTUS/Secretary of State's statements and fact sheets. This segment also includes links to information on March 20 measures and numerous other speeches, statements, and fact sheets on our Cuba policy.

January 8, 1999

Public Affairs hosted an NGO briefing for the representatives of the NGO community to solicit their input regarding the new Cuba measures. Humanitarian organizations, think tanks, and universities/academic exchange organizations participated in the briefing.

Media Outreach

April 5, 1998

The Secretary authored an op-ed piece for *Diarios Las Americas*, "Advancing Hemispheric Cooperation: The Summit of the Americas," mentioning Cuba.

May 3, 1998

The Secretary authored an op-ed piece for *Diarios Las Americas*, "The Cuban People Will Be Free".

June 7, 1998

The Secretary authored an op-ed piece for *Diarios Las Americas*, "The OAS Marks Fifty Years," mentioning Cuba.

December 6, 1998

The Secretary authored an op-ed piece for *Diarios Las Americas*, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Celebrates Fifty Years," mentioning Cuba.

January 4, 1999

The Secretary held an afternoon press background briefing in her outer office regarding the announcement of the measures.

January 5, 1999

Following the announcement of the new measures, Assistant Secretary Romero and Lula Rodriguez conducted Spanish language interviews with *CNN en Espanol*, *Univision*, and RCN Television. Later that evening, Assistant Secretary Romero was interviewed by Echo TV. Lula Rodriguez was interviewed by *El Nuevo Herald* (Miami), WAQI radio (Miami), and BBC radio in Spanish (Miami).

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At 3:30, Media Outreach arranged for NSC Senior Director James Dobbins and Assistant Secretary Peter Romero to hold an Editorial Board Conference call.

At 7:00 pm Secretary Albright was interviewed on the Leher News Hour to discuss the new Cuba measures.

January 6, 1999

Seventeen major newspapers posted editorials regarding the announcement. Lula Rodriguez was interviewed by six Miami radio stations and Michael Ranneberger was interviewed by CBS This Morning with Ileana Ros-Lehtenin and the Miami Herald.

January 7-13, 1999

Media Outreach is coordinating with Cuban American leaders and others who are interested in writing op-ed pieces for major newspapers.

Please find the following attached:

Copy of DOS web page on Cuba

Packet containing news clips regarding the January 5 measures

Packet containing editorials from major newspapers regarding January 5 measures

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## U.S.-Cuba Policy

### The President Reaches Out to Cuban People, Not Castro: New Measures Support Development of Civic Society



The President announces additional measures that demonstrates the United States' compassion for the Cuban people, our strong interest in building bonds between the citizens of our nations, and our determination to provide the people of Cuba with hope in their struggle against a system that for four decades has denied them even basic human rights.

#### Measures announced January 5, 1999:

- 01/05/99: President Clinton's Remarks
- 01/05/99: Secretary Albright's Remarks
- 01/05/99 Special Briefing by Administration Officials

#### Fact Sheets:

- Food Sales
- Remittances
- Direct Flights
- Increased People-To-People Contacts
- Direct Mail
- Increased Public Diplomacy

#### Measures announced March 20, 1998:

- 3/20/98: Secretary Albright's Remarks
- 5/13/98: Press Statement

#### Fact Sheets (5/13/98):

- Direct Humanitarian Cargo Flights
- Direct Passenger Charter Flights
- Family Remittances to Cuba
- Facilitating the Licensing of the Export of Commercially Sold and Donated Medicines, Medical Supplies and Equipment to Cuba
- Travel Violations: New Procedures for Fully Hosted Travelers

#### U.S.-Cuba Relations

Remarks, Testimony, and Briefings | Press Statements | Fact Sheets | Reports | Other Information

- U.S. Embargo Against Cuba, Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury

#### Remarks, Testimony, and Briefings

- 11/09/98: Michael E. Ranneberger, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA (U.S. Policy Toward Cuba: Pursuing Peaceful Democratic Transition)
- 07/16/98: E. Eizenstat, statement on the President's Title III Decision, Washington, DC
- 05/13/98: Michael Ranneberger, House Ways and Means Committee, Washington, DC (U.S. Policy Toward Cuba)
- 05/07/98: Michael Ranneberger, House Ways and Means Committee, Washington, DC
- 04/22/98: Ambassador Victor Marrero,

#### Press Statements

- 12/23/98: Expulsions from Cuban UN Mission
- 12/03/98: U.S.-Cuba Migration Talks
- 10/01/98: Emergency Food Relief
- 07/10/98: July 13 Air Commemorative Ceremony Off Cuba
- 06/25/98: U.S.-Cuba Migration Talks
- 04/21/98: UN Human Rights Commission Vote on Cuba Resolution
- 01/15/98: U.S. Travelers to Cuba During Papal Visit
- 12/01/97: U.S.-Cuba Migration Talks
- 11/17/97: Implementation of Title IV of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of

- Organization of American States
- [04/03/98](#): Michael Ranneberger, American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Right to Travel, Washington, DC (U.S. Policy Toward Cuba)
- [03/20/98](#): Press briefing on U.S.-Cuba Policy
- [03/20/98](#): Secretary Albright on Cuba
- [03/12/98](#): Michael Ranneberger, House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on International Economic Policy and Trade, Washington, DC
- [01/07/98](#): Stuart E. Eizenstat, North American Committee of the National Policy Association, Washington, DC
- [11/17/97](#): Michael E. Ranneberger, Coral Gables, Florida
- [07/28/97](#): Jeffrey Davidow (U.S. Vision: Cuba and Hemispheric Policy)
- [07/16/97](#): Stuart E. Eizenstat, Suspension of Title III of Libertad Act, July 15, 1997.
- [07/16/97](#): Stuart Eizenstat, Helms-Burton Act
- [05/03/97](#): Michael Ranneberger, 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Journalists and Editors Workshop on Latin America and the Caribbean, Miami, Florida (Difficulties and Challenges Facing News Coverage of Cuba)
- [02/28/97](#): Michael Ranneberger, Miami, Florida (U.S. Policy Now and in the Future)
- [01/03/97](#): Stuart Eizenstat (Promotion of Democracy in Cuba)
- [07/30/96](#): Jeffrey Davidow, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, DC (Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (LIBERTAD))
- 1996
- [10/30/97](#): November 1 "Flotilla" to Waters off Cuba
- [10/09/97](#): October 11 "Flotilla" to Waters off Cuba
- [09/15/97](#): U.S. Support for Independent Groups in Cuba
- [09/05/97](#): Foreign Relations Volume on Cuba, 1961-62
- [08/22/97](#): 1998 Papal Visit to Cuba: Issuance of License to Archdiocese of Miami
- [08/15/97](#): Cuba's Deteriorating Human Rights Situation
- [07/30/97](#): Foreign Relations Volume, 1961-1963, Volume X, Cuba, 1961-1962
- [07/23/97](#): Implementation of Title IV of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996
- [07/17/97](#): U.S.-Cuba Migration Talks, July 16-17, 1997
- [07/10/97](#): "Flotilla" to Waters Off Cuba July 13
- [07/01/97](#): U.S.-Cuba Migration Talks
- [05/14/97](#): Flotilla to Waters Off Cuba May 17
- [05/14/97](#): U.S. Embargo and Health Care in Cuba: Myth Versus Reality

#### Fact Sheets

- [07/16/98](#): The President's Title III Decision
- [03/20/98](#): Direct Humanitarian Flights
- [03/20/98](#): Remittances to Cuba
- [03/20/98](#): Sales of Medicines to Cuba
- [01/12/98](#): Papal Visit to Cuba January 21-25, 1998
- [08/05/97](#): U.S. Embargo and Healthcare in Cuba: Myth Versus Reality
- [07/16/97](#): President's Title III Decision

#### Reports

- [April 1998](#): Cuba Background Notes
- [05/28/97](#): New Transatlantic Agenda: Senior Level Group Report to the U.S.-EU Summit
- 1996: Strategy Report on International Narcotics Control
- 1997: Patterns of Global Terrorism (released April 1998)
- 1996: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices
- [01/28/97](#): President's Report to Congress: Support for a Democratic Transition in Cuba
  - \* [Texto en Espanol del Reporte del Presidente Clinton \(1/28/97\)](#).
  - \* [01/28/97](#): President Clinton's transmittal letter

#### Other Information

- [01/12/98](#): Chronology of Cuban Affairs, 1958-1998
- [02/09/98](#): Comparative Look at Socio-Economic Conditions in Pre-Castro and Present Day Cuba

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### Inter-American Affairs | Department Home Page

This is an official U.S. Government source for information on the WWW. Inclusion of non-U.S. Government links does not imply endorsement of contents.





**BUREAU OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

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

**TO:** Mario Echazeste  
456-6703

**FROM:** *Lula Rodriguez, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs*  
**FAX:** 202-647-3344 **PHONE:** 202-647-6088

**MESSAGE:** I thought you would be  
amused by the great play the  
President's sentence on Cuba  
got in Miami Dario  
Lula

**NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET):** 5

## Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión

# Clinton apuesta por la libertad de Cuba

● **Enfoca Clinton el superávit y propone reforzar la seguridad social con \$2.7 mil millones**

● **Clinton pide "vía rápida" y conversaciones globales de comercio**

● **Inmigrantes fortalecen a EE.UU. pero tienen que aprender inglés**

WASHINGTON (EFE).- El presidente de Estados Unidos, Bill Clinton, dijo este martes que está comprometido con la "libertad" de Cuba, dos semanas después de haber puesto en marcha un nuevo esfuerzo de acercamiento al país caribeño.

"En este hemisferio, cada gobierno, excepto uno, es elegido libremente por su pueblo. Estamos decididos a que Cuba también conozca las bendiciones de la libertad", indicó Clinton en su mensaje sobre el Estado de la Unión.

El nuevo esfuerzo de acercamiento a Cuba se centra en fomentar los contactos directos con la sociedad cubana sin dejar de respetar la ley del embargo económico que Estados Unidos mantiene contra la isla caribeña.

El gobierno estadounidense, sin embargo, rechazó una propuesta de un grupo de senadores de ambos partidos que pedían la creación de una comisión para revisar el embargo comercial a Cuba.

Clinton, además, decidió el pasado viernes mantener en suspenso el título III de la ley Helms-Burton, que permite demandar en los tribunales a los que hacen negocios con propiedades confiscadas a estadouni-



denses. La ley Helms-Burton, que reforzó el embargo estadounidense contra Cuba, cumplirá el próximo 12 de marzo tres años, pero Clinton ha evitado una y otra vez la puesta en marcha del título III.

### PROPOSICION PARA LA SEGURIDAD SOCIAL

WASHINGTON (EFE).- Con el trasfondo del juicio al que es sometido en el Senado, el presidente estadounidense, Bill Clinton,

El presidente de Estados Unidos, Bill Clinton, les habla a los miembros del Congreso en el Capitolio, en su discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión. (Telefoto AFP).

destacó hoy la su al disfrutar del pe: expansión econón seguir eliminar e ficit presupuestar

Clinton fue recib por sus compañer y con frialdad y r republicanos al e micio del Congi nunciar el discurs de la Unión.

Por primera vez del país, Clinton : dos cámaras del C do está siendo juz nado por los deli y obstrucción de

La situación es i mócratas han ce

## Valiente reacción popular en el juicio a Díaz Hernández

**Cantan el Himno Nacional de Cuba y dan vívas a los derechos humanos**

Por RAMON ALBERTO CRUZ LIMA  
(Nueva Prensa Cubana)

Un grupo de aproximadamente 20 personas — entre opositores, amigos y familiares— rompieron las vívas a los derechos humanos y a Cuba

### A co

SEVILLA (E un brasileño d en una cárcel detenido. Des de ruedas, pu un pie, y hast

Su dolencia e en el Hospital

# el Estado de la Unión

# apuesta por

# ad de Cuba

Clinton pide "vía rápida" y conversaciones globales de comercio

● Inmigrantes fortalecen a EE.UU. pero tienen que aprender inglés



El presidente de Estados Unidos, Bill Clinton, les habla a los miembros del Congreso en el Capitolio, en su discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión. (Telefoto AFP).



destacó hoy la solidez del país al disfrutar del período de mayor expansión económica y tras conseguir eliminar el abultado déficit presupuestario.

fuertes aplausos, mientras los republicanos-aunque muchos de ellos están ausentes-le recibieron con decoro por respeto a la presidencia de Estados Unidos.

Clinton fue recibido con vítores por sus compañeros demócratas y con frialdad y respeto por los republicanos al entrar en el hemisiciclo del Congreso para pronunciar el discurso del Estado de la Unión.

La reforma de la seguridad social, el fortalecimiento del sistema educativo y el repaso a la sólida situación económica del país son algunos de los principales temas a los que se referirá Clinton.

Por primera vez en la historia del país, Clinton se dirige a las dos cámaras del Congreso cuando está siendo juzgado por el Senado por los delitos de perjurio y obstrucción de la justicia.

Nada más comenzar el discurso, Clinton se refirió a los 18 millones de nuevos empleos, al superávit de 70.000 millones de dólares, la reducción del crimen y del número de personas incluidas en los planes de bienestar

La situación es inédita y los demócratas han cerrado filas con

(Pasa a la Pág. 12-A Col. 1)

países", dijo Clinton del pelotero dominicano Sammy Sosa, uno de los invitados especiales que fue sentado junto a la Primera Dama Hillary Clinton, en el palco reservado a la familia presidencial. Sosa fue honrado no sólo por sus logros deportivos sino por su compromiso para ayudar a las víctimas de los huracanes Georges y Mitch en el Caribe y Centroamérica. (Telefoto AFP).

La ley Helms-Burton, que prohíbe el embargo estadounidense a Cuba, cumplirá el 12 de marzo tres años. Clinton ha evitado la votación de la ley en marzo.

## PROPOSICION PARA LA SEGURIDAD SOCIAL

WASHINGTON (EFE).- Con el trasfondo del juicio al que es sometido en el Senado, el presidente estadounidense, Bill Clinton,

## ciación popular en

## íaz Hernández

dan vivas a los derechos humanos

Un grupo de aproximadamente 20 personas --

## ¡A correr se ha dicho....!

SEVILLA (España) (EFE). Constantino Alexandre da Silva, un brasileño de 45 años, se encontraba en prisión preventiva en una cárcel sevillana desde diciembre de 1997, cuando fue detenido. Desde entonces había estado siempre en una silla de ruedas, pues el preso sostenía que sufría una dolencia en un pie, y hasta se sospechaba de cáncer en el colon.

Su dolencia obligó a hospitalizarlo el 26 de noviembre pasado

Pág. 12-A - DIARIO LAS AMERICAS JUEVES 21 DE ENERO DE 1999

# Clinton apuesta por

(Viene de la pág. 1-A)

social. El estado del indudable estado de bienestar del país contrasta con la crisis política que atraviesa Estados Unidos y a la que el presidente Clinton no se va a referir.

Sus abogados defensores comenzaron hoy justamente a refutar los argumentos de culpabilidades de los fiscales republicanos en el juicio que se sigue en el Senado por los delitos de perjurio y obstrucción a la justicia.

Tras destacar las grandes cifras que demuestran la solidez actual del país, Clinton entró de lleno en su discurso a proponer una reforma del sistema de seguridad social.

Clinton propuso que buena parte del superávit del presupuesto federal, que en 1998 fue de 70.000 millones de dólares, en reforzar la Seguridad Social, con cerca de 2,7 billones de dólares que se invertirán en 15 años.

En total, el gobierno estadounidense, debido al buen momento y a las expectativas de la economía, espera un superávit en esos 15 años de casi 4 billones de dólares, que Clinton quiere dedicar a garantizar el futuro y la salud de los ciudadanos.

Además de la Seguridad Social, que se llevaría el 60 por ciento de ese superávit con un plan innovador, Clinton propuso impulsar el maltrecho sistema de atención médica, al que pretende dedicar el 15 por ciento del excedente presupuestario.

Otro 11 por ciento irá dirigido al sistema de cuentas de ahorro de jubilaciones, que está subsidiarizado por el gobierno, y una cantidad similar a otros gastos, entre militares y de orden social.

## CLINTON PIDE "VIA RAPIDA" RAPIDA" Y CONVERSACIONES GLOBALES DE COMERCIO

WASHINGTON (EFE).- El presidente Bill Clinton apeló a "las naciones del mundo a unirse a Estados Unidos en una nueva negociación global de comercio" y pidió al Congreso que le conceda autoridad de la llamada "vía rápida" ("fast-track").

Clinton hizo este llamamiento en el discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión que pronunció ante las dos Cámaras del Congreso.

El presidente quiere nuevas negociaciones (parecidas a las de la Ronda Uruguay aunque por sectores) "para ampliar la exportación de servicios, productos manufacturados y sobre todo agrícolas".

Para poder lanzar estas negociaciones, Clinton pidió al Congreso que le dé "la autoridad comercial que se ha utilizado durante mucho tiempo para hacer avanzar nuestra prosperidad".

Clinton aludía con ello a la autoridad de "vía rápida" por la que el Legislativo concede al Gobierno autoridad para negociar acuerdos comerciales que se compromete a no modificar después.

Esta autoridad es necesaria para negociar, entre otras cosas, el Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas, ALCA.

Clinton lleva sin "fast track" casi desde el principio de su Presidencia porque no hay apoyo en el Congreso para que se renueve, pero durante la reciente visita a Washington del presidente argentino, Carlos Menem, prometió tratar de conseguirla este año.

En su discurso de hoy, Clinton

aludió a los temores que despierta el libre comercio en EE.UU., reconociendo que el tema "ha dividido a los estadounidenses durante mucho tiempo" y que "hay que encontrar un terreno común para las empresas, los trabajadores, los ecologistas, los agricultores y el Gobierno".

En este sentido, Clinton pidió que se "levanten las barreras y se abran los mercados", asegurándose a la vez de que "los ciudadanos de a pie de todos los países se benefician" del comercio.

Clinton defiende un comercio que "promueva los derechos de los trabajadores y la protección del medioambiente".

Anunció que piensa colaborar con la Organización Internacional del Trabajo sobre una nueva iniciativa para mejorar los derechos laborales en el mundo, y "liderar a la comunidad internacional hacia la conclusión de un tratado que prohíba la mano de obra infantil en todo el mundo".

El presidente insistió además en la necesidad de que "las organizaciones de comercio internacionales estén abiertas al escrutinio público".

Paralelamente, dijo Clinton, "seguimos trabajando globalmente para construir un sistema financiero para el siglo XXI que promueva la prosperidad" y frene el ciclo de crecimiento y recesión.

Una mayor liberalización del comercio es, según Clinton, la mejor manera de contrarrestar los efectos de la crisis financiera internacional, que es, recordó Clinton, "la más seria de los últimos cincuenta años".

El presidente insistió en su discurso sobre la necesidad de incrementar el comercio con dos regiones, la de Centroamérica y el Caribe y África.

## Cuba condiciona los dos partidos frente a los Orioles

(Viene de la pág. 1-A)

...ones fueron el destino de los ingresos ... tidos de exhibición. Antes de 1959, muchos ...

# la libertad de Cuba

**INMIGRANTES FORTALECEN A EE.UU., PERO TIENEN QUE APRENDER INGLÉS**

WASHINGTON (EFE).- El presidente Bill Clinton dijo que los "nuevos inmigrantes" fortalecen a Estados Unidos, pero les advirtió de que para integrarse en la vida estadounidense tienen que aprender inglés.

La mitad de los 26,3 millones de inmigrantes de Estados Unidos son hispanohablantes procedentes de Latinoamérica, y el 27 por ciento son originarios de un sólo país, México.

"Tenemos la responsabilidad de darles la bienvenida y ellos tienen la responsabilidad de integrarse al sistema de vida estadounidense. Eso significa aprender inglés y nuestro sistema democrático de gobierno", indicó Clinton en su mensaje sobre el Estado de la Unión.

El presidente Clinton ha sido un defensor de los programas de educación bilingüe e hizo campaña en contra de la propuesta "227" que eliminó los programas de enseñanza en español en el estado de California.

Además, durante el pasado año, congresistas republicanos, encabezados por el republicano por California Frank Riggs, intentaron desmantelar la ley federal de educación bilingüe.

En su mensaje de esta noche, Clinton indicó que no importa la ascendencia de los estadounidenses "debemos ser y tenemos que ser un solo país", "no hay mayor obligación hacia el siglo XXI".

El presidente estadounidense sostuvo que el presupuesto para el año fiscal 1999-2000 "aumentará significativamente nuestros esfuerzos para ayudarles (a los inmigrantes) a cumplir sus responsabilidades".

"Nuestro nuevos inmigrantes tienen que ser parte de Estados Unidos", dijo Clinton (a lo que él respondió: "¡Maté agrícola Dwayne Andreas, el cretino que piensa que Castro es

Unidos. Ellos dan nueva vitalidad a nuestras ciudades, nuevas energías a nuestra cultura, construyen nuestra nueva economía", agregó el gobernante.

Clinton, además, pidió al Congreso que apruebe legislación contra la discriminación en el empleo y en favor de la prevención de los "delitos de odio".

## Oraciones

### A SAN JUDAS TADEO

Abogado de los casos difíciles y desesperados. Reza nueve Ave Marías durante nueve días. Pide tres deseos: uno de negocio y dos imposibles. Al noveno día publicar este aviso.

Se cumplirá aunque no lo creas. Gracias por favor recibido.

I.V. - T.V.

### ORACION PARA LOS CASOS MAS DIFICILES

Ante Ti vengo, con toda la fe de mi alma, a buscar tu sagrado consuelo, en mi difícil situación. No me desampares; en las puertas que se han de abrir en mi camino, sea tu brazo poderoso el que las abra para darme la tranquilidad que anelo (3 peticiones difíciles). Súplica que te hace un corazón afligido por duros golpes del cruel destino que lo han vencido siempre en la lucha humana, y que si tu poder divino no intercede en mi favor sucumbo por falta de ayuda. Brazo poderoso, asistente, ampara y conduceme a la gloria celestial: Gracias dulce Jesús. (Se reza por 15 días esta oración para los casos más difíciles, empezando el viernes, mando a publicar antes de los 8 días).

A. ALONSO

### A SAN JUDAS TADEO

Abogado de los casos difíciles y desesperados. Reza nueve Ave Marías durante nueve días. Pide tres deseos: uno de negocio y dos imposibles. Al noveno día publicar este aviso.

Se cumplirá aunque no lo creas. Gracias por favor recibido.

E.M.B.

### ORACION AL ESPIRITU SANTO

Espíritu Santo. Tú que me aclaras todo, que iluminas todos los caminos para que yo alcance mi ideal. Tú que me das el don Divino de perdonar y olvidar el mal que me hacen y que en todos los instantes de mi vida estás conmigo. Yo quiero en este corto diálogo agradecerte por todo y confirmar que nunca quiero separarme de Ti, por mayor que sea la ilusión material. Deseo estar contigo y todos mis seres queridos en Gloria perpetua. Gracias por tu misericordia para conmigo y los míos.

(La persona deberá rezar esta la oración 3 días seguidos, sin decir el pedido. Dentro de los 3 días será alcanzada la gracia por más difícil que sea. Publicar en cuanto se reciba la gracia.) Gracias por los favores recibidos. F.S.

### ORACION Al Divino Niño

Rece:

7 Padrenuestro,  
7 Avemaría y  
7 Credos

Durante 7 días. Pida un imposible y será favorecido, aún sin fé. Mande publicar al séptimo día.

Gracias.

NINFA

### ORACION A SAN JUDAS TADEO

Oh, gloriosísimo Apóstol San Judas, siempre fiel y amigo de Jesús, el nombre del traidor que entregó a nuestro querido Maestro en manos de sus enemigos ha sido la causa de que muchos os hayan olvidado, pero la Iglesia os honra e invoca universalmente como patrón de los casos difíciles y desesperados. Rogad por mí que soy tan miserable; y hazed uso, os ruego, de ese privilegio especial a vos concedido de ascender viable y prontamente cuando cada se ha perdido toda esperanza. Venid en mi ayuda en esta gran necesidad, para que reciba los consuelos y socorros del cielo en todas mis necesidades, tribulaciones y sufrimientos, particularmente (Haga aquí las súplicas especiales que desea obtener), y para que bendiga a Dios con vos y con todos los creyentes por toda la eternidad.

Os prometo, glorioso San Judas, acordarme siempre de vós gran favor y nunca dejaré de honraros como a mi especial y poderoso protector y hacer todo lo que pueda para fomentar vuestra devoción. Se ora 8 días, 8 días, prometiéndole publicar al octavo día. Es...

...furo de Cuba, Pinocho, el caballo o bola de churre, como Ud. quiera llamarlo había declarado que se acabaría con los robos, la prostitución, la bo... negra, etc. etc. y que para terminar esos delitos se fusilaría a los...

**Cuban American  
Democratic  
Council - Florida**

---

x 61907

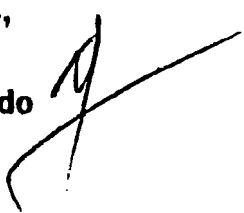
*Facsimile*

To: Maria Echaveste  
From: Arnaldo Varona, Press Secretary  
Date: Friday, November 27, 1998  
Re: On Cuban/American Relations.  
Pages: 2 (Including this).

Dear Maria: Would you be so kind as to forward  
(In person if possible) this attached letter to the  
President's office on Cuban Affairs.  
Thanks in advance for the consideration to our request.

Yours,

Arnaldo



---



**Miami, Florida  
November 27, 1998**

**Founded 1973**

**P.O. Box 450134  
Miami, Florida  
USA 33245-0134**

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arnoldov@aol.com**

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Commissioner**

**President's Office on  
Cuban Affairs  
Washington, D.C.**

**Dear Sirs:**

**On behalf of the Cuban American Democratic Council  
we would like to express our support for the continuance  
of the actual Cuban Administration Policy responding  
to any positive step toward democracy in Cuba.**

**If any question about what Cuban American Democrats  
in Florida think about it, please do not hesitate to call,**

**Sincerely yours,**

**Arnoldo Varona  
Public Relations**

**cc:AV/lmn  
K.Gort  
L.E.Chinea**

## **CUBA: MEASURES IN SUPPORT OF CUBAN PEOPLE**

**January 5, 1999**

***CONTEXT: The President will announce today that he has authorized steps -- building on measures the Administration took last March-- to increase support to the Cuban people. Secretary Albright yesterday provided a background briefing to the press on the measures. After release of the President's statement mid-day today, the Secretary will make a statement, and ARA Assistant Secretary Pete Romero, NSC Senior Director Jim Dobbins, and ARA's director for Cuban affairs will provide an in-depth press briefing over at State.***

### **What do you plan to announce today?**

Will have a Presidential statement for you around mid-day, followed by a statement by Secretary Albright and in-depth briefing over at State.

Will announce that the President has authorized certain measures in support of the Cuban people -- to ease current humanitarian plight and help prepare for democratic future.

- Measures build on the success of similar steps the President authorized back in March.
- Deal with allowing increased remittances; food sales to private entities; broader exchanges; expanded charter flights; and efforts to establish direct mail service.
- Detailed briefing will be provided at State.

### **How quickly will these measures be implemented?**

The Departments of Treasury (Office of Foreign Assets Control), Commerce and State will immediately begin developing implementation guidelines. Implementing regulations will be published expeditiously, in coming weeks.

### **Is this a back-door way of softening the embargo?**

No. Embargo remains in place. Policy is to keep pressure on the Cuban government to change -- through the embargo and diplomatic efforts -- while reaching out to the Cuban people to encourage independent, nongovernmental activity and promote emergence of civil society.

As in last March, will implement the measures in a manner that maximizes benefit to the Cuban people and minimizes benefit to the government.

Detailed briefing will be provided at State.



**Is it true that the Baltimore Orioles are being licensed to play in Havana?**

Orioles are being licensed to conduct exploratory talks with Cuban government on holding charity exhibition games, with profits going to Cuban religious groups.

Expansion of such people-to-people contacts are intended to increase support to the Cuban people and encourage development of civil society.

**We've heard that the President has decided against forming the bipartisan commission on Cuba that Senator Warner and others recommended. Why?**

Have studied proposal with great care. Is a serious proposal, put forward in a constructive spirit by individuals of great experience and stature.

On consideration, we have concluded that the better course for the present is to continue to develop and implement policy toward Cuba on the basis of bipartisan consultations with the Congress.

We believe there is broad bipartisan support for the basic thrust of our policy -- which is to help the Cuban people prepare for a peaceful democratic transition, and to promote the development of civil society and the expansion of contacts with the Cuban people in ways that do not strengthen the Cuban regime.

Measures announced by the Administration last March to this end received broad support in the Congress and in the country. We believe the further measures we are announcing today will also secure such support.

Accordingly, Secretary Albright advised the President, and the President agreed, not to proceed with the creation of a commission, but rather to continue to consider and develop ways to support the Cuban people and promote a democratic transition without strengthening the Cuban government. The Administration will continue to consult on a bipartisan basis with all interested members of Congress and the public.

In this connection, we note and appreciate the input we continue to receive from a variety of private and nongovernmental experts, advisory groups, and other interested constituencies throughout the country.

Secretary's statement on Cuba January 5, 1999

Good afternoon.

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

**FAX TRANSMITTAL**

# of pages ▶

|              |                 |         |                |
|--------------|-----------------|---------|----------------|
| To           | Maria Echeverre | From    | Lula Rodriguez |
| Dept./Agency |                 | Phone # | 647-6088       |
| Fax #        | 456-1907        | Fax #   |                |

NSN 7540-01-317-7368

5089-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Last March, in response to Pope John Paul II's inspiring pilgrimage to Cuba, the Clinton Administration took steps to reach out to the people of that country to make clear our concern for them and to help make their lives more tolerable.

Today, after consultations with concerned nongovernmental organizations and leading Members of Congress, we are announcing additional steps in furtherance of that policy.

Our goal is to encourage the development in Cuba of peaceful civic activities that are independent of the government and that will help the Cuban people prepare for the day when their country is once again free.

First, we will seek to expose additional elements of Cuban society to democratic practices and values by encouraging additional religious, scientific, educational, athletic and other exchanges between our two peoples. We will do this by streamlining visa and licensing procedures for travel between Cuba and the United States by qualified persons, other than senior Cuban government officials.

Second, we will expand direct licensed passenger flights to Cuba by authorizing flights from some cities other than Miami, and to destinations in Cuba other than Havana.

Third, we are broadening the categories of eligible recipients in Cuba for the receipt of financial remittances from the United States. Under this policy, all U.S. residents will be authorized to send up to \$300 each quarter to any Cuban family, except for senior government and party leaders. In addition, U.S. citizens and non-governmental organizations will be licensed, on a case-by-case basis, to send larger remittances to entities in Cuba that are independent of the Cuban Government.

Fourth, we will authorize the sale of food and agricultural inputs to private entities and farmers in Cuba. This will also be done on a case-by-case basis, and for the purpose of promoting economic activity that is independent of the Cuban Government.

Finally, we will seek to restore direct mail service between the United States and Cuba.

These steps are neither designed, nor expected, to alter our relations with the Cuban government. But taken together, they constitute a major advance in our effort to reach out to the Cuban people. They should help all Cubans to understand that the United States is on their side in the search for economic choice and prosperity; in the quest for freedom of religion, expression and thought; and in the desire to fulfill Jose Marti's dream of a Cuba where all may participate freely in the political life of their country.

- 2 -

One year ago, Pope John Paul II brought to Cuba a message of hope and justice, liberty and love. Thanks to him, the right to celebrate Christmas has been restored to the people of Cuba. Unfortunately, the Cuban Government has shown no interest in restoring other freedoms. On the contrary, authorities have been heavy-handed in crushing efforts to express dissent or to mobilize support for internationally-recognized human rights.

It is the responsibility of the United States, our partners in the hemisphere, and the world at large to maintain pressure for democratic change.

To this end, the Clinton Administration will continue to support adequate funding for broadcasting to Cuba. We will ask the Broadcasting Board of Governors to study possible additional broadcasting sites. And we will intensify our efforts through public diplomacy to promote international support for those in Cuba who are struggling to gain the freedoms to which people everywhere are entitled.

As President Clinton emphasizes in his own statement today, our policy is designed to promote closer ties between our people and those of Cuba without providing aid and comfort to a repressive and backward-looking regime.

Our policy recognizes the importance of helping Cuban families to overcome the divisions imposed by emigration and exile. For as one Cuban-American leader told us, "In building civil society, the strongest NGO is the family."

Before closing, I want to note with appreciation the constructive proposal put forward by Senators Warner and Dodd and others concerning the possible creation of a bipartisan commission on U.S. policy towards Cuba.

Although we do not support establishing such a commission at this time, we will continue to study the proposal, and to welcome other suggestions for encouraging a democratic transition in Cuba.

Next year, the world will begin a new century. In Cuba, where the population is especially young, the personalities and policies of the leadership remain mired in the past, but the focus of the people is rightly on the future.

We and the people of Cuba must act with tomorrow in mind. Fully aware of present obstacles, we share a faith in the power of liberty to inspire peaceful, but far-reaching change. Although we cannot foretell how soon; we know the day is drawing closer when the community of freedom will once more encompass the Pearl of the Antilles and the hemisphere of American democracies will be complete.

Thank you very much.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 5, 1999

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Last March, in the wake of Pope John Paul's historic visit to Cuba, I authorized measures designed to ease the plight of the Cuban people and help them prepare for a democratic future. The restoration of direct passenger flights, resumption of family remittances, expansion of people-to-people contacts, and increases in the sale of medicines since then have had a positive impact. They demonstrate the United States' compassion for the Cuban people, our strong interest in building bonds between the citizens of our nations, and our determination to provide the people of Cuba with hope in their struggle against a system that for four decades has denied them even basic human rights.

Building on the success of the measures I announced last March, I am today authorizing additional steps to reach out to the Cuban people:

Expansion of remittances by allowing any U.S. resident (not only those with families in Cuba) to send limited funds to individual Cuban families as well as to organizations independent of the government.

Expansion of people-to-people contact through two-way exchanges among academics, athletes, scientists, and others, including streamlining the approval process for such visits.

Authorization of the sale of food and agricultural inputs to independent non-governmental entities, including religious groups and Cuba's emerging private sector, such as family restaurants and private farmers.

Authorization of charter passenger flights to cities in Cuba other than Havana and from some cities in the United States other than Miami in order to facilitate family reunification for persons living outside those cities.

An effort to establish direct mail service to Cuba, as provided for in the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992.

At the same time, we are taking steps to increase the flow of information to the Cuban people and others around the world, by strengthening Radio and TV Marti and launching new public diplomacy programs in Latin America and Europe to keep international attention focused on the need for change in Cuba. The United States will continue to urge the international community to do more to promote respect for human rights and democratic transition in Cuba.

I am also pleased to announce that I intend to nominate Mr. Jose "Pepe" Collado and Ms. Avis Lavelle as members of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting. I further intend to designate Mr. Collado as chairman upon confirmation by the Senate. This important advisory body has been without a chairman since the death of Jorge Mas Canosa more than a year ago. We are processing other nominations and, in cooperation with congressional leaders, will continue to name members of this bipartisan board.

These steps are designed to help the Cuban people without strengthening the Cuban Government. They are consistent with our policy of keeping pressure on the regime for democratic change -- through the embargo and vigorous diplomatic initiatives -- while finding ways to reach out to the Cuban people through humanitarian efforts and help in developing civil society. They are also consistent with the Cuban Democracy Act and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. They reflect a strong and growing bipartisan consensus that the United States can and should do more to work with the Cuban people toward a future of democracy and prosperity.

# # #

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                      | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001a. memo               | Philip Caplan to President Clinton re: Next steps on Cuba (1 page) | 12/29/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
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Maria Echaveste  
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### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba [Folder 2] [1]

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### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                       | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001b. memo               | Samuel Berger to President Clinton re: Next steps on Cuba (5 pages) | 12/23/1998 | P1/b(1)     |

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE

Marge,

On case you don't have it,  
attached is a copy of the  
letter from Jentek to  
the President.

Craig H.



PETER DEUTSCH  
20TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH  
AND ENVIRONMENT

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ENERGY  
AND POWER

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FINANCE AND  
HAZARDOUS MATERIALS

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515-0920**

November 2, 1998

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BIG PINE (305) 872-3916  
KEY WEST (305) 294-5815

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to follow up on your conversation with Howard Vine and me last night regarding the issue of compensation for the families of the deceased members of Brothers to the Rescue. In response to your request for an outline of how such compensation can be made available without compromising the status of diplomatic assets, I am attaching a letter from Mr. Vine's associate which outlines such a plan in detail. However, I wish to emphasize the following points.

- There are recoverable, non-diplomatic assets currently available in the United States.
- The Treasury Department has confirmed the existence of at least \$178.2 million of known Cuban Government assets, reportedly including approximately \$100 million in royalty payments by AT&T paid into blocked accounts between 1962 and 1993.
- Royalties paid to Cuba by telecommunications carriers and airlines since 1993 can also be directed to settle the families' claims.

I firmly believe, consistent with your statements after the murders, that the full judgment must be satisfied as an immediate priority. Full waiver of the anti-terrorism statute, which would result in a failure to satisfy the judgement against the Government of Cuba, would undermine our anti-terrorism policy and nullify the existing disincentives for governments contemplating violence against American citizens.

I urge you to embrace the cause of justice in these cases and support full and immediate satisfaction of the judgement against the Government of Cuba from existing blocked or licensed commercial accounts. In turn, I will commit to work with the Administration during the 106th Congress to develop a legislative proposal that addresses the concerns of the Executive Branch and meets the need for effective, expeditious, and just enforcement of the Anti-terrorism Act.

Sincerely,



Peter Deutsch  
Member of Congress

PD/bct

GREENBERG  
ATTORNEYS AT LAW  
TRAURIG

November 2, 1998

The Honorable Peter Deutsch  
204 Cannon House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Deutsch:

I am writing to follow up on your conversation at last week's reception with the President and Howard Vine regarding the Brothers to the Rescue case.

When the Cuban Air Force attacked and murdered four residents of South Florida, three of whom were American citizens, who were operating an unarmed civilian aircraft over international waters in February 1996, the President characterized that act as "a flagrant violation of international law." He further stated that he would ask

that Congress pass legislation that would provide immediate compensation to the families, something to which they are entitled under international law, out of Cuba's blocked assets here in the United States. If Congress passes this legislation, we can provide the compensation immediately."

In response, Congress passed (and the President signed) the Antiterrorism Act to allow U.S. citizens victimized by terrorism to seek justice in U.S. courts against the government which sponsored that terrorism (including the award of punitive damages). The families of the victims filed lawsuits under the Act, and in December 1997, won a judgment for more than \$187 million. As U.S. District Court Judge James L. King stated,

Cuba's extra-judicial killings of Mario T. De la Pena, Carlos Alberto Costa and Armando Alejandro violated clearly established principles of international law. More importantly, they were inhumane acts against innocent civilians. The fact that the killings were premeditated and intentional, outside of Cuban territory, wholly disproportionate, and executed without warning or process makes this act unique in its brazen flouting of international norms. . . . Based upon this record, the Court would be shirking its duty were it to refrain from entering a substantial punitive damage award for the dual purpose of (1) expressing the strongest possible condemnation of the Cuban government for its responsibility for

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FORT LAUDERDALE WEST PALM BEACH ORLANDO TALLAHASSEE BOCA RATON

commission of this monstrous act, and (2) deterring Defendants from ever again committing other crimes of terrorism.

Despite the findings of the Court, the Administration has taken repeated steps to block enforcement of the award and to defeat the President's policy so clearly articulated in February 1996. As you know, this inexplicable opposition led to the recent enactment of legislation to assure immediate compensation to the families out of Cuba's blocked assets here in the United States.

Notwithstanding the near-unanimous support for this provision in both the House and Senate, the very first act the President took in Fiscal Year 1999 was to issue Presidential Determination 99-1, purporting to waive the statutory authorization to enforce the judgments against Cuba's blocked assets. The scope and effect of that waiver will be subject to interpretative dispute and will require judicial resolution. Based on last week's discussion, however, it appears that a misunderstanding of the plaintiffs' intentions in this case may have led to the exercise of that waiver.

First, let me confirm what Howard told the President last week – this is NOT a matter which involves any diplomatic properties. In fact, court filings on behalf of the victim's families have expressly disclaimed enforcement of the judgment against diplomatic property. As counsel for the families, I can confirm that the families are prepared to renounce any claim to Cuba's embassies or diplomatic accounts in the context of a reasonable resolution of the judgment.

Second, there are substantial non-diplomatic blocked assets available under existing Treasury Department control to satisfy the claim. Indeed, the Treasury Department's Terrorist Assets Report issued January 1998 reports that there were \$178.2 million of known Cuban Government assets, which the report characterizes as "primarily bank accounts." Reportedly, these monies include at least \$70 million and perhaps more than \$100 million in royalty payments by AT&T (or other telecommunications carriers) which were paid into blocked accounts between 1962 and 1993. (We wish we could be more conclusive on the amounts, but the Treasury Department has refused to respond to our Freedom of Information Act requests and has refused to disclose this information to members of Congress. We are proceeding with litigation to force this disclosure.)

Third, contrary to the repeated assertions of Treasury and State Department representatives, there are NO other enforceable claims against these blocked accounts. State and Treasury have asserted that there are 5,911 other claims, apparently referring to claims accepted under the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission program to value claims against Cuba. That program ended in 1972, and since that date none of the assets in the blocked accounts has been paid to those claimants. To the contrary, as a matter of policy

The Honorable Peter Deutsch

November 2, 1998

Page 3 of 3

the Executive Branch has (until the recent debate) refused to link the blocked assets with those claims. The reason is made clear in the Attorney General's Final Report of the Cuban Claims Program, issued in 1972, which states that the initial legislative proposal to create the program included provisions that would have required liquidation of the assets to satisfy those claims, but

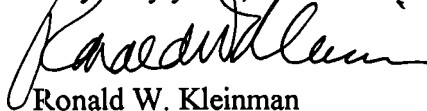
after a study was made by the Treasury Department and the Department of State, upon the direction of the President, . . . this section was deleted from the legislation by Congress. Thus, in effect, this program may be classified as a pre-settlement adjudication of claims to determine the extent of American losses and provide a tool for our Government in dealing with the Government of Cuba in the future on this important international issue.

Simply stated, none of the 5,911 claimants has an enforceable judgment, none has any vested property rights under U.S. law, none has any basis to expect to receive compensation from the blocked assets, and (until this issue arose in the last year) the Executive Branch has always made this clear, as it did in the Attorney General's Report that the FCSC Cuban Claims Program "does not provide for the payment of these losses. . . ."

Fourth, there is yet another tranche of non-diplomatic assets licensed by the Treasury Department for current payment to the Government of Cuba. These are funds paid by telecommunications carriers and airlines pursuant to licenses issued by Treasury since 1993. As reported by Treasury, the payments by the telecommunications companies for the last semi-annual reporting period exceeded \$33 million. These funds are within existing Treasury Department authority to direct to the families in satisfaction of the judgment, and in any event will be subject to attachment and execution if the judgment is not otherwise satisfied from the blocked 1962-1992 assets.

I trust that this information sufficiently responds to the request for additional information regarding the enforceability of these judgments. I know I speak for the families in extending thanks for your interest and efforts on their behalf, and I stand ready to meet with you or any representative of the Administration in order to bring this matter to a successful conclusion.

Very truly yours,



Ronald W. Kleinman

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# FAX

**OFFICE OF THE MAYOR**

**Martin J. Chávez**

P.O. Box 1293  
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87103  
(505) 768-3000  
fax: (505) 768-3019  
email: [mayor@cabq.gov](mailto:mayor@cabq.gov)

**DATE:** 6/18/97

**TIME:**

**TO:** Maria Echaveste

**FROM:** Martin Chavez

**SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:**

**Number of Pages  
(including cover page)**

5

*Cuba  
cubans*

**Martin J. Chávez, Mayor**

February 26, 1977

**VIA FACSIMILE (202-514-4371) AND U.S. MAIL**

Honorable Janet Reno  
Attorney General of the United States  
Department of Justice  
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, Rm. 4400  
Washington, D.C. 20530-0001

**RE: Crimes Committed by Cuban Parolees**

Dear Ms. Reno:

Three months have passed since I wrote to you regarding the problem of lawlessness by Cuban parolees released in Albuquerque under the auspices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Subsequently, on December 16, 1996, I met with you in your office to discuss this matter, and requested (1) that a one-year moratorium be imposed on Cuban resettlement in Albuquerque, (2) that INS exercise discretion under 8 CFR § 212.5(d)(2)(i) to terminate parole for Cuban parolees where the public interest no longer warrants their presence in this community, and (3) that INS condition parole upon Cuban immigrants not being permitted to relocate in Albuquerque.

To date, we have not been informed of any action being taken on this matter by the Department of Justice. We urgently request that this matter be resolved.

Sincerely,

MARTIN J. CHAVEZ

Good for You, Albuquerque!





**Martin J. Chávez, Mayor**

April 7, 1997

VIA FACSIMILE AND U.S. MAIL

The Honorable Janet Reno  
Attorney General of the United States  
Department of Justice  
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, Rm. 440  
Washington, D.C. 20530-0001

RE: Crimes Committed by Cuban Parolees

Dear Attorney General Reno:

As of today, approximately 30% of the homicides in Albuquerque this year have been committed or suffered by Cuban parolees. Other open shootings related to Cuban parolees have not resulted in death. You were kind enough to meet with me on December 16, 1996. My staff has communicated with your staff. I wrote you again on February 26, 1997. To date, we have still had no decision from your office regarding the principal three issues raised at our meeting. The federal government visited this problem upon our community. We need your assistance in resolving it. At the very least, we need an answer.

Very truly yours,



MARTIN J. CHAVEZ

Good for You, Albuquerque!





**LEGAL DEPARTMENT**  
**(505) 768-4500**

June 16, 1997

**INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE**

**TO:** Martin J. Chavez, Mayor

**FROM:** Robert M. White, City Attorney

*RMW*

**SUBJECT: General McCaffrey Visit**

We have had no formal response to two letters to General McCaffrey inviting him to Albuquerque. John O'Donnell has also been in touch with General McCaffrey's office. John advises me they have received the letters and will hold them until a trip to New Mexico or Albuquerque is being planned. Their intention is to discuss with us at that time events for the trip. I have attached copies of the letters for your consideration.

RMW/jla



EDITED BY OWEN ULLMANN

## SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA: THE BEGINNING OF THE END?

**O**n the surface, the U.S. embargo on Fidel Castro's retro-Marxist regime in Havana seems as tight as ever. The Senate voted on July 15 to exempt humanitarian aid from U.S. trade sanctions—but kept in place the heavy restrictions on aid imposed on Cuba and other nations accused of backing terrorism. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) crowed that the vote was a “resounding reaffirmation” of U.S. efforts to isolate Cuba.

But U.S. business execs are betting that after nearly 40 years, the economic freeze may finally melt. Since January, when Pope John Paul II called for lifting the embargo, companies have seen hopeful signs. The Clinton Administration has taken small steps to ease up on Havana. Congressional votes to lift food and medicine export curbs on India and Pakistan point to growing disenchantment with all unilateral sanctions. And Capitol Hill's anti-Castro fervor may be waning as Cuban-American support for the embargo erodes. “There's a lot of motion on this issue,” says Kirby Jones, head of Alamar Associates, a Washington consulting firm that held a U.S.-Cuba business summit in March and plans another in September.

**HAVANA SHOWS.** Corporate interest has soared in the wake of the Pope's visit. Some 40 major companies attended Alamar's spring meeting, including Mobil, Texaco, Caterpillar, Continental Grain, and Bristol-Myers Squibb. Overall visits to Cuba by U.S. business reps this year are expected to jump to 2,500 from 500 in 1994 and 2,000 last year, says John S. Kavulich II, president of the U.S.-Cuba Trade & Economic Council. And come January, P.W.N. Exhibicon International of Westport, Conn., which held trade exhibitions in Russia in the 1970s and in China in the '80s, hopes to be ahead of the curve again with a medical industry trade show in Havana.

The White House is trying to expand exports under current

law to pave the way for ending the embargo. One example: medical supplies, which are now permitted with special licenses and monitoring. In a private letter in June, the Commerce Dept. said it would look favorably on applications to export experimental drugs for testing in Cuban labs. SmithKline Beecham is expected to receive approval soon for a U.S. unit to test a meningitis B vaccine developed in Cuba. The industry hopes cumbersome export rules “are going to go away or be significantly simplified,” says W. Bradford Gary, a vice-president at medical-device maker Allergan Inc.

**“A FRESH LOOK.”** Lawmakers are starting to heed the growing pressure from business. Some 130 House members and 30 senators are co-sponsoring measures to take food and medical products off the embargo. Says Senator Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.): “People on both sides of the aisle are willing to take a fresh look at Cuba.” The bills have the backing of a Chamber of Commerce-sponsored group called Americans for Humanitarian Trade with Cuba, which includes such luminaries as former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul A. Volcker.

The fate of the bills depends on how fast the pro-embargo feeling among Cuban Americans fades. Dario Moreno, a Florida International University political science professor, believes support for the embargo has dropped from 80% before the Pope's visit to 65% and keeps dwindling. If that number shrinks further, President Clinton would likely take new steps, such as lifting travel restrictions for U.S. tourists. That's a top business goal.

A high White House official says the business campaign to lift the embargo would get a boost if Castro were to make a move toward political liberalization. Corporate reps can't do much about that. But working with the Clintonites, they may see sanctions on Havana lifted sooner than once seemed possible.

*By Stan Crock*



**PAPAL VISIT:** Hope for a thaw

### CAPITAL WRAPUP

#### ARMY'S LOSING BATTLE

► Despite vows by House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.) to block Congress from giving an additional \$18 billion to the International Monetary Fund, the money is expected to squeak through. House conservatives are cheering on Armey's crusade to limit IMF funding to \$3.4 billion. But not all GOP lawmakers feel strongly about the issue. With Corporate America and the Senate firmly in support of the full \$18 billion increase, Armey's army is outnumbered.

#### BUSINESS SECRETS FOR SPIES

► The CIA avoids industrial espionage, but it's trying to learn one corporate secret: how to manage better. The agency has brought in high-powered corporate executives to inspire the troops. The latest: John P. DeJoria, head of John Paul Mitchell Systems Inc., a hair-products concern. He gave a July 20 spiel on time management, motivation, and coping with change—an issue that has been a special problem for the CIA in the post-cold war era.

#### A NEW COPYRIGHT LAW?

► After a year of wrangling, Congress may soon pass legislation to improve protection of copyrighted digital works. Producers of DVD movies, sound recordings, and software had been pushing for a ban on devices that circumvent the technologies in their products designed to prevent piracy. On July 17, the House Commerce Committee approved a bill, but turf battles with the Judiciary Committee could stall a House vote. The Senate has passed similar legislation.

# In Business This Week

EDITED BY KELLEY HOLLAND

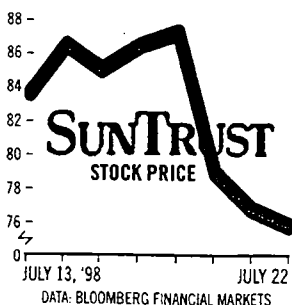
## A NEW DOORWAY AT AOL

**EN GARDE:** AMERICA ONLINE is ready to go head-to-head with high-flying Yahoo! and Excite in the Internet "portals" business. In September, the online giant will turn its recently acquired ICQ instant-messaging service into an Internet portal similar to those run by the Internet search and directory companies—by adding content and search features to its chat service. With seven million active users, ICQ (short for "I seek you") is quickly gaining ground among the young and tech-savvy, as opposed to AOL's more mainstream members. ICQ will retain its brand to keep attracting those users. Eventually, AOL wants

## CLOSING BELL

### LOSING ITS GLOW

SunTrust Banks says its \$8.6 billion purchase of Crestar Financial, announced on July 20, meets all its tests for a solid acquisition. But Wall Street disagrees. Under former Chairman Jimmy Williams, SunTrust sat on a hoard of Coca-Cola stock and shunned acquisitions. Investors, hoping SunTrust would be snapped up, bid up its shares. When SunTrust became a buyer, they bolted. Analysts say the deal might help SunTrust survive—but in the long run, might make it a more attractive target.



to market Internet telephony and videoconferencing to them, but for now will refrain from overcommercializing ICQ with ads and E-commerce deals.

## LOOKING DOWN ON THE DUMPS

THE COMMERCE DEPT. HAS slapped antidumping penalties of 3% to 34% on imports of stainless-steel wire rod from Germany, Italy, Japan, Korea, Spain, Sweden, and Taiwan. But before the duties are levied, the U.S. International Trade Commission must decide if the industry has been harmed. A ruling is expected in September. Meanwhile, Asia's crisis could produce even more complaints as currency devaluations lower import prices, says Greg Mastel, vice-president of the Economic Strategy Institute.

## GATES PASSES THE BALL TO BALLMER

LOOKS AS IF BILL GATES IS really a nerd after all. On July 21, Microsoft's chairman and CEO elevated his sidekick, Steve Ballmer, to president so Gates can focus on product strategy. "We're only one-quarter of the way along in achieving what's possible," says Gates. "I want to work with our developers to simplify the user interface, create computing tablets and intelligent TVs." Operating units, legal, product development, and sales managers will report to Ballmer. Top priority: to make sure Microsoft doesn't get "big-company problems," he says.

## INTEL ACCELERATES THE CELERON

THE MARCH OF THE SUB-\$1,000 PC continues, and Intel wants to lead the parade. The com-

## HEADLINER: ALAN SHUGART

### DON'T SLAM THE DOOR ON YOUR WAY OUT

The end of Alan Shugart's reign at Seagate Technology was a shock. He was told of his ouster by Larry Sonsini, an old friend and adviser to Seagate's board on a Saturday afternoon. "The only thing I could get out of them was that it was time for a change and that it was time for me to retire," says Shugart, 67. "I think it's unadulterated B.S., but I'm not allowed to say bad things about them."

Co-chairman Larry Perlman insists the board tried to work out a smooth departure for two years. Seagate has struggled of late. Its share in high-end drives

has dropped from 80% to 40% since early 1997. And Seagate's 1996 purchase of Conner Peripherals, a maker of low-end drives, didn't pay off. Shugart will be replaced by Stephen Luczo, 40, a former investment banker Shugart hired in 1993.

Shugart had made progress, though, reporting a \$25 million profit in the June quarter. Indeed, Luczo says there'll be no major shift in strategy, but he'll probably revamp management. Says a rival: "He'll be surrounded with people who Al took very good care of. I think more shoes will drop."

By Peter Burrows



pany will advance delivery of a new Celeron chip aimed at cheap PCs by one quarter, to August. That could help it win back share from Advanced Micro Devices and National Semiconductor. AMD and National supplied 67% of the processors used in sub-\$1,000 PCs sold in June through dealers, says researcher PC Data. The chip will replace the original Celeron, which was panned by techies, and will sell for \$150 to \$200. One boost for Intel: IBM is considering using the new Celeron instead of AMD's K6 in some Aptiva PCs.

## JETT IS CLEARED OF SECURITIES FRAUD

THE 1994 BOND-TRADING scandal that ended the career of Joseph Jett at Kidder Peabody culminated in a surprising verdict on July 21. A Securities & Exchange Commission administrative law

judge found that the former Kidder government-bond chief created \$350 million in illusory profits by manipulating Kidder's accounting system. But Judge Carol Foelak found Jett guilty only of record-keeping violations and cleared him of the securities-fraud charge sought by the SEC. Foelak ordered that Jett be barred from the industry for life and required to disgorge \$8.2 million in bonuses. Jett's attorney promises to appeal.

## ET CETERA...

- As Fleming's sales and stock slide, CEO Robert Staugh is retiring.
- IBM consumer-division chief Jim Firestone is leaving for Xerox.
- President Clinton signed the Internal Revenue Service reform bill.
- By 264 to 166, the House approved continuing normal trade relations with China.

HeraldLink: Exiles react to Clinton's Cuba po...

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## HERALDLINK FULL STORY

Published Thursday, March 26, 1998, in the Miami Herald

## Exiles react to Clinton's Cuba policy shift

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS  
Herald Staff Writer

WASHINGTON -- Five days after the Clinton administration announced a series of moves to reach out to the Cuban people, the action continues to mobilize exile activists, alternately drawing praise, skepticism and criticism.

While many Cuban Americans have largely taken the change in stride, the policy switch has caused consternation among politicians and exile leaders. It has exacerbated tensions between Cuban-American lawmakers and the largest exile lobby, the Cuban American National Foundation, and produced angry exchanges between the administration and some of its key Democratic advisers on Cuba.

Florida lawmakers said this week that the reaction of Miami exiles to the policy shift has been relatively muted. Chief among the changes was President Clinton's order to renew direct flights between Miami and Havana, which were cut off in 1996, and to once again allow the direct transfer of cash to relatives in Cuba, a practice banned since 1994.

Aides to Sen. Bob Graham said Wednesday his office had mostly heard from callers who were in favor of the moves. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen said those calling her tended to lean the other way, but were not strenuously opposed.

"Nobody's saying this is going to further cement Castro in power," she said. "This is just where we were two years ago."

Nevertheless, virtually everyone who follows Cuba policy senses that the new course could herald a broader change in the U.S. posture -- and possibly a first step toward greatly improved relations with Havana. That prospect, which the administration denies, has stirred a beehive.

Several dozen members of the exile group Unidad Cubana flew here Wednesday to honor Congress' three Cuban-American lawmakers for staunchly rejecting all efforts to weaken the U.S. embargo.

Although the legislators were powerless to stop the administration's changes, leaders of Unidad Cubana praised Reps. Roy-Loehnen, Lincoln Diaz-Balart -- both Miami Republicans -- and New Jersey Democrat Bob Menendez for providing a bulwark against any warming trend toward Cuba.

"If we drop our guard, they're going to eat us alive," said Juan Ruiz, president of the umbrella exile organization, which counts 70 anti-Castro groups among its members.

In a statement, Unidad Cubana asserted that the overthrow of the Fidel Castro government is "the only solution" to the Cuban crisis, and that no change in U.S. policy is warranted, because nothing on the island has changed substantively. Wednesday's display of support for the lawmakers was necessary, the statement said, "in view of the confusion that some of the exile organizations have created by changing this stand."

The Cuban American National Foundation surprised many of its adherents in January by drafting a proposal that would have sent federal food aid to Cuba for the first time since the 1959 revolution. The proposal, which was drawn up with aides to Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., angered the Cuban-American lawmakers who feared it would invite attacks on the embargo in the aftermath of Pope John Paul II's visit to the island.

But while the foundation wrangled with its erstwhile allies, the administration co-opted the proposal, which was precisely the sort of humanitarian gesture that U.S. officials had hoped would demonstrate their solidarity with the Cuban people. With the pope decrying the embargo and the staunchly anti-Castro foundation acknowledging need on the island, the administration felt it had the political cover to welcome such a step.

As a result, Clinton's package included a request for Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to work with members of Congress toward drafting legislation that would ease the transfer of food to the island.

HeraldLink: Exiles react to Clinton's Cuba po...

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Helms' staffers blasted the announcement as an end-run. They said it could ultimately hurt the prospects for food transfers because Clinton's identification with the proposal would sap its credibility among Republicans.

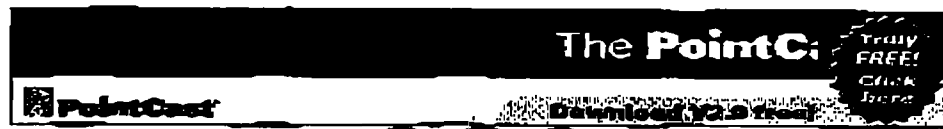
The foundation was uncharacteristically quiet in Washington, although it voiced some displeasure through its Spanish-language radio station in Miami.

The foundation saw the administration's move as a problem, sources said. Foundation President Pepe Hernandez and other officers called on several lawmakers this week, saying they hoped to craft an entirely new proposal for legislation on Cuba.

"They see themselves being marginalized from the debate," said one source who met with Hernandez and others this week. "They're desperate to do something so they can say they're back at it."

Jose Cardenas, the foundation's Washington representative, declined to comment this week.

Finally, three Democrats who have long helped guide U.S. policy toward Cuba have privately voiced dismay at the administration, aides said. Sens. Graham and Bob Torricelli, D-New Jersey, and Rep. Menendez, have complained to U.S. officials that they were not adequately consulted on the policy shift, which they said threatens to unravel a predominantly bipartisan policy.



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April 22, 1998

# U.S. Businesses See Vast Potential Market in Cuba



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By JIM CARRIER

**L**ast month, two Caterpillar Inc. executives had the kind of face-to-face meeting with a national leader that salesmen dream about -- except the leader was Fidel Castro, and they weren't allowed to sell him anything.

At a dinner the Cuban leader throw in Havana for several American business people, Castro asked the Caterpillar managers about bulldozers. They told him the largest Cat exceeded 1,000 horsepower. His bushy eyebrows shot up: Cuba's Russian machines are only 100 horse and are notoriously unreliable. "I can't comprehend" bulldozers like the ones his guests were describing, Castro said through an interpreter.

At about the same time, a high-ranking Cuban diplomat traveled to the world headquarters of the Radisson Hotels, a unit of the Carlson Cos., in St. Paul. He assured Peter Blyth, Radisson's president, that three sites eyed by Radisson years ago in Havana and Varadero, a resort on the northern coast, were still available for hotel development. The properties have no claims against them by foreigners forced out of the country after Castro took power in 1959, he added, and the Cuban government was eager to do business with Radisson.

These two recent contacts between capitalist America and Communist Cuba represent a small but growing movement by American companies to prepare for the day when doing business with Cuba is not trading with the enemy, as most such transactions are now legally defined. In spite of the 36-year-old U.S. embargo that prohibits all but a narrow range of commercial activity, and in spite of discouragement by the State Department, American executives are circling the island like Navy gunboats once did, and, in increasing numbers, actually landing.

Cuba's needs are certainly monumental. American executives who have visited Cuba recently estimate the market just for basic goods and services like food, medicine and road repair at \$2 billion to \$4 billion annually. Blyth of Radisson Hotels predicts Americans would flood Cuba in the unlikely event that travel restrictions were eased -- driving up the number of annual foreign visitors to 10 million from the current mostly European crop of 1.2 million. Under current law, Americans are free to travel to Cuba, but can't spend a dime unless they are licensed by the State Department or are the guests of officially designated hosts, like the Cuban government or some foreign company.

"You could run brake shoes over for '53 Chevys and make a fortune," said Rob O'Neill, manager of the Key West, Fla., harbor, who often talks with associates about the money-making opportunities that will open up when the embargo ends.

Before Americans can sign deals, however, Congress must lift the embargo. And that is unlikely to happen as long as Castro remains in power. "Castro has to leave, vertically or horizontally," said Marc Thiessen, press spokesman for Sen. Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Even so, he suggested, Castro's departure may not be so far off. "We're so close," Thiessen suggested. "Castro's revolution is dead."

Still, with the prospect of the bars coming down to the hemisphere's last forbidden market, an island of 11 million people just 90 miles south of the Florida coast, American business is straining at the leash. "It's not even controversial in our membership," said John Howard, director of international policy for the United States Chamber of Commerce. "There is a widespread and growing sentiment that our policy toward Cuba makes no sense."

For now, American business is pretty much limited to advocating a change in American policy, which has been dictated for decades by the mostly anti-Castro Cuban-American community, to slipping through the few fissures that Washington has allowed to develop in the ban, and to keeping up a dialogue with Cubans.

The number of American business representatives traveling to Cuba -- legally, but in most cases without State Department sanction -- has quadrupled to a projected 2,000 this year from 500 in 1994, according to the U.S.-Cuba Trade

and Economic Council of New York.

Just last month, a delegation of mid-level officers from major corporations -- including the Mobil Oil Corp., Texaco Inc., Pharmacia & Upjohn, Bristol Myers Squibb, Continental Grain, the Case Corp., a unit of Tenneco, and Caterpillar Inc. -- were the official guests of Castro and his top ministers in Havana, and a follow-up trade show is proposed in September, said organizer Kirby Jones of Alamar Associates. Another trade show for American companies, this one for medical products, is planned within the year by PWN Exhibicon International, based in Connecticut. For the most part, participants in such events describe them as fact-finding tours, though American companies are allowed to take such measures as signing nonbinding letters of intent with Cuban groups or registering trademarks and brand names.

Meantime, President Clinton has widened ever so slightly some small cracks in the trade embargo. On March 20, he announced a measure to expedite shipments of drug and medical equipment, which are already exempt from the ban. At the same time, he authorized the resumption of direct flights to Cuba and of remittances of up to \$1,200 by Americans to relatives in Cuba, a measure that should boost sales for the approximately 100 American companies given special dispensation to trade with Cuba.

Those companies do a combined \$100 million-a-year business in Cuba -- a drop in the bucket compared with the inroads being made by some of America's trading partners. The Cuban government reports that companies from 25 countries have committed \$2 billion to 340 joint ventures and associations with the Cubans, and have announced other deals worth an additional \$4.5 billion.

Canada is the biggest foreign investor, accounting for one-third of the money flowing into the country, followed by Italy, Mexico, Spain, France and Holland. The Sherritt International Corp. of Toronto is reportedly the single most active foreign company, with \$800 million committed. The company produces 40 percent of Cuba's oil and is also involved in mining, power generation, cell phones, tourism and agriculture, said Patrice Merrin Best, senior vice president.

Castro, one of the world's last avowedly Marxist leaders, has made a series of concessions to the capitalist West since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of Moscow's \$3 billion-a-year subsidy to his economy. He has liberalized agriculture, allowed tourists to spend dollars, and even invited the pope for a visit in February. In 1995, his government created free trade zones and allowed up to 100 percent foreign ownership in many sectors.

This year, the Cuban government will host 250 trade fairs, a turnabout 38 years after Castro began the nationalization of hundreds of foreign companies that led to the trade embargo. The first property seized, on June 29, 1960, was a Texaco refinery. The rest followed on Aug. 6. President Kennedy imposed the embargo Feb. 7, 1962.

Nearly 6,000 property claims have been certified by the United States; more

than half of them, with a 1972 value of \$1.8 billion, are held by 30 corporations. Under the Helms-Burton Act of 1996, the embargo can be lifted only after those claims are settled by a democratic government that does not include Fidel or Raul Castro.

Rather than cowing American companies keen on doing business in Cuba, however, that requirement has galvanized them to speak out against the embargo, according to John Kavulich 2nd, president of the U.S.-Cuba Trade and Economic Council, a nonprofit business organization that describes itself as nonpartisan. "Large companies moved from just gathering information about Cuba to finding out what they could do in Cuba today, and then doing it," he said.

Even some companies with big compensation claims are cautious about making an issue of them as they eye the Cuban market. Texaco hopes to resolve its demand "if the opportunity represents itself," said Chris Gidez, director of external communications. Meantime, the company sent a member of its Latin American business team to Havana last month to meet with government officials.

Until now, most American corporations have feared approaching Cuba's shores, even when it was legal. Medical sales, for example, have been allowed for years, but only 40 transactions have been licensed since 1992, and medical companies have given away more than they've sold. Another 10 exploratory licenses have been issued.

Medical companies appear reluctant to jump into Cuba; Eli Lilly & Co. said it had no plans to apply for a license as long as the full embargo remained. Part of the reason for their hesitation is the endless paperwork that awaits them. Any pharmaceutical company wishing to exhibit products at the planned trade show by PWN Exhibicon International, for example, must first get a permit from the federal government, then a separate license to sell any product, be it an X-ray machine or a box of surgical gloves.

Even more daunting is a prohibition on high-technology exports so broad that it basically includes anything with a microprocessor. "They think it's going to be put in the nose of a cruise missile and sent back our way," said W. Bradford Gary, a board member of the Medical Device Manufacturers Association, who visited Cuba last month. As a result, he said, Cuban doctors wash and reuse surgical gloves and operate 1950s kidney-dialysis machines with no spare parts.

At the moment, the largest licensed transaction with Cuba is AT&T's annual payment of \$23 million for access to the Cuban market, part of \$66 million in fees from nine long-distance companies. (Most of the long-distance calls that AT&T makes money on originate in the United States.) American airlines pay another \$6 million to fly over Cuban air space en route to South America.

Other transactions range from Western Union moneygrams to three charter flights a week from three Miami charter airlines, which last year were permitted



to fly 17,000 journalists, academicians and humanitarians and 43,000 Cuban-Americans home for their once-a-year family visit.

After two American civilian planes were shot down by Cuba in 1996, direct flights to the island were banned, and American visitors had to travel first to Mexico or the Bahamas and board foreign airlines there for the final leg to Havana. President Clinton's reversal of that policy is expected to reduce the round-trip fare to about \$300 from \$400, while boosting the traffic handled by American charter companies by 50 percent, to 90,000 passengers a year, said Vivian Mannerud, president of the Airline Broker Co.

"Since the pope's visit, we've seen an increase in visa applications, nearly doubling," Ms. Mannerud said. "People are saying it's time to visit their families, some who have waited 30 years."



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April 22, 1998

# Panel Defeats U.S. Move to Censure Cuba on Rights

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- [Europe's Call for Rights in Cuba Wins U.S. Approval \(Dec. 4, 1996\)](#)

By ELIZABETH OLSON

**G**ENEVA, Switzerland -- An effort led by the United States to rebuke Cuba for its human-rights practices was voted down Tuesday by the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

The defeat appears to reflect a growing sentiment, particularly among Europeans and Latin Americans, that Cuba cannot be isolated forever and that it is making efforts to meet its international human-rights obligations.

The U.S.-sponsored resolution called on Havana to "promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms" and to "release numerous persons detained for activities of a political nature."

Nineteen countries voted against the proposal -- including China and Russia -- and 16, including the United States, Britain, France and Germany, voted in favor. Another 18 members, including many Latin American countries, abstained.

"This vote has repaired a historic mistake and has ended selective and discriminatory treatment against us," Maria de los Angeles Florez, Cuba's chief delegate, said after the vote.

Also on Tuesday, the rights commission criticized Iraq, adopting a resolution that "strongly condemns the systematic, widespread and extremely grave violations of human rights," which it said resulted "in an all-pervasive

repression and oppression sustained by broad-based discrimination and widespread terror."

The resolution was approved, 32-0, after Russia failed to muster support for diluting it by removing some of the tougher wording. Russia and China were among the 21 countries that abstained.

In Cuba's case, an independent U.N. investigator, Carl Johan Groth of Sweden, told the commission last month that President Fidel Castro's communist government systematically and brutally repressed its domestic critics.

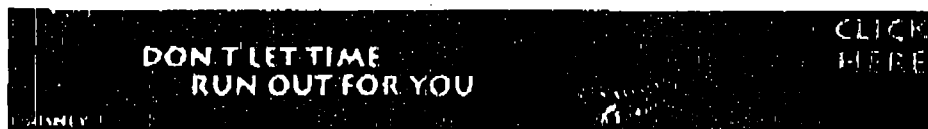
But he added that the nearly four-decade-long U.S. economic embargo against Cuba was partly to blame for the situation, causing a "tragic shortage of material goods" and "untold hardships."

The U.S. effort to keep pressure on Cuba has been steadily losing allies. Beginning with the first U.S. resolution in 1992, support has been dwindling. This year Italy and France, which co-sponsored the U.S. resolution in 1997, refused to do so again, although they did vote for it.

France declined co-sponsorship because of Washington's hard line on Cuba, the French delegate, Marion Paradas-Bouveau, said. "Cuba has cooperated with the U.N. human-rights bodies," she said. Failure to include amendments sponsored by the European Union also weakened support, further isolating the United States on Cuba, she added.

Disenchantment with U.S. policy has been fueled by European objections to the Helms-Burton Act, which imposes penalties on companies that use U.S. properties in Cuba that were seized by the Castro government three decades ago.

Cuba's overtures toward the Roman Catholic Church, particularly the visit of Pope John Paul II in January, and the country's increasing acceptance at international and regional forums bolstered its campaign to portray itself as a victim of a vindictive United States, a diplomat said.



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31 March 1998

*The Detroit News*

Associated Press By George Gedda

## **Cuban-Americans lobby for easing of embargo**

WASHINGTON -- Energized by Pope John Paul II's recent visit to Cuba, hundreds of Cuban-Americans went to Capitol Hill Tuesday to demand unrestricted sales of food and medicine to the island.

On a day featuring Miami-like heat, the Cuban-Americans sought to make their case in congressional offices and at a news conference, buttressing their arguments with a petition signed by 12,000 sympathizers.

The visitors, mostly from the Miami area, designated Tuesday as the "National Day of Education and Advocacy for Food and Medicine Sales To Cuba."

At present, food sales to Cuba are barred and licenses must be obtained for the sale of medicines and medical supplies. Bipartisan proposals in Congress to end the restrictions have been gaining momentum, but proponents of maintaining the status quo still appear to have the upper hand.

The visiting Cuban-Americans wore buttons saying, "End the embargo on food and medicine to Cuba." They claim the support of business, farm, labor, humanitarian and medical groups and also have made some minor inroads into Republican ranks, traditionally strongly supportive of maintaining the status quo with Cuba.

One such Republican, Sen. John Warner of Virginia, told the news conference the United States cannot project itself as a caring nation if it puts limits on humanitarian sales to Cuba.

Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., said the process of change following the papal visit already is under way in Cuba, pointing to the hundreds of prisoners who have been released.

Declaring that he does not want to see "the perpetuation of a dictatorship" in Cuba, Dodd said the United States can contribute to peaceful change by making humanitarian exceptions to the embargo.

At present, a Senate bill backed by Dodd has 26 co-sponsors. Similar legislation on the House side has 112.

Long overshadowed by more conservative exiles, Cuban-Americans who favor a less hostile approach toward the island have been more assertive following the visit of the pope, who opposes the nearly four-decade-old embargo.

Sensing a shift in the public mood, the administration came up with its own program two weeks ago for easing the humanitarian plight among Cubans without altering the embargo. Included in the initiative is an end to a 4-year-old ban on remittances by Cuban-Americans to family members on the island and a resumption of direct charter flights to Cuba.

Gen. John Sheehan, who recently retired from the military after serving as commander of U.S. forces in the Atlantic, said Tuesday the administration's proposals don't go far enough.

"Cuban-Americans -- and religious and humanitarian groups that currently send aid to Cuba -- are here today to push for sales of food and medicine because they know from experience that sending more charity alone simply cannot solve the problem," he said.

Sylvia Wilhelm, of the Miami-based Cuban Committee for Democracy, said, "Months of haggling over how to get more aid to Cuba will just delay what Cuban women, children and the elderly need now. We plan to work around the clock to get this legislation passed."

Before the news conference, the head of Cuba's diplomatic mission in Washington, Fernando Remirez, said the Clinton administration seemed to be of two minds about how to deal with Cuba.

"On the one side, you are giving aid and on the other side you are trying to strangle the Cuban economy," Remirez told reporters at a breakfast session unrelated to the activities on Capitol Hill.

He called the administration announcement of two weeks ago a positive step but said Cuba prefers the legislation supported by Dodd and Warner. He added that the ultimate solution to the U.S.-Cuban impasse is the lifting of the whole embargo, not just a small part of it.

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**For Immediate Release**

March 20, 1998

## **USA\*ENGAGE Hopeful U.S. on Threshold of New Cuba Policy**

Washington, D.C. -- In the wake of President Clinton's announcement easing some restrictions on flights to Cuba, among other minor measures, USA\*ENGAGE today reiterated its call for a new Cuban policy.

"Today's action is a good first step, and we congratulate President Clinton. We are hopeful that the easing of these restrictions will mark a new policy of engagement with Cuba," said Frank Kittredge, President of the National Foreign Trade Council and Vice Chairman, USA\*ENGAGE.

In addition to allowing direct charter flights, the United States will now allow Cuban-Americans to send limited financial aid to families in Cuba, and will ease the restrictions on the sale of medical supplies for humanitarian purposes.

"Family-to-family financial aid is important, however the new policy doesn't go far enough. U.S. dollars will now be more readily available to Cubans to spend -- but only on non-U.S. goods. Establishing trade ties and eliminating travel restrictions, in addition to private financial aid, is the best way to engage the Cuban people and set the wheels in motion for a new relationship with Cuba," Kittredge continued. "It's time to end the 'cold war' with Cuba and embark on policies that will promote human rights, education, and political and economic reforms."

*now 66*

USA\*ENGAGE is a coalition of ~~661~~ small and large businesses, agriculture groups and trade associations working to seek alternatives to the proliferation of unilateral U.S. foreign policy sanctions and to promote the benefits of U.S. engagement abroad.

Contact: Eric Thomas 202/822-9491

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**For Immediate Release**  
March 12, 1998

## **USA\*ENGAGE Calls For A New Cuba Policy**

Washington, D.C. -- USA\*ENGAGE cited today's hearing of the House International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee as a perfect opportunity to review U.S. policy towards Cuba. USA\*ENGAGE believes the Helms-Burton law is proving to be counterproductive by strengthening the Castro regime, hurting the Cuban people, and undermining American relations with our closest allies.

"U.S. policy toward Cuba is outdated," remarked Frank Kittredge, Vice-Chairman of USA\*ENGAGE. "The U.S. has the chance to encourage positive change in Cuba by promoting a policy of engagement and opening a dialogue with the Cuban people and the Government. It is time for Congress and the Administration to recognize that as a result of Pope John Paul II's historic visit changes are occurring in Cuba."

Kittredge noted that "Just last week, over 50 U.S. businessmen traveled to Cuba to meet with top Cuban officials. The American delegation saw first hand the harmful effects of a society isolated from American influence. It's time to completely overhaul America's policy toward Cuba."

"We agree with the Miami Herald that it's time to lift all curbs on travel and remittances to Cuba as well as end the ban on the sale of food and restrictions on the sale of medical products."

U.S. policy toward Cuba is losing support even in Representative Illeana Ros-Lehtinen's own state of Florida. According to a recent Miami Herald editorial, "Cuba is ripe for a transition, as the Pope's visit demonstrated. But the embargo is far too blunt an instrument for today's reality. Even worse is the Helms-Burton Act."

USA\*ENGAGE is a coalition of 661 small and large businesses, agriculture groups and trade associations working to seek alternatives to the proliferation of unilateral U.S. foreign policy sanctions and to promote the benefits of U.S. engagement abroad.

Contact: Eric Thomas 202/822-9491

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**For Immediate Release**  
January 16, 1998

## **THE PRESIDENT NEEDS TO GO FURTHER**

Washington, D.C. -- USA\*ENGAGE today supported President Clinton's waiver of Title III of the Helms-Burton law and called for his leadership in formulating a new policy towards Cuba.

"As we said today in our open letter to President Clinton, Speaker Gingrich and Majority Leader Lott, we believe that now is the time to explore new initiatives to promote freedom in Cuba," said Frank Kittredge, President of the National Foreign Trade Council and Vice Chairman of USA\*ENGAGE. "Next week, Pope John Paul II will visit Cuba. This is the right time for the United States to demonstrate further leadership. We urge our leaders to publicly commit to ending the ban on the export of U.S. food and medical supplies and to use our most effective tool for positive change: engagement at all levels."

USA\*ENGAGE is a coalition of 660 small and large businesses, agriculture groups and trade associations working to seek alternatives to the proliferation of unilateral U.S. foreign policy sanctions and to promote the benefits of U.S. engagement abroad.

Contact: Page Gardner 202/822-9491

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**For Immediate Release**

January 15, 1998

**IT IS TIME FOR A NEW CUBAN POLICY**

Washington, D.C. -- American business and agricultural communities have joined USA\*ENGAGE in sending President Clinton, Speaker Gingrich, and Majority Leader Lott an open letter calling for a change in U.S. policy toward Cuba.

In anticipation of Pope John Paul II's historic trip to Cuba, the letter calls for a public commitment -- in the State of the Union Address and the Republican response -- to end the ban on the export of U.S. food and medical supplies to Cuba as a first step toward engagement.

"The Pope's pastoral visit to Cuba is an historic event that lays the groundwork for new opportunities in promoting human rights, education, political and economic reform," said Frank Kittredge, President of the National Foreign Trade Council and Vice Chairman of USA\*ENGAGE. "It is time for us to put 'cold-war' policies behind us and begin to actively influence and promote change in Cuba through constructive engagement."

The letter will appear in *The Wall Street Journal* as an advertisement on Friday, January 16, 1998. [Click here](#) to view the letter as it will appear.

USA\*ENGAGE is a coalition of 660 small and large businesses, agriculture groups and trade associations working to seek alternatives to the proliferation of unilateral U.S. foreign policy sanctions and to promote the benefits of U.S. engagement abroad.

Contact: Eric Thomas, Page Gardner, or Mara Gavin 202/822-9491

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April 15, 1998

The Honorable Dan Burton  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Lincoln Diaz-Balart  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Ileana Ros-Lehtinen  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representatives Burton, Diaz-Balart and Ros-Lehtinen:

I welcome the opportunity to respond to your March 9 letter concerning the recent visit to Cuba by Caterpillar representatives along with others from the business community.

Caterpillar agrees with many members of the religious, humanitarian, agricultural, and business communities who are questioning America's policy toward Cuba because that policy simply isn't working. Rather than promoting freedom and positive change in Cuba, America's current policy of isolation and containment has tended to bolster a struggling regime, hurt the Cuban people, and isolate Cuban society from American influence.

There's no question that it is a failed communist system and a totalitarian government that is responsible for the poverty and repression in Cuba. It is also true that during the past 50 years, the United States has succeeded in spreading American ideas and ideals throughout the world by pursuing a full range of foreign policy options ranging from full engagement to intervention.

The essential question is ... how best to promote freedom and positive change in Cuba? Following Pope John Paul II's historic visit to Cuba many people of goodwill are trying to answer that question. The attached March 1 *Miami Herald* editorial calling for modest changes to the current policy is thoughtful and constructive. We urge you to study it. It may be the basis for common ground.

We also note that many members of the Cuban-American community are trying to encourage positive change in Cuba by seeking to ease the U.S. embargo. At Caterpillar, we believe engagement can be a positive force for change when pursued at all levels -- political, diplomatic, economic, charitable, religious, educational, and cultural. It is certainly working in many parts of the world.

If the *Miami Herald* is correct when it states that Cuba is "ripe for transition" and the current U.S. policy "only maintains the status quo," it would be a shame if an open discussion about a new Cuba policy didn't soon take place. To promote greater understanding there also needs to be more people-to-people and humanitarian contact with Cuba. But that can only occur if Americans travel to Cuba. That's one of the reasons why our representatives visited Cuba earlier this year.

While we recognize no one has a monopoly on wisdom, we plan in the months ahead to urge U.S. policy-makers to explore new initiatives to promote freedom in Cuba. We hope you will be supportive. But even if we end up disagreeing, we hope you will respect our views.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'D. Fites', written in a cursive style.

Donald V. Fites

sm

attach.

**THE MIAMI HERALD****GIVING HOPE A PUSH**

Sunday, March 1, 1998

Section: Editorial

Page: 2L

SOURCE/CREDIT LINE: Herald Staff

In the wake of Pope John Paul II's visit to Cuba, competing bills in Congress vie to lift curbs on supplying medicine and food to Cuba. Either approach would modify the U.S. embargo, essentially unchanged for 36 years. These efforts, though, beg another response: Washington needs to examine embargo provisions that are overdue for overhaul.

The Herald always has supported the embargo's ban on U.S. business dealings with or in Cuba. We still do. This ban remains a valuable bargaining chip that the United States must not hand over to Fidel Castro without some quid pro quo. The embargo, if nothing else, is a brake against the Cuban tyrant's everlasting deviousness.

Times have changed, however. Cuba is ripe for a transition, as the Pope's visit well demonstrated. But the embargo is far too blunt an instrument for today's reality. Even worse is the Helms-Burton Act. It narrowed the President's options on Cuba policy while alienating U.S. allies with its extraterritorial reach.

Within these constraints, the current U.S. nonpolicy toward Cuba -- that is, to react rather than act -- only maintains the status quo. Opportunity to promote positive change is being wasted.

**Follow the Pope's lead**

The United States, by policy and action, should proactively encourage a peaceful transition, participative democracy, and fundamental human rights in Cuba. As the Pope wisely counseled, Washington should encourage Cuba to open itself to the world, and the world to open to Cuba. This requires changes in the embargo that would encourage people-to-people and humanitarian contact with individual Cubans. That would entail lifting certain restrictions on travel, remittances, and the sale of medicine and food.

President Clinton should take the lead. He can begin by taking actions not constrained by law. First, he should lift the prohibitions on direct flights to Cuba and on sending money to individuals there. Direct flights were banned two years ago after Castro's government shot down two Brothers to the Rescue planes, murdering four South Floridians. Today, however, this ban hinders both humanitarian efforts and people exchanges. U.S. Catholic Relief Services, for example, has \$6 million in donated medicines to ship to Cuba.

But it must wait for approval from three federal offices to arrange a direct flight. A ban on using U.S. carriers for such flights further complicates aid efforts.

A ban on remittances is also counterproductive. Before, U.S. households could send up to \$300 per quarter to people in Cuba. But President Clinton forbade even that in 1995. Did that stop remittances to Cuba? Hardly: They're now estimated at up to \$800 million a year. Despite exile hard-liners who argue against sending any cash, countless Cuban Americans violate this ban regularly, and with impunity. While wrong to break the law, they do so to relieve their loved ones' suffering. Who can blame them? Blood is thicker than law. Always has been. Always will be.

These dollars from exiles and others in America pay for everything from children's milk to typewriter paper for independent journalists to soap for families. Yes, those dollars indirectly prop up Castro's atrophied economy. But the humanitarian benefits far outweigh the gains for Castro.

Such was the case with direct telephone calls to Cuba. Though Castro's government gets hard currency for the calls, the communications opening provides a communications lifeline between here and Cuba.

For the same reasons and more, restrictions on Americans' travel should be lifted -- totally. Americans with family members there, those on cultural exchanges, academics, journalists, and scientists are now authorized to travel to Cuba. Others may not go legally -- but they do, illegally, via third countries.

Americans have a constitutional right to travel where and when they please except to war zones or during national emergencies. Let them go see -- and by their presence undermine -- Castro's "socialist paradise." It would hurt Castro more than Washington.

Free up food, medicine

Finally, for humanitarian reasons, U.S. companies should be allowed to sell medicine and food in Cuba. Not that Cuba has the hard currency to buy either, thanks to Castro's ruinous economic policies. Indeed, the United States currently authorizes millions in food and medical donations to Cuba. Much is sent by South Florida exiles via parcels. Other donations are funneled through Catholic Relief Services, its ultimate distribution monitored by Caritas Cuba. The monitoring is wise, prevents ill use of aid, and should continue.

Allowing Cuba to buy food and medicine directly from U.S. companies really wouldn't change much at all. Whatever benefit Castro might obtain would be small compared with the devastating truth: Cuba no longer can feed and care for its people.

Cracks are visible in Cuba's system. The openings provide realistic hope for change now. To protect itself from the horror of a Ceausescu-style transition, and to plant seeds for future relations with a free, self-determined Cuba, the United States should waste no time in fine-tuning its overbroad embargo.

# Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

March 9, 1998

Mr. Donald V. Fites  
Chairman and CEO  
Caterpillar Inc.  
100 NE Adams Street  
Peoria, Illinois 61629

Dear Mr. Fites:

We are disappointed that press reports state that a representative of your company participated in a conference recently held in Cuba that promoted business opportunities on the enslaved island. The conference included meeting with Fidel Castro, the Cuban dictator, and other high ranking members of the Cuban regime.

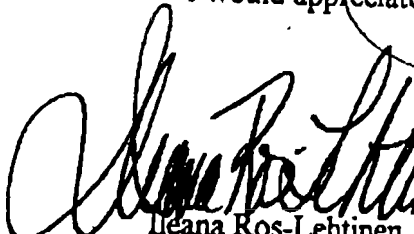
Cuba remains the last bastion of totalitarian communism in our hemisphere. Cuban workers enjoy no labor rights and are denied the most fundamental and internationally recognized human rights. The Cuban people are treated as economic slaves, where the state, not the individual, is the sole owner of the means of production.

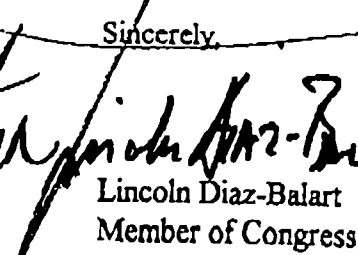
As a U.S. company built on the entrepreneurial spirit that characterizes American capitalism, it would be shameful for Caterpillar to consider business opportunities in a system that suppresses the freedoms that have helped Caterpillar and the American economy to be the world's envy. Cuba will undoubtedly be a great market for Caterpillar, but only after Castro and his thugs are out of power and Cuban workers are free. Moreover, the Cuban people will resent those companies which dealt with Castro in order to fill their pockets with profits while ignoring the suffering of the people.

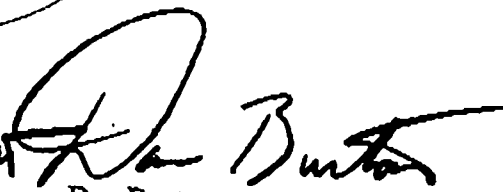
We urge you not to have Caterpillar participate in forums which promote business opportunities in Cuba, and instead, stand in solidarity with the oppressed people of the island in their struggle to achieve political freedom and the liberty to pursue their economic dreams.

We would appreciate a written reply to our concerns.

Sincerely,

  
Heena Ros-Lehtinen  
Member of Congress

  
Lincoln Diaz-Balart  
Member of Congress

  
Dan Burton  
Member of Congress

# Well-Versed in Exile

## Cuban Emigre Bobby Jimenez Was a Famous Singer. Until The Castro Government Decided He Shouldn't Be.

By NICHOLAS DAY  
Washington Post Staff Writer

**I**f you saw him—puff-haired, plump, polite—in customer service at Hechinger in Tenleytown, you wouldn't know about it, of course. You wouldn't know about that horrible Havana winter of 1984.

He was a singer, but he was barred from performing. He was married, but he was alone.

"The problem is, I was honest," he says. "I wasn't hypocritical. They sometimes said, 'If you were a little wise, you could be higher than where you are.'"

He'd performed in the best nightclubs and restaurants in Havana. But he'd been prohibited from public appearances since 1981, a punishment for asking permission to leave the island.

"Years of my life without any reason."

In a desperate attempt to get him out, his longtime Belgian fiancée flew to Cuba and they hastily married. Then she left and he stayed. It wasn't his choice.

You wouldn't know that his story isn't singular but plural. That his past, like a sort of tropical telescope, could magnify the many unseen, and upsetting, stories of other Cubans.

Your only clue to anything, if you were lucky, was that you could hear him singing—not under his breath, but louder, because there was no one telling him not to—in Spanish, right there next to Hechinger's toilet display.

He'll be recording his second album soon. He's got to practice.

"It's very strange, my story," Bobby Jimenez says. Incredibly, that otherworldly story does not seem to have entangled him in embitterment. He's soft-spoken and reserved. But he has many reasons not to be.

See JIMENEZ, D2, Col. 1

JIMENEZ, From D1

"It's a long story. It's like a movie story, you know."

It opens in 1958, a year before the revolution, 20 years after Jimenez was born, in the basement of a building across from the Havana Hilton. It's the basement where Jimenez performed in public for the first time. He sang "Love Is a Many-Splendored Thing" in a talent show and was hired immediately to perform at Curly's Flamingo Bar-Nite Club—a name that hints at all the flamboyance of '50s pre-Castro Cuba. It was a time when Cuba looked to the West, not the East, and foreign-financed development was raging, often at the expense of the poorest Cubans. The insatiable tourist trade demanded handsome, talented, English-speaking singers. It was as if Jimenez, who grew up listening to Frank Sinatra, Nat King Cole and "Your Hit Parade," was answering a personal ad.

Like Cuban boys on sandlots looking to baseball for the future, Jimenez always looked to music—and, like those dusty kids, always to the United States. During those first few years, he had increasing success, singing not just in clubs, but on television as well. The '89 revolution—which radically restructured society and, a few years afterward, erased U.S.-based tourism—didn't affect his career immediately. He was named "best new artist" in 1963 by a Cuban newspaper. He eventually would appear at all the great and glorious Havana clubs: the Capri Hotel, Havana Riviera, National Hotel Casino Parisien, Havana Hotel—smack across the street from the basement where he began. He sang in the swankiest place in Havana, the Tropicana. If you lived in Havana then, and you had not heard of Jimenez, someone else you knew would have.

Jimenez was not a revolutionary. He was not a counterrevolutionary, either—not that it mattered. To the Castro regime, you were either with the revolution or against it. The national tourism bureau, INIT, controlled the schedules of the artists—setting dates, places, pay—and the officials began to get antsy about Jimenez. He was asked to use "Roberto" instead of "Bobby"—"It was too Yankee, they said." And Jimenez, who sang in English, French, Portuguese, Italian and Spanish, was told "to be careful about those American songs." He ignored both suggestions. Then, suddenly, an apparent punishment came down, a giant foot crushing a budding career: a total ban from radio or television. "They never explained the reason," he says.

He's stopped trying to explain Cuba—the theater of the absurd, he calls it. "If you know Ionesco, you know Cuba."

He describes the period, with remarkable fortitude, as "just singing in some places and that's all."

Shuffling through tattered papers from the time, he mutters, "Que barbaridad"—Good Lord, what a shame.

Jimenez signed contracts to sing at clubs in Mexico and Canada but never got off the island. In the most galling incident, Alex Cardini, the owner of a Mexican club called Cardini's—where Sinatra was then performing—came to Cuba to recruit Jimenez. "He said, 'I need someone different for the people, a different artist, someone unknown.'"

Jimenez said he would be denied permission. "Why are you so pessimistic?" asked Cardini. "I'm not pessimistic," Jimenez answered. He was realistic. He never got to Cardini's.

He was like a dog. That's how he terms it. "Listen. You have a dog, you put your string to the dog and the beautiful dog, he runs and he plays. Oh, what a beautiful dog!" His voice is high with mockery, "But if he wants to go there, he can't! Because he has a string. You understand? Up to a certain point. No more."

Bobby Jimenez's story is about more than a might-have-been-famous singer's frustrated career. It's about the choices that Cubans, artists or not, have been making for the last 40 years.

To illuminate such choices, it's instructive to look at Jimenez's former friendship with Pablo Milanes, the world-famous Cuban revolutionary folk singer. What happened to their friendship is

"normal," according to Jimenez.

Years ago, Milanes was, Jimenez says, like "my younger brother. He lived in my home and he used to sleep in my own bed like brothers together."

Their break came after Milanes was released from prison in the '60s. He'd been put there by Castro for "anti-revolutionary" activities. "I think—and I'm not sure of this, because after that I didn't see any more of Pablo—that among the things they told him was that he had to stop being friends with me. From that time on, Pablo was never at my house again."

Now Milanes and Silvio Rodriguez, who also was imprisoned and then released, are the voices of the revolution—stunningly beautiful voices, extraordinarily talented composers. Castro has said, "The success of Silvio and Pablo is the

success of the revolution."

There's the abrupt annulment of a friendship. There's the transformation of anti-revolutionary prisoners into revolutionary heroes. There's the choice that each man made.

As an artist in Cuba, by all accounts, you capitulated, compromised, lied or were shut out. That's what these lives suggest. That's why the view from Bobby Jimenez's apartment on Wisconsin Avenue is of the street, not the sea.

The story of Bobby Jimenez and Pablo Milanes is of lives determined not just by talent and fortune. Perhaps the choices that they made were morally loaded. Perhaps they were not really choices at all.

Perhaps only Cubans, those who've experienced it, can understand, can judge.

Bibiana Borroto, who brilliantly accompanies Jimenez on guitar on his recent recording, immigrated to Miami a decade ago. Her father was a political prisoner for five years in Cuba, and because of that her future as a classical guitarist was stymied. But like Jimenez, she is not mired in resentment. On the subject of Milanes and Rodriguez she says: "They just gave up. I don't think they wanted to leave Cuba. I'm not trying to say that they weren't good."

"Everybody has the right to do whatever they want."

Jimenez finally got back on radio and television in the '70s—just as mysteriously as he'd been taken off. He was relegated to second-rate clubs and shows, beginner stuff. Never the good stuff.

He cut a handful of 45s, contributed songs to a couple of full-length compilations but couldn't buy copies of any; his records were sold only in stores for foreigners and tourists. He tried to buy one once but it was snatched away by the store owner. "I asked him, 'Did you see who's this? That's me!'" It didn't matter.

The only 45 he has was a present from a friend who bought it in Moscow.

He was itching to get out. But he says he refused to flee illegally and he refused to lie to gain the trust of the government. "I said, 'If I go,

everyone will know that I am leaving.'"

Enter Francoise Joris, an official at the Belgian Embassy in Havana, who met Jimenez at a party in 1978, a year after she arrived in Cuba. They were engaged within two years. She left Cuba in 1981—transferred out. So he asked the Cuban government for permission to leave, too.

He was stripped of his profession—prohibited from singing, from appearing on television and radio, from everything. He was sent to the national tourism bureau, INIT—his employer for more than two decades—to clean the restrooms. "Like an example for the other artists." He refused. In a sense, he did not exist in Cuba anymore; he had essentially left the country. Problem was, he was still there.

Then Jimenez had an epiphany of sorts: "I was desperate, because I was waiting and waiting and waiting and nothing happened, so I wrote a letter to the queen." The Queen of Belgium, that is. Queen Fabiola.

Remarkably, he received a response. His situation was intriguing, the letter read, and they would do their best. The Belgian ambassador promised assistance.

Hoping that a legal bond would help spring Jimenez, Joris flew back to Cuba in December 1983. In that Cuban winter both horrible and wonderful, they were wed. Then she left, on orders from the Cuban government. "They told me I could go with her. They promised."

January passed. February, March. One day in April, of that sweet, sweet spring of 1984, he got the word: Free to leave. He was at the airport the following day in a shirt and a tie, carrying a suitcase.

The shirt and the tie were mandatory: Cuban citizens had to look respectable arriving in a foreign country. The suitcase was mandatory: Cuban citizens could not look as if they had left the country with nothing. Although they had. That suitcase was empty. Everything Jimenez now has of his life in Cuba had been smuggled out by Joris in the years before.

On the flight, a stranger, who knew that a fleeing Cuban was a penniless Cuban, bought him a beer.

Sometimes Jimenez wonders if there's any record of him back in Cuba.

Used to be, when you left Cuba, you disappeared from Cuban history. In effect, you had never been there. You ceased to exist.

For a singer, that meant your name was erased from your albums. "The people who were born when I left, they don't know anything about me," Jimenez says. He fears that someday he'll find a record of his labeled "artist unknown."

Over the last decade, however, policies have changed. The Cuban government has realized that it may not be advantageous to deny Cuban heritage to those who bring fame to the country. For instance, Celia Cruz, a prominent exiled anti-Castro singer, is now called a Cuban musician and her work is sold in Havana. There is increasing cultural exchange between the United States and Cuba, slipping its way around the embargo. This year, an ad hoc group of older Cuban musicians—all of whom still live in Cuba—called Buena Vista Social Club won a Grammy Award for their eponymous album, produced by an American for an American label. Earlier this month, they performed to a sold-out Carnegie Hall.

To Cuban Americans who left in desperation and despair, the message now being preached by the regime is of forgiveness. Come back, come home.

All of which would seem to change Jimenez's situation—essentially an exile's situation. Or maybe, from his perspective, it doesn't change it at all.

"When you go from Cuba, you are worse than a murderer in that time," says Jimenez, speaking of when he left. "Now I'm not a traitor, nor a *gusano*, a worm. Now I'm a Cuban, like those that are there. We're all the same, like brothers."

He doesn't think he'll return. His father died nine years ago, his mother 20. He has got only a few uncles left. What's the point? he asks. "Almost everyone is dead. Forever."

After a year in Switzerland,

See JIMENEZ, D3, Col. 1



## JIMENEZ, From D2

where Joris was working at the Belgian Embassy, Jimenez found himself in Miami. He'd been invited to sing at a concert. Little Havana. How could he not go?

"When I came, I said, 'I stay.'"

He was expecting a lot from Miami. Like many Cuban emigres, he went there with vague hopes—a feeling, yet again, that something was coming, something good. He found a community caught up in in-fighting. He found that of all the things they could not take away from him in Cuba, they did manage to take one thing away: youth.

"Maybe I was dreaming but I thought that Miami could be the place to start again, but maybe it was too late," he says.

"I was disappointed; I felt cheated. It was so different. The Cubans don't seem Cuban. There's a lot of fighting. There's fighting with those who come from Cuba and with everything that happens in Cuba—fighting, fighting, fighting, all the time. I can't live like that."

He and his wife got by. She did "this and that." He "worked in different places" that mostly did not pay. He sang on television programs for free to get exposure. He was paid for club shows with checks on accounts that were empty. He worked in a shoe store.

If nothing was happening in Miami, nothing might as well be happening in Washington, especially when his wife got a job at the Belgian Embassy. They moved almost a decade ago. Then something happened.

Natalia Rodriguez, owner and founder of Elan records, a classical music label in Riverdale, about hearing Jimenez and guitarist Borroto together for the first time: "It just blew our mind. It gets to you. It gets to your soul. You can't forget it." About the emotional impact: "Older generations of Cubans just cry when they hear these songs. They have a stomach knot of nostalgia."

The album's birth was a connect-the-dots of Washington's small, fragmented Cuban community: Jimenez came in contact with Borroto through mutual friends. Borroto's husband, Ruben Pelaez, studied classical piano with Cuban-born Santiago Rodriguez at the University of Maryland. Rodriguez's wife, Natalia, heads Elan, which was interested in producing a series on Cuban music.

"Alma Cubana: A Collection of Popular Cuban Songs" is immaculately recorded—

in 20-bit sound, nearly the highest quality available—and will receive international distribution. It is an outstanding newly released album of songs by Cuban composers—including a century-old slave song, an art fast fading.

Jimenez hasn't done much work around town. It's something he seems resigned to. He was gigging at a place in the Georgetown Park mall before it turned into a toy store. He's sung in a few shows at Mount Vernon College. He and Borroto recently performed at Habana Village, a Cuban restaurant in Adams-Morgan. The owner, Eduardo Varada, grew up in Jimenez's Havana neighborhood and had seen him on Cuban television.

A few weekends ago over dinner, Jimenez and Natalia Rodriguez agreed to produce a second album of popular songs on the Elan label. He's happy about it. He still has a way with those songs—he shakes tears out of the ballads—and there's always the chance that the album will lead to something else. He's always dreamed of Broadway.

He seems at ease. Occasionally when he talks of injustice, he betrays himself: His eyes go fierce and his voice swells, but it passes. He possesses something—a gift—that got him through it all—in a sense, it's what started it, too.

"I am a singer until I die," he says simply. "I can't help it. That's why I exist. Because if I think of everything that I have that I could have better, I would be crazy now, okay?"

In the Northwest Washington Hechinger he works in customer service. He shows people around the store. Sometimes he's a greeter. Sometimes he helps customers carry purchases to their cars. Sometimes he hails cabs. Those sorts of things.

He's the language expert. In addition to Spanish and English, he's fluent in French and muddles about in Portuguese and Italian. Useful skills in Washington.

Just as all the Latinos know—in case they don't hear him singing—he wears a button, attached on his chest. It reads, *Hablo Español*.

To hear a free Sound Bite from the album, call Post-Hosts at 202-334-9000 and press 8169.

# Florida Tries to Keep Down Flow of Immigrants By Working to Improve Quality of Life in Islands

By MARJORIE VALDRIEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MIAMI—State officials, eager to shed the image of Florida as a refugee state, are trying a new way to restrain the flow of illegal immigrants: by providing a Sunshine State version of foreign aid.

Through overseas trade and development programs, the state is seeking to promote political and economic stability in some Caribbean countries where illegal immigrants have come from. There is another goal as well: to help keep the potential immigrants at home and out of Florida.

The main emphasis is in Haiti, where Florida-sponsored projects range from cancer-prevention and treatment programs to clean well-water projects and disaster-preparedness training. Projects elsewhere include: beekeeping in Dominica, St. Lucia and Grenada; pig farming in Belize; blacksmith work in Barbados; organic farming in Antigua; crop pest management in St. Vincent and Guyana; and youth camps in Honduras.

"To be honest, I think a lot of these programs are more symbolic than substantive," says Frank Sharry, director of the National Immigration Forum, an immigration policy and advocacy organization in Washington. "But what it symbolizes, in effect, is that Florida has the making of its own foreign policy and its own immigration policy, even though they are clearly set by the federal government."

## Avoiding California's Fate

Florida's "preventive diplomacy," as state officials call it, is part of broader immigration-control policies adopted in recent years to head off the kind of divisiveness that illegal immigration has stirred in California. Proponents of tighter controls in Florida were pressing for a measure similar to California's Proposition 187, which denies health and education benefits to illegal immigrants. Polls initially showed support for such a measure, but backers couldn't gather enough signatures to put an initiative on the ballot in 1995.

Public support fell as the state began its highly publicized immigration-control efforts. Dario Moreno, professor of political science at Florida International University, contends support fell only because the numbers of refugees had dropped off—not because of anything the state has done. "I think immigration in Florida only becomes an issue when there's a feeling that it's out of control and that people are literally



Mark Schlakman

washing ashore," he says.

Illegal migration into Florida has declined sharply since peaking in 1994, when waves of migrants from Cuba and Haiti in boats and rafts forced changes in U.S. policies with those nations. State efforts now aim to help prevent a renewed influx. Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles is widely credited with establishing the outreach initiatives two years ago. Florida is spending about \$533,000 this year on efforts throughout the Caribbean and Central America. Haiti programs get \$100,000 of that amount, plus \$67,000 from funds Florida received from the federal government.

Florida has focused the projects on Haiti partly because 92,874 refugees have attempted to get to Florida from Haiti since 1982, more than from any other island except Cuba. In addition, Haiti's political leaders are receptive to the assistance.

## 'We Can Make a Difference'

"The governor does not believe we can fix Haiti," says Mark Schlakman, special counsel to Mr. Chiles. "However, he does believe we can make a difference."

Mr. Schlakman has become the state's point man on Haiti policy. He has traveled to the island more than 20 times since 1995 to meet with government officials, private voluntary organizations and the many engineers, doctors and technicians who make up the U.S. military presence there. He has also been to Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados and the Dominican Republic.

While there are many international development projects and assistance programs in Haiti, Mr. Schlakman says, those projects tend to be large-scale and overlook smaller, much-needed projects. That's where Florida comes in, by providing the technical assistance, training support and private funding for smaller projects.

"The whole frame of this is two-pronged," Mr. Schlakman says. "One is the good-neighbor approach, where Florida is a Caribbean state and our neighbors are these island nations. Our goal is to improve, even if incrementally, the living conditions for the people of Haiti, to reduce the push factors that tend to drive people to the boats literally. The other is to do what is in the best interest of the state of Florida to protect against a future migration outflow."

## Democracy Building

The Florida-Haiti Initiative seeks to foster stronger business and economic ties with the island, and provide training and support to government officials in democracy building. Among other things, it uses a mini-volunteer corps modeled on the Peace Corps. Last March, 13 Florida mayors, government workers and private businesspeople went to Haiti to share managerial skills with 133 Haitian municipal officials. In May, three Haitian mayors came to Key West to learn about environmental

issues affecting coastal cities.

Not everyone believes the state can have real impact. "I think in Haiti's case, it's been of limited success, because the problems there are so overwhelming, and ultimately the state of Florida can't do much about those problems," according to Terry McCoy, a professor at the University of Florida's Center for Latin American Studies.

But Haitian President Rene Preval says, through a spokeswoman, that the Florida initiatives "play an important role in our common interest to improve the quality of life in Haiti." Haitians want to work and feed their families, adds the spokeswoman, Michelle Karshen. "And when they feel there is no opportunity to do so, they seek other ways, and that is primarily by leaving."

Florida officials say the outreach projects are just one part of measures adopted to control immigration. A major effort is the "Florida Immigration Initiative," a joint state and federal project begun in 1994 after complaints by Florida lawmakers that Washington wasn't doing enough to help curb illegal immigration or help pay for the costs. Those complaints went nowhere until the summer of 1994, when an

## Stemming the Tide

Rescues of illegal migrants in Florida:

|       | CUBANS | HAITIANS | DOMINICANS |
|-------|--------|----------|------------|
| 1990  | 467    | 1,131    | 1,694      |
| 1991  | 2,203  | 3,941    | 1,433      |
| 1992  | 2,557  | 31,401   | 435        |
| 1993  | 3,656  | 2,329    | 570        |
| 1994  | 37,139 | 24,917   | 905        |
| 1995  | 626    | 1,969    | 4,175      |
| 1996  | 403    | 700      | 4,676      |
| 1997  | 408    | 587      | 523        |
| 1998* | 476    | 248      | 357        |

\*As of July 1998  
Source: U.S. Coast Guard

influx of 32,000 Cuban rafters, or *batismans*, started coming ashore in Key West, at a rate of 1,000 a day. The state sued the federal government, arguing it failed to adequately enforce immigration law.

Although the lawsuit was unsuccessful, the Justice Department released \$19 million to the state from an immigration-emergency fund. Later, it also agreed to take other steps to support enforcement efforts that are now part of the Florida Immigration Initiative. Among other things, prosecutions of illegal "re-entries" (aliens who were deported but came back) are now handled by federal prosecutors, and federal immigration officials share data with Florida law enforcement agencies.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

MONDAY, JULY 27, 1998

# Cuban envoy to U.S. sees opportunity with Rangel

By George Gedda  
ASSOCIATED PRESS

Fidel Castro's emissary in Washington doesn't get invited to official functions and usually finds little to be cheerful about.

But now, a seeming crack has developed in the substantial anti-Cuban edifice maintained by successive U.S. administrations. Rep. Charles B. Rangel, New York Democrat, wants an investigation into whether U.S. laws have been violated in terrorist acts against Cuba.

An I-told-you-so quality pervades envoy Fernando Ramirez's comments as he discusses allegations that the influential Cuban-American National Foundation has been financing such activities.

Sabotage directed from the United States against Cuba has been going on for nearly 40 years, Mr. Ramirez said in an interview. He wonders why anyone would be surprised by reports in the New York Times this month that the foundation has been sponsoring anti-Castro terrorism.

"It's been very clear that CANF has been linked to and participated in terrorist activities," he said.

The anti-Castro camp in South Florida protested the Times series vigorously, reflecting passions that the Cuban issue can generate. The Cuban-American National Foundation insists it seeks change in Cuba only through peaceful means.

In Cuba, the newspaper series was seen almost as a godsend for Mr. Castro's government, which had lengthy excerpts published in the Communist Party's newspaper.

As Mr. Ramirez knows, it is not easy to be Mr. Castro's envoy in a city where the Cuban president's revolution has so few admirers. Mr. Ramirez has only midlevel access at the State Department.

Since arriving in Washington in 1995, he has spent much of his time searching for ways to counter anti-Castro sentiment in Washington. But despite pervasive hostility toward his country, it is not Mr.

Remirez's style to engage in anti-American polemics.

In the interview, he said Cuban authorities have known for years about Luis Posada Carriles, the Cuban exile quoted by the Times as saying he waged a campaign of bombings and assassination attempts aimed at toppling the Cuban regime. Specifically, Mr. Posada claimed responsibility for bombings last year at Cuban hotels, restaurants and discotheques.

Mr. Posada has since denied having told the Times that the foundation financed his activities, describing himself as an "independent man" who did not represent CANF. He is reported to be at an undisclosed location in the Caribbean and could not be reached for comment on Mr. Ramirez's remarks.

Mr. Rangel, an outspoken critic of the U.S. embargo against Cuba, has asked Attorney General Janet Reno to follow up on the Times articles and investigate whether violation of U.S. laws occurred with the bombings in Havana last year.

He also has asked the Internal Revenue Service to investigate CANF, based on Mr. Posada's comments, to determine whether its activities are consistent with the foundation's tax-exempt status.

Foundation Chairman Alberto Hernandez called the allegations in the Times "outrageous and malicious" and threatened legal action against the Times to obtain a retraction. Apprised of Mr. Ramirez's remarks about the foundation, CANF spokesman Jose Cardenas said it was the "height of irony" for a country on the State Department's list of terrorist nations to accuse anyone of instigating violence.

The Times had no comment on Mr. Ramirez's remarks. After CANF's threat of legal action, the newspaper expressed its "complete support and confidence" in the series and said the articles were based on more than 100 sources, including 13 hours of interviews and conversations with Mr. Posada.

## The Washington Times

SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1998

# Drug flights over Cuba increase

**Colombian traffickers use its airspace to evade U.S. interdiction.**

By Tom Carter  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Colombian drug traffickers are increasingly flying their contraband-laden aircraft across eastern Cuba in a bid to avoid detection and interdiction by the United States, drug enforcement officials say.

Maps produced by the Joint Interagency Task Force East show that during the past six months of 1997, half of the airplanes flying

drugs out of Colombia flew across eastern Cuba, dropping their cargoes in coastal waters to be picked up by waiting speedboats.

The task force, based in Key West, Fla., is made up of officers from the U.S. Customs Service, Coast Guard, Drug Enforcement Administration and Pentagon.

Cuba says it is doing everything possible to stop the flights, but critics charge that the traffic has President Fidel Castro's tacit, if not direct, approval.

"It is ironic that the Cuban military can scramble MiGs to shoot down American civilian aircraft but cannot scramble its MiGs to defend its airspace from narcot-

ics," said Rep. Robert Menendez, New Jersey Democrat.

"I think the Castro government receives money for permitting the overflights and the use of its territorial waters," he added.

He was referring to the downing of two aircraft flown by Cuban-Americans over the Florida Strait in February 1996.

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Florida Republican and vehement Castro critic, agreed.

"Castro is a willing participant in allowing Cuba to be used as a drug transshipment point as a way to evade U.S. law enforcement,"

see CUBA, page A7

## CUBA

From page A1

she said yesterday.

"It is difficult to prove [Castro's] direct participation, but common sense says that nothing enters or leaves Cuba without the approval of the dictator himself. ... He's in cahoots with the drug traffickers," she said.

Cuba says the charges are outrageous, pointing to U.S.-Cuban cooperation in the 1996 seizure of 6.2 tons of cocaine on the merchant vessel Limerick. In that case, using U.S. intelligence, the Cuban government made the seizure.

"We are against any use of our territory or airspace for this type of activity," said Luis Fernandez, spokesman for the Cuban Interests Section in Washington Wednesday. "Maybe it is possible that some can pass through, but it is not allowed."

Blaming the U.S. economic embargo on Cuba, he said: "We have a problem with our resources and cannot always detect these things."

Mr. Fernandez said he did not know whether Cuban authorities had arrested any traffickers in Cuba in 1997 or 1998 but noted that the 1998 State Department report on drugs "recognized our efforts against drug trafficking."

Data prepared by the interagency task force shows that in early 1997, the drug traffickers generally flew up the Caribbean and Pacific coasts of Central America before dropping off their cargoes. But in late 1997, the flight path changed.

Out of 39 "detects" in which U.S. agencies identified drug planes flying out of South America, 16 flew directly over Cuban land. Four more went over water but inside Cuban airspace.

The agency did not provide information on drug "detects" for this year.

According to enforcement agencies, the planes fly through Cuban airspace and drop the drugs in Cuban waters along the north shore, where "go-fast" boats retrieve the drugs and speed them to U.S. shores.

"In the second quarter, the dealers began testing the route [through Cuba]. They found it worked, and by the last quarter [of 1997], it looks like a highway flying

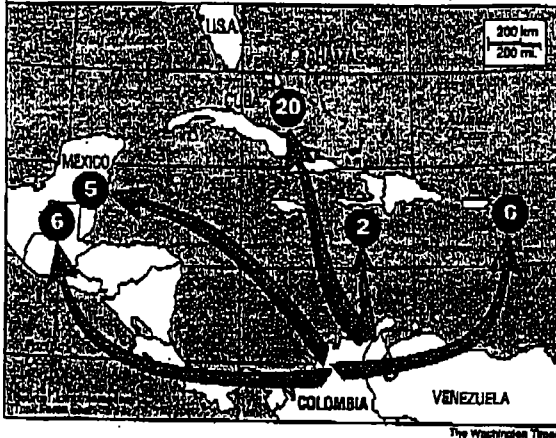
The Washington Times

SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1998

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## CRUISING CUBA

Aircraft carrying Colombian drugs are using Cuban airspace to avoid detection before dropping their cargoes to waiting speedboats off the island's northern coast. Of 39 drug flights detected by U.S. authorities in the second half of 1997, 20 sought cover in Cuban airspace.



out of the Guajira Peninsula," said a congressional staffer involved in drug legislation.

The lack of relations between the United States and Cuba, coupled with an economic pinch that makes it hard for Cuba to police its own territory, apparently has helped make Cuba a haven for drug smugglers.

The DEA acknowledged that Cuba has become a concern.

"Cuba's role in the cocaine trade as a transshipment point is not as significant as many other island countries in the Caribbean," said a DEA official in Washington Tuesday on the condition of anonymity.

"It is Cuba's potential as a cocaine and heroin transshipment country, rather than its current status, that is most relevant. ... South American drug traffickers do, however, exploit Cuban airspace and territorial waters in order to avoid interdiction by U.S. and Caribbean law enforcement assets."

The CIA's 1997 World Factbook describes Cuba as a "lesser transshipment point for cocaine bound for the U.S."

Anti-Castro lawmaker Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, Florida Republican, blames the Clinton adminis-

tration for the tepid official descriptions. He accused the administration in a 1997 letter to CIA Director George Tenet of "active ignorance of this threat" and "systematically" failing to recognize the problem so as not to "antagonize the Cuban dictatorship."

"Overwhelming evidence points to ongoing involvement of the Castro dictatorship in narcotrafficking," he wrote to U.S. drug policy director Barry McCaffrey in 1996.

Wayne Smith, the former chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana during the Cartor administration and senior fellow for the Cuba Project at the Center for International Policy, said Wednesday that increased drug flights over Cuba are "no surprise."

"This information only proves there needs to be cooperation between the United States and Cuba on drug interdiction," he said.

Mrs. Ros-Lahdinen said cooperating with the Cuban government is naive.

"We should not work with the Cuban military in fighting drugs because the Cuban military is involved," she said. "Castro and the military are part of the problem."

**The Washington Times**

SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1998

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**Invigorated Foreign Policy Bespeaks Cuba's Global Agenda (Havana) By Mark Fineman= (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times=**

HAVANA Cuban President Fidel Castro wore his trademark military fatigues and Congolese President Laurent Kabila sported a tropical shirt decorated with pictures of bank notes as the African leader ended a three-day visit here Saturday that underscored Cuba's expanding relations with former friends and new allies.

Kabila left Havana with a group of Cuban physicians, who work under government contract in many foreign countries, and an array of new agreements for technical cooperation in agriculture, tourism and other fields.

Kabila's visit came 33 years after Castro sent two columns of Cuban guerrillas, one of them led by Ernesto (Che) Guevara, to aid Kabila's insurgency in the Congo. That rebellion ended in bitter failure, and Guevara later sharply criticized Kabila for lack of leadership skills and poor discipline among his forces.

Last year, Kabila finally triumphed, taking power in what was then Zaire after an eight-month rebellion that overthrew Mobutu Sese Seko. Relations since then gradually have warmed between Cuba and Congo.

Castro's renewed friendship with Kabila is among the more notable of Cuba's foreign policy moves in the six months since Pope John Paul II's visit here, when the pontiff called on Cuba to open to the world and the world to open to Cuba.

More global outreach is in store in the weeks ahead.

Castro is scheduled to leave this week to tour the Caribbean nations of Jamaica, Barbados and Grenada. He also plans an eight-day visit to the Dominican Republic in late August that will include a summit of Caribbean leaders.

It will be the Cuban leader's first official visit to the Dominican Republic since his revolution overthrew Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. That revolution led to a punishing U.S. trade embargo of Cuba and a now-flagging U.S. policy to isolate the island.

Castro's tour is part of an emerging, post-Cold War alliance in the Caribbean that rejects U.S. government policy toward Cuba. In recent months, the Dominican Republic renewed full diplomatic relations with Havana, several other Caribbean nations signed cooperation agreements with the Castro government, and several neighboring prime ministers visited the island.

Castro's two-day visit to Grenada will carry at least as much historical resonance as Kabila's visit here, and has triggered debate among Grenada's politicians and analysts.

U.S. forces invaded Grenada in 1983 after the island nation's socialist president, Maurice Bishop, formed a strong alliance with Castro. Grenadian critics of the upcoming Castro visit have called it an insult to the 18 U.S. soldiers who died in three days of fighting.

Officially, the administration of President Reagan said it sent in U.S. troops to protect American medical students on the island. But the invasion, in which about two dozen Cubans also were killed, effectively drove Grenada out of Havana's sphere of influence.

One former critic of Castro's regime, Grenadian Prime Minister Keith Mitchell, says times have changed.

In announcing the state visit that will include Castro's address at a rally and a personal call on Bishop's mother, Mitchell said: "This is a new era in terms of the developing global village. For us in the Caribbean, Cuba has a tremendous role to play in the development of the region."

assessment" that is, checking out threats that have been made against any of the leaders.

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**National Nursing Home Care to Come Under Senate Review (Washn)By Robert A. Rosenblatt and Julie Marquis= (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times=**

WASHINGTON The halls reek of urine. Old people lie helpless in their beds hour after hour, soiled diapers unchanged.

These were the smells and sights at a nursing home in Huntington Beach, Calif., visited by federal government investigators last year as part of an intensive nine-month probe that is likely to touch off the biggest national nursing home controversy in years.

After reviewing inspection reports from all 1,370 California nursing homes, the General Accounting Office came to the conclusion that nearly one in three of the facilities is plagued by "serious or potentially life-threatening problems" for the residents.

Malnutrition, dehydration, urinary tract infections and bed sores that become gaping infected wounds are among the ailments suffered by residents of nursing homes. Most of them are impoverished, elderly patients typically women over the age of 80 who are too ill mentally or physically to care for themselves.

"We're not talking high-tech treatments here, we're talking about basic care you would give your dog," said one investigator.

The searing details in the GAO report derided by many in the nursing home industry as political scapegoating will be discussed Monday as the Senate Special Committee on Aging opens hearings on the enforcement of federal rules that mandate high quality care in nursing homes. A copy of the report was obtained by the Los Angeles Times.

The Clinton administration recently claimed that only 1 percent of the nation's nursing homes were "poor performers," with serious health and safety flaws threatening their patients. The White House vowed to improve enforcement.

But one committee staffer, reviewing the GAO report, said that if California, which has a reputation as a tough enforcement state, has such widespread problems, then "it is hard to believe that things are better elsewhere."

California was picked for the GAO probe because of allegations, delivered last year to the Senate Aging Committee chairman, Sen. Charles Grassley, R-Iowa, that patients were dying of neglect. Astonished by the GAO report, Grassley is now thinking about expanding the probe into a nationwide inquiry.

"The GAO report is shocking," said Grassley. "Enforcement is lax. Neglect a nursing home resident, get a slap on the hand. That's our system."

But in the meantime, the nursing home industry challenged the GAO report, arguing that it is geared toward cheap headlines instead of systematic problems. "We have very serious reservations about the accuracy, the completeness and the methodology used in the (GAO) analysis," said Gary Macomber, executive vice president of the California Association of Health Facilities, which represents about 1,500 long-term care facilities.

Macomber, responding to a draft of the GAO report, said GAO researchers had grossly inflated estimates of homes with serious problems, creating "new categories" of danger such as brooms leaning against the wall and failing to thoroughly review medical records. "It was a pretty poorly done piece of work," he said.

The federal government, which spent \$32 billion in 1995 in Medicare and Medicaid payments to

help pay bills of people in nursing homes, is supposed to ensure patients' proper care and treatment. But despite additional millions of dollars funneled to states to pay for nursing home inspections, the federal enforcement system may simply be failing in its basic mission to "protect residents against harm and neglect," said the committee's ranking Democrat, Sen. John Breaux of Louisiana.

Critics wonder: If the nursing homes have difficulty providing clean and effective care now, when they have 1.6 million residents in 17,000 homes nationwide, what happens when the baby-boomers flood the facilities? The nursing home population nationwide is expected to explode to 4 million residents by the year 2030, as masses of boomers, slowed by physical and mental ailments, will need nursing care.

Also at issue is the accuracy of states in reporting violations and the responsiveness of the federal government in addressing them.

Charlene Harrington, a researcher at the University of California, San Francisco who studies nursing homes and will testify in the Senate, found in a study that California inspectors are tougher on nursing homes than their counterparts elsewhere. In 1996, for example, California gave a perfect score to just 4 percent of nursing homes, while New York reported that nearly a third of its nursing homes were flawless during inspections. The 400 inspectors in California must follow a federal rulebook. But the final enforcement responsibility to levy fines or refuse to admit new patients or take away government funding is up to the federal government.

And the GAO found that when the state inspectors found problems, the federal government "generally took a lenient stance toward many of these homes." The agency was careful to note that "although our report focuses on nursing homes in California, the problems we identified are indicative of systemic survey and enforcement weaknesses."

Grassley called for the GAO investigation last fall after a Palo Alto, Calif., lawyer claimed that nearly 22,000 nursing home patients in California may have died from preventable conditions such as malnutrition and infections between 1986 and 1993. Attorney Von Packard and his colleagues, who specialize in class action and government fraud lawsuits, based their findings on a review of data from 300,000 death certificates.

Without autopsy information about residents who had died, the GAO said, "We cannot be conclusive" about whether "unacceptable care may have contributed directly to individual deaths." Some Alzheimers' patients, for instance, lose ability to swallow, making it difficult to fault a nursing home for a death certificate finding of malnutrition.

The GAO report is based in part on independent inspections of two nursing homes, observation of a state inspection at a third home and review of inspection and medical reports from 15 other facilities. The agency hired Dr. Andrew Kramer's team of the University of Colorado Center on Aging to conduct the two on-site inspections in California, accompanying state inspectors on visits.

At one facility, state inspectors "missed numerous major quality of care problems, very severe problems pressure sores, nutrition," Kramer said. He refused to name the nursing home, but state officials identified it as Huntington Valley Nursing Center in Huntington Beach.

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### **Shot to the Galaxies Beats Burial on the Lone Prairie (Long Beach) By Anne-Marie O'Connor (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times=**

LONG BEACH, Calif. Some might say that sending '60s pop icon Timothy Leary to outer



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Ramon Sanchez of the Movimiento Democracia for  
OPL clearance. Letter was passed to POTUS party  
(Craig Smith) in Miami a couple of weeks ago.****Regards and thanks.**

# DRAFT

December 30, 1997

Mr. Ramon Saul Sanchez  
Delegate, Democracy Movement  
8150 SW 8<sup>th</sup> Street  
Suite 217  
Miami, FL 33141

Dear Mr. Sanchez:

I have been asked to respond on behalf of President Clinton, to your letter of December 11. In it you make a thoughtful and compelling case for the promotion of non-violent political change to democracy in Cuba. Let me assure you that the President and his Administration support that objective and want to work with you and others in the Cuban, and Cuban-American communities to bring it about.

At the same time, the Administration also has a responsibility to enforce U.S. laws, and to take prudent steps to avoid incidents which could involve the unnecessary loss of life, or lead to violent confrontation between the United States and Cuba. We appreciate your acknowledgement that this is our motivation, even though you do not agree with the measures taken by the Administration to this end are necessary.

In that vein, you wrote regarding the return of your vessel, the "Democracia." As you know, the U.S. Attorney's office in Miami is handling this matter. Since appropriate legal proceedings have been initiated, it would be inappropriate for me to comment further at this time.

Please be assured that the President shares your commitment to democracy in Cuba. All of those in the Administration who are working on this issue share your frustration. We remain confident, however, that democracy will come to Cuba, as it has every other nation in this Hemisphere and every other member of the former Soviet block. We appreciate your commitment to non-violent action, and urge that you pursue your objectives within the framework of U.S. and international law.

2

Sincerely,

James F. Dobbins  
Special Assistant to the President and  
Senior Director for Inter-American Affairs



# Labor Council for Latin American Advancement

Dade County/Florida Chapter • AFL-CIO

August 19, 1997

**President**  
Pepe Collado  
UBC

**Vice President**  
Martin Urra  
IAM

**Secretary-Treasurer**  
Yvonne Perez  
UTD AFT

**Recording Secretary**  
Terry Corrieri  
UFCW

**Public Relations**  
Anita Cofino  
UNITE

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AFSCME

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Haydee Ferrer  
APWU

Gus Figueroa  
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Elvie Franqui  
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IBT

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CWA

Jesse Rivera  
TWU

Lidia Rodriguez  
UTD AFT

Juan Travieso  
AFGE

Raquel Viamonte  
UTD AFT

## **National Executive Board**

Anita Cofino

Pepe Collado

Yvonne Perez

Mr. John Sweeney  
President  
AFL-CIO  
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Sir and Brother:

Pursuant to our meeting during the AFL-CIO Organizing Conference in Miami, we are following your instructions that we get in touch with you with any concerns regarding the AFL-CIO position on the Cuba issue. We want to make you aware of the possibility that a number of resolutions may be presented to the AFL-CIO proposing it change its current policy towards Cuba with regards to the U.S. embargo. Such efforts are mostly driven by ignorance of the facts and/or misguided intentions. It should prove easy for the AFL-CIO to prevent such policy reversal since the core issues that led labor to support the Cuban embargo have not changed:

- Free and independent labor unions are still not allowed to participate in the workplace.
- Labor leaders are still harassed and imprisoned at will by the Cuban dictatorship.
- Workers are still promoted and paid according to a system tied to support for the Communist Party and government programs such as "voluntary" week-end or after-shift work.
- The only "labor" organization allowed to participate in the workplace, The Cuban Workers' Central (CTC), is controlled by the Cuban government. Its leadership is selected only when approved by the government and remains an accomplice to the repression and exploitation of workers.
- At the ILO, the CTC leadership openly admits to having to check with the government before taking positions or responding to matters brought before the body.

The strategy of supporting the Cuban embargo was adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council with the full support of the federation's Labor Committee for a Free Cuba. This course of action was recommended by the committee as a result of a lack of basic human rights in Cuba, such as freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, and other democratic freedoms - the exact same arguments that led U.S. unions to fight so hard in the anti-apartheid efforts in South Africa.

It is easy to prove the similarities between the successful embargo of South Africa and that of Cuba today. Many said that the South Africa commercial embargo was doomed to failure and that it was "only hurting the people we are trying to help." Mr. Mandela suffered 27 years in prison until the boycott started to work. The AFL-CIO was successful in its campaign for the release from prison of Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez and Mario Chanes De Armas (held for 23 and 30 years, respectively). We did not end that embargo with Mr. Mandela's release and, similarly, we should not do so with Cuba until there is true progress in both the labor and democratic processes.

Of closer concern to organized labor is the effect that removing such support would have within our South Florida membership. Our union membership is fully aware of the circumstances prevalent in Cuba. Any change in policy without a change in circumstance would lead to a negative attitude towards organized labor with immediate and sizable drops in membership.

This is a very emotional issue with most people in the Florida community (not just Cuban-American members) since they are well informed regarding Castro's atrocities and would react strongly to any changes in our labor federation's policy. As you know, Florida is a right-to-work (for less) state and emotions drive organizing efforts. Any change in policy would negatively impact our Cuban-American

*S - Please copy to Craig, Maria, and Karen Tramenando. Minky 9-22-97*

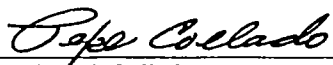
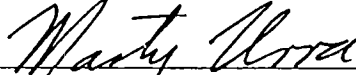
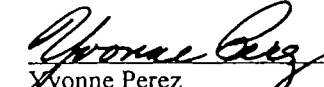
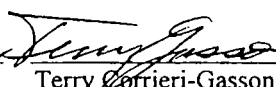
union membership and would be successfully used by anti-union companies, union busting attorneys and media to destroy labor's organizing and legislative efforts in Florida.

The AFL-CIO strongly condemned the downing of two civilian aircraft by Cuban MIG-29's in international waters. This action was a blatant violation of international law. The downing of the planes occurred within a week of a new wave of repression by the Cuban dictatorship against human rights and worker rights activists in Cuba. This took place a few days after a high-level international labor delegation visited Cuba. The AFL-CIO successfully urged President Clinton to take appropriate action in response to the crisis and voiced the indignation of the American people towards the violation of international law.

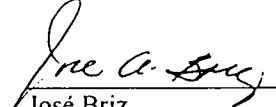
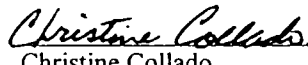
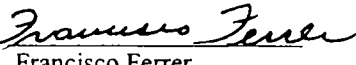
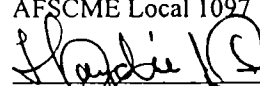
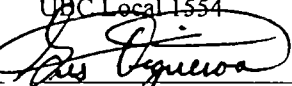
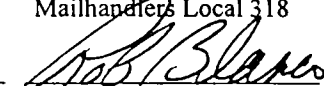
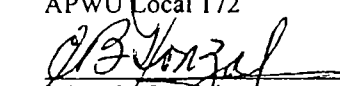
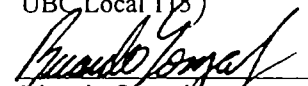
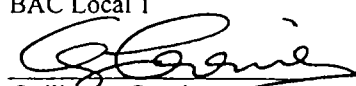
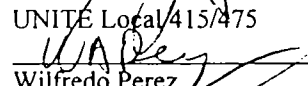
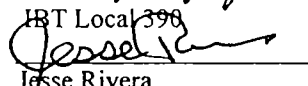
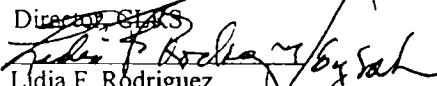
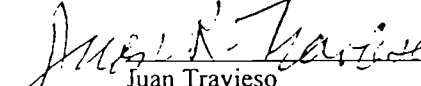
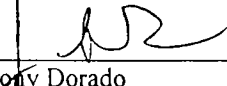
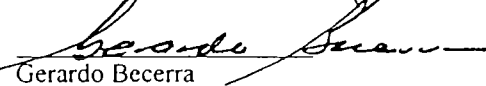
✓ We are requesting your assistance and urge you that you take a strong leadership position on this issue in support of the current AFL-CIO's Cuba policy. Please continue this very appropriate stand on the matter by not allowing the weakening of the embargo against communist Cuba until that country adopts a democratic form of government AND a free and democratic collective bargaining system.

Faternally,

The LCLAA Dade County/Florida Chapter's Officers:

|                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <br>José (Pepe) Collado<br>President<br>UBC Fourth District Board Member | <br>Marty Urra<br>Vice President<br>IAM Lodge 368                  |                                                                                                                                              |
| <br>Yvonne Perez<br>Secretary-Treasurer<br>UTD/AFT Local 1974           | <br>Terry Corrieri-Gasson<br>Recording Secretary<br>UFCW Local 162 | <br>Anita Cofiño<br>Executive Director<br>UNITE Local 694 |

#### EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

|                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <br>José Briz<br>AFSCME Local 1097          | <br>Christine Collado<br>UBC Local 1554   | <br>Francisco Ferrer<br>Mailhandlers Local 318 |
| <br>Haydee Ferrer<br>APWU Local 172         | <br>Gus Figueroa<br>UBC Local 1187        | <br>Roberto Blanco<br>BAC Local 1              |
| <br>Eduardo Gonzalez<br>UNITE Local 415/475 | <br>Ricardo Gonzalez<br>IBT Local 398     | <br>Guillermo Grenier<br>Director, GLKS        |
| <br>Wilfredo Perez<br>CWA Local 3107        | <br>Jesse Rivera<br>TWU Local 570         | <br>Lidia F. Rodriguez<br>UTD/AFT Local 1974   |
| <br>Juan Travieso<br>AFGE Local 2014        | <br>Raquel Viamonte<br>UTD/AFT Local 1974 | <br>Tony Dorado<br>CWA Local 3107              |
| <br>Jorge Santiesteban<br>HERE Local 355    | <br>Gerardo Becerra<br>ILA Local 1922    |                                                                                                                                    |

## **AFL-CIO RESOLUTION ON CUBA**

**WHEREAS**, a growing number of multinational corporations are taking advantage of low wages, substandard working conditions, and government repression of independent trade unions in Cuba, and

**WHEREAS**, they are working in partnership with the Cuban government and military agencies under rules that increase government control of the work force, and

**WHEREAS**, instead of paying wages directly to workers, such joint ventures supply foreign exchange to a Cuban government labor agency which, in turn, pays workers at a highly disadvantageous official rate of exchange, and

**WHEREAS**, according to the report of a February, 1996 CFTU mission to Cuba, the government-controlled trade union confederation, the Cuban Workers' Central (CTC), is ill-equipped to confront this invasion of multinational capital, and

**WHEREAS**, instead of promoting workers' interests and defending good labor conditions, most of the CTC's activities "are aimed at ensuring labor discipline and at encouraging workers to meet production quotas established by management," and

**WHEREAS**, Cuban workers who try to form free trade unions continue to be repressed and members of worker organizations like the USTC and UGTC, along with human rights activists in organizations like the Concilio Cubano and independent journalist groups in the Cuban press are routinely arrested, interrogated, and jailed by authorities or harassed and often physically attacked by the ruling party's rapid action brigades, and

**WHEREAS**, despite these flagrant violations of worker rights, a growing number of business organizations are calling for a relaxation of the U.S. economic embargo, and

**WHEREAS**, such calls are often justified on the grounds that outside investment and trade will eventually lead to democracy in Cuba, but are really intended to allow U.S. firms access to cheap labor in a union-free environment only ninety miles from the U.S. border, and

**WHEREAS**, it is neither the status quo nor economic reform and assurances regarding private property which should trigger a positive response from the United States but real movement toward democracy and respect for human rights and trade union rights,

**THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED**, that to meet these challenges, the AFL-CIO will cooperate with the ICFTU and its efforts to persuade multinational corporations investing in Cuba to adopt and implement codes of conduct which improve working conditions for Cuban workers and provide an opening for independent worker actions leading to freedom of association, and

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, that the AFL-CIO continue to assist Cuban workers seeking to form independent trade unions and to protest against violations of their rights in the appropriate international forums, and

**FINALLY, BE IT RESOLVED**, that the AFL-CIO will support a relaxation or lifting of the United States economic embargo of Cuba, **only** in response to significant progress by the Cuban government in safeguarding workers' rights by embodying the core conventions of the International Labor Organization, including freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively and movement toward free and fair elections, democratic government, and the rule of law.

Respectfully submitted by,

**South Florida AFL-CIO**

THE WHITE HOUSE

From: Bob J. Nash  
Assistant to the President and Director,  
Office of Presidential Personnel

Date: 1/15/98

To: Maria Echaveste

- |                                                         |                                                         |                                                          |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> For your signature             | <input type="checkbox"/> Rewrite-text                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Please Return call              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare reply for My Signature | <input type="checkbox"/> Rewrite-not enough information | <input type="checkbox"/> As you requested                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> For President's signature      | <input type="checkbox"/> For your action                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> For your information |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reply directly-copy to me      | <input type="checkbox"/> For your approval              | <input type="checkbox"/> Please file                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please locate resume           | <input type="checkbox"/> For your comments              | <input type="checkbox"/> Set up meeting on this          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Call me on this                | <input type="checkbox"/> To West Wing, ASAP             | <input type="checkbox"/> For Resumix                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Acknowledge Referral           |                                                         |                                                          |

Remarks:

Attached is the memo on Cuba  
Broadcasting that we (Personnel),  
NSC + Craig Smith feel comfortable  
with. I hope it is OK with you too.  
Please call me asap if you have  
any concerns at 65251. Thanks.

Action Date: \_\_\_\_\_

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                       | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 002. memo                | Bab Nash to President Clinton re: Advisory Board for Cuba<br>Broadcasting (Non-Selection) (3 pages) | 01/08/1998 | b(6)        |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Public Liaison  
Maria Echaveste  
OA/Box Number: 14164

### FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba [Folder 2] [1]

2016-0920-F  
jm1888

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



# Wish You Were Here

## Marxist Cuba Beckons, And U.S. Capitalists Champ at the Bit

By JIM CARRIER

Last month, two Caterpillar Inc. executives had the kind of face-to-face meeting with a national leader that salesmen dream about — except the leader was Fidel Castro, and they weren't allowed to sell him anything.

At a dinner the Cuban leader gave in Havana for several American business people, Mr. Castro asked the Caterpillar managers about bulldozers. They told him the largest Cat exceeded 1,000 horsepower. His bushy eyebrows shot up; Cuba's Russian machines are only 100 horse and are notoriously unreliable. "I can't comprehend" bulldozers like the ones his guests were describing, Mr. Castro said through an interpreter.

At about the same time, a high-ranking Cuban diplomat traveled to the world headquarters of the Radisson Hotels, a unit of the Carlson Companies, in St. Paul. He assured Peter Blyth, Radisson's president, that three sites eyed by Radisson years ago in Havana and Varadero, a resort on the northern coast, were still available for hotel development. The properties have no claims against them by foreigners forced out of the country after Mr.

Castro took power in 1959, he added, and the Cuban Government was eager to do business with Radisson.

These two recent contacts between capitalist America and Communist Cuba represent a small but growing movement by American companies to prepare for the day when doing business with Cuba is not trading with the enemy, as most such transactions are now legally defined. In spite of the 36-year-old United States embargo that prohibits all but a narrow range of commercial activity, and in spite of discouragement by the State Department, American executives are circling the island like Navy gunboats once did, and, in increasing numbers, actually landing.

Cuba's needs are certainly monumental. American executives who have visited Cuba recently estimate the market just for basic goods and services like food, medicine and road repair at \$2 billion to \$4 billion annually. Mr. Blyth of Radisson Hotels predicts Americans would flood Cuba in the unlikely event that travel restrictions were eased — driving up the number of annual foreign visitors to 10 million from the current mostly European crop of 1.2 million. Under current law, Amer-

Continued on Page 4

Continued From First Business Page

icans are free to travel to Cuba, but cannot spend a dime unless they are licensed by the State Department or are the guests of officially designated hosts, like the Cuban Government or some foreign company.

"You could run brake shoes over for '53 Chevys and make a fortune," said Rob O'Neill, manager of the Key West, Fla., harbor, who often talks with associates about the money-making opportunities that will open up when the embargo ends.

Before Americans can sign deals, however, Congress must lift the embargo. And that is unlikely to happen as long as Mr. Castro remains in power. "Castro has to leave, vertically or horizontally," said Marc Thiessen, press spokesman for Senator Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Even so, he suggested, Mr. Castro's departure may not be so far off. "We're so close," Mr. Thiessen suggested. "Castro's revolution is dead."

Still, with the prospect of the bars coming down to the hemisphere's last forbidden market, an island of 11 million people just 90 miles south of the Florida coast, American business is straining at the leash. "It's not even controversial in our membership," said John Howard, director of international policy for the United States Chamber of Commerce. "There is a widespread and growing sentiment that our policy toward Cuba makes no sense."

For now, American business is pretty much limited to advocating a change in American policy, which has been dictated for decades by the mostly anti-Castro Cuban-American community, to slipping through the few fissures that Washington has allowed to develop in the ban, and to keeping up a dialogue with Cubans.

The number of American business representatives traveling to Cuba — legally, but in most cases without State Department sanction — has quadrupled to a projected 2,000 this year from 500 in 1994, according to the U.S.-Cuba Trade and Economic Council of New York.

Just last month, a delegation of midlevel officers from major corporations — including the Mobil Oil

Corporation, Texaco Inc., Pharmacia & Upjohn, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Continental Grain, the Case Corporation, a unit of Tenneco, and Caterpillar Inc. — was the official guest of Mr. Castro and his top ministers in Havana, and a follow-up trade show is proposed in September, said the organizer, Kirby Jones of Alamar Associates. Another trade show for American companies, this one for medical products, is planned within the year by PWN Exhibicon International, based in Connecticut. For the most part, participants in such events describe them as fact-finding tours, though American companies are allowed to take such measures as signing nonbinding letters of intent with Cuban groups or registering trademarks and brand names.

Meantime, President Clinton has widened ever so slightly some small cracks in the trade embargo. On March 20, he announced a measure to expedite shipments of drug and medical equipment, which are already exempt from the ban. At the same time, he authorized the resumption of direct flights to Cuba and of remittances of up to \$1,200 by Americans to relatives in Cuba, a measure that should increase sales for the approximately 100 American companies given special dispensation to trade with Cuba.

Those companies do a combined \$100-million-a-year business in Cuba — a drop in the bucket compared with the inroads being made by some of America's trading partners. The Cuban Government reports that companies from 25 countries have committed \$2 billion to 340 joint ventures and associations with the Cubans, and have announced other deals worth an additional \$4.5 billion.

Canada is the biggest foreign investor, accounting for one-third of the money flowing into the country, followed by Italy, Mexico, Spain, France and the Netherlands. The Sherritt International Corporation of Toronto is reportedly the single most

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1998

1/2

*Carrie*

active foreign company, with \$800 million committed. The company produces 40 percent of Cuba's oil and is also involved in mining, power generation, cell phones, tourism and agriculture, said Patrice Merrin Best, senior vice president.

Mr. Castro, one of the world's last avowedly Marxist leaders, has made

a series of concessions to the capitalist West since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of Moscow's \$3-billion-a-year subsidy to his economy. He has liberalized agriculture, allowed tourists to spend dollars, and even invited the Pope for a visit in February. In 1995, his Government created free trade zones and allowed up to 100 percent foreign ownership in many sectors.

This year, the Cuban Government will be host to 250 trade fairs, a turnabout 38 years after Mr. Castro began the nationalization of hundreds of foreign companies that led to the trade embargo. The first property seized, on June 29, 1960, was a Texaco refinery. The rest followed on Aug. 6. President John F. Kennedy imposed the embargo Feb. 7, 1962.

Nearly 6,000 property claims have been certified by the United States; more than half of them, with a 1972

have given away more than they've sold. Another 10 exploratory licenses have been issued.

Medical companies appear reluctant to jump into Cuba; Eli Lilly & Company said it had no plans to apply for a license as long as the full embargo remained. Part of the reason for their hesitation is the endless paperwork that awaits them. Any pharmaceutical company wishing to exhibit products at the planned trade show by PWN Exhibicon International, for example, must first get a permit from the Federal Government, then a separate license to sell any product, be it an X-ray machine or a box of surgical gloves.

Even more daunting is a prohibition on high-technology exports so broad that it basically includes anything with a microprocessor. "They think it's going to be put in the nose of a cruise missile and sent back our way," said W. Bradford Gary, a board member of the Medical Device Manufacturers Association, who visited Cuba last month. As a result, he said, Cuban doctors wash and re-use surgical gloves and operate 1950's kidney-dialysis machines with no spare parts.

At the moment, the largest licensed transaction with Cuba is AT&T's annual payment of \$23 million for access to the Cuban market; part of \$66 million in fees from nine long-distance companies. (Most of the long-distance calls that AT&T makes money on originate in the United States.) American airlines pay another \$6 million to fly over Cuban air space en route to South America.

Other transactions range from Western Union Moneygrams to three charter flights a week from three Miami charter airlines, which last year were permitted to fly 17,000 journalists, academicians and humanitarians and 43,000 Cuban-Americans home for their once-a-year family visit.

After two American civilian planes were shot down by Cuba in 1996, direct flights to the island were banned, and American visitors had to travel first to Mexico or the Bahamas and board foreign airlines there for the final leg to Havana. President Clinton's reversal of that policy is expected to reduce the round-trip fare to about \$300 from \$400, while increasing the traffic handled by American charter companies by 50 percent, to 90,000 passengers a year, said Vivian Mannerud, president of the Airline Broker Company.

"Since the Pope's visit, we've seen an increase in visa applications, nearly doubling," Ms. Mannerud said. "People are saying it's time to visit their families, some who have waited 30 years."

## 'You could run brake shoes over for '53 Chevys and make a fortune.'

value of \$1.8 billion, are held by 30 corporations. Under the Helms-Burton Act of 1996, the embargo can be lifted only after those claims are settled by a democratic government that does not include Fidel or Raúl Castro.

Rather than cowering American companies keen on doing business in Cuba, however, that requirement has galvanized them to speak out against the embargo, according to John Kavulich 2d, president of the U.S.-Cuba Trade and Economic Council, a non-profit business organization that describes itself as nonpartisan. "Large companies moved from just gathering information about Cuba to finding out what they could do in Cuba today, and then doing it," he said.

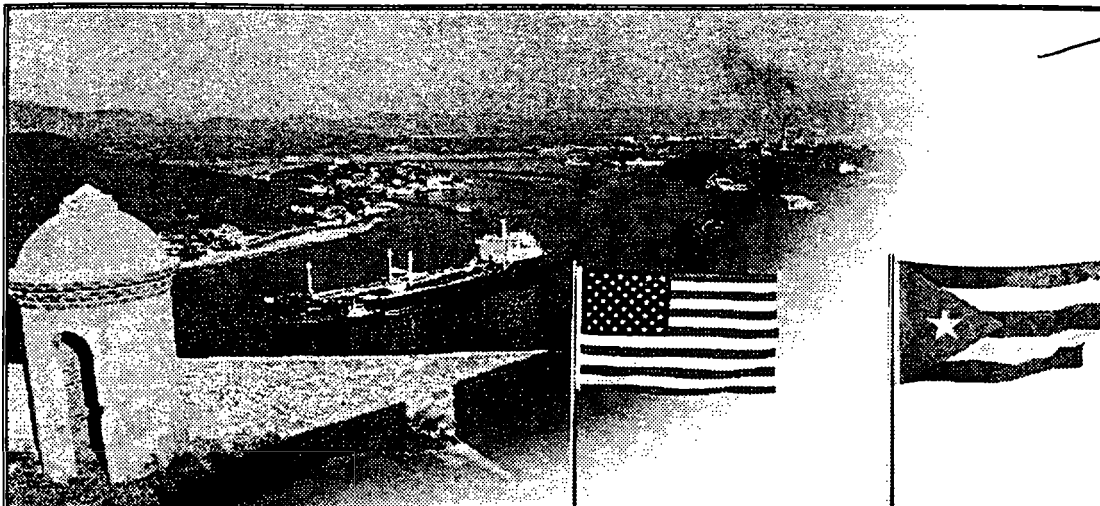
Even some companies with big compensation claims are cautious about making an issue of them as they eye the Cuban market. Texaco hopes to resolve its demand "if the opportunity represents itself," said Chris Gidez, director of external communications. Meantime, the company sent a member of its Latin American business team to Havana last month to meet with Government officials.

Until now, most American corporations have feared approaching Cuba's shores, even when it was legal. Medical sales, for example, have been allowed for years, but only 40 transactions have been licensed since 1992, and medical companies

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1998

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# An Open Letter on Cuba

## from the American Business and Agricultural Communities

January 16, 1998

**Dear President Clinton, Speaker Gingrich, and Majority Leader Lott:**

For nearly 40 years, the United States has pursued a policy of containment and isolation toward Cuba. This outdated policy currently serves to bolster a struggling regime and isolate the Cuban people from American influence.

Next week, world attention will focus on Pope John Paul II's historic trip to Cuba. Already his trip is serving as a catalyst for change. Now the United States has an opportunity to demonstrate leadership through engagement as well. While there are no guarantees in foreign policy, **engagement can be a powerful force** when pursued at all levels — political, diplomatic, economic, charitable, religious, educational, and cultural.

We believe the time is right to explore new initiatives to promote freedom in Cuba. As a first step, we urge that you publicly commit — in the State of the Union Address and the Republican response — to end the ban on the export of U.S. food as well as lift the restrictions on the sale of medical products. We would hope that this opening will produce further opportunities for improved relations.

Leadership is something all Americans respect. We stand ready to support you in a new policy of engagement with Cuba.

Sincerely,

### USA★ENGAGE

National Foreign Trade Council, Inc.  
United States Chamber of Commerce  
Small Business Exporters Association

Construction Industry Manufacturers Association  
Automotive Parts and Accessories Association  
Grocery Manufacturers of America  
North American Export Grain Association  
Computer & Communications Industry Association  
Manufacturers Alliance  
Petroleum Equipment Suppliers Association  
U.S. Association for International Business and Trade  
International Wood Products Association

American Farm Bureau Federation  
National Association of Manufacturers  
The National Grange

American Soybean Association  
American Feed Industry Association  
Emergency Committee for American Trade  
International Association of Geophysical Contractors  
Equipment Manufacturers Institute  
Food Distributors International  
Computing Technology Industries Association  
European-American Business Council  
American Association of Exporters and Importers  
Americans for Humanitarian Trade with Cuba

USA★ENGAGE IS A COALITION OF 600 SMALL AND LARGE BUSINESSES, AGRICULTURAL GROUPS AND TRADE ASSOCIATIONS WORKING TO SEEK ALTERNATIVES TO THE PROLIFERATION OF UNILATERAL U.S. FOREIGN POLICY SANCTIONS AND TO PROMOTE THE BENEFITS OF U.S. ENGAGEMENT ABROAD. FOR MORE INFORMATION ON USA★ENGAGE AND THE HARMFUL EFFECTS OF UNILATERAL TRADE SANCTIONS, CONTACT THE NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL AT (202) 887-0278 AND VISIT THE USA★ENGAGE WEB SITE AT <http://www.usaengage.org>.

(Paid for by USA★ENGAGE)



# META

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## FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

TO:

*Maria Echavente*

FAX NO.:

*(305) 456-2983*

FROM:

*Maria Elena Doran*

FAX NO.:

*(305) 579-2156*

DATE:

*Jan 30, '98*

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE):

COMMENTS:

*Have thought a lot about this  
mess. Called Maria Ariza when it happened.  
Hope all ends well!*

*The Feb 02 Mtg. has been moved  
to Feb 27. Will keep you posted -  
I'm sure you have seen this  
article which covers the unbelievable  
change taking place on both sides of  
the Florida straits.*

*Please call me when you can*

If you have any problems receiving part of this transmittal, please call (305) 579-2180

# The Miami Herald

www.herald.com

FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1998

THE HERALD, FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1998



CARL JUSTE / Herald Staff

**BROKE AN OATH:** After 38 years in exile, David Cabarrocas returned to Cuba while Fidel Castro remained in power.

## Exiles rethink options after Pope's Cuba visit

EXILES, FROM 1A

isolation to send food and other humanitarian aid to Cuba through the American Red Cross or the Catholic Church.

The Foundation's move comes two months after the death of chairman, Jorge Mas Canosa, who had shown signs that his strategy toward Cuba was changing and surprised many by debating a high-ranking Cuban official on Spanish-language television.

Now, even conservative exiles who caution against changing hard-line strategies until there are more substantive reforms in Cuba are saying the Pope's visit provokes soul-searching.

"The Pope has made us think and reassess," said Rafael Peñalver, a Miami lawyer who led a successful campaign to cancel a pilgrimage from Miami to Havana by cruise ship. "The church is in the process of nation building, conscience building and it's looking beyond Castro. The Pope has extended the bridge between the Cuban exile community and the island and we need to reconsider our position."

*'The ideological war on Fidel Castro has already been won.'*

DAVID CABARROCAS,  
Cuban exile in Miami

de la Revolucion. "The ideological war on Fidel Castro has already been won."

Marivi Prado, a human-rights activist who describes herself as "a typical Cuban in Miami who would have never traveled to Cuba," said her days there were "the experience of a lifetime."

She has returned convinced exiles need to establish closer links with Cubans on the island and support the church's efforts by making donations to Caritas, the church's charitable arm, without worrying about whether it's going to a communist or not.

She got to know all kinds of people in Cuba and feels many who support the government — "they are survivors," she said — can be won over with goodwill.

On Cuban radio airwaves, often the barometer of exile opinion, there's talk of a need to look in new ways at a more complex Cuba, of forging new strategies.

Many more listeners are weighing in with opinions that had previously only brought scorn and harsh criticism from commentators, and had been viewed as the work of Castro agents.

"If we lift the embargo, we may just scare [Castro] to death," said a caller to WWFE La Poderosa.

Perhaps for the first time in four decades of exile, some in South Florida believe, more exiles are ready to discount an armed struggle or a U.S. invasion in favor of a peaceful transition process.

In a town where war on Castro was the only respectable prescription, talk of fomenting change through a strategy of national reconciliation is taking root.

"A catharsis has taken place in exile," said Miami lawyer Alfredo Duran, vice president of the Cuban Committee for Democracy, an exile group that advocates dialogue. "People are more readily disposed to explore new avenues. What the Pope has done is flash a light into a semi-dark room."

Fueling the optimism were displays in Cuba of religious fervor, the live television images of a giant Jesus Christ in the Plaza de la Revolucion, people's daring chants of "*Libertad!*," the Pope's urging of a national reconciliation, and now that they are back in Florida, the testimony of exiles who witnessed it all first-hand.

#### A painful concession

While exiles have been traveling to Cuba since the Cuban government began allowing it in 1979, the visits were seen as a painful concession in order to reunite with family.

Those who traveled to Cuba faced the scorn of many exiles. One militant group even videotaped exiles at the airport in an attempt to expose and embarrass them.

But at the urging of the Catholic Church, some respected long-time exiles who had never been back decided to heed the calling and travel to Cuba.

Most had booked seats on the controversial cruise ship, but instead traveled by plane with the Archdiocese of New York after the cruise was canceled due to exile protests that it would be used as a propaganda tool by Castro.

While the Cuban government did deny many visas, and many exiles who wanted to could not go, those who did returned this week with powerful testimony.

Cubans welcomed them with open arms, were grateful for their presence and want more contact with exiles, they said.

Through one-on-one conversations, they said, they were able to abate fears — and the perception that exiles are waiting for the fall of Castro to return and claim their properties, taking away what little people there have.

"I went to change hearts and I found a lot of harmony, a lot of need to talk with people from the other side," said Cabarrocas, who handed out rosaries at the Plaza

#### 'Nice to meet you'

Cabarrocas said the first Cuban he met was an agent of the feared Ministry of the Interior who inquired about his motives for going to Cuba.

"Do you have family here?" he asked.

"No," Cabarrocas said.

"Are you visiting friends here?" he asked.

Cabarrocas extended his hand and told him: "No, you are my first friend here. My name is David Cabarrocas, and it's very nice to meet you."

The man smiled, shook his hand, and waved him through.

Another exile, Elena Valdes-Crespo Freyre, said an immigration officer handed back her passport and said: "*Bienvenida a su país.*"

Welcome to your country.

"It was an incredible moment," Freyre said. "People need to go and make contacts for themselves, people-to-people."

There are ways of leaving as little money as possible in the hands of the Cuban government — a major exile concern, Freyre said.

She ate in family-run *paladares*, mini-restaurants Cubans have set up in their homes to survive economic hardships. And she rented a driver not from the official Cuban agencies but from an independent association.

"Whenever I went to a beauty salon, a *paladar*, or stood in a street corner waiting, people would ask, '*Señora*, you think there will be change?' It's like they are waiting to receive any news, any kind of sign," Prado said.

She told them that everywhere the Pope visited change for the common good had occurred.

"Their faces would light up," Prado said.

#### 'The pounding'

Despite the optimism, some exile activists warn that exiles must continue to play the role of opposition — "the pounding," Peñalver calls it — that has called attention to the regime's abuses the last 39 years.

Any drastic change of strategy in Miami has to take into account the feelings of exiles who suffered persecution and personal tragedies at the hands of the Castro government, Peñalver said.

"Castro is the one who doesn't want dialogue. He is the one who doesn't want to open up," he said.

He points to the selective process of issuing visas for the Pope's visit and says a massive flood of exiles traveling to the island could "open the floodgates of American tourism and increase the sexual tourism that exists with the European community."

"There has to be greater freedom to merit a greater response," Peñalver said. "To just open up under the present conditions would have negative consequences."

But he agrees with the pilgrims in wishing for the Catholic church to continue to play the role of change agent and reconciliator — both in Cuba and in Miami.

"We need to make sure the Cuban people see us as allies in the process of freedom," he said.



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February 18, 1998

TO: The President

THROUGH: Ms. Maria Echaveste

FROM: Maria Elena Torano

Re: Creation of a Bipartisan Commission to Evaluate and Make  
Recommendations on Cuba

#### SUMMARY

His Eminence Bernard Cardinal Law of Boston and other Church leaders believe the time has come to address important issues in the Cuba-U.S. relationship. Events during and after the visit of Pope John Paul, a softening of attitudes in Cuba, and changes in the thinking of Cuban Americans lead these leaders to conclude that creation of a Bipartisan Blue Ribbon Commission of distinguished Americans from both political parties would be an important step forward.

I fully support their thinking and urge you to consider their proposal for several reasons.

- A panel of informed and experienced Americans would provide legitimacy, credibility, and innovative thinking on these issues.
- The bipartisan and high level character of such a Commission would take pressure off the Administration and Congress.
- Cuban American attitudes are changing, but Cuban Americans may not wish to leave decisions about their future in the hands of others, even if it includes Church leaders.
- The timing for such action should be sooner rather than later to capture windows of opportunity in Miami and Cuba and before the fall election campaigns.

#### BACKGROUND

Responding to an invitation from Mr. Fernando Ramirez de Estenoz, Head of the Cuban Interest Section in Washington, I met with Cardinal Law on February 16. Cardinal Law recently returned from Havana where he and most U.S. Cardinals had

participated in events surrounding the visit of Pope John Paul. During this intimate but substantive dinner, the issue of Cuba-U.S. relations and the new role of the Church after the Papal visit were the subject of serious and substantial discussion.

A Bipartisan Blue Ribbon Commission comprised of distinguished citizens who would contribute their personal achievements and experiences -- and who have demonstrated empathy and commitment in similar transitions -- could facilitate the solution you have been seeking since your first term in office. Interestingly, former Presidents Bush and Carter were mentioned by the Cardinal as potential leaders of this effort.

Undoubtedly the attitude of the Cuban government has softened in recent months. It started during the preparations for the Papal visit when Fidel Castro allowed door-to-door missions to inform Cubans about the Pope, permitted open-air masses, increased the number of visas for foreign and Cuban-born priests, and reinstated Christmas as a national holiday -- a practice that many expect will continue. Most recently and at the Pope's request, over 200 prisoners, many of them dissidents, have been released and are re-entering society or quietly planning to leave the island.

Change is also evident in Miami. The number of Cuban Americans who are visiting the island has dramatically increased, with many planning to return at least once or twice a year. Their commitment to support actively any humanitarian efforts to assist the Cuban people are topics of conversation -- including open discussion in public forums conducted under the theme of helping foster a stronger Church in Cuba. These forums attract a broad audience that includes prominent members of Miami's Cuban-American business sector.

The Pope's visit to Cuba brought down barriers that have lasted 40 years. Through the extensive media coverage the visit received in Miami, New Jersey, and major Hispanic urban areas, even those who were not physically in Cuba were touched by what they saw. The attitudinal change of Cuban Americans is making them more open and compassionate to the needs of those who remain behind. As a result, there is space to create change.

If there has been a time Mr. President when conditions are ripe to take a closer and careful look at Cuba and its future, it is now.

The idea presented by Cardinal Law at our dinner was well received by our Cuban hosts. They agreed that having recognized leaders from both parties address an issue -- that until now has been ignored due to the controversy it would spark in Miami and consequently in the U.S. Congress and the Administration -- would be well received in Cuba.



Much more is expected from the Cuban government in order for Cuban Americans in Miami to publicly support repeal of Helms-Burton and the re-establishment of Cuba-U.S. relations. But we are beginning to see changes in Cuba that have not occurred in almost 40 years.

As Americans we should be receptive to any movement that could bring about active and sustained engagement with the Cuban government and would lead to the development of civil society.

Ever since I have known you Mr. President, going back to your first election, you have demonstrated interest and concern for the Cuban dilemma. During your early days as Governor of Arkansas, you felt the aftermath of the Mariel boat lift and were aware of how actions taken by Fidel Castro impacted on America's heartland. Your interest has continued as you made difficult policy decisions during such crises as Guantanamo and the young Cuban American pilots' assassination.

I believe the time has come to take a second look at Cuba and engage a group of prestigious citizens to make recommendations on ways to maximize current opportunities and build on the gains made during these first few months.

As always, I stand ready to assist you in these endeavors in any way.

# U.S. to Ease Some Curbs Against Cuba

## Officials Link Changes To Pope's January Visit

By THOMAS W. LIPPMAN  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

President Clinton has decided to allow Cuban Americans to resume sending money directly to relatives on the island and to permit charter flights from the United States to Cuba in an effort to capitalize on a changed atmosphere in Cuba inspired by the visit of Pope John Paul II, senior administration officials said yesterday.

In addition, the president will instruct the Treasury Department and other agencies to simplify licensing procedures for exporting medicine and medical devices to Cuba and to expedite the processing of license applications.

The White House is expected to announce the changes today, senior officials said. They described the president's decision as an effort to bolster the status of the Roman Catholic Church in Cuba and decrease the dependence of the Cuban people on state organizations.

Clinton's decision marks the first relaxation of U.S. policy toward Cuba since Cuban jet fighters shot down two unarmed small planes operated by a Miami-based Cuban exile group in January 1996, killing four crew members.

Officials insisted, however, that the moves do not signal a weakening of the long-standing U.S. embargo on trade with Cuba, which they said remains the cornerstone of efforts to isolate and undermine the communist regime of President Fidel Castro. Senior officials said Clinton has the authority to make the changes by executive order and does not need legislation. Congressional action would be required to scrap the embargo because it was written into law in the 1996 Helms-Burton Act, which Clinton signed reluctantly after the shootdown of the planes.

Before the shootdown, Clinton said last-

See POLICY, A16, Col. 1

### POLICY, From A1

November on "Meet the Press," he wanted "to open up with Cuba, to have a gradually evolving relationship" if Castro eased his repressive policies. The relaxation of restrictions to be announced today, however, "is a response to what the pope did, not a response to anything Castro has done," a senior official said.

As news of the impending modifications filtered out yesterday, advocates of lifting the embargo hailed the decision as a good first step, while anti-Castro hard-liners blasted it as an unwarranted gesture to a dictator who responded to the pope's visit with a new crackdown on dissidents.

Reps. Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-Fla.) and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-Fla.), Cuban Americans, said in a statement that Clinton "once again makes clear that he seeks to unilaterally relax sanctions on the Castro tyranny. Rather than providing Castro with the hard currency he seeks, the administration should find ways to seriously and effectively assist the internal opposition in Cuba."

Officials close to Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright said she took soundings in Florida's Cuban American community during a recent trip to Miami and came away convinced that some Cuban American groups favored the types of measures the administration will announce today.

Albright recommended the modifications to Clinton after she met with the pope in Rome on March 7. Once

implemented, they will substantially reinstate the rules that were in place before the refugee crisis of 1994 and the 1996 shootdown of the planes.

The pope sharply criticized the U.S. embargo during his visit to Cuba in January. But the premise underlying the president's decision, officials said, is that the visit, the first papal trip to Cuba since Castro came to power in 1959, showed that Cubans want and need organizations not controlled by the state to help ease their poverty and political isolation, and that the church may be prepared to take on that role.

"The pope's visit has created a different dynamic," a senior official said. "Castro is not going to change, but what is happening here is that there is a desire of the [Cuban] people to expand on the space that has been created" between them and the Castro government. "What we have to do is sideline Castro as much as possible" by showing Cubans that the outside world cares about them and by encouraging nonstate organizations such as the church to become more active, this official said.

As described by senior officials, who insisted on anonymity, the president's initiative is consistent in motivation with an initiative by the anti-Castro Cuban American National Foundation to send donations of food and medicine to the island through church-affiliated organization.

A similar proposal was offered by Roger Noriega and Marc Thiessen, aides to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), a dedicated foe of Castro who authorized the two to travel to Cuba during the papal visit.

But Clinton's order goes beyond what the foundation or the Helms staffers were prepared to accept, Thiessen and others said yesterday.

"They are making a terrible mistake, which potentially endangers months of efforts to build consensus behind legislation to get humanitarian aid to the Cuban people," Thiessen said after Albright met with Helms yesterday.

"We emphatically opposed any reestablishment of direct flights and direct remittances to Cuba," said Jose Cardenas, Washington director of the Cuban American National Foundation. He said Clinton's decision to allow Cuban Americans to send \$1,200 annually to relatives on the island would bolster Castro because the only place Cubans can spend dollars is in groceries and pharmacies operated by the state.

A senior administration official disputed that statement, however, saying that legalization of the dollar in Cuba has created "an immense black market" in which Cubans able to obtain U.S. currency can buy from many vendors. In reality, State Department officials said, the impact of the new rule permitting remittances is likely to be minimal because Cuban Americans are sending hundreds of millions of dollars a year to the island through third countries.

Allowing charter flights directly from the U.S. mainland to Cuba by church-affiliated groups and other nonprofit organizations, however, would greatly reduce the cost of shipping medical supplies, officials said.

"I would say this is an important step in the right direction," said John Howard, international policy director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which seeks an end to the embargo. "It should not be confused with more important steps that need to be taken to end the embargo."

Cuba  
(M's office  
Drawer #1)

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1998

# India's Hindu Nationalists Take Charge

By KENNETH J. COOPER  
Washington Post Foreign Service

A1

NEW DELHI, March 19—India today installed a new government dominated by Hindu nationalists committed to testing the secular creed that many believe has held this vast mosaic of a nation together throughout its half-century of existence.

The new government of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, unlike the one he led for two weeks in 1996, is likely to survive an initial vote of confidence next week and remain in power long enough to build a record in office. But Vajpayee and his fellow Hindu nationalists, whose accession to power was feared by India's huge Muslim minority, are constrained by a tenuous grip on power and have tried to signal a more moderate course.

The direction in which Vajpayee steers the new government could test the strength of the world's largest democracy, which was born in communal violence between Hindus and Muslims that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives in 1947. Although about 20 percent of India's 950 million people are not Hindu—including more than 100 million Muslims—Vajpayee's Bharatiya Janata Party

See INDIA, A31, Col. 1

INDIA, From A1

(BJP) conceives of India as "one nation, one people and one culture," that of the Hindu majority.

"Deep down in the hearts of Muslims, I sense apprehension," said Ashgar Ali Engineer, an Islamic scholar in Bombay.

In the past, the BJP has taken a militant anti-Muslim stance. In 1992, party leaders stood and watched while Hindu fanatics razed a historic mosque in the city of Ayodhya, seeking to rebuild an ancient Hindu temple that had stood on the site before Muslim invaders tore it down centuries ago. The incident prompted communal violence that claimed 2,500 lives across the country.

But political circumstances seem certain to temper the BJP-led government's actions. Vajpayee has taken charge of a coalition government supported by more than a dozen smaller parties, and only one of those small parties shares a Hindu nationalist orientation. Moreover, the coalition does not control a majority of seats in Parliament's lower house. Even with the support of all its components, the 13-party coalition expects to survive a confidence vote scheduled for March 28 only by the grace of absentions and vacant seats.

Since emerging from recent elections as the top vote-getter, the new ruling coalition has tried to extend its expected lifespan by moving toward the political center. The coalition agenda released Wednesday omitted Hindu nationalist issues that the BJP has previously emphasized and watered down its protectionist economic policies. BJP members sworn into the cabinet today with Vajpayee are divided between moderates and hard-liners.

Vajpayee, 71, also has promised to try to build consensus on controversial legislation. The senior lawmaker, who served as foreign minister of a coalition government in the late 1970s, will double as foreign minister in the new government.

The coalition sent a reassuring signal to international investors by naming another BJP moderate, Yashwant Sinha, as finance minister. Sinha was finance minister in a left-leaning coalition government for a year ending in 1991.

In a 1992 column in *Business Today*, an Indian magazine, Sinha opposed populist subsidies but argued that market-oriented changes in the nation's formerly socialist economy needed to win public acceptance if the government implementing them hoped to survive. "That is why I always insist that [economic] reforms must appear to succeed in the short term in order to endure in the long term," he concluded.

India's long-insular economy was not opened significantly to the outside world until a Congress-led government began pushing through reforms in 1991. In the ensuing years—which have seen the United States become India's biggest trading partner and largest foreign investor—significant restraint remains on foreign companies, and the BJP's rhetoric has favored self-reliance by curbing foreign investment in the consumer sector.

Four cabinet ministers have been prominent critics of foreign investment in India.

As industry ministry in the late 1970s, George Fernandes, a socialist party leader, forced Coca-Cola and IBM out of the country. The companies did not return for more than a decade. In the last two weeks, local newspapers have quoted him as threatening similar curbs on foreign investment.

Fernandes was named defense minister in the Vajpayee government.

Menaka Gandhi, an independent whose mother-in-law was the late prime minister Indira Gandhi, has criticized the recent opening of American fast-food outlets in several cities. Anant Kumar, a BJP member, opposed holding the 1996 Miss World pageant in the southern city of Bangalore because he said the beauty contest represented a "cultural invasion" from the West.

Kumar was named minister of civil aviation, an area in which the permissible level of foreign investment has been disputed. Gandhi, an environmentalist, has not yet been given a portfolio.

Former BJP president Munohar Joshi, who was named labor resource development minister, has been critical of allowing foreign capital into the country.

Joshi is one of three BJP hard-liners in the new cabinet—along with the party's current president, L.K. Advani, and Uma Bharati—who were charged with inciting the 1992 Ayodhya riot. Advani was named home minister, putting him in charge of domestic security forces; as minister of human resource development, Joshi's responsibilities include overseeing education.

Several BJP members indicated the Human Resources Ministry would be important to the party because the Hindu nationalist brotherhood associated with the BJP, the National Volunteer Corps, runs about 12,000 schools nationwide.

At least six members of religious minorities also received cabinet

berths: three Sikhs, two Muslims and one Christian.

Industry Minister Sikhander Bakht has been the BJP's most prominent Muslim, and Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi was the only Muslim BJP member elected to the lower house. Bakht sits in the upper house, where members are chosen by state legislatures. Naqvi's ministry has not yet been announced.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1998

## Helms Plans \$100 Million Aid Package for Cuba

By DAVID STOUT

WASHINGTON, May 14 — Senator Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, proposed a \$100 million aid package for Cuba today that he said would improve the lives of Cubans while weakening the hold of Fidel Castro.

The proposal announced by the North Carolina Republican, which was endorsed by more than 20 other Senators from both parties, would channel food and medical assistance to the Cuban people through the Roman Catholic Church and politically independent relief organizations.

As envisioned by Mr. Helms, the package would weaken one of the last avowedly Marxist dictators in the world no matter what Mr. Castro did. If Mr. Castro allows the aid to come into his country, "it will remove his ability to use deprivation as a tool of oppression," Mr. Helms said. And if Mr. Castro shuns the help, "then 11 million Cubans will know exactly who is responsible for their daily suffering."

The announcement by Mr. Helms was no surprise. He has been talking for several months about relief aid

for the Cubans. Proposals with similar intent have also been talked about in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Helms's announcement brought a cautious response from the White House. Eric Rubin, a spokesman for the National Security Council, called the Senator's ideas "good starting points" but said the Administration was not endorsing any specific Cuba-aid program at this point.

"We want to work with the sponsors of these initiatives toward the values we share — getting food and other humanitarian assistance to the people of Cuba," Mr. Rubin said. He said President Clinton had already asked Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright to work with Congressional leaders on the issue.

Given the complexity and sensitivity of issues about Cuba, Mr. Rubin said, it is not clear when an aid bill will reach Mr. Clinton. But the bipartisan support of Mr. Helms's proposals made some Congressional action seem all but inevitable.

Mr. Helms's backers included the Republican Senators Trent Lott of Mississippi, the majority leader; Al-

fonse M. D'Amato of New York and Orrin G. Hatch of Utah. They also included the Democratic Senators Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut and Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey. Mr. Torricelli said the Helms bill "recognizes the need for humanitarian assistance for the Cubans because of Castro's oppressive policies, and it puts the Castro regime on record as violators of the basic tenets of human rights."

Mr. Clinton announced in March an easing of some American curbs on aid to Cuba. He said he would allow Cuban-Americans in the United States to send money directly to relatives in Cuba through licensed agencies, and that certain charitable organizations would be allowed to conduct direct charter flights from the United States to Cuba, carrying goods for relief purposes or passengers for emergencies like funerals.

The President's lifting of those curbs was largely a reversal of measures he imposed in August 1994, when in response to an organized exodus of Cuban boat people he barred Cuban-Americans from sending money to relatives on the island.

## F.B.I. Agent Cleared in Idaho Siege Shooting

BOISE, Idaho, May 14 (AP) — A Federal judge today dismissed an involuntary manslaughter charge against an F.B.I. sharpshooter in the death of the wife of the white separatist Randy Weaver during the siege at Ruby Ridge.

Judge Edward Lodge of Federal District Court ruled in an 18-page order that the sharpshooter, Lon Horiuchi, was acting within the scope of his Federal authority and was honestly discharging his duties when he fired the shot that killed Vicki Weaver on Aug. 22, 1992.

The Justice Department decided in 1994 against prosecuting Mr. Horiuchi. The manslaughter charge was brought by a county prosecutor under state law.

Mr. Horiuchi was accused of negligently firing the shot that killed Mrs. Weaver as she was holding her infant daughter, Elisheba, inside the remote cabin in northern Idaho on the second day of the 11-day standoff that also resulted in the deaths of the Weavers' 14-year-old son, Sam, and Deputy United States Marshal William Degan.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1998

# Republicans Crush Effort To Chastise a Chairman

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ

WASHINGTON, May 14 — In the latest salvo over the beleaguered House inquiry into campaign fundraising, Republicans fought off a bid by Democrats to chastise the chairman of the panel spearheading the investigation.

Democrats offered a resolution to "disapprove" of the way in which Representative Dan Burton, the chairman of the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, has handled the investigation instead of demanding his removal from the inquiry. By switching tactics, Democrats hoped to make it more difficult for Republicans to vote against the measure.

"Enough is enough," said Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the Democratic leader, at a news conference after the vote, referring to Mr. Burton's inquiry. "This is not being done right. This is being done unfairly. This is being done wrong. And we are not going to cooperate anymore with an investigation that has been so horribly managed."

But Republicans buried the resolution, 223 to 196, with not one member breaking ranks. On the other side of the aisle, three Democrats voted against the proposal. They were Representatives Virgil Goode Jr. of Virginia, Ralph Hall of Texas and Gene Taylor of Mississippi.

Despite the party-line vote, Speaker Newt Gingrich has been considering whether to shift the investigation from Mr. Burton's committee because Republicans on the panel lack the votes to move the inquiry forward. The pitched partisan battle over the inquiry has disturbed several Republicans, who fear that their message about Presidential wrongdoing has been muddled.

To refocus attention, Mr. Gingrich has gone on the attack in the last three weeks, summoning the fiery partisan language that was once his calling card. He has spoken at length of President Clinton's "crimes" and has accused Democrats of "obstructing justice" in the investigation.

Frank Luntz, a pollster who was one of the authors of the original Republican Contract With America, was sharply critical of Mr. Gingrich's tone today, cautioning that the tactic might backfire.

"The politics of anger that captured this country in '94 will not work in '98," Mr. Luntz said at a morning breakfast with reporters. "Attacking the President is not a good political move if you're reaching out."

Mr. Gingrich, he said, is a "credible" messenger, "if he could just adjust his tone slightly."

Today's Democratic resolution sought to reprimand Mr. Burton for "his consistent abuse of the investigative powers of the House of Repre-

sentatives." The impetus for the resolution was Mr. Burton's release of excerpts of prison tape recordings of Webster Hubbell, excerpts that Democrats said omitted exculpatory information. Mr. Hubbell is a friend of the Clintons.

But in a letter to Mr. Gephardt today, Mr. Burton, who has withstood a blizzard of Democratic attacks, said the resolution was based on "misinformation" and "inaccuracies." Mr. Burton said he had never deviated from proper procedure.

"It may be that the transparently political nature of your resolution was the reason that you were not able to hold your entire caucus together on the vote," Mr. Burton said in the letter.

The chairman's inquiry into the campaign finance practices of Democrats in the 1996 election has foundered in recent weeks as Democrats have twice blocked a significant vote to immunize witnesses from possible prosecution in the inquiry.

The Speaker is considering several proposals on how to break the impasse. Republicans said today that Mr. Gingrich was considering a full House vote to grant immunity to the four witnesses in the campaign fundraising scandal.

Next week, Republicans are expected to bring a resolution to the House floor calling on Democrats to cooperate with the investigation.

## McDougal Wrote Of Lie, Lawyer Says

By The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., May 14 — Susan H. McDougal's lawyer said at her arraignment today that he had a document from her late husband, a major witness in the Whitewater case, suggesting that he considered lying in exchange for immunity.

The lawyer, Mark J. Geragos, said he had obtained a statement taken from James B. McDougal's Texas jail cell, which he said was in Mr. McDougal's handwriting, that read, "Lie about Clinton and Tucker and get immunity."

Mr. McDougal, who died in prison in March, was convicted in May 1996, along with Ms. McDougal and Jim Guy Tucker, Mr. Clinton's successor as Arkansas Governor, for fraud and other crimes.

At her arraignment, Ms. McDougal, who is serving a two-year sentence for the fraud conviction, pleaded not guilty to criminal contempt and obstruction of justice for refusing to answer questions before the Whitewater grand jury.

The New York Times  
FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1998

Cuba (A's office) Drawer #1)

# Independent farmers eat well in Cuba

Policies give them what others lack

By Frank Bajak  
ASSOCIATED PRESS

JIMAGUAYU, Cuba — The Cabrera family farm isn't much to look at — some livestock and crops, a half-built house, a broken-down tractor, an open-air shed and a few rough-hewn stables.

But by Cuban standards, the family of five is well off. The Cabreras have food, and plenty of it — a rarity on this communist island nation, where meat is a luxury, everything from eggs to rice is rationed at subsidized prices and more than 40 percent of food is imported.

In a supposedly classless society, private farmers like Leonardo Cabrera and his wife, Dalgis Martinez, are a class apart.

President Fidel Castro is trying to move Cuba toward agricultural self-sufficiency and has reluctantly permitted the very unequal distribution of wealth that benefits private farmers like the Cabreras.

"Everybody would like to have a little piece of land they can plant so they can live better," said Mrs. Martinez, 31, as she tried to swat away mosquitoes in her open-air living room sheltered only by a corrugated steel roof. "Because if they don't, everything is very expensive."

Few Cubans — least of all the doctors and teachers, who are the pride of Mr. Castro's revolution — have anything remotely like the Cabrera farm or access to the bounty it produces.

On 166 mildly sloping acres just south of the central city of Camaguey, the farm has 70 head of cattle, a half-dozen horses, a few pigs, chickens and turkeys, and plots of sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yucca, squash and beans.

Few Cubans can get by only on rationed goods, and most must scrape to afford the prices at farmers' markets that were legalized in October 1994. At a Havana market, for example, a pound of ham sells for 45 pesos (\$1.95), nearly a fifth of the average monthly pay.

Mr. Cabrera, 42, is one of 23,000 independent farmers who own 7 percent of Cuba's arable land. The state expropriated large land holdings after the 1959 revolution, but small farmers were allowed to keep up to 166 acres and pass land from generation to generation.

In the past few years, an additional 60,000 Cubans have been permitted as individuals to farm — but not own — parcels of state-owned land. And most huge Soviet-style state farms have been reorganized into cooperatives that reward more productive workers with extra pay.

Under this system, farmers technically own what they produce. Still, state officials set annual production quotas for both individual farmers and cooperatives. Failure to meet quotas means a fine. Anything produced beyond the quotas is theirs to sell on the open market.

It is part of the government's introduction of limited, highly regulated free-market activities in 1993-94, a reform that Mr. Castro likens to a dance with the devil.

In addition to permitting open-market sales of food, U.S. dollar transactions were legalized for Cubans and people were permitted to open small, family-run private businesses.

The measures, designed chiefly

to boost food production and soak up dollars from tourists and relatives abroad, are helping Cubans rebound from food shortages that had tens of thousands on the brink of malnutrition in the early 1990s.

"People still eat as if they were on the margin of starvation. But they're getting fed better. I think a major contribution to that has been the liberalization of the farmer's markets," said Archibald Ritter, an economist at Carleton University in Ottawa who spends several months a year teaching and doing research in Cuba.

After the Soviet bloc collapsed in 1989-91, Cuba's agricultural output plummeted by 50 percent as former allies in Eastern Europe stopped subsidized trading for Cuban sugar. They stopped sending the fertilizer, feed, pesticides and herbicides that Cuba's highly mechanized, state-owned farms had come to depend on.

From 1989 to 1995, sugar production dropped from 8 million tons a year to just 3.3 million tons, according to an August 1997 report by the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. Chicken flocks decreased 58 percent. Citrus output fell 32 percent. Milk production dropped 40 percent. Egg output fell 52 percent.

Cuba's cattle herd decreased from more than 10 million head in the 1980s to between 5 million and 6 million today.

Killing cows without state permission is punishable by jail, but that didn't prevent the theft of six head of cattle from the Cabrera farm over the past two years, which explains the mosquitoes that feed on the family every evening there isn't a breeze.

"It's the cattle that bring this plague," said Mrs. Martinez, gesturing at the cows corralled next to

the dirt-floor house. "But if they don't sleep there, they'll be gone with the dawn. The thieves don't miss a chance. They killed our best milk cow last month."

Thieves are also the reason why the family's 400-pound pig, penned up just outside the kitchen, is brought into the house every night.

"If we don't, we'll wake up and it will be gone," said the skinny, shirtless Mr. Cabrera, laughing heartily under his straw hat.

The couple won't sell the pig once they slaughter it, even though they could get about \$175 for the meat. Instead, they will share it with relatives.

"Otherwise, we won't have meat, or fat," Mrs. Martinez said.

Because of their cows, the couple don't worry about their three children, ages 7 to 15, getting milk — a concern for most Cuban parents.

State rations guarantee about a quart of milk a day to all children through age 7. After that, milk can be bought for dollars in state stores or obtained on the black market. It's illegal to sell milk at farmers' markets. Last year, Mr. Cabrera said, he was fined \$32 for not meeting his milk quota.

Like the tens of thousands of Cubans who moonlight in jobs that give them access to dollars, such as the doctors and university professors who drive tourist taxis, the Cabreras have become dependent on the upper tier of Cuba's two-tiered economy, married to the U.S. dollar.

The Washington Times  
TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1998

Cuba

# Organic farming lets communist isle ease away from prospect of hunger

By Robert Collier  
SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

HAVANA — After four decades of communism, Cuba is reluctantly pushing ahead with an experiment that is no less revolutionary and may turn out to be much more successful — organic farming.

The change, forced on the government by a catastrophic economic crisis, has allowed Cubans to survive and has eliminated the specter of widespread hunger.

From the streets of Havana to fields throughout the island, Cuba has gone ultraenvironmentalist.

What was the most mechanized agricultural system in Latin America has been turned into the world's largest area under organic and semiorganic farming.

Manure has replaced chemical fertilizers, worms have replaced insecticides, oxen have replaced tractors, and land reform has broken up most of the country's state farms and given the land to their workers, creating a system of profit-driven cooperatives.

The shift has pulled Cuba back from its economic collapse after the fall of the Soviet Union. The end of Soviet supplies and subsidies caused a more than 80 percent drop in supplies of pesticides and fertilizers and a 50 percent cut in fuel and spare parts.

That put a stranglehold on Cuban farm production, which dropped by nearly half between 1990 and 1994 and cut Cubans' daily caloric and protein intake by a third.

The country is still strapped for cash and cannot afford to buy farm supplies on the world market. But its switch to organic techniques has almost completely reversed the drop in farm production.

Spearheading the effort are people like Heriberto Gallart.

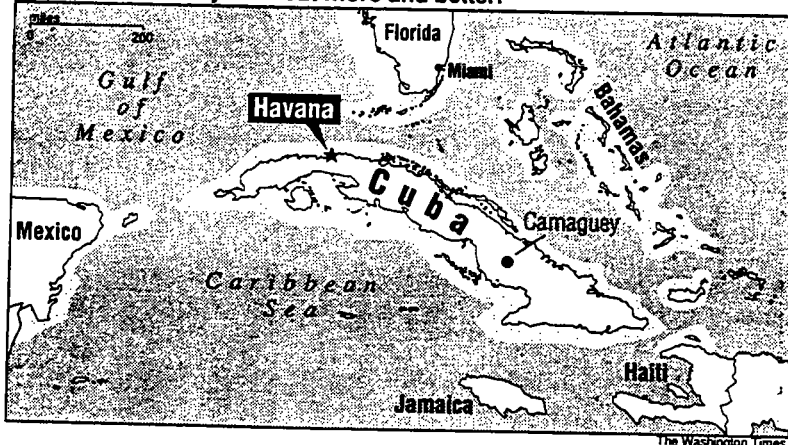
The former professor of education at a Havana university, who said he quit his job "because my salary didn't even pay for my expenses getting to and from work each day," is one of Cuba's new breed of urban organic gardeners.

Since late 1994, he and his extended family have tended a two-acre garden in a Havana residential neighborhood, growing 20 kinds of vegetables and herbs with intensive organic techniques. The government allows him to use the land — formerly a garbage dump — and has given him tools, seeds and other equipment. Agriculture Ministry extension agents helped him develop a green thumb.

"This isn't exactly something I ever expected to be doing," Mr. Gallart said. "But my family and I

## NECESSITY, THE MOTHER OF INVENTION

With imports of food, fertilizer and farm equipment cut off, hungry Cuba turned to decentralized, intensive, organic farming. People are still poor, but they now eat more and better.



live better than I did before, and my neighbors are getting cheaper food."

Mr. Gallart and his family sell all their food at a street-side stand at the edge of their field. Their prices are about one-third lower than in the city's "farmers' markets," the capitalist-style food markets that sell food from co-ops and private farmers nationwide.

The money is good, at least in Cuban terms. Mr. Gallart said each member of his family makes about 550 pesos per month from the garden — about \$25, or twice the average Cuban wage.

Nationwide, the changes have been dramatic:

- **Cities:** Since 1991, more than 27,000 organic gardens covering 5,000 acres have been created in the Havana metropolitan area, producing an estimated million tons of food annually. Garden sites are usually vacant or abandoned plots in the same neighborhood or even next door to the gardeners' homes.

- **Countryside:** A 1993 government decision to break up the state farms that accounted for 80 percent of Cuban agriculture has turned most of those farms into profit-seeking cooperatives. As a result, Cuba had record levels of production for 10 of the 13 principal domestic food items in the 1997 growing season.

- **Markets:** Parallel to these changes, the possession of U.S. dollars was legalized, and the new cooperatives were allowed to sell all their excess food — after filling fixed quotas to the state — in dollars to the newly created farmers' markets.

- **Organics:** The government began to promote organic techniques aggressively, assigning hundreds

of agricultural extension scientists to the task. More than 200 factories were created to produce beneficial insects and pest pathogens.

"Cuba's switch to organic methods shows that developing countries don't have to adopt the model that is always taught as the only one available," said Peter Rosset, executive director of the Institute for Food and Development Policy. The Oakland-based institute, also known as Food First, works extensively with Cuba's organic sector and organizes exchange programs with U.S. organic farmers.

The change has been most crucial in Havana, which, with about 2.3 million residents, is home to one-fifth of the island's population and is the biggest city in the Caribbean. Formerly, virtually no food was grown within city limits, so the capital's residents were hardest hit by the crisis of the early 1990s.

The shortage of fuel prompted a switch to renewable energy sources. Construction of a nuclear power plant has been suspended, and windmills, solar panels and biomass generators are increasingly common. All of the country's sugar mills are now powered by burning waste from the cane.

In addition, a bicycle revolution has swept Cuba. The government has imported 1 million bicycles from China in recent years, and the well-marked bicycle lanes throughout Havana and other major cities are usually clogged.

The only danger ahead for Cuba's new ecology-mindedness is the possibility of a weakening of the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba. Some Cuban organic supporters worry that if it is loosened, Cuba could revert to chemical-intensive agriculture and foreign imports for its food.

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