

FUNDACION

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SUMMER 1993



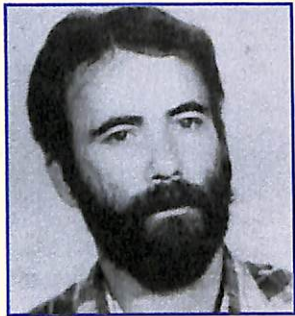
CUBA:

THE APPROACH OF A NEW DAWN

- **The Democratic Opposition Inside Cuba**
- **Planning for a Post-Castro Democracy and Free Market Economy**
- **Top Secret Report from Castro's Council of Ministers**

FOR A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC CUBA

VIEWS OF THE OPPOSITION INSIDE CUBA TODAY



Dr. Omar del Pozo of the National Civic Union, presently a political prisoner in the Quivicán prison in Havana province. He was arrested in April, 1992, and condemned to 15 years in prison.

Angela Herrera is President of the Cuban Democratic Coalition, the largest and most prominent of the internal opposition groups inside Cuba today. Her home is under a



continuous state of siege by Castro's secret police forces, which do not allow her to go outside. She was mentioned by then-President George Bush in an article he prepared on the repression inside Cuba in the summer of 1992.



Professor Paula Valiente, President of the Mothers for Dignity Association, is shown at the Church of Our Lady of Mercy in Havana on September 24, 1992, minutes before she was taken away by Castro's secret police agents (the two large men to her right) and beaten viciously for requesting that the priest say a prayer for Cuba's political prisoners.

(see inside back cover)

F U N D A C I O N

Official Publication of the Cuban American National Foundation

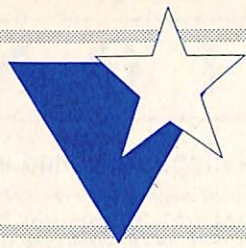
The Cuban American National Foundation is an independent, non-profit organization dedicated to the re-establishment of freedom and democracy in Cuba. The Foundation supports the principles of: respect for human rights; freedom of thought and expression; freedom of religion; the right of the people to freely elect their government; the right to private property; free enterprise; and economic prosperity with social justice.

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Special English Language Edition



OUR MESSAGE

by Jorge Mas Canosa

By nearly all accounts, the 1959 Castro revolution is a consummate failure. Fidel Castro promised the Cuban people prosperity, democracy and respect for human rights and delivered none of these. He took one of Latin America's top economies in terms of standard of living and plunged it into bankruptcy. His regime's record of human rights abuses, on the other hand, fills volumes.

The end of thirty years of gratuitous Soviet subsidies has finally made apparent what the Cuban population in exile has been painfully aware of for decades: Castro has wrought disaster upon the island – a country that lacks an economic infrastructure which cannot provide even the most essential products to the people combined with an ossified bureaucracy that is utterly incapable of arresting the country's spiritual, moral, political and economic decline.

The present reality exposes beyond any doubt Fidel Castro's inability to rescue Cuba from the incredible quagmire into which he himself has sunk the nation. Simply put: Fidel Castro is not the solution, he is the problem. He is not the way, he is the obstacle. Under his tyrannical rule, the country will continue to regress indefinitely into absolute and irreversible social and economic degradation.

Fully aware of this terrible reality, we at the Cuban American National Foundation have accepted the historic challenge that this situation poses to all Cubans. We have dedicated ourselves to the difficult task of devising a viable alternative, a peaceful solution to the sorrowful state of affairs in which the people of Cuba find themselves under the boot of a dictatorial regime.

Because of our commitment, convictions and experiences, the message of the Cuban American National Foundation, heard daily by the Cuban people through the Voice of the Foundation radio broadcasts, is different from that of other Cuban exile organizations and our program for the future of Cuba is innovative. Unencumbered by the past, but with a profound awareness of the mistakes and excesses of our political history, we have dedicated ourselves to providing an option for renewal for those Cubans who are not free. This option for peace, brotherhood and prosperity has been built on the foundation stone of our first-hand experiences in this most free of lands, the United States of America.

Precisely because of our successful experience in democracy and free enterprise,



we prefer to recommend viable and realistic solutions to the Cuban people's most pressing material and spiritual needs, rather than the defeated dogmas, strident and inflammatory speeches, and tired rhetoric born of the political culture of the Sierra Maestra or obsolete military dictatorships, both of which have brought disastrous consequences for the people of Cuba.

Our message does not include references to the so-called "betrayed revolution" or other forms of socialism. Those are political anachronisms. Rather, we apply the lessons of modern history to the problems the Cuban people presently face. Cuba does not need more revolutionary rhetoric, empty promises or failed socialist experiments.

The countries of the former Eastern bloc, such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, that have succeeded in the transition from totalitarian political systems and centralized economies to democracy and a free-market economy are, not coincidentally, those which prevented the bureaucracies existing at the downfall of their Communist regimes to direct and control the reconstruction effort. These inept bureaucracies, totally lacking in free market expertise and desirous of defending their existing privileges, are incapable of carrying out a transition to freedom. The road for those countries where the Communist bureaucracy has remained intact has been much more problematic and difficult. Therefore, it is essential that the transition in Cuba be carried out by individuals who understand the people's needs and are committed to providing justice and equality of opportunity for all.

This huge historic responsibility can

only be undertaken by men and women who are profoundly committed to the ideals of freedom, whether they have been submitted to misery and degradation in Cuba or whether they have enjoyed the benefits of an open political system and a free market economy in exile. Only by a firm commitment to freedom and the combined effort of all Cubans, both in exile and on the island, may we navigate through the treacherous seas out of tyranny.

With a keen awareness of the magnitude of these responsibilities, to be borne equally by the thousands of Cuban teachers, engineers, doctors, workers and members of countless other professions and trades now living in Cuba and their counterparts in exile, the Cuban American National Foundation has prepared a detailed and in-depth reconstruction program which will be submitted to the people of Cuba for their consideration and approval – or rejection – by means of a truly free and open democratic process.

This program places the individual ahead of the State, renders the government the servant of the people and is designed to prevent the abuse of power by those in government and the exploitation of the weak by the powerful. It provides the framework for the development of a fair and honest society, whose institutions will safeguard the basic human, civil and political rights of all Cubans.

Our program has been conceived in order to end the present agony of a people forcibly divided into two different realities: a spiritually and materially prosperous nation in exile and an enslaved, destitute, hopeless nation on the island.

Our program is pragmatic and presents viable projects designed to ensure national reconciliation and the reunification of all Cubans within a framework of freedom, much the same way that the Cuban American National Foundation has reunited thousands upon thousands of exile families in Miami and throughout the United States.

Nonetheless, we have not limited ourselves to the realm of projects and ideas. We have actively sought the support, concern and participation of new generations of Cuban-Americans who have been educated and trained in free societies and who will participate in the reconstruction effort through "Mission Marti," a volunteer program designed to convey the expertise, compassion and profound love of country of young Cuban-Americans, in the hope of facilitating a swift transition from oppression to freedom and from poverty to prosperity.

In the following pages, we have summarized what we consider to be the salient ideas and principles proposed by the Cuban American National Foundation for a free and democratic Cuba: a Cuba without Fidel Castro, without socialism, without firing squads, political prisons, exiles, misery or deprivation.

POLITICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Once Fidel Castro and his brother Raúl are no longer in power, a Fundamental Law which will serve as a legal framework for the transition period must take effect. This key document must include the following:

- Derogation of the 1976 Socialist Constitution and elimination of all the political organs of the present regime, including the Popular Power Assembly, the State Council and the Communist Party.
- The immediate liberation of all political prisoners.
- A call for general elections within a period not to exceed one year from the formation of the first temporary government.
- The immediate dismantling of the dictatorship's national and international repressive apparatus, mass organizations of control and espionage network, as well as the purge and reorganization of the foreign service, so that the latter may serve the true interests of the Cuban people.
- Proclamation of a State which respects the rule of Law and due process and ensures the physical integrity of all of its citizens and absolute respect for human, civil and political rights. The State's institutions must be the reflection of a free, just and fair nation, whose sovereignty resides in its citizens and is periodically expressed through the exercise of the right of universal suffrage.
- Abolition of the death penalty.
- Return of the exiles, including their children, fully vested with all the rights of citizenship.
- Elimination of all State control over the media and the simultaneous adoption of measures conducive to facilitat-

ing the ownership and operation of instruments of mass communication by Cuban citizens.

- Promulgation of an Electoral Code that guarantees the viability of a plurality of political parties and the celebration of timely, free, fair and open elections, supervised by the international community, that permit equal access to the mass media for all political entities.
- Checks and balances that assure separation of the powers of the State and the creation of an independent judicial branch.
- Elimination of the compulsory military draft, reduction of the country's armed forces, and the return of Cuba to a civil society.
- Creation of municipal and provincial police forces, while the national police should gradually be reduced and eventually eliminated.
- Guarantee the right of all citizens to initiate and conduct cultural, business, artistic, religious and other activities that contribute to the creation of a just, efficient and progressive society.
- Adoption of measures that allow a free flow of trade, finances and information on a national and international level, helping to secure entry into international organizations and markets to which Castro's Cuba has no access, thereby promoting productivity while enhancing the participation of those Cubans on the island in the country's economic reconstruction.

• An immediate request for any international emergency assistance, such as food and medicine, which may be required by the people of Cuba to meet their basic needs during the transition period.

ECONOMIC RECOMMENDATIONS

- Repeal of all laws, regulations and decrees responsible for the creation of a state-run economy and the adoption of administrative measures that eliminate the hegemony and control by the State as originator, regulator and promoter of the country's economic activity.
- Recognition of the damage done by State intervention in the country's economy, proceeding to rapidly privatize most assets in the hands of the State and effectively dismantle State control over the economy.
- Recognition of the right of citizens, residents, and legal entities to own private property and the creation of the legal tools and instruments necessary to guarantee these rights by providing the means that facilitate unencumbered commercial exchange among the citizenry, thus making it legal for all to prosper, while at the same time securing the common people's access to bank loans and other factors that encourage the creation of private property.
- Declare all property and goods confiscated under the Communist regime, without due compensation to their lawful owners, illegal and arbitrary.
- Adoption of a Privatization Law that

returns the country's economy to the private hands of the citizen, promotes the creation of jobs, and stimulates economic growth and social well-being.

- Recognition that it is in the best interests of the Nation to promote the massive and preferential participation in the national reconstruction process and in the ownership of all assets acquired by the Privatization Law of those Cuban citizens living on the island, thus fostering the transformation of a society of proletarian workers into a country of property owners.

- Proceed to sell, after a detailed evaluation of all State assets, thousands of small businesses to the Cubans living on the island, while negotiating, selling or returning the remaining assets in a form consistent with the best interests of the Nation and the basic principle that Cubans on the island must be the primary beneficiaries of the privatization effort.

- Commit the resources received through the privatization of State assets towards well-defined purposes, such as:

- a) Maintain and improve public services, especially health and education.
- b) Create an Unemployment Fund and a technical training program to assuage the consequences of layoffs of State employees until the private sector can reabsorb the labor force.
- c) Satisfy the new government's obligations acquired through the issue of bonds, emergency loans and payments to creditor international organizations or countries.
- d) Compensate Cuban citizens for loss

of rights and abuses committed by the Communist government.

- e) Distribute any surplus funds among all Cubans over 18 years of age, in convertible currency, as proof that all State assets truly belong to the people of Cuba and are consequently distributed among its citizens.

- Prohibit the eviction of any Cuban from his/her home, residence or dwelling and recognize the resident's right of possession as the means to claim property before the courts.

- Declare that all foreign investments made in Cuba during, in partnership with, and/or under the protection of the Communist regime, belong to the patrimony of the Nation and may be disposed of accordingly.

- Establishment of a ceiling for international and bilateral loans, limiting the requisition of funds to those amounts strictly necessary to cover emergencies.

- Encouragement of foreign and Cuban exile capital investment through a system enabling those who reside in Cuba to participate as full partners in the assets acquired through the privatization program, providing them, when required, with access to loans and credit. In addition, study the viability of a system of national bonds to be made available to all Cubans residing on the island who are over 18 years of age.

- Recognition that all Cuban citizens have the right to participate in buy/sell agreements, the rendering of private services, etc., while collecting and paying in the currency of their choice. The free

circulation of foreign currencies should be authorized for this and other purposes, allowing the free market to establish the exchange rate of the national currency.

- Establishment of an emergency program designed to meet the most immediate and urgent needs of the population, with special emphasis on medicine, food, clothing and fuel. The interim government should mobilize all its resources and request foreign aid from other countries and international organizations for this purpose.

- Consider issuing a series of Bonds of the Republic of Cuba for the purpose of stabilizing the national currency, protecting the underprivileged and maintaining public services during the transition period. These bonds can be sold in Western financial markets such as those in New York, London, Paris, Tokyo and Zurich.

- Negotiations aimed at lifting the United States commercial embargo and signing free-trade agreements with the US and other countries for the purpose of securing entry of Cuban products into foreign markets and access to billions of dollars in investments, tourism, transfer of technology, financing and other commercial benefits.

- Establishment of a banking system and financial infrastructure which propitiates the prompt development of capital markets and provides Cubans residing on the island with adequate opportunities to acquire and operate businesses.

- Initiate the process of renegotiating the

country's foreign debt in an effort to obtain substantial discounts and restore Cuba's international credit.

- Promote the transfer of technology and technical knowledge, especially in the areas of communications, banking, finance, accounting, credit, marketing, tourism, management, agriculture, mining, transportation, energy and environmental protection.

- Promote the construction and modernization of new factories, railroads, urban transportation systems, port and airport infrastructures, power-generating, hydraulic plants, sewage treatment plants, and other national priorities through "turn-key" contracts, which prevent State investment and control while encouraging national reconstruction through self-financed private capital. Government's role should be limited to the regulation of utilities, zoning and environmental matters.

SOCIAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- Cuba has the right to enjoy a genuine a democracy which enables its people to choose the social contract of their preference in accordance with the interests and rights of all of its citizens. Such a social contract should safeguard and promote the freedom of the individual and his/her right to equality of opportunity without discrimination on account of race, religion, sex, political affiliation or social status.

- The country's democratic institutions should guarantee respect for minorities, without exclusions or discrimination; protection of the environment; the free

exercise of a faith, religion or set of beliefs and the citizen's right to participate in religious activities; free elementary and high school education; adequate medical attention and public health; freedom of expression, along with equal access to the media; the right to personal honor and self-respect; freedom of assembly, association, migration, and movement including full freedom to travel nationally and internationally.

- Cubans should put an end to hatred and revenge as a matter of top priority. Christian forgiveness, love of country as exemplified by the patriot José Martí, and solidarity of purpose should be the appropriate instruments for attaining social peace and promoting the material, moral and spiritual reconstruction of the Nation. Respect for individual freedom and the universal right to equality of opportunity should be the pillars upon which we build a peaceful and long-lasting social accord which embraces all Cubans.

- Respect for the right of all Cubans to partake in the creation and formation of a democratic system of government, which encourages citizen participation within the framework of a civil and open society, whose powers rest on local, municipal and provincial institutions which guarantee the government's functional character and promote a spirit of community service, rather than self-benefit.

- Promotion of civic awareness to prevent the establishment of new dictatorships based on old military power structures or excessive government control.

As the family is the fundamental nucleus of society, so too local and municipal government should be the nucleus of the country's political life. Thus, the active participation of the citizenry should be encouraged in order to strengthen the municipal structures, decentralize the government and reduce its power.

- No interference by the government in the creation and development of independent institutions and organizations that act as intermediaries between the public powers and the citizenry, thus strengthening society by allowing the participation of Cubans in civic activities and respecting their right to influence, in an organized manner, the Nation's public agenda through criticism, petitions, initiatives, suggestions, etc. All Cubans should have the right to organize freely without the coercive pressures of other citizens or governmental entities, thus fostering the creation of national, provincial and municipal chambers of commerce, labor unions, and professional, industrial, agricultural, civic, fraternal, charity, religious, artistic, intellectual and other associations.

- Freedom for the citizen to work in the profession of choice should be promoted, as well as regulations which protect the health and safety of all workers, and guarantee medical assistance and compensation in cases of work-related accidents. Likewise, all employees should have the right to paid leave of absence for vacation or maternity, and to leave of absence without job loss in case of illness.

- Prohibition of child labor and the pre-

vention of the mental or physical abuse of children through the issue of strict sanctions. Likewise, sports and artistic activities for children and youth should be promoted, and special steps taken for the protection of pregnant women through the provision of pre-natal care for the mother and child from the very moment of conception.

- Creation of a Permanent Unemployment Fund to support the temporarily unemployed worker and his/her family for a reasonable period of time, during which he/she must conduct efforts to seek employment and participate in technical training programs and/or work in public projects.

- Development of a universal retirement and pension system to enable citizens to provide for their retirement through modest personal contributions. The resources thus collected should be deposited in private investment organizations independent of government and freely chosen by the beneficiary, so as to prevent misuse of funds for political purposes or other interests alien to those of the beneficiary.

- Availability of education and health care for all Cubans regardless of their social status or ability to pay. The government should establish the instruments through which access for all citizens can be guaranteed. Likewise, the government should not prevent or interfere with the creation of lay or religious private institutions that provide education and health services, thus stimulating a healthy competition that will result in improved services and reduced costs to the people.

- Respect for the right to a free education without government interference. Each citizen should be free to choose the profession, trade, discipline or specialty that he/she wishes to pursue. The same freedom should exist to enable the individual to register at the institution of learning of his/her choice, while observing only those requirements established by the educational institution.

- All religious activities should be permitted without government interference, including the construction and reconstruction of churches, temples and synagogues. Furthermore, religious organizations should have the right to own and administer schools, convents, hospitals and media outlets in the written press and on television and radio, subject only to those regulations applicable to private lay organizations.

- Cuba should be promoted as a hospitable country, which visitors from all over the world can enjoy for relaxation, investment, cultural and scientific research, or any other legal discipline or activity that will not impair or discriminate against the citizens and residents of Cuba.

- Social peace, access to the beautiful scenery, the right to live without fear, persecution, harassment or arbitrary arrest, and to live without being abused, beaten or humiliated, should be guaranteed by the government in the new order designed to establish a stable and prosperous society for the benefit and prosperity of all Cubans.

Jorge Mas Canosa is Chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation

SECRET REPORT ON THE CUBAN ECONOMY

This report was acquired from Fidel Castro's Council of Ministers through clandestine means by the CANF. It is considered TOP SECRET.

"This report accurately describes the critical economic conditions in which the Cuban economy finds itself at present, projecting their accelerated and irreversible deterioration over the next few months and the probable consequent collapse of the economy in the very near future. I consider this to be a sober and credible report whose findings have been independently verified by other authoritative sources."

Antonio Jorge
Professor of Political Economy at Florida International University
Senior Research Scholar at the Institute of Latin American Studies
Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami

"Out of the mouths of babes and statisticians! This secret internal report on the *Global Analysis of the [Cuban] Economy* says more in a briefer span than a ton of tortured apologetics for the corrupt, disintegrating Castro regime. The Report documents rising costs, falling rates of production, worsening public services, and increasing external debt. And since this is accelerated in recent years there is no one left to blame but the finger pointers themselves.

There is no question that the collapse of Communism in East Europe and Russia contributed to this immiseration. There is no question, too, that the United States embargo policy is effective - but since the latter is relatively long-standing, the United States can hardly be blamed for the current Castro regime's malaise. The plain truth is that the source of this devastating economic decline rests four-square on the shoulders of a polity without democracy and an economy without a free market."

Irving Louis Horowitz
Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor of
Sociology and Political Science
Rutgers University
The State University of New Jersey

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GLOBAL OVERVIEW OF THE ECONOMY JANUARY-SEPTEMBER, 1992

I. GENERAL SCOPE

By end-September 1992, the value of the country's global social product hit 6635 MMP, which represents approximately 35% of the levels reached in the January-September period of the "typical years", such as those from 1986 to 1989.

External financing is practically in-existent and constitutes the main limiting factor, among others, which impact negatively on the possibilities for economic recovery, as evidenced by the accelerated disintegration of production in all branches of industry, agriculture, transportation and construction.

I.1 These factors are the following:

- I.1.1. The external supplies of raw and other materials will barely reach 900 MMP in 1992, while in the 80's they normally fluctuated between 6000 and 6500 MMP.
- I.1.2 Likewise, the national production supplies are reduced to a value decrease of 62%, in line with the decline in production.
- I.1.3 Of the 415 basic products which guarantee the country's production and are included in the macroeconomic basket, 266 could not be either imported or produced nationally. The availability of the remaining 189 fluctuates between 5% and 26% of the historical inventories.
- I.1.4 The substitution of imports -which never amounted to great economic importance for the nation- will be limited in 1992 to some 8.5 MMP, while in a typical year it had amounted to 50 and 52 MMP.
- I.1.5 The scarcity of parts, replacements, components and attachments limits production and transportation, resulting in a high incidence of breakages in all types of equipment and minimal or nonexistent maintenance possibilities.
- I.1.6 The dollar and foreign-exchange income has decreased and only represents 31% of what historical averages have represented. On the other hand, if from the tourism industry's 620 MMDIs income we deduct approximately 400 MMDIs of import costs, the net income comes to some 220 MMDIs, 50 million dollars less than in 1991.

- I.2 According to all these factors and considering the expectations and possibilities of importing diverse supplies, we expect that the global social product for 1992 will not go over 9950 MMP, which represents 36.7% of the historical average for 1986-1989.

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I.3 Separating the sugar economy from the non-sugar economy:

I.3.1 GLOBAL SOCIAL PRODUCT

-MMP-

CONCEPT	JANUARY-SEPTEMBER AVERAGE IN:			% WITH RESPECT TO: AVERAGE	
	80-89	1991	1992	80-89	1991
TOTAL	19821	13540	7470	37.7	55.2
Sugar economy	3240	1715	1296	40.0	75.6
Non-sugar economy	16581	11825	6174	37.2	52.2

I.3.2 The availability of sugar in metric tons (TM) crude value only comes to 6.5 millions due to the stringent restrictions of the 1991-1992 harvest. This volume is available thanks to an initial inventory of almost one million tons due to low sugar sales in 1991.

I.3.3 National consumption decreased from 500,000 tons in 1991 to 400,000 tons in 1992, and exports from the historical average of 6.8 million tons to somewhere below 5 million tons.

I.3.4 To evaluate these figures correctly, we must bear in mind that the disappearance of the Socialist bloc, which acquired Cuban sugar at preferential rates, forced a 70% reduction of the real value of receipts from sugar exports.

I.3.5 The sudden reduction of the non-sugar economy becomes evident in all branches of production: in 1992, without exception, they all remain under the historical production levels. We must bear in mind that, during the years 1980-1989 non-sugar industries operated globally at 40% of their potential capacity, while in 1992 the level reached was only 6% or 7%.

I.3.6 All the basic production of the nation, as observed from the following table, shows great impact:

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I.3.6.1 BASIC PRODUCTS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

PRODUCTS	U.M.	AVERAGE 85 - 89	1991	1992 a/
Electrical power output	GWH	15236.7	11720.7	8650.2
Crude oil extraction	MT	718.4	520.7	508.2
Fuel oil	MT	4152.8	3209.8	1960.7
Diesel oil	MT	1178.5	820.7	500.1
Lube oils and greases	MT	542.3	402.4	135.0
Kerosene	MT	640.1	280.3	110.9
Steel	MT	314.2	220.7	58.1
Corrugated steel rods	MT	367.1	171.2	24.1
Iron	MT	171.4	70.7	10.2
Refractory chrome	MT	50.6	30.1	17.2
Nickel plus cobalt	MT	46.5	30.8	21.1
Gas stoves	MU	63.1	18.1	2.2
Radio sets	MU	172.7	40.3	9.1
Television sets	MU	70.5	20.1	4.2
Household refrigerators	MU	9.1	-	-
50% caustic soda	MT	16.2	4.3	2.1
Liquid chlorine	MT	3.4	0.9	0.2
Tires	MU	231.2	120.7	19.1
Inner tubes	MU	314.7	260.1	32.3
Textiles	MM2	218.6	86.7	14.3
Fertilizers	MT	898.6	300.2	81.4
Saw-dust wood	MM3	103.0	26.3	10.2
Grey cement	MT	3758.8	1190.6	840.1
96-degree base sugar	MT	7180.2	5870.7	4012.0
Liquid milk	MT	3620.2	1911.3	712.8
Hand-wrung tobacco	MMU	308.5	240.2	218.5

a/ Estimated figures for the annual total.

I.3.6.2 Due to lack of basic materials, national construction works decrease 80% in 1992.

I.3.6.3 Transportation capacity only represents 25% of the historical averages, which applies to passenger transportation and to the flow and distribution of merchandise, raw and other materials as well.

- I.3.6.4 Agricultural yields, on average, decrease 50%. A lack of herbicides, insecticides, fertilizers, agricultural labor force, and fuel for the irrigation pumping stations, make up the fundamental causes.
- I.3.6.5 Around 40% of the harvest continues to be lost due to huge shrinkages caused by delays in its collection, gathering, distribution and handling.
- I.3.6.6 Low availability of feed and medication continues to impact the cattle and poultry production, together with the continuous shrinkage of the grazing areas which are converted to sugarcane fields in an effort to compensate for low harvest yields.
- I.3.6.7 The production of eggs, milk and meat in 1992 represent, respectively, 48%, 27%, and 22% of historical averages. We must add the weight loss in hogs and cattle (14-20% of avg.wt.).

II. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, FOREIGN DEBT & INTERNATIONAL RESERVES

Following is the Balance of Payments in convertible currency (MMDls, millions of dollars).

II.1 BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY
-MMDls-

CONCEPTS	TO SEPTEMBER	
	1991	1992
<u>CURRENT ACCOUNT</u>	<u>-515.2</u>	<u>-583.2</u>
Assets and services	-720.2	-610.9
Balance of merchandise	205.0	27.7
Exports	540.5	260.8
Imports	-335.5	-233.1
Transfers	-	-
<u>CAPITAL ACCOUNT</u>	<u>324.6</u>	<u>223.8</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>324.6</u>	<u>223.8</u>
Long-term capital	91.7	63.2
Official sector	11.7	4.5
Banks	120.1	119.6
Other	-40.1	-60.9
Short-term capital	230.7	160.4
Official sector	-	-
Banks	110.5	86.1
Other	120.2	74.3
Reserves	2.2	0.2

II.2 FOREIGN DEBT IN MMDLS (MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)
- DOES NOT INCLUDE DEBT WITH FORMER SOVIET BLOC -

CONCEPTS	SEPTEMBER		VARIATION
	1991	1992	
<u>TOTAL DEBT</u>	<u>6802.1</u>	<u>7613.0</u>	<u>811.9</u>
Bilateral official	<u>3151.1</u>	<u>3273.0</u>	<u>121.9</u>
Inter-governmental loans	60.1	40.0	- 20.1
Development assistance credits	170.3	220.7	50.4
Export credits with government insurance	2920.7	3012.3	91.6
Multilateral official	70.7	110.8	40.1
Suppliers	<u>1341.2</u>	<u>1520.9</u>	<u>179.7</u>
Finance institutions	<u>2915.8</u>	<u>2671.1</u>	<u>475.3</u>
Loans and bank deposits	1952.5	2433.0	480.5
Intermediate and long-term partnership and bilateral	750.9	1012.3	261.4
Short-term deposits	1201.6	1420.7	219.1
Credits for regular imports	243.3	238.1	- 5.2
Other credits	43.3	37.2	- 6.1

II.2.1 Indicates an increase of 811.1 MMDls from 1991 to 1992 and 1161.5 millions in relation to 1990.

II.3 STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RESERVES
- MMDls -

CONCEPTS	SEPTEMBER		VARIATION
	1991	1992	
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>101.8</u>	<u>12.3</u>	<u>- 89.5</u>
Gold and precious metals	17.2	2.1	- 15.1
Cash and deposits in foreign banks	53.9	7.4	- 46.5
Other deposits and accounts	30.7	2.8	- 27.9

III. CONCLUSIONS

- III.1 One possible objective forecast considers the total collapse of the national economy in a period not exceeding eight months.
- III.2 The national production of oil plus imports of crude, diesel, fuel, gasoline and turbogas will be reduced even further for lack of financing, to between 50% and 60% of current levels before year-end.

III.3 The shortage of primary and secondary energy resources coupled with the lack of parts, tires and batteries, will bring the transportation levels to zero before 200 days, prompting a strong impact on the delivery of supplies to the population.

III.4 A further reduction in the social and consumer supplies is not recommended as a means of diverting resources towards importing fuels and other basic needs, since supplies for the population are oscillating critically around a point which we must regard as minimal vital consumption.

To reduce further the social and consumer supplies directly or indirectly linked to satisfying personal needs is not the solution. The thus-freed scarce resources would entail further reduction of medicines, food and other items of great social need; but they would never make up for the acquisition of fuel, parts, replacements, metals and raw materials in the amounts required to maintain acceptable operational requirements for transportation, industry and foreign and domestic trade.

Said reductions are not recommended.

III.5 On the other hand, the growing difficulties for the import trade, subjected to the double pressure of the growing blockade on one side and the lack of financing on the other, make it impossible to acquire these items even after reducing the minimal, vital consumption items.

III.6 The latest forecasts conducted on the tourism horizon reveal that its slowly decreasing income does not remotely contribute to narrow the financial gap that continues to grow with foreign debt increasing at a daily rate of more than two million dollars per day.

III.7 The latest trends of the sugar and nickel industries show strong decline, with the resulting depression of international prices while internal foreign-currency costs continue to rise because of imported components.

III.8 In this situation, practically no measure is advisable within the present framework unless new ways for economic integration are pursued within a European and American reorientation. These reorientations might serve as basis for new credit agreements as well as to open other horizons to financial resources that cannot be attained if an isolationist position is maintained.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

U.M.	Measure unit	MT	One thousand tons
MMP	Millions of pesos	MP	One thousand pesos
MMDIs	Millions of dollars	MU	One thousand physical units
T	Metric ton	MMU	Millions of physical units
U	Physical unit	MM2	One thousand square meters
GWH	Gigawatt-hour	MM3	One thousand cubic meters

SPECIAL SUPPORT PLAN FOR THE SUGAR HARVEST 92-93

Measures that must be discussed at the Cabinet's extraordinary session, convened for November 4 through 6.

I. MATERIAL ASSURANCE

I.1 OIL AND BY-PRODUCTS

The forthcoming sugar harvest requires not less than 0.6 MMTM a/ of oil and by-products with the traditional composition: 42% crude, 39% diesel and 19% fuel oil; and, according to plan, up to 0.09% of lube oils and greases. According to the balance of energy carriers, the final inventory at the October closing, plus imports forecasted to 31 December, represents an availability of 0.35 MMTM. It is specified that, at present, this availability is theoretical and depends on the exchange deliveries agreed upon with Iran.

The following measures are recommended:

I.1.1 A 30% increase in the savings of energy output for the population and non-sugar industries except the basic ones: pharmaceutical and tourism-related.

I.1.2 A 50% decrease in gasoline supplies for the population and non-basic state organisms, effective December. Measures agreed upon with the Party and the masses must be taken in the face of a possible complete interruption of supply effective January.

I.1.3 Activate and speed up negotiations under way with Iran. If necessary, Senen b/ will preside the official delegation to travel November 8.

a/ MTM: millions of metric tons

b/ Division General Senen Casas-Regueiro

I.2 SUGAR HARVEST TRANSPORTATION

I.2.1 Transfer 60 thousand ox-carts from the MINAGRI a/ to the MINAZ b/ towards the sugar harvest and support the transportation of sugar cane c/ in a manner so that at least 400 ox-carts are provided to each sugarmill.

I.2.2 Speed up the Emergency Plan for the transportation of raw sugar to active refineries based on using the railway network. Take all steps necessary to ensure the conversion of raw into refined sugar with a 15-day deadline after production and a 3-day deadline for bulk transfer to the terminals.

I.2.3 To strengthen I.1.2, have available not less than 4 thousand loading trucks and 5 to 6 thousand tractors with carts for Variation 2 as contemplated by MINAZ. d/

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I.2.4 MINAGRI and MINAZ to dismantle 2 thousand trucks and 2 thousand tractors to guarantee the parts and spares needed to ensure their availability for maintenance work.

I.3 LABOR RESOURCES

In the provinces most seriously affected, it is necessary to count with an additional force of macheteros in the face of breakages in 36% of combine units and a somewhat higher percentage of lifters, according to the following composition:

12 thousand - Villaclara, Sancti Spiritus
16 thousand - Ciego de Avila
28 thousand - Camaguey
10 thousand - Las Tunas
12 thousand - Holguin
14 thousand - Granma, Santiago and Guantanamo (some 8500 for the CAI e/ of the Cauto Valley).

A total of 92 thousand men must be provided, using all resources available from the EJT /f, the SMG g/ and the FAR Brigades, as agreed.

a/ MINAGRI: Ministry of Agriculture
b/ MINAZ: Ministry of Sugar
c/ Not applicable in translation
d/ Variation 2: Sugar-harvest Emergency Plan by MINAZ
e/ CAI: Agricultural/Industrial Compound
f/ EJT: Labor Force Youth Army
g/ SMG: General Military Service.

The CTC and the ANAP, on their own, must increase to 50 thousand men the usual number of volunteers for cane-cutting by hand.

I.4 SUMMARY

Although no negative impact is contemplated on the food distribution and agricultural/cattle transportation, they can be adversely affected AT ANY GIVEN MOMENT due to the scarcity of [crude] oil and gasoline as well as diesel shortages. The above means that interruptions and eventual stoppages can occur in the flow of agricultural/cattle products and foodstuffs to the distribution centers due to failures in the domestic trade network.

The Higher Directorate of the CDR's and the Ministry of the Interior must be ready to enter EMERGENCY PHASE I, which can be activated at any moment effective December. Investments in tourism, and copper, nickel plus cobalt and precious metal production cannot be halted under any circumstances if the EMERGENCY PHASE is entered.

The collection and packaging of citrus products to meet our commitments with the French market continue to be of priority. Priority must be given to factories and related areas for the production of export cigars and cigarettes.

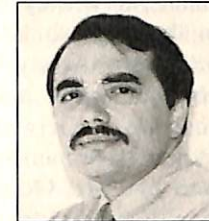
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THE LAST BATTLE OF THE COLD WAR

by José Cárdenas

A liberal Wash-
ington Post

columnist claims a
"racist" Jorge Mas
Canosa is behind
the scuttling of a
candidate for As-
sistant Secretary of



State for Latin America. A leftist
activist who brokered the St.
Petersburg Yacht Race to Havana
blames the Cuban American National
Foundation (CANF) and its "extremist
followers" for its cancellation.

The largely liberal U.S. media assert
the CANF is preparing to return to
Cuba after Castro to a 1950's-style rule
by a "wealthy elite" (despite the fact
that nearly all CANF board members
were teenagers in the 1950's and that
its membership base is made up of
mostly working-and middle-class
Cuban exiles).

What is going on here? Can one
man or one organization be in as many
places at the same time as Jorge Mas
and the CANF are alleged to be? What
is really behind the thousand points of
spite from the Left?

Much of it can perhaps be explained
if we recognize that the last ideological
battle of the Cold War - that for
Cuba's future - has begun and a full
frontal assault is being waged by the
Left, aided by critical support fire from

allies in the media, against CANF and
their thousands of supporters in the
Cuban-American community and on
the island itself. The objective: through
a panoply of intensely personal attacks
and flat-out disinformation, to delegit-
imize the Cuban American National
Foundation and its supporters as partic-
ipants in the public policy debate on
Cuba as a way to then prevent the ideas
espoused by CANF from having any
influence in Cuba's reconstruction
from the ashes of Communism.

Why? These are not good times for
the Left. One by one, the systems in
which they have placed their intellectu-
al stock have crumbled. Cuba is pretty
much all the Left has left - whether it's
the extreme Marxist Left or the social
democratic Left. Therefore, the com-
plete collapse of the Castro regime
must be avoided at all costs, because,
according to Mark Falcoff, a premier
American scholar on Cuba, such an
event "threatens to reveal the real bases
of [Castro's] power, and in doing so,
sweep away the last of the illusions that
have nourished the socialist idea in the
West for a half-century and more."

The media, for their part, as mem-
bers of the broader cultural elite in this
country, have always had a fascination
with the Cuban Revolution. Falcoff
says it is perhaps because Cuba is "an
anti-mirror of American patriotism,

order, property – the whole bourgeois bag of tricks.” (Values, not coincidentally, among those embraced by the Cuban-American community.) So some in the media elite are having a difficult time coming to terms with the reality of Castroism and all its barbarities, and even more so with the fact that Cuban-Americans were right about Castro all along.

So the wagons have circled around Cuba for a “last stand.” Not around Castro per se – who is now recognized by nearly all as an unrepentant Stalinist – but around the socialist idea, which they once thought Castro embodied. Most say they also want Castro out, but they want it to be a gradual process. A so-called soft-landing (really perhaps a soft-landing for their ideological convictions), a transition that avoids a popular referendum on socialism in Cuba, one that can be more easily manipulated to salvage remnants of the socialist idea.

A two-track campaign is therefore launched to, one, convince everyone that socialism “with a human face” is what Cuba actually needs and wants; and, two, discredit anyone who does not share this belief – those who, for example, espouse the ideals of limited government and the free market.

Everywhere the theme is the same: journalists return from Cuba telling us how “fearful” Cubans are of cold, bloodless capitalism. We are told they want to preserve the “social gains” of the revolution (as if those “social gains,” whatever they may be, could only be achieved under a totalitarian dictatorship.) We are told the Cuban people are terrified of “the exiles” returning, even though it may mean a

brother or a sister, mother or father.

Since “man-on-the-street” interviews in police states are meaningless, we have no way of knowing whether those fears are real or whether those Cuban citizens are mouthing government slogans out of fear. But weren’t we told the same things about East Germans, how they would continue to want that big “social safety net” after reunification, only then to embrace unabashedly the market-based programs of West Germany?

Others have launched a campaign in search of “Mr. Good Socialist”. The international media bestows upon Cuban dissident Elizardo Sánchez, a self-described democratic socialist, the title of leader of Cuba’s internal opposition movement, even though Mr. Sánchez himself admits his views represent the minority in the dissident/opposition community.

A Miami Herald columnist writes an admiring column about a former Cuban war hero who joins the internal opposition, taking care to note the man’s democratic socialist orientation and what a “formidable threat” that constitutes for Castro. Apparently, no one seems to consider that the actions of members of the Cuban Democratic Coalition, the largest opposition group on the island who have turned to out-right public protests, to be any kind of a threat to Castro. Unfortunately for the Coalition, their decidedly un-socialist, pro-American platform has rendered them invisible to the international media.

When they’re not cheerleading for their anointed ones, the defenders of the socialist ideal are launching a defamation campaign against the

CANF, the objective of which is to verbally push the CANF to the far right in order to open up the middle for their “third way” – the socialist alternative minus Castro.

Thus, the CANF is branded with tendentious labels such as “ultra-right,” “extremist,” “militant” and, most recently, “racist.” The bigoted stereotype of the “hot-headed” or “fiery” Latin is routinely recycled. (Such bigotry would never be tolerated if it were directed at the Jewish or African-American communities.) The inconvenient facts that the CANF enjoys broad support within, for example, a Democratic Congress, or that three U.S. Presidents – most recently, President Clinton – have sat down with CANF leaders to exchange views on Cuba, are simply ignored.

It is time for this rhetorical charade to end. The debate about Cuba’s future is not about “authoritarian carpetbaggers” versus “virtuous protectors of Cuba’s sovereignty”. Rather, it is about ideas on how to help Cuba reconstruct politically, socially and economically.

Does Cuba’s future lie in the socialist ideal: Big Government with taxpayer subsidies for wasteful state monopolies, policies responsible for Latin America’s “Lost Decade” of the 1980s?

Or does it lie in a system that unleashes the entrepreneurial skills of Cubans and allows them to gain a stake in their nation’s political and economic revival, a system that allows them to own homes and create businesses?

Is Cuba’s sovereignty best served by bringing government closer to the people, strengthening their influence in local government, and limiting the growth of centralized bureaucracies,

which individual citizens are powerless to influence?

In short, does Cuba’s future lie in “humanizing” the present system or in making a clean break with the past three decades?

It is perhaps a measure of the confidence in their own ideas that the Left is so dedicated to obfuscating the debate, by resorting to name-calling and other polemics and being so unwilling to debate on merits. In fact, in order to prevent the collapse of the socialist ideal in Cuba, some members of the Left have made democratic values expendable, seeking “solutions” that do not take into account the wishes of those on the island. For example, instead of championing free and fair elections in Cuba as a condition for the restoration of U.S. relations with Cuba, they want “constructive engagement” – again, a gradual, managed process, in which they no doubt can promote “acceptable” candidates without popular involvement (and, in some cases, maintain their access).

In any case, this debate will obviously be decided by the Cuban people on the island. But that doesn’t disqualify Cubans in exile or the broader international community from presenting ideas to those on the island, since Cuban citizens are prohibited from openly discussing these ideas under the present system. The fact is that Cuba is going to need a lot of assistance from abroad to reintegrate into the international economy. And from the way the other side is reacting, it seems to reflect an extraordinary fear about how Cubans on the island are going to react to the ideas of limited government and free markets.



A MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE WOMEN OF CUBA

From inside Cuba, Angela Herrera, Guillermina de la Caridad Acuña Herrera and Yamilet Hernández call upon the women of Cuba to fulfill their historic destiny.

Women of Cuba: You who will play a very important role in the future of our homeland, we address ourselves to you today to tell you that the time has come to prepare our families and ourselves for the creation of a new society.

Mothers of Cuba: We must begin with ourselves, with our own homes, with our families, by doing everything that the regime has prohibited us from doing, everything that they have taken away.

The families of Cuba were the first to suffer the attacks of the regime at the beginning of the revolution in order to introduce into the heart of the family the so-called "socialist morality." This created confrontations between parents and their sons and daughters. It pitted brother against brother and sister against sister. In many cases, this struggle resulted in one family member accusing another in front of the regime's authorities. Our goal is that the families of Cuba be the first to rescue and retrieve the values we have lost, and for this task, who better than the mothers of Cuba? We must rescue our true traditions, our true identity. It

will not be easy but it is essential that we begin NOW.

We should ask God to guide us in thinking and acting like true Christians, as daughters of God. We should take our children to church so that they can learn to love God above all things. By listening to the word of God, we will come to know and love Him. With this teaching, we shall learn to forgive, to love our neighbor, and gradually, love will conquer the hate and animosity that the regime has sown into the souls of our children from an early age. Only in this way can we erase the Communist slogans that remain in the subconscious. As a result, we will save our souls, since systems such as these not only physically destroy bodies, but also kill the soul and the spirit.

Communism has died precisely where it was created, where it was born. It is time to recover our own identity. We must ask God to help us find our true selves, to help us recover freedom, to enable us to live a peaceful life where no more blood will be shed.

Sister, the time has come. Contribute to the difficult task of re-establishing peace in your home.

Make sure that your sons, brothers and husbands that belong to the Army do not use their weapons against the people. They must follow the example of the Soviet Union. They must understand that their place is alongside the people: a people that have endured and suffered and is continuing to suffer even now cruel and inhuman treatment. They must understand that they too can be sent to Castro's prisons or become victims of the Rapid Response Brigades (organized mobs sponsored by the Castro regime to intimidate and punish the opposition).

We must begin to forge a new society. A society worthy of our homeland. We can count on the support of our brothers and sisters in exile. They are like a light that God has placed in our path in order to help us recover the true liberty that has been stolen from us. The family must be the foundation and essential element of society. That is why we ask you to heed this call and set aside your fears and your apprehensions.

We must fight for a better future for our children. It is our right to be able to choose the type of education we wish to give our sons and daughters. Sisters, we must show our children how to be good citizens. Let's recover the values that have been lost in this society. Let's practice courtesy, friendship and sincerity in our relations inside and outside of the home. Let us begin with ourselves. Let our example be the mirror in which our families are reflected.

Angela Herrera

Guillermina de la Caridad Acuña Herrera

Yamilet Hernández



Angela Herrera is President of the Cuban Democratic Coalition, the most prominent opposition group facing the Castro regime inside the island, and also

President of the Antonio Maceo Dignity Movement. She lives in Havana, Cuba.



Guillermina de la Caridad Acuña Herrera is Publicity Secretary of the Antonio Maceo Dignity Movement, which forms part of the Cuban Democratic Coalition. She lives in Havana, Cuba.

She lives in Havana, Cuba.



Yamilet Hernández is President of the Solidarity and Democracy Women's Movement, which forms part of the Cuban Democratic Coalition. She is the

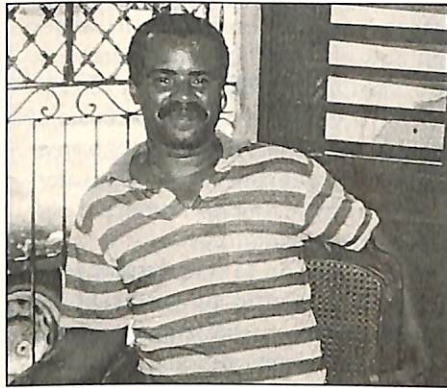
wife of Daniel Aspillaga Lombard, a political prisoner who was arrested and imprisoned on September 6, 1991, for organizing a protest in front of Castro's secret police headquarters at Villa Marista. She lives in Havana, Cuba.

VIVA FREE CUBA!

by Omar López Montenegro

In Havana recently, facing a crowd that supposedly was honoring the memory of the Cuban Apostle for independence, José Martí, a woman exclaimed “Viva Free Cuba!”, that cry that inspired the struggles of Cuba’s soldiers in the Wars for Independence during the late nineteenth century. In different circumstances, this cry in Castro’s Cuba would have been repeated by the crowd and garnished with expressions such as “Viva Fidel!” or “Long Live the Revolution!”. But as it happens, the Cuban woman that cried out on the 28th of January as the torches of Castro’s followers passed by, is named Paula Valiente – and she is a woman, she is black and she belongs to the opposition, a combination that seems to infuriate the repressive tendencies of those who blindly idolize the Castro regime. As a result, she was brutally attacked by Castro’s agents and while being beaten – once again – was hit in the head with a bottle and dragged to one of Castro’s National Revolutionary Police units before going to the hospital.

To speak of people in terms of race almost always exacerbates racism but, in this case, it is absolutely essential to point to the issue because, for some as yet inexplicable reason, Fidel Castro – the contemporary slave trader *par excellence* whose slave traffic involves not only the lives of Cuba’s



Omar López Montenegro in his house in Havana in 1991.

blacks but those of whites also – has made some people inside and outside of Cuba believe that black-skinned Cuban citizens should spend their lives submissively saying to the Grand Master of the Revolution – as a friend of mine facetiously states – “Yes, Bwana” or “Thank you, Bwana” in gratitude for a supposed racial redemption that is not supported by any concrete facts whatsoever. This reminds me of when I was thirteen years old in Cuba and a math professor of mine named Mr. Mortell severely reprimanded me when he caught me reading Tarzan of the Apes by Edgar Rice Burroughs, alleging that the book in question had a racist message because it propagated the idea that blacks could not redeem themselves and needed a Tarzan to do it for them. With the

expressed purpose of “elevating” my intellectual and ideological capabilities, he gave me a copy of the pamphlet “What To Do?” by Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Years later, when I was 27 to be precise, we ran into each other again in Havana. Under his arm I could see a copy of The Immediate Tasks Facing Soviet Power, by the inevitable Lenin. (For those unfamiliar with the customs of Marxist-Leninist societies, people in the intellectual professions tend to walk around in public sporting books or materials written by “approved” writers or political figures to demonstrate their undying commitment to the Fatherland and the revolutionary cause.) On the other hand, I was carrying, with a certain clandestine air, a copy of 1984 by George Orwell, evidently a dangerous act in that totalitarian society. Something to do with evolution, I suppose.

The power of words is found in the associations that are derived from their usage or the attitudes that one assumes upon hearing them. Since human beings are given the gift of thought, everything that he or she expresses has a social implication. When Professor Paula Valiente is attacked and beaten by a pro-Castro mob after yelling “Viva Free Cuba!”, unquestionably what we are witnessing is the ideological cornering of the Marxist-Leninist system within a philosophy of gangsterism that uses as its guiding light Castro’s threats of “Socialism or Death!”. Just as my former math professor did, Fidel Castro continues to choose to interpret History through manuals that were written more than 70

years ago, while the human race prepares to enter its third millennium.

At the dawn of the 21st century, a group of Cubans on the island has seized the intellectual torch from the hands of the Castro regime by echoing and defending at the vanguard of society the idea of freedom, with peaceful demonstrations organized by women like Paula Valiente for the 8th and 24th days of each month. That is why Professor Valiente presides over an organization named “Mothers for Dignity”, because her cry is a call to rescue that condition that has not been exiled from the scale of the values of the common citizen. That is why it is imperative to undertake decisive action inside and outside of Cuba, so that examples such as those of this woman – black, a member of the opposition, and as valiant as her name implies (Valiente means courageous in Spanish) – are not lost in the emptiness of thin air.

Omar López Montenegro is Special Representative Abroad for the Pro Free Art Association (APAL) and the National Civic Union, both groups in opposition to the Castro regime inside Cuba. Mr. López Montenegro was a founding member of APAL in Havana in 1988 and Secretary General of that organization from 1990 to 1992. He went into exile in May, 1992. He currently lives in Miami and helps coordinate the broadcasts of The Voice of the Foundation.

THE WOMEN IN CUBA'S INTERNAL OPPOSITION MOVEMENT

by Ninoska Pérez Castellón

The repression that Fidel Castro systematically applies in Cuba is nothing new. It began with the initial triumph in 1959 of the revolution that has caused the most deaths and forced the Cuban people to shed the most tears in its history as a nation. Neither has this repression been selective: men, women and children have all equally suffered its wrath. Cuban women have paid their quota of suffering watching their sons and daughters die at the hands of firing squads, or in sterile "proletarian internationalist" wars, or braving the high seas in rafts searching for liberty elsewhere. There, women face day after day the enormously bitter sorrow of knowing that there is no future for their children on the island of Cuba, a land that on occasion God seems to have forgotten and which Castro today tries to reduce to the obnoxious slogan of "Socialism or Death!".

Women have also paid their dues in the Communist prisons of Castro's Cuba. I can recall immediately Ana Lázara Rodríguez, who was condemned to 19 years as a political prisoner and Cary Roque who was imprisoned for 16 years. The frailty of Milagros Bermúdez comes to mind as I think of Castro's guards beating her in the breasts with hoses. Luisa Pérez, Polita Grau, Silvia Perdomo and hundreds more courageous women who, when most others throughout the world chose to ignore that Castro's prisons were full to the brim, these women, from within the confines of those same political prisons, ennobled with their dignity and actions the land of their birth. Their integrity and honor were the saving grace of an entire nation: a true testament to the fact that adversity does not

kill the love for one's homeland, but rather makes that love flourish.

Consequently, today we see Cuban women forming an integral part of the leadership in the internal opposition to the Castro dictatorship. For this reason, I wish to take this opportunity to shed some light on the noble faces of those that are obscured in the shade.



CARMEN ARIAS

In the mid-1980s, young Carmen Arias begins to visit a cousin of her mother's that was serving a 28 year political sentence at the Combinado del Este prison. In this way was born her desire to fight against the injustice that she witnessed in her country. In 1991, Carmen forms the opposition group "Fighters for Liberty and Democracy in Cuba" in Havana and begins her arduous work as a human rights activist. Her denunciations of human rights abuses by the Castro regime are re-broadcast to Cuba on **The Voice of the Foundation**. Carmen Arias challenged the Castro tyranny further by becoming one of the first members of the opposition to publicly declare her support for the Cuban Democracy Act, known as the Torricelli Bill. Immediately thereafter, the regime's repressive apparatus manufactured a political case against her, accusing her of supposedly leaking state security secrets.

Castro agents arrested her and she remained incommunicado 83 days in Villa Marista, headquarters of the horrid Castro political police. Later she was declared guilty by a Military tribunal, despite the

fact she was not military personnel, and condemned to 9 years in prison, one year more than the prosecutor's original request. Today, in the Women's Prison of the West, known as the "Black Cloak", the regime forces her to live among common criminals, denying her rightful condition as a political prisoner.



AUREA FERIA CAO

In 1960, when Aurea Feria Cao was 16 years old, her adolescence was cut short when her father Armentino Feria Pérez died in battle against

Castro's troops in a remote part of Cuba's Oriente province. Armed only with her 16 years and her courage, she presented herself to Castro's officials to reclaim her father's remains in order to give him a Christian burial. The regime never complied with her request.

Aurea channeled her desire to serve her country into visits to Castro's prisons, alleviating the suffering of the political prisoners and their families. She was arrested on various occasions. In 1988, she testified in Havana before the Special Investigative Commission for Cuba of the UN Commission on Human Rights. This activity marked the beginning of another difficult period for her during the last three decades in Cuba.

In 1990, she established the opposition Indio Feria Democratic Union party, in memory of her father, initiating an excellent program of peaceful activities for Cuba's freedom. When her work became intolerable for the regime, the dictatorship's henchmen broke into her home and confiscated some stamps with the wording "We want a plebiscite for democracy" which she used to issue proclamations.

Aurea Feria was arrested and remained incommunicado in the Villa Marista secret police headquarters in Havana for 94 days until the Castro regime finally took her to trial, where she was condemned to 5 years in prison for "distributing enemy propaganda." Despite this, Aurea has not ceased

to denounce the abuses of the Castro dictatorship. Only now she gathers her strength and stands courageously, like a thousand year-old oak tree, as a "plantada" – a political prisoner that refuses to accept the regime's efforts to "rehabilitate" her. On one occasion she gathered the signatures of over 200 women political prisoners at the "Black Cloak" prison as a protest for the jail's despicable conditions and, as a result, was sent to the "tapiada" cells as a punishment. These cells are for solitary confinement and are welded shut with steel planks.

Behind the gates of Castro's political prison system, Aurea Feria raises her voice and demands respect for her condition as a woman and as a prisoner of conscience.



MARIA ELENA APARICIO

María Elena Aparicio was arrested by Castro's secret police on December 13, 1991, for pub-

lishing a clandestine newspaper called "Solidarity and Democracy." In Castro's Cuba, publishing anything without the approval of the totalitarian regime is considered illegal. At the Villa Marista secret police headquarters in Havana, she refused to give in to the interrogators' threats that they would arrest her daughter if she did not collaborate with the repressive State Security apparatus. She was sentenced to 7 years in prison for trying to express herself in a country where there is no freedom of the press or freedom of expression. She is presently a "plantada" in the Women's Prison of the West, unclothed, claiming her rights as a political prisoner by refusing to wear the uniform issued to common criminals and given to her by Castro's officials as a sign of denigration.



VILMA FERNANDEZ BATISTA

It is said that a good woman is like a rainbow. Vilma Fernández Batista

joined the opposition movement along with her husband Pablo Reyes. Together they became journalists inside of Cuba and broadcast on **The Voice of the Foundation**. Together they participated in the now famous protest demonstration on September 6, 1991, coordinated by Daniel Aspíllaga and the peaceful opposition in front of Castro's secret police headquarters at Villa Marista in Havana. Pablo dedicated himself to the risky task of interviewing people on the street with his tape recorder in order to gather the real opinions of the Cuban people and his work made it clear that the populace inside Cuba supported the Cuban Democracy Act, known as the Torricelli Bill. A special secret police operation on April 5 resulted in his arrest. Just a few hours later, Vilma Fernández Batista picked up the microphone and continued her husband's work. In spite of the fact that her husband Pablo Reyes was condemned to 8 years in prison for exercising the right of a free press, Vilma continues her work within the National Civic Union, inspired by the Cuban opposition's credo: "For each of us who falls, another will rise!"



GUILLERMINA DE LA CARIDAD ACUÑA HERRERA

As the daughter of the woman who has become the living symbol of the Cuban resistance,

Guillermina de la Caridad Acuña Herrera is responsible for developing an excellent information network for the opposition movement. Her heart, her soul and her time are available for all who wish to raise their voices freely against the Castro dictatorship. This activity has played a great role in ending the simulation and uncovering the masks of fear which the Cuban people have worn for over three decades due to the terror imposed by the Communist regime. Threatened by Castro's State Security apparatus, Guillermina continues to defy the regime along with her mother Angela Herrera,

peacefully, with only her courage and patriotism as weapons and as inspiration, her tape recorder in hand each day picking up the clamour for liberty of an enslaved people.



PAULA VALIENTE

Paula Valiente, a 38-year-old professor, confronts the Castro regime's violent attacks every 8th and 24th day of each month when, as President of the opposition group Mothers for Dignity, she organizes religious processions in Havana in honor of the Virgin of Regla and the Virgin of Mercy. She has been brutally beaten and arrested each time she has tried to complete her peaceful pilgrimage. On September 24, 1992, in the presence of hundreds of people that attended a Mass in honor of the Virgin of Mercy, Paula was beaten and arrested by the Castro dictatorship's thugs (see cover story).

Even this has not detained her.

Each time, more women join the pilgrimages organized by Paula Valiente. The most recent attack by the regime against this noble Cuban woman occurred on January 28, birthdate of Cuba's Father of Independence José Martí. From the front of the Church of Angels in Havana, Paula screamed out "Viva Free Cuba!" as a march organized by the Castro regime in support of the dictator-with torches burning, Nazi-style - passed by. Again she was savagely beaten, kicked and dragged along the street by Castro's state security agents. Bleeding and with her head split open as a consequence of bottles thrown by Castro's agents, the security people took her, not to a medical unit or hospital, but rather to a National Revolutionary Police unit.

Even this has not silenced her.

Paula Valiente continues to organize her people in pilgrimage through **The Voice of the Foundation**, fighting through peaceful means for democracy, justice and the unrestricted freedom that all Cubans deserve and to which they have a right.



ANGELA HERRERA

Angela Herrera, a woman of humble means, is the granddaughter of one of Cuba's independence fighters of the late nineteenth century. For her, the freedom of Cuba is a dream that can be achieved. As President of the Cuban Democratic Coalition, the organization which represents the largest number of internal opposition groups, Angela is the heart and soul of the opposition movement inside of Cuba. Her history of confronting the Castro dictatorship is long and full of heroism. Former U.S. President George Bush called worldwide attention to Angela Herrera's work when he wrote a newspaper article last year published internationally which commented on the massive arrests on January 6, 1991, by Castro's secret police of over 20 members of the peaceful opposition in Cuba as they were communicating from Angela's home with **The Voice of the Foundation** in Miami.

Last November, Angela Herrera was invited by former President Jimmy Carter, with the sponsorship of the Carter Studies Center in Atlanta, to come to the United States and witness democracy in action during the U.S. presidential elections. Officials of the Castro regime - such as Ricardo Alarcón, Castro's ambassador to the United Nations in New York, and Carlos Lage, today the number three man in Cuba's Communist hierarchy - were also invited. However, the Castro regime blocked the Exit Visa for Ms. Herrera because the invitation implied international recognition for the legitimacy of the internal opposition in Cuba. The regime's refusal to allow Ms. Herrera to travel then caused the withdrawal of Pres. Carter's invitation to Castro's officials.

As I write this piece, Angela Herrera remains in her home in Havana under a virtual state of siege by Castro's security apparatus, whose agents surround her house 24 hours a day and do not allow her to go out. On December 10 of last year, the

secret police forces attempted to organize an "act of repudiation" (acto de repudio) against her. This is a common tactic of totalitarian regimes equivalent to formally organizing a lynch mob against a particular individual. However, Castro's agents were unable to find even one neighbor in the area that would participate in this infamous act.

Just as the world renowned civil rights leader, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., had a dream, so does Angela Herrera: "For Cuba, no more firing squads, no more political prisons, no more exiles, no more young people dying on the high seas in search of freedom."

These patriots and many others, such as Yamilet Hernández, María Celina Rodríguez, Elvira Mesa and Angela de la Coba, head up the opposition movement in Cuba against the dictatorial regime of Fidel Castro. And I am willing to bet that the clapping of the wings of these butterflies on the deteriorated streets of Cuba will provoke an uncontrollable typhoon within the luxuriously panelled walls of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Ninoska Pérez Castellón is Director of The Voice of the Foundation.



TAPE 124-A

"He looked very skinny...He told me that they were torturing him mentally, they didn't let him sleep and his bed is a slab of zinc. He's been operated on and he complains a lot about lung pains. They tell me that he is under investigation but they refuse to tell me what they are accusing him of."

"Can you imagine that when I visited him and complained about his situation, the jailer just looked at me and laughed. I thought to myself, 'some day they will have to answer to God'..."

Adelaida Marichal speaking about her son Adriano González Marichal of the Solidarity and Peace Pacifist Movement, who is still imprisoned.



THE STRUGGLE OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE FOR DIGNITY

Human Rights Organizations in the Internal Opposition in Cuba

The opposition movement in Cuba is characterized by two large coalitions of organizations: the **Cuban Democratic Coalition** and the **Cuban Democratic Concertation**. In addition, there are other independent organizations that have no formal ties with either umbrella group.

In the next few pages, we present a list of the opposition groups that broadcast from Cuba using **The Voice of the Foundation**. We limit ourselves, due to lack of space, to including only the officers of each group and where they are based. The number of members and the geographic extension of each organization varies. Nonetheless, it is safe to say that, in its totality, the opposition movement in Cuba has thousands of members throughout all of Cuba's provinces. Despite the risk involved from the repressive forces of Castro's totalitarian state, these opposition members have authorized the publication of their names and affiliations.

CUBAN DEMOCRATIC COALITION (COALICION DEMOCRATICA CUBANA) Angela Herrera, President

Pro Democracy Civic Association (Asociación Cívica Pro Democrática)

Based In: El Cotorro, Havana
Officers: Aida Rosa Jiménez Rodríguez; Ernesto Arteaga; Alvaro Hernández Rivero; Armando Bragado Zúñiga; Dámaso Leyva.

Peace, Progress and Freedom Committee (Comité Paz, Progreso y Libertad)

Based In: El Cotorro, Havana
Officers: Alberto Pereda Martínez, President; José Acosta Miyer,

Vice-President; Domingo Menéndez Mero, Labor Relations Secretary; Leonardo Facundo Pena, Secretary for Human Rights; Gustavo Domínguez, Art and Culture Secretary; Enrique Valdés Cabrera; Junior Rodríguez Carmona; Jesús Pérez Gómez, Public Relations Secretary; Raúl Fernández Hidalgo; Osvaldo de la Torre Fleites.

José Martí Youth Association (Asociación Juvenil Martiana)

Based In: El Vedado, Havana
Officers: Luis Felipe Lorens, President; Elvira Mesa, Vice-President.

Democratic Forum (Foro Democrático)

Based In: Centro Habana
Officers: Ricardo Olivera, President

Association for the Struggle Against Injustice to the Nation (Asociación de Lucha Frente a la Injusticia Nacional [ALFIN])

Based In: Reparto La Lisa, Havana
Officers: Beatriz García Alvarez, President; Reinaldo Alfaro García, Vice-President; Máximo Sotolongo.

United Front for Liberty (Frente Unido por la Libertad)

Based In: San Miguel del Padrón, Havana
Officers: Carlos Julio Gato Casals, President; Alfredo Mederos Noriega, Vice-President; Pedro Betancourt Esquijarrosa.

Solidarity and Peace Pacifist Movement (Movimiento Pacifista Solidaridad y Paz)

Based In: Marianao, Havana
Officers: Daniel Aspillaga, President (in

prison); Tomás Aspillaga, Vice-President; Adriano González Marichal (in prison); Joel Dueñas (in prison); Alexis Basilio López; Rigoberto Martínez; José Manuel Arteaga; Raúl Dimas.

Solidarity and Democracy Women's Movement (Movimiento Femenino Solidaridad y Democracia)

Based In: Havana
Officers: Yamilet Hernández Hernández, President; María Cruz Llorente, Vice-President; Ana María Hernández Torres; Martha Vega Cabrera.

Camagüey Province Democratic Committee (Comité Democrático Camagüeyano)

Based In: Camagüey City, Camagüey
Officers: Raúl Garriga Guelmes, P.E., President; Pedro Orozco; Ramón Gómez Fonseca.

José Martí National Commission for Human Rights (Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos José Martí)

Based In: Caibarién, Villa Clara
Officers: Amador Blanco Hernández, President (in prison); Joel Mesa Morales, Vice-President; Santiago Torres; Juan Luis Delgado; Danilo Sánchez; Antonio Durán; José Francisco Vilchez Cruz; Oscar García Suárez; Omar Ruiz Hernández; Estrella Rodríguez.

Antonio Maceo Dignity Movement (Movimiento Maceísta por la Dignidad)

Based In: Centro Habana
Officers: Angela Herrera, President; Guillermina de la Caridad Acuña Herrera, Information Secretary; Reinaldo Varela Chior, Vice-President/Rural Affairs; Geraldo Acuña, President/Youth Affairs; José Enrique Castellanos Segura, President/Holguín Province; Rodolfo Castellanos Franco, Coordinator/Holguín; Luis Rodríguez, Delegate/Holguín; Guillermo Díaz, Delegate/Holguín; Luis Llopis, Delegate/Holguín; José Pérez, Delegate/Holguín; Gumersindo Vásquez Reyes, Workers' Delegate/Holguín; Antonio Govea Vigoa, Provincial

Coordinator/Pinar del Río; Martín Izaguirre García, Provincial Delegate/Pinar del Río; Noel Gutiérrez González, Delegate/Havana-Rural Affairs; Lorenzo Yon, Delegate/ San Miguel del Padrón; Ramón Varela Sánchez, Coordinator/ Santiago de las Vegas; Iván Rodríguez; Aleida Cruz; Lázaro del Valle; Félix Domínguez; Alan Escobar.

Democratic Party for National Unity (Partido Democrático por la Unidad Nacional)

Based In: La Maya, Santiago de Cuba
Officers: Carlos Braudilio Adamés, President; Ibrahim Adonis Herrera, Vice-President; Jorge Luis Borge León, Vice-President; Reinaldo Martínez Benavides, Executive Secretary; Mario Fernández Borja, Education Secretary; Miguel Angel Fonseca, Civic Affairs Secretary; Juan Bautista Arcolea, Religious Affairs; William Matos, Representative/Ciego de Avila; Juan Hernández Silva, Representative/ Matanzas; Roberto Duarte, Representative/ Cienfuegos; Guillermo García González, Representative/ Havana Province.

Mothers for Dignity Association (Asociación de Madres por la Dignidad [AMAD])

Based In: Alamar, Havana
Officers: Paula Valiente, President; Berta Galán, Vice-President; Victoria Cruz, Coordinator; Elena Elvira Ibáñez, Religious Affairs; Yolanda Verdecia, Help for the Needy; Hilda Cabrera, Information; Miriam Sánchez Novo; Jacqueline Marques.

Liberty and Democracy Group (Agrupación por la Libertad y la Democracia)

Based In: Havana
Officers: Reinaldo Rojas García, President; Isidoro Herrera, Vice-President; Francisco García Rojas.

Manuel Sanguily Association (Asociación Manuel Sanguily)

Based In: Havana
Officers: Milton Galeano Matos, President;

Luis Manuel Hernández, Vice-President.

Quintín Banderas Association (Asociación Quintín Banderas)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Rubén Foley, President; Enrique Rodríguez Hernández, Vice-President.

Serafín Sánchez Association (Asociación Serafín Sánchez)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Luis González Vargas, President; Julio González García, Vice-President.

Vicente García Association (Asociación Vicente García)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Pedro Mas Flores, President; Armando Morejón Suárez, Vice-President; Encarnación Núñez Hernández, General Secretary.

Cuban American Medical Association (Asociación Médica Cubano Americana)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Dr. Jesús Carlos Barcala Villalba, President.

Cuban Civic Movement (Corriente Cívica Cubana)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Félix Antonio Bonne Carcasés, General Coordinator; Félix Díaz Cáceres, Spokesperson (in prison).

National Unity Front (Frente de Unidad Nacional)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Pedro Armenteros, President (in prison)

Mariana Grajales Humanitarian Front (Frente Humanitario Mariana Grajales)

Based In: Centro Habana

Officers: Guillermina Acuña Herrera, President; Alicia Fernández, Vice-President.

Sons and Daughters for the Love of Country and Freedom (Hijos por el Amor a la Patria y la Libertad)

Based In: Havana

Officers: David Abreu, President

José Martí Civic League (Liga Cívica Martiana)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Miguel Aldana Ruiz, President

Antonio Maceo Youth League (Liga Juvenil Maceista)

Based In: Centro Habana

Officers: Marcelino Acuña, President

The 6th of September Democratic Youth Movement (Movimiento Jóvenes por la Democracia 6 de Septiembre)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Tito Rodríguez

Independent Medical Council (Consejo Médico Independiente)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Dr. Rosendo Galván Tamayo, President; Dr. José Luis González Hernández.

Cuban Triangle Movement (Movimiento Triángulo Cubano)

Based In: Havana

Officers: José Manuel Rodríguez Santana, President; José Antonio Rodríguez Espartaco, Vice-President.

Cuban Human Rights Party (Partido Cubano de Derechos Humanos)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Virgilio del Llano Pérez, President; Francisco Pérez Méndez, Vice-President; Angel Blas González.

CUBAN DEMOCRATIC CONCERTATION (CONCERTACION DEMOCRATICA CUBANA)

Pro Human Rights in Cuba Party (Partido Pro Derechos Humanos en Cuba)

Based In: Centro Habana

Officers: Carlos Orozco, General Secretary

Christian Democratic Movement (Movimiento Demócrata Cristiano)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Dra. María Valdés Rosado, President; Enrique Rodríguez Muñoz; Vice-President; José Antonio Sánchez; Dra. Adalia Ballester

The Harmony Movement (Movimiento Armonía)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Gustavo Cardero Rodríguez; Leónidas Pentón; Manuel Manrique; Yndamiro Restano (in prison); María Elena Aparicio (in prison).

Christian Pro Freedom and Faith Brotherhood (Hermandad Pro Derechos Cristianos Libertad y Fe)

Based In: Miramar, Havana

Officers: María Celina Rodríguez, President; Esther Arbolay; José de la Torre Romero

Federalist Party (Partido Federalista)

Based In: Playa Municipality, Havana

Officers: Luis Octavio Ibarra, President

Homeland Radical Union Party (Partido Unión Radical Patria)

Based In: Centro Habana

Officers: Gustavo Cano Escobar, President; Estrella García; William Pena Hernández; Renato Aguilera; Patricia Martín; José Pérez de la Fe; Claribel González; Rolando Martínez.

INDEPENDENT GROUPS (GRUPOS INDEPENDIENTES)

José Martí Liberty, Equality and Fraternity Association (Asociación Martiana Libertad, Igualdad y Fraternidad)

Based In: Centro Habana

Officers: Emilio Mondelo, President; Jesús Díaz; Esther Otaño Portal; René Montero Garay.

Armando Torres Treto Liberty Association (Asociación Martiana Armando Torres Treto)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Gonzalo González Rivera, President

Fighters for the Freedom and Independence of Cuba (Luchadores por la Libertad y la Independencia de Cuba)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Carmen Arias, President (in prison)

Nationalist Agenda (Agenda Nacionalista)

Based In: El Cotorro, Havana

Officers: Mariano González Bravo, President; Horacio Casanova; Gustavo Núñez.

Civic Forum (Foro Cívico)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Delia Espino, President; Francisco Núñez Batista; Caridad Núñez.

Cuban Foundation for Human Rights (Fundación Cubana por los Derechos del Hombre)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Raúl Valderrama, President

Pro Free Art Association (Asociación Pro Arte Libre [APAL])

Based In: Centro Habana

Officers: Gladys González Noy, President; Ana María Guerra Hernández; Vice-President; Isabel Suárez Ojito; Executive Secretary; Roberto Telles Robinson; General Coordinator; Gladys Castellanos Ruiz, Humanitarian Affairs; Adalberto Guerra Hernández; General Secretary.

Free Cuba Radical and Democratic Group (Agrupación de Radicales y Demócratas Cuba Libre)

Based In: El Cerro, Havana

Officers: Elizardo San Pedro, President; Carlos Santana; Angel Rodríguez González; Mercedes Pedroso Llanes; Carmen Solar.

Change 2000 (Cambio 2000)

Based In: Havana

Officers: Carlos Ríos, President

Democratic Workers Confederation (Confederación de Trabajadores Democráticos)

Based In: Centro Habana

Officers: Juan Guarino Martínez Guillén, President; Adolfo Miranda.

Workers Groups for the Homeland (Grupos Obreros Patria)
Based In: El Cotorro, Havana
Officers: María Elena Bayo, President

National Civic Union (Unión Cívica Nacional)
Based In: La Víbora, 10th of October Municipality, Havana
Officers: Marcel de la Cruz Mitjans; General Secretary; Pablo Reyes (in prison); Dr. Omar del Pozo (in prison); Vilma Fernández Batista; Alexis Carrión Sánchez; Orlando Pedrera; Leonardo Predes; Pedro Grosso Valle; Pablo Salas Amaro.

Leonor Pérez Women's Committee for Amnesty for Political Prisoners (Comité de Mujeres Pro Amnistía a Presos Políticos Leonor Pérez)
Based In: San Miguel del Padrón, Havana
Officers: Angela de la Coba, President

Workers Trade Union Movement (Unión Sindical de Trabajadores)
Based In: Havana
Officers: Rafael Gutiérrez

Cuban Workers' General Union (Unión General de Trabajadores Cubanos [UGTC])
Based In: Centro Habana
Officers: Lázaro Corp; General Secretary; Berenice Morales; Lázaro Cuesta.

Cuban Patriotic Alliance (Alianza Patriótica Cubana)
Based In: Havana
Officers: Horacio Casanova, President

Democratic and Civic Action (Acción Cívica y Democrática)
Based In: Havana
Officers: Jorge López

Cuban Hostages Association (Asociación de Rehenes de Cuba)
Based In: Havana
Officers: Nidia Cartaya, President; Marlon

Arroyo Martínez; Flores García Castañeda.

The Golden Age Association (Asociación La Edad de Oro)
Based In: Havana
Officers: Nelson Cruz Cabrera; Vice-President

José Martí Committee for the Rights of Man (Comité Martiano por los Derechos del Hombre)
Based In: Havana
Officers: Pablo del Pilar Nápoles Pérez

Camagüey Patriotic Committee (Comité Patriótico Camagüeyano)
Based In: Camagüey City, Camagüey
Officers: Ignacio Loynaz

Ignacio Agramonte Committee for the Freedom of Cuba (Comité por la Libertad de Cuba Ignacio Agramonte)
Based In: Camagüey City, Camagüey
Officers: José García Reyes; Marco Ochoa Mena; Romelia Beltrán Gil.

Democracy in Cuba Rescue Committee (Comité por el Rescate de la Democracia en Cuba)
Based In: Havana
Officers: Ciro Mojica Calderín

Cuban Foundation for the Rights of Man (Fundación Cubana por los Derechos del Hombre)
Based In: Havana
Officers: David de los Santos Castaño

Cuban Democratic Movement of Pinar del Río (Movimiento Democrático Cubano de Pinar del Río)
Based In: Pinar del Río
Officers: Iván Barrios Vallecillo, President

Human Rights Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata de Derechos Humanos)
Based In: Havana
Officers: Roberto Hernández



VIEWS OF THE OPPOSITION INSIDE CUBA TODAY



María Celina Rodríguez of the Christian Pro Freedom and Faith Brotherhood with her son in Havana recently.



Carlos Orozco Torres is Secretary General of the Pro Human Rights in Cuba Party.



Alexis Carrión, 24 year-old young man that heads up the opposition youth movement as an activist in the National Civic Union.



Joel Mesa Morales, currently imprisoned by the Castro dictatorship for political motives, is Vice-President of the José Martí National Human Rights Commission.



Alberto Perera is President of the Peace, Progress and Liberty Committee of the Cuban Democratic Coalition.



Luis Gustavo Domínguez, Secretary for Art and Culture of the Peace, Progress and Liberty Committee, is presently in prison on account of his political opposition to the Castro regime.



THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION INSIDE CUBA: AN URGENT REPORT

*(This report was prepared by the **Foundation for Human Rights in Cuba**, a project of the Cuban American National Foundation, and was presented to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, in February of 1993.)*



Yamilet Hernández of the Solidarity and Democracy Women's Movement with her two sons in Havana. She holds in her hand a photograph of her husband Daniel Aspillaga Lombard, arrested on September 6, 1991, for organizing a peaceful protest in front of Castro's secret police headquarters at Villa Marista in Havana.



Joel Dueñas Martínez, member of the opposition Solidarity and Peace Pacifist Movement, presently imprisoned. He is epileptic, diabetic and suffers from hypertension. As punishment for his opposition, the Castro regime will not give him medicine for these diseases. His mother, Evarista Martínez, has constantly called upon world public opinion

to pressure the Castro regime to provide adequate medical care for her son while in prison. As a reprisal, he has been transferred various times from prison to prison and forced into special punishment cells.



Amador Blanco Hernández, a university professor, is President of the José Martí National Human Rights Commission. He is presently imprisoned in Castro's State Security headquarters in Santa Clara and is recovering from a prolonged hunger strike in protest of his arbitrary incarceration.



Orlando Patricio Domínguez de la Coba is one of the new "plantado" political prisoners, those who refuse to regime's "rehabilitation" programs. He lost an arm while imprisoned due to the regime's intentional lack of adequate medical care.

INTRODUCTION

For Cuba, the decade of the 60s represented executions, overcrowded political prisons, exile in massive numbers, and Fidel Castro's total success in silencing any criticism of this situation.

The early 70s signaled the first attempts to bring the tragedy of the Cuban people before world public opinion.

In 1987, the topic of human rights violations in Cuba was presented at the United Nations and the world began to get a glimpse of the horrendous system of terror, persecution, vigilance and violence with which Castro silences the people on the island.

In the same way that the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet Union revealed to the world the abuses and the horrors of life under Communism, only after the Cuban people are able to live in democracy will humanity learn of the full extent of the tragedies lived in these 34 years of Castro's tyranny.

In the meantime, this report provides

in summary form a partial look at the tragedy of Cuba today.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CUBA

During the past two years, the United Nation's Commission on Human Rights approved resolutions (1991/68 and 1992/61) naming a Special Rapporteur to investigate *in situ* the violations of human rights and basic liberties in Cuba.

The Castro regime has ignored these decisions of the United Nations with the deliberate purpose of hiding the tragic situation in which Cubans live.

The first evidence of the degree of desperation felt by Cubans is the constant flow to the Bahamas, Grand Cayman Island and the Florida coasts of thousands of people (2203 in 1991 and 2557 in 1992), usually aboard rustic rafts made of wood or on innertubes which scarcely float. The phrase "I would rather die than continue living in Cuba" fully explains the reason for the magnitude and increasing number of people (including women and children)

who undertake a suicidal voyage where only one out of four manage to reach freedom safely.

This phenomenon of escapes in rafts, as well as the record number of deaths at sea, is without precedent in the world. This report seeks to summarize the current situation in Cuba while, at the same time, alert world public opinion, so that, in solidarity with the Cuban people, the world can demand the end of the official policy of terror and repression imposed by Fidel Castro.

A) *The right to life and due process of law*

In Cuba, the separation of powers into the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government as understood in most democratic nations, does not exist. The judicial power is in reality a judicial-political body in which political and ideological loyalty to the Castro regime is an indispensable requirement for judges, lawyers and judicial personnel. Judges are required to become part of the political organizations of the State, the so-called "Organizations of the Masses." Likewise, the degree of political integration of the accused is a key element in determining his/her guilt or innocence.

In Castro's Cuba, the private practice of law is prohibited. Hence, all lawyers work for the public law firms of the State. The accused have no say in the choice of who will be their defense attorney. This privilege belongs to the head of the "collective" law firm, who in turn is a political functionary of the State. Another serious problem is that lawyers do not wish to represent defen-

dants in political cases, generally referred to as "counter-revolutionaries," because doing so in a professional and honest manner leaves them open to suspicion of "treason" with the corresponding consequences.

Trial by jury is non-existent in Cuba. The judge, generally a member of the Communist Party, is the one who decides guilt or innocence as well as the sentence imposed. It is easy to understand how a citizen that does not favor the Castro regime would have a difficult time receiving a fair and impartial trial. Prison sentences, particularly in political cases, are used as an effective tool of repression and fear. The severity of the sentence is dependent upon the political objectives or goals of the regime at that particular moment. The death penalty, known as "paredón" for the usual manner in which the condemned are placed in front of a wall (pared) and shot by a firing squad, has been widely used in Cuba since it was established by Fidel Castro in 1959. All the cemeteries in the principal cities have a specially designated area, located at the rear, for burying the bodies of those executed. The Ministry of the Interior controls these common graves which bear no inscription or other means of identification. The families of the executed are not allowed to view the bodies or hold wakes. The final resting place of their loved ones remains a jealously guarded secret by the political police, or State Security, for years.

According to experts and researchers involved in Cuban affairs, the number of people executed in Cuba for political reasons during Fidel Castro's government exceeds 10,000. This amount is

equivalent to practically one execution per day for the 34 years his regime has remained in power.

Another indication of the deliberate use of the death penalty for political purposes and instilling terror is that, of the 21 articles in the Cuban Penal Code which define crimes punishable by death, 18 are political in nature.

The recent case of Eduardo Díaz Betancourt, arrested immediately after entering the island on December 29, 1991, is an eloquent example. Díaz Betancourt was sentenced to death and executed on January 20, 1992, barely a month after his arrest. The regime alleged that he had planned to sabotage factories of importance for national production, but he never actually undertook any action nor was even discovered with explosives of any kind.

An important aspect in all of this is that the intent to commit a crime is subject to punishment only when dealing with possible crimes against the security of the State – that is to say, only when the potential crime is political in nature. This is how it is set up in Article 12 of the Cuban Penal Code.

B) *Freedom of assembly*

Although the Castro regime created the "Law of Assembly," in practice it is a dead letter. Up to now, the regime has not responded to even one request for the registration of a human rights organization or an independent labor union. Therefore, all these associations or groups are considered illegal despite their compliance with all the requirements of Castro's laws.

By classifying the human rights orga-

nizations as illegal, the State attempts to invalidate the accusations and evidence these groups present.

Repression against members of these pro-human rights groups is carried out by means of threats, job dismissal, reprisals against family members, beatings, arrests and even incarceration on trumped-up charges. At this very moment, several dozen human rights leaders are jailed in Cuba. This is duly documented in reports by international human rights organizations such as AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, as well as in reports presented by the United Nation's official representatives and Special Rapporteurs for Cuba, Ambassadors Rafael Rivas Posada and Carl Johan Groth.

C) *Freedom of speech and freedom of the press*

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are completely curtailed in Cuba.

The official legislation put forth in the so-called "Socialist Constitution" establishes through Articles 52 and 61 that all mass communication media (radio, TV, cinema, magazines and newspapers) are exclusive property of the State and their primary function is to promote "Socialism." Therefore, any information or news not in line with official policy is suppressed.

Former chief correspondent in Mexico of the official Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina, Mr. Roberto Casín, has provided an important testimony in which he describes the censorship and control the regime maintains on Cuban journalists and all information

published or broadcast, as well as the double standard used for information intended for internal versus external consumption.

In Cuba, the only possible means of expressing discontent is through the spoken word or through the writing of graffiti on walls, both of which are punishable by law. These forms of expression, as well as listening to foreign radio stations or speaking to foreigners, lead to prison in Castro's Cuba.

Threats, expulsion, and even physical aggression are perpetrated even against foreign reporters or correspondents who choose to report human rights violations in Cuba.

D) Freedom of Movement

The right of every citizen to leave and re-enter his country freely is recognized and respected by almost all countries. Even the military and authoritarian regimes of Latin America have generally respected this right. In Cuba, Fidel Castro's regime reserves the right to determine which citizen may or may not leave or return to the country. Without any regulations to define the awarding of exit permits, the decision is purely arbitrary and based on political motives. The Obligatory Military Service forbids any young man between the ages of 15 and 27 from leaving the country. Even after completing military service, men of this age group are still not allowed to leave Cuba. Professionals (college graduates) also encounter a similar situation and are not permitted to leave the country except on official business. This regulation applies as well to citizens engaged in the fields of the humanities,

such as music, arts and literature, as well as politics and sports, etc. The case of Mario Chanes de Armas, who fought for the triumph of the revolution alongside Fidel Castro is well known. Chanes, the longest-serving political prisoner in the modern world, was jailed for 30 years. Although Mario holds entry visas to several countries, the Castro regime does not allow him to leave the island to join his family in exile, making him a virtual hostage.

Any Cuban citizen in exile who wishes to visit family in Cuba must request a Visa from the Castro regime as if he were a foreigner. The Castro regime also reserves the right to refuse any of these requests and actually does so quite frequently.

As a matter of fact, in Cuba all citizens are treated as State property. Any person, whether a musician, athlete, state commerce employee, civil pilot or journalist who travels abroad for work-related reasons and takes advantage of the opportunity to request political asylum, is immediately classified by Cuban authorities as a "traitor." This "brand" means that his family will not be allowed to leave Cuba and will remain hostage on the island. This cruel, inhuman and illegal procedure is also duly documented before the United Nation's Special Rapporteur for Cuba, Mr. Carl Johan Groth.

At the same time, there is also the case of those discovered attempting to flee the Island. Cuban jails are full of mostly young people who, despite being tried by courts linked to the State Security political apparatus, are treated like common criminals and jailed with them. The sentences dictated against

those caught trying to escape Cuba are also abusively extreme, arbitrary and dependent upon the current status of the Castro regime's international relations. The right to move about freely within national boundaries meets with a similar fate. Any citizen wishing to change his place of residence within the island must request permission from the authorities.

E) Freedom of religion

In Cuba, there is no official ban on freedom of religion nor has there been a massive closing of churches, with the exception of those belonging to the religious sect, Jehovah's Witnesses. However, the expulsion from Cuba of dozens of Catholic priests in 1961, in addition to the government's refusal to allow new priests to enter, has forced the Catholic Church to close down numerous houses of worship. The form of repression utilized against the Church has been much more subtle. For students and workers, the practice of a religion constitutes a "blot" or political sin which translates to unofficial prohibitions. For example, practicing Catholics (or members of other religions) are excluded from teaching positions, and their access to technical schools or universities is extremely limited in some cases and completely forbidden in others. The religious denomination of each citizen is listed on his personal identification card to be carried at all times. Notations are also made regarding one's work and academic records. Yet another entry in these records refers to the person's religious and political activities.

Other important aspects of religious

freedom such as missionary work, private religious education, radio stations and the free circulation of and access to religious literature, are not permitted in Cuba. Generally speaking, churches are only granted certain permissions and concessions, but enjoy no recognized rights. The official policy of the Castro regime is also felt throughout the national system of education which is compulsively Marxist-Leninist, materialistic and atheist. Until last year, Cuba was officially an atheist state. Another significant feature of education in Cuba is that by law, parents are forbidden from instilling in their children ideas which differ from those enforced at school by the State.

F) The right to employment, education and housing

Over the years, the Castro regime has undertaken an intense propaganda barrage based on its so-called successes in the fields of health and education. The primary purpose of this propaganda is to hide the severe violations of the rights and liberties of Cuba's citizens, including the discrimination the regime practices against the overall population in those very fields of health and education.

Political integration in the State's organizations is an indispensable requirement in order for a student to have access to universities or technical schools. In similar fashion, all students from high school on up are required to participate in forced agricultural labor and in the military exercises that the regime frequently practices. Refusal to collaborate leads to expulsion from

school or severe limitation of educational ambitions.

In Cuba there are two health care systems. One – which is excellent – is reserved exclusively for tourists, foreign guests, dignitaries and high ranking members of the Communist Party and the regime. This system boasts of having its own hospitals and clinics, most notably the CIMEQ, the Cira Garcia, the Miramar and several floors of the Ameijeiras Brothers Hospital. The other system – which is mediocre at best – is known for the perennial scarcity of medicines and technical services for diagnostic purposes, and is reserved for the rest of the general population, the overwhelming majority.

As owner of all of the nation's means of production and services, the State is the sole employer and imposes political integration as a prerequisite for obtaining employment. Furthermore, the State demands loyalty in the political conduct of workers. The decreed Law 34 of March 12, 1984, states that improper political conduct is grounds for job dismissal. Resolution 1B of February 9, 1990, known as the Law of Suitability (Ley de Idoneidad), allows the regime to dismiss a worker who does not exhibit the "proper" political attitude.

Cuban workers are not granted the right to strike or form independent unions.

The construction of housing is an exclusive attribute of the State. By official mandate, the apartments that are built are assigned according to the political "merits" of the applicant. The possibility of acquiring an apartment traps aspiring citizens in a tangled web of requirements that go beyond merely the

bureaucratic to include hour upon hour of "voluntary" labor. Thus, the hope of obtaining a decent place to live becomes an unattainable illusion for any citizen who does not have a high degree of political integration. The above is also true with respect to the possibility of obtaining household appliances such as refrigerators, televisions, fans, etc., so indispensable for modern living.

G) Discrimination as an official instrument of the State

The best hotels, restaurants and stores in the island are reserved for tourists, foreign dignitaries, high-ranking members of the Communist Party and officials of the Castro regime. The Cuban people are prohibited from entering these restricted areas.

The inferior economic purchasing power of the Cuban people, and thus their power of consumption, is equal to that of only the most backward countries of the world. The ration card issued by the regime, which controls the amount of food, clothing and household items a citizen is allowed to purchase, demonstrates the severe restrictions the Cuban people are subject to since 1962 and enables the regime to divert the goods produced by the nation to the tourism industry. Today, in the country once known as the "Sugar Capital of the World", only one pound of sugar is sold to each person per month. Milk is sold only to children under 7 years of age, and bread – limited to one roll made of flour and sweet potato per person per day – weighs 60 grams. Cubans are sold one ounce of coffee every 15 days. Meat has not been sold since August

1991. For more than 6 months, the population has not been able to purchase onions, garlic or tomatoes. Rice, a staple of the Cuban diet, is rationed at the rate of 2 ounces per day. Beans, when available, are rationed to 5 grams per person. The principal means of sustenance for the population is now ground soybeans sold at the rate of 1 pound per person every 45 days. Nevertheless, the stores exclusively for tourists and the Castro elite, known as "diplotiendas," experience no scarcities nor rationing of any kind.

Foreigners are permitted to invest, own businesses and undertake commercial transactions in convertible foreign currency, while the citizens of Cuba – on their own soil – are strictly prohibited from engaging in any such economic activities.

The most elegant residential zones, known as "frozen zones," are reserved for the exclusive use of foreigners and high-ranking officials of the Castro regime. Outside of these zones, the dwelling places of the Cuban people are in ruin and disrepair while the government looks on with total indifference.

A citizen's ability to produce works of art, or otherwise express themselves culturally or artistically, also depends on their degree of political integration and loyalty to the regime.

H) Police Impunity


The epicenter of all the arbitrariness, discrimination, vigilance, control and lack of rights and liberties are the corps (State Security, paramilitary forces and police) that make up Castro's repressive apparatus, who play their role to perfec-

tion thanks to the complete impunity granted them by the State to assault and even kill without legal consequences of any kind. Never has a police agent or a paramilitary henchman been prosecuted for a crime or for brutality in Castro's Cuba. The so-called "Acts of Repudiation" the State carries out against human rights activists, where mobs organized by the regime physically and verbally assault defenseless citizens, have no equal in any country. Correspondence in Cuba is opened and even destroyed without so much as an explanation. Telephone conversations are monitored or cut-off according to the whim of the authorities. Those arrested are not permitted access to attorneys or may be kept incommunicado indefinitely. Various methods of torture are practiced on the detainees, including the use of drugs. Reference to this practice was made by two leading members of the opposition group Unión Cívica Nacional (National Civic Union), Pablo Reyes Martínez and Omar del Pozo Marrero, who are currently serving prison sentences of 8 and 15 years respectively, for their peaceful activism.

CONCLUSIONS

The indifference of the world regarding the plight of the Cuban people is a crime of inhumanity. Only the active participation of governments and international institutions demanding that the Castro regime put an end to this terrible situation and comply with the principles of human rights, will bring hope to a people who feel the world has forsaken them.





THE COMMITMENT OF MORE THAN A DECADE: CANF AND THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN CUBA

by Mirta Iglesias

"Freedom is the right of all people to live honorably, and to think and speak without hypocrisy."

—José Martí

To alleviate the terrible and desperate situation of Cuba's political prisoners and to condemn the Communist regime of Fidel Castro for the constant and systematic violations of the human rights of the Cuban people have been central objectives in the plans of the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF). Since its inception in 1981, the Foundation has been informing international human rights organizations and those who create world public opinion, such as the media, think tanks and universities, on the abuses that the Castro regime commits against its own people. In addition, the Foundation has worked diligently to isolate the Castro regime and have it condemned as illegitimate by the international community.

In its early days, the Foundation approached VIPs that intended to visit Castro's Cuba and presented them with lists of Cuban political prisoners, requesting at the same time that the visitors intercede on their behalf by soliciting their freedom. Many were freed thanks to these efforts.

The Foundation helped former political prisoner Armando Valladares in the publication of his now classic book Against All Hope that quickly became an international best-seller. This work was instrumental in changing the favorable view of the Castro regime that existed in the mid-1980s among

certain sectors of public opinion. The Foundation also helped Mr. Valladares organize the International Coalition of Committees for Human Rights in Cuba, based in Madrid, Spain, with offices in numerous countries, an effort that was coordinated with the support of Mari Paz Martínez Nieto. Later, CANF highly recommended Mr. Valladares to President Ronald Reagan for the position of United States Ambassador at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, a recommendation which the then-President accepted beginning in 1987.

This strategy suddenly converted Geneva into the focal point for the defense of the people of Cuba from the unrelenting attacks of Castro's totalitarian oppression. To participate at the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva was equivalent to taking the message of the Cuban people to the highest authority in the world that oversaw the issue of human rights. There, the world would finally have to listen, to hear the arguments of those who had suffered and were suffering under the Castro dictatorship, a reality that had successfully been hidden from view by Castro's propaganda machine for nearly three decades and had created a climate of world public opinion that thought of Castro's Cuba as a "socialist paradise." For this reason, every year since 1987, the Foundation has sent delegations to Geneva to provide to the representatives of the nations of the world first-hand testimonies of the tragedy and horrors suffered by the people of Cuba. Needless to say, this

dramatic project has required a substantial investment of time, effort, human resources and funding.

The support that the Cuban American National Foundation provided to the American delegation in Geneva – under the capable leadership of Ambassador Armando Valladares who played a significant role during his years as the delegation's top representative – and the firm commitment of the government of the United States to condemn Fidel Castro for violating the human rights of the Cuban people have been key elements in the series of diplomatic defeats that the Cuban dictator suffered at this international forum. As an integral part of this strategy in support of human rights in Cuba, the Foundation has coordinated, with the help of former Cuban political prisoners and thousands of volunteers worldwide, international human rights vigils, hunger strikes, the publication of open letters in the principal newspapers of the countries of Latin America that are members of the UN Commission on Human Rights, as well as visits to Presidents, Prime Ministers and high level officials of these nations in an effort to sway their votes at the UN in favor of the people of Cuba who daily confront the injustices of Castro's repressive system.

Our work in Geneva is only one aspect of a series of activities that the Foundation has coordinated in defense of human rights in Cuba over the years. For example, the Foundation contributed substantial financial support for the acclaimed documentary **Nobody Listened** and supported the international tribunals that were set up in Paris and Denmark by Armando Valladares, where intellectuals from a variety of countries publicly condemned the Castro regime for its abuses against the Cuban people.

During the Ibero-American Summit in Madrid in July of 1992, in which the heads of state of all of the nations of Latin America and Spain participated, the Foundation presented there the Cuba: Land of Tears and Sorrow exhibition. This exhibit re-created the cells, prisons and firing squads of Castro's repressive system and was accompanied by many men and women

who had been political prisoners, who provided first-hand testimony on Castro's Communist regime in Cuba. The exhibit coincided with Fidel Castro's visit to Madrid for the Summit and had a tremendous impact on public opinion in Spain and internationally.

During the last few years, the Foundation has been at the forefront of the effort to obtain international recognition for the growing internal opposition movement in Cuba, headed by the Cuban Democratic Coalition. This recognition is essential in order to protect and give hope to those Cubans on the island who, unarmed and through peaceful means, confront the rage of Castro's entire repressive apparatus, so that they will know that they are not alone and that the international community supports their struggle and is in solidarity with them.

As a result of the tremendous amount of work that the CANF has invested for over a decade on the issue of human rights in Cuba and due to the phenomenal increase in the amount of information on human rights violations provided by more than 60 opposition groups in Cuba who use **The Voice of the Foundation** as a broadcast medium back to the island, in December of 1992, the CANF established the **Foundation for Human Rights in Cuba**. This project is coordinated by Luis Zúñiga, a former political prisoner for over 19 years who has been very actively involved in the Geneva effort, and consolidates all of the different CANF programs in the human rights area.

Our work in the field of human rights, a constant and uninterrupted labor of love for over 12 years, is an example of what we want for Cuba, and at the same time, is the dream of all Cubans of good will: a free and prosperous homeland; without any more bloodshed, without political prisoners or exiles, without misery or injustice, without the hatred created over 34 years of dictatorship. And in the hope of reaching this noble ideal, the Cuban American National Foundation reaffirms its commitment to the freedom of Cuba and its people.





Luis Zúñiga, Executive Director of the Foundation for Human Rights in Cuba, a project of the CANF, alongside Ambassador Armando Valladares in Geneva, Switzerland, at the 1989 session of the UN Commission on Human Rights.



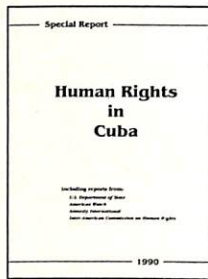
Roberto Martín Pérez, former political prisoner for 28 years and now a Director of the Cuban American National Foundation, reads some of the names of the thousands of Cubans executed by firing squad by the Castro regime during the International Human Rights Vigil the CANF coordinated in over 20 cities in Europe, Latin America and North America in support of the United States resolution condemning the Castro regime in Geneva in 1992.



Open letters to the Presidents and peoples of Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, Peru and Mexico which were published in the principal newspapers of these countries, asking that their governments support the U.S. resolution at the UN Commission on Human Rights in favor of the human rights of the people of Cuba and against the Castro dictatorship.



Luis Zúñiga surprises the Castro delegation during proceedings at the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva in 1989, exhibiting photographs of the "tapiada" cells, welded shut with steel planks, that the Castro dictatorship uses to punish its political opponents, immediately after Castro's representatives had denied the existence of such cells.



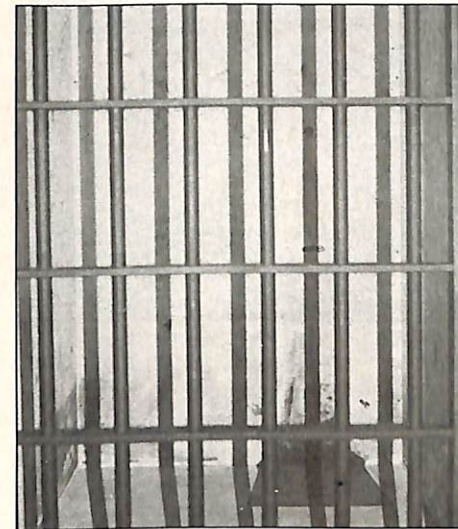
Human rights reports on Cuba published and distributed by the Cuban American National Foundation to inform the media, universities, research centers, Congressmen, Senators, heads of state and government officials in the free world on the reality of Castro's Cuba.



Jorge Mas Canosa, CANF Chairman, presents Mari Paz Martínez Nieto, President of the Association for Continental Peace (ASOPAZCO), an award for her human rights work.



Former men and women political prisoners sponsored by the Cuban American National Foundation on a hunger strike in front of the United Nations building in New York during the Commission on Human Rights meeting in Geneva.



A reproduction of a cell from Castro's political prisons presented at the *Cuba: A Nation of Tears and Sorrow* exhibit in Madrid, Spain, in July of 1992 during Fidel Castro's visit to that country.



Ambassador Armando Valladares heading up the U.S. delegation at the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva.



Demonstration in front of the Consulate of Colombia in Miami, organized by the CANF in 1988. The demonstrators were requesting that the government of Colombia vote in favor of the U.S. resolution condemning the Castro regime at the UN Commission on Human Rights.



Former Cuban political prisoners in Miami on a hunger strike during the 1988 session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights offer their living testimony to world public opinion.



"We cannot continue living under a reactionary regime, when our aspirations and our culture demand a system of liberty and democracy."

—Juan Gualberto Gómez



FLORIDA'S GOVERNOR CHILES SIGNS INTO LAW "1993 FREE CUBA ACT"

Florida Governor Lawton Chiles signed into law the "1993 Free Cuba Act", recently approved by the Florida Legislature, during the Cuban American National Foundation's (CANF) annual Cuban Independence Day celebration in Miami on May 20. Over 1,200 Cuban exiles attended the ceremony.



Florida Governor Lawton Chiles signs the "1993 Free Cuba Act" in Miami on May 20, 1993, 91st anniversary of Cuba's independence.

The "1993 Free Cuba Act" prevents the State of Florida from subsidizing or investing in companies, institutions or businesses – nationally or internationally-based – that trade, grant credit, provide financial assistance or do business with the Castro dictatorship in Cuba and establishes corresponding penalties that include revoking or refusing to renew the occupational licenses of the businesses or organizations in question. These measures can greatly affect foreign companies that trade or invest in Castro's Cuba and also have subsidiaries in Florida.

In addition to the signing, Governor Chiles declared his staunch support for the freedom of Cuba and the necessity of establishing a democracy on the island. Federal Representative Robert Torricelli (D-FL), primary sponsor of the "Cuban Democracy Act" passed by the U.S. Congress in October of 1992, shared the podium with the Florida governor.

Congressman Torricelli emphasized the key role that this type of legislation plays in the future of Cuba, isolating the Castro dictatorship and preventing the regime from acquiring much needed hard currency for its repressive apparatus.

Jorge Mas Canosa, Chairman of the CANF, thanked Governor Chiles and Congressman Torricelli for their unwavering support for freedom and democracy in Cuba and, furthermore, congratulated State Representative Eladio Armesto García, sponsor of the bill, and the Dade County State Congressional delegation for promoting this important measure. Mr. Mas Canosa pointed out that the internal crisis that the Castro regime is presently experiencing is a sure sign that the dictatorship's days are counted and that he foresees an era of unprecedented prosperity for both Cuba and Florida after Castro is ousted from power.



Daniel Aspillaga Lombard (center with beard), President of the Solidarity and Peace Pacifist Movement, who was arrested on September 6, 1991, for coordinating a peaceful demonstration in front of Castro's secret police headquarters at Villa Marista in Havana requesting the release of all political prisoners, with Aurea Feria Cao (far right),

also presently incarcerated for political reasons, Yamilet Hernández (second from left), President of the Solidarity and Democracy Women's Movement, and other friends.



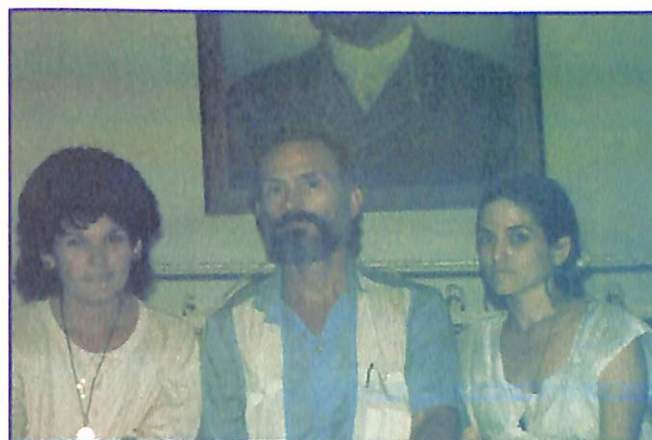
Pedro Armenteros, Labor Relations Coordinator for the National Unity Front. He was arrested on January 6, 1992, in the home of Angela Herrera

and is presently a political prisoner in the Quivicán jail in the province of Havana. Despite the fact that Mr. Armenteros has already been held for over one year, the Castro regime has yet to take him to trial. He was mentioned by former President George Bush in his newspaper article on the repression in Cuba in the summer of 1992.



Pablo Reyes Martínez of the National Civic Union was arrested on April 5, 1992, and condemned to 8 years in prison for being an independent journalist in

Cuba. Here he is accompanied by his wife Vilma Fernández, who continues the work which Mr. Reyes began.



(Left to right) Vilma Fernández of the National Civic Union, José Acosta Miyer of the Peace, Progress and Freedom Committee and Carmen Arias of Fighters for the Freedom and Independence of Cuba. Ms. Arias is presently serving a 5 year political prison term in the Women's Prison of the West, known as the "Black Cloak."



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