

# THE EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA Is Not Healthy

***FOR CHILDREN AND OTHER LIVING THINGS...***

**AND IT HURTS AMERICANS**

AN EXPLORATION OF THE HISTORY AND PRACTICE OF  
STARVING A SMALL NEIGHBORING NATION OF 11 MILLION PEOPLE  
BY JERRY A. SIERRA

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*Dedicated to all the Cuban families separated and kept apart by the will of the few*

Openings **4** |  
Cuban history: the short version **9** |  
Birth & life of the embargo **11** |  
Why we do it **15** |  
Support for Democracy **16** |  
Human Rights Violations **17** |  
Real reasons **18** |  
The cost: to the U.S. **22** / to Cuba **30** / to families **31** |  
Legislation **33** |  
The whole world opposes the embargo **38** |  
“This is not the way a rich and powerful country should  
behave towards a small neighbor” **40** |  
Closings **41** |

**APPENDICES:**

**A:** Embargo timeline **45** |  
**B:** UN General Assembly votes on the embargo **62** |  
**C:** Open Letter **64** |  
**D:** The embargo is not against Cuba **66** |  
**E:** Statement of Ralph and Filomena Kaehler **67** |  
**F:** Readings **71** |

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FROM A HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS,  
FOREIGN COMMERCE AND TOURISM, OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION  
US SENATE  
107<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION  
MAY 21, 2002



*“The United States is the single-largest provider of humanitarian food and medicine, donations, to Cuba, more than all the other countries combined. So we have nothing to be ashamed of.”*

**Otto Reich, Assistant Secretary of State  
for Western Hemisphere Affairs**

*“I have long supported maintaining our trade embargo against Cuba until Fidel Castro grants his people their basic rights. As long as the Cuban Government controls nearly all economic activity in Cuba, free trade cannot be the liberalizing force it has been elsewhere.”*

**John McCain, US Senator from Arizona**

# OPENINGS

THE REVITALIZED PREDILECTION FOR AMERICAN AGGRESSION of recent administrations has given many EUROPEAN and CENTRAL/SOUTH AMERICAN countries renewed concerns for their future, but a small neighboring country of 11.3 million people is not surprised by the recent increase in hostility, aggressions and violent posturing, having experienced it for most of the last half a century.

The *EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA* emerged shortly after the triumph of the *CASTRO BROTHERS* and the “bearded ones,” and has grown steadily in scope and legislation over the past five decades into one of the meanest and longest in history.

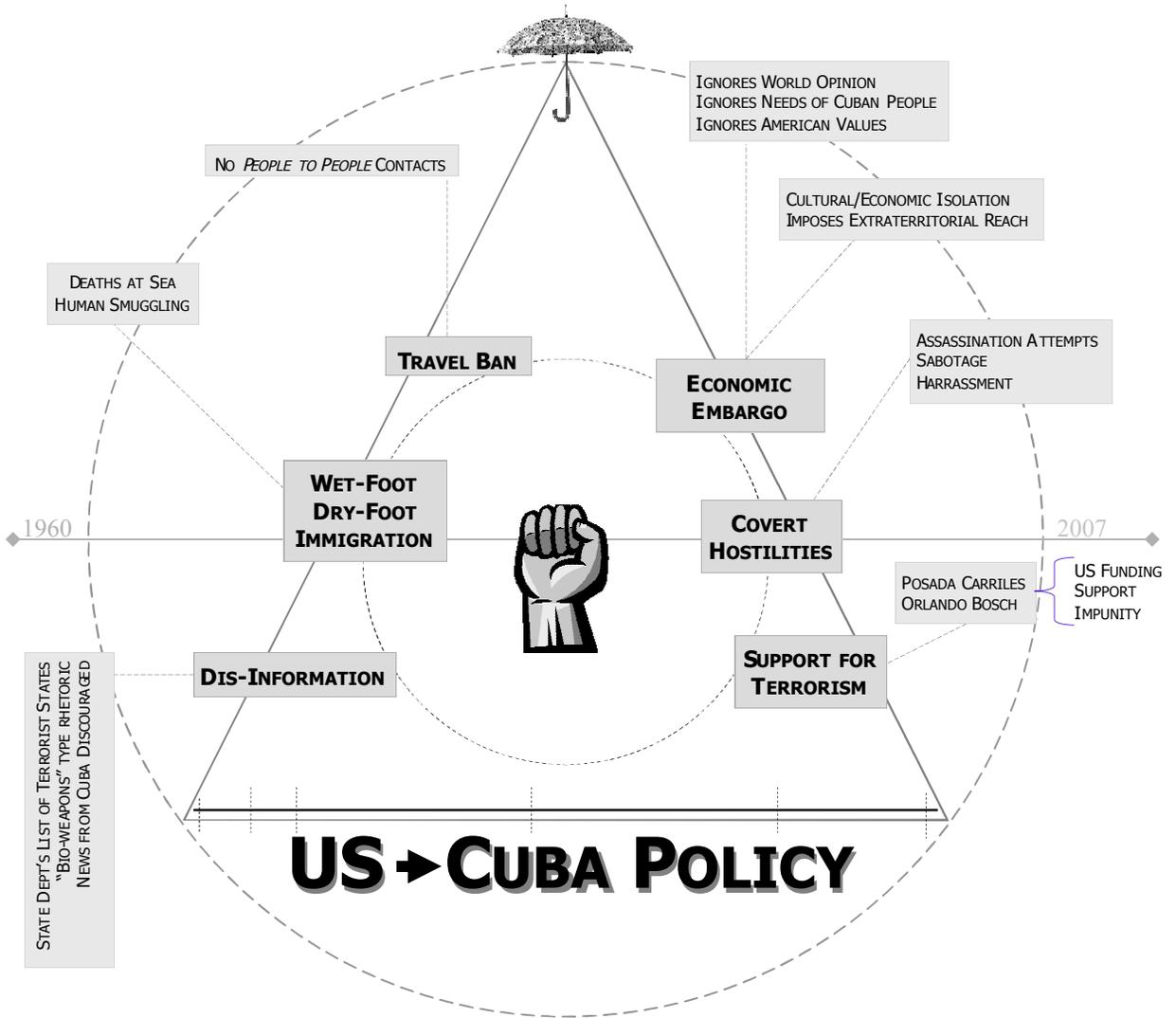
It is impossible to properly address the embargo without placing it within the full context of *US-CUBAN POLICY*, and its relationship to nearly 200 years of *US-CUBA HISTORY*.

The foreign policy umbrella under which the embargo exists includes a half-century of assassination attempts, direct and indirect support for terrorists and terrorist activities against the island, and a general lack of concern for the suffering of the Cuban people. Since 1960, the focus has been completely on Castro, with the Cuban people playing the role of casualties of war.

Shortly after the failure at Bay of Pigs, US policy toward Cuba became entrenched in the anti-Castro ideology that exists to this day. A report from the Department of State and the CIA’s Office of National Estimates, released to the President on May 2, 1961, (US, Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Volume X, Cuba, 1961-1963, Doc No. 194, Page 417) acknowledged that if “Castro were to be eliminated from the scene...” the regime might collapse. “On the other hand,” the memo added, “the bureaucracy may now be so firmly entrenched that it could operate without him.”

Three days later, at a meeting of the National Security Council (NSC), it was agreed that “possible economic sanctions against Castro should be carefully reviewed” (US, Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Volume X, Cuba, 1961-1963, Doc No. 203, Page 476).

That same day, at a meeting chaired by President Kennedy, the long-term policy towards Cuba officially emerged. It was agreed that “US policy should aim at



the downfall of Castro.” Planning for this began immediately, under the name Operation Mongoose.

“...it must be realized,” said another memo for the record (Doc 206, Pg. 484) “that the longer we delay in intervening in Cuba, the more strength Castro will have...”

Forty-five years later, our policy on Cuba is nothing but a reflection of efforts generated by men like **Richard Nixon**, **Dwight Eisenhower**, **J.F. Kennedy**, CIA Chief **John McCone**, **General Maxwell Taylor**, **General Edward Lansdale** and a handful of others who’ve left their taste for **COLD WAR** shenanigans as an imprint. Our standing immigration policy towards Cuba, for example, encourages illegal crossing of the dangerous waters known as the *FLORIDA STRAITS*, and is appropriately termed the “wet foot/dry foot” policy. The intended product of this carefully drafted policy is human piracy and deaths at sea, which make for solid “anti-Castro” news stories and rhetoric.

To maintain this level of wartime hostility against Cuba, the orchestrators (from **Nixon** and **Eisenhower** to the **Bushes**, the **Mas-Canosas** and their disciples) have carefully removed all perception of the Cuban people from the equation. The embargo is not against them (the masses) it is against Castro, the dictator, against the Castro regime, against repressive communism, and since the appearance of G.W. Bush, against the evil dictator.

In the early 1990s, at the time when the Soviet Union had dissolved and Cubans were without a major trading partner, the embargo got meaner, more entrenched in legalistic procedures and extraterritorial reach (first with the **CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT** of 1992, and then with the **HELMS-BURTON LAW** of 1996). With Cuba at her most vulnerable, this was the ideal time for the embargo to have “crushed Castro,” as promised by the armies of cold war fetishists that nurtured it. It only prolonged Cuban suffering. In time, the island was able to overcome this “special period.”

And yet a third and fourth example of the **COLD WAR** fetishism that guides US-Cuba policy is the travel ban, and the refusal to permit cultural or academic exchanges.



In his state of the union address to the American people on January 29 2002, President G.W. Bush referred to Cuba as a part of the “axis of evil” which included Iraq, Iran and North Korea. Never mind that there was no evidence whatsoever that Cuba should be on that list.

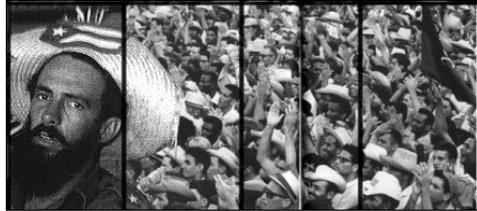
A few months later, Bush-appointed **AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, John Bolton**, said in a series of speeches that Cuba had “biological weapons” capabilities and was sharing them with “rouge nations.” Mr. Bolton repeated the charges on ten different occasions, without offering any evidence in support of his comments. The **Bush Administration** eventually backed away from the Bolton statements, unable to produce any intelligence that would even come close to validating any possible interpretation of the remarks. [It was later revealed that Mr. Bolton tried to have two **STATE DEPARTMENT** intelligence analysts reassigned after they would not support his charges against Cuba.]

Before a historic trip to Cuba in May 2002, ex-U.S. President **Jimmy Carter** consulted with senior US officials and was told there was no evidence to support Bolton’s allegations. In a public statement given in Havana from one of the biochemical facilities, President Carter revealed as much.

“Castro has built normal, peaceful diplomatic relations in the region,” wrote **Wayne Smith**, former chief of mission at the US Interests Section in Havana, in the November 1 2006 issue of the *Guardian*, pointing out that any threat posed by the so-called Cuban-Soviet alliance “ended with the demise of the Soviet Union more than a decade ago.”

The nearly 50-year old embargo (in place since President Kennedy’s administration) is as outdated as typewriter ribbon and carbon paper, and as effective, maintaining a cruel and hypocritical political stance that has no support from the American people and serves no other useful purpose except to keep alive the **COLD WAR** against the small neighboring island.

Embargoes are usually a war-time policy that employs human suffering and disease as political weapons with a simple logic; the lack of food and hope are supposed to rev-up the affected masses to the point where they implode into civil war and overthrow their government (or facilitate its demise). The common people, the ones with the least to say about the type of government they're now stuck with, are the ones who bear the blunt of the hunger and disease, after which the *orchestrators* march in to provide a *more suitable* type of government.



[If the embargo was successful, the outcome would be increased mass immigration, Cuban bloodshed, and use of U.S. military power in Cuba as a stabilizing factor, none of which are desirable by anyone other than the few Cuban-Americans forcing the embargo and negating any peaceful overtures between the two governments.]

Since **WWII**, economic sanctions have been imposed over 100 times, and more than 60 times since the early 1990s, but never in a time of peace, and with the intensity with which it is applied against Cuba.

In spite of the embargo, however, Cubans have maintained a high level of health care (higher than any country in South America) and the literacy rate in Cuba is 98% (higher than the state of Texas). Cuba has also developed one of the most promising pharmaceutical and biotechnological industries of the **THIRD WORLD**.

“If you want to let some light into the island,” said Cuban dissident **Elizard Sanchez**, “then don’t keep trying to keep all the windows shut.”

# CUBAN HISTORY: THE SHORT VERSION

THE 500-YEAR ACCOUNT OF A SMALL COUNTRY struggling to claim and keep its unique identity and independence from powerful, conquering countries continues to this day. For the first four-hundred years the dominant country was **SPAIN**. With the war for Cuban independence that ended in the summer of 1898 (the end of which is remembered as The Spanish American War) Spain was replaced by the U.S.

Since the 1820's, U.S. aristocracy has openly regarded Cuba as basically theirs, a "ripe fruit," as they put it, they couldn't quite grasp, but that "by divine right" should be theirs.

In 1823 Secretary of State **JOHN QUINCY ADAMS** made U.S. policy perfectly clear, "These islands (**CUBA** and **PUERTO RICO**) are natural appendages of the North American continent, and one of them (Cuba) almost within sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union... These are laws of political as well as physical gravitation."

By the late 1840's the U.S. government, dominated by slave-owners and eager for new territories, had its eyes set on Cuba. "We must have Cuba," said Secretary of State (later President) **JAMES BUCHANAN**. "We can't do without Cuba, and above all we must not suffer its transfer to Great Britain... Cuba is already ours, I feel it in my finger ends."



**PRESIDENT POLK**, in 1848, offered Spain \$100 million for Cuba. The offer went up to \$140 million in 1852. Both times Spain refused.

During Cuba's first war for separation, known as the **TEN YEAR WAR** (1868-78) the US House of Representatives voted to recognize the rebel government, but the political aristocracy of the time would not accept what they referred to as a "black republic" in "our own backyard." The Senate killed the idea of supporting Cuban independence (starting a trend that continues to this day in which the House votes for friendlier relations and the Senate opposes it).

After the **SPANISH-CUBAN AMERICAN WAR** in 1898, the U.S. took possession of Cuba and Puerto Rico, and began to force its ideals on Cuban society, imposing its will and appropriating a chunk of the island known as **GUANTÁNAMO BAY** (which they maintain 110 years later against the wishes of the Cuban nation). Until the Cuban revolution of 1959, U.S. interests maintained power through puppet governments and friendly dictators such as **FULGENCIO BATISTA**.



# BIRTH & LIFE OF THE EMBARGO

WHEN THE CUBAN REVOLUTION OF 1959 put a sudden and unexpected end to U.S. influence, the embargo emerged. Originally it was but a smokescreen meant to divert attention from the planned invasion at **BAY OF PIGS**. Announced by **Richard Nixon** in October 1960, it banned all U.S. exports to Cuba, except for food-stuffs, medicines, and medical/hospital supplies.

In January 1961 the US severed diplomatic relations with Cuba, and in mid-April the invasion at **BAY OF PIGS** took place. After the invasion's complete failure, and the pledge by Kennedy not to invade Cuba (after the **MISSILE CRISIS** of 1962) the embargo was all that legally remained.

The early years of the 1960s foretold a half-century of foreign policy towards the island, which has included: covert actions with CIA "cover" stories; support for Cuban-American terrorism against Cuban interests on the island, in the US, and in **LATIN AMERICA**; tax-payer funded radio/TV broadcasts at the island; the embargo; the travel ban, and repeated lies to the American people (which have now become a standard feature of presidential politics). And the resolve (set in stone) that coexistence is not an option we're willing to explore.

The fall of the **SOVIET UNION** thirty years later provided a great opportunity to reestablish peaceful relations. The **COLD WAR** was over, and Cuba suddenly found itself short on supplies and without its main trading partner. In the early months of 1993, the import of grains, wheat and edible oil alone cost the country an estimated \$1,329,876 above the market freight value.

Instead of reaching out to the Cuban people with a message of peace and friendship, the U.S. refocused and intensified its cold-war efforts. Over the next decade, the embargo was upgraded to what some refer to as a full blockade, reaching out aggressively to other countries, and adding medical supplies to the list of banned items.

With support from the CUBAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION (CANF), and vocal members of the Cuban-American community, a young and energetic **Robert Torricelli** authored the CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT, taking the embargo to the next level. In October 1992 Torricelli assured everyone that his legislation would lead to the removal of Castro “within weeks.”

The CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT turned up the heat on U.S.-Cuba relations, making the embargo against the Cuban population considerably meaner than any other U.S. embargo to date, including those against CHINA, NORTH KOREA, VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, UGANDA, IRAN, IRAQ and NICARAGUA. Even during the GULF WAR, the U.S. government exempted foods and medicines to the Iraq embargo for humanitarian reasons.

Many international institutions have pointed out that actions against Cuba constitute an illegal blockade, due to the overwhelming amount of legislation that supports it, and its arrogant attempt to make it illegal for other countries to do business with the island.

In March of '96 the CUBA LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY ACT, better known

as the HELMS-BURTON ACT, went much further, making it the meanest legislation of its kind ever imposed against a nation with which we are not at war.

Passed as a hasty retaliatory response to the destruction of two airplanes that violated Cuban airspace, the HELMS-BURTON ACT has made it more difficult to reach a peaceful resolution to our differences with Cuba, since it now requires two-thirds of Congress to remove any of the provisions of the embargo.

In a desperate bid for re-election, President **BILL CLINTON** gave up partial control of future events to Congress. This helped his short-term goal of returning to the White House for another term, but damaged the presidency and the country by giving up the leadership role in foreign policy towards Cuba.

This new legislation exceeded other embargoes by preventing the sale of food, medicine, medical supplies and instruments

to Cuba (at the time of the bill's passage, these items comprised over 90% of Cuban trade with U.S. subsidiaries), and by pun-



ishing foreign companies and individuals that “traffic” in Cuban properties owned by the U.S. before the revolution.

“The real objective of this bill is not to promote a so-called democratic government in Cuba,” said **Miguel Nuñez**, first secretary and deputy chief of the CUBAN INTERESTS SECTION in Washington DC. “It’s to try to increase the pressure against us, to see if they can push for a government in Cuba that accepts the dictates of Washington. And this cannot be so. This situation was closed in 1959.”

Retired U.S. NAVY REAR ADMIRAL EUGENE J. CARROLL, JR. , in his paper, “*FAULTY U.S. POLICY TOWARD CUBA*,” warns that “the real purpose of Helms-Burton is to prevent the peaceful resolution of outstanding issues with Cuba in order to bring about a violent outcome through punitive confrontational pressures.”

Through the years, conditions for ending the embargo have changed, becoming harsher and more demanding as we approached the end of the 20th century. The original demands, echoed by the REAGAN/BUSH administrations, stated that: 1) Cuba show greater respect for human rights, and 2) that Cuban troops be removed from Africa, where they had been since 1975 opposing the racist Apartheid regime.

Showcasing imperial arrogance, the HELMS-BURTON ACT stipulated that no resulting government that included FIDEL CASTRO or his brother RAÚL would be acceptable to the U.S. In other words, even if Cubans elected FIDEL CASTRO in a U.S.-style election, the embargo would stay in place. This is unprecedented in modern history, and many are openly baffled by the expressed authority. (Can one country pass a law about who can lead another country? Can we call this GROUCHO MARXISM?)

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Excuses for “el bloqueo” have changed over the five decades and nine US presidents.

In the beginning, it was the nationalization of land and oil companies that got the ball rolling, shortly after which the expropriation of US businesses and properties added new measures. Cuban support of Latin American socialist causes, and her association with the SOVIET UNION became the most important reason for a while. In the 1970s, Cuba’s support to the national liberation movements in Africa was the cause.

Then came the REAGAN/BUSH era, and foreign policy towards Cuba took a major step back into the ideology of manifest destiny.

“They keep moving the goal posts,” said Castro.



# Why We Do It

## IS CUBA A THREAT TO THE US?

In March of 1998, the **PENTAGON** concluded that Cuba posed no significant threat to U.S. national security. This was quickly retracted under orders from the **WHITE HOUSE**.

Twenty-eight years earlier, in a memo written by **Arthur Schlesinger**, Special Assistant to **President Kennedy** just prior to the **BAY OF PIGS** invasion, (“Foreign Relations of the United States, Volume X, Cuba, 1961-1963,” Doc No. 86, Page 196) Schlesinger states that “A great many people simply do not at this moment see that Cuba presents so grave and compelling a threat to our national security as to justify a course of action which much of the world will interpret as calculated aggression against a small nation in defiance both of treaty obligations and of the international standards we have repeatedly asserted against the Communist world.”

He adds that “...many people in the United States and probably most people outside the United States will—unless countermeasures are put into immediate play—see a vast gap between what they regard as the minor threat presented by a tiny nation of 7 million to the great United States and the massive response (i.e., the instigation of civil war and the overthrow of the government) proposed by the United States.”

As we wind down the first decade of a new millennium, the two main reasons cited for continuing the embargo are 1) Cuba’s lack of a democratic government, and 2) human rights violations.

President Bush’s “axis of evil” rhetoric seemed to feed the political hunger for anti-Cuba legislation, but made no lasting changes to the American people’s perception of US-Cuba policy.

For decades, however, the pretext for the hard-line against Cuba was the widely held perception that Cuba was a tool of the **SOVIET UNION** and thus a threat to national security. Actual reasons, however, are more likely to include a combi-

nation of history, traditional self-appointed-entitlement to treat Cuba like a Puerto Rico-like protectorate, and political influence from the CUBAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION (CANF) one of the most powerful interest groups in Washington.

Closer examination of our supposed reasons for maintaining the longest embargo in modern history reveal the sad fact that this issue represents the last stage where extremists and hard-liners can make a public display of toughness and take a nostalgic swipe at communism.

The all-or-nothing electoral college system under which the US president is chosen has played a major factor in maintaining the failed policy of economic hostility towards Cuba, as presidential candidates must pass through Florida, where ANTI-CASTROISM is almost a requirement, and support for peace with Cuba is considered “communistic.”

# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

There’s something so noble and poetic about the idea of “*SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY*,” that we often overlook the false pretext under which the term is applied to *THE CUBA QUESTION*. We tend to forget that **DEMOCRACY** is most effectively supported through peace, not hostility. Many countries lack democratic governments and yet we maintain open, friendly relations. Included in this group are **CHINA** (befriended by **Nixon**, of all people), **VIETNAM** and **KOREA**.

Another such country is **SAUDI ARABIA**, where a monarchy rules from a bed of luxury while the average subject today has no more rights than he did 1,400 years ago. **SAUDI ARABIA** is the world’s leading oil exporter, which may indicate why critical reports from the **HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH**, **AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL** and the **UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE** have not been able to influence the Bush family’s long association with Saudi monarchs.

Most of the “democratic” governments set up or supported by the U.S. in Cuba between 1902 and 1959 were corrupt, dictatorial and cruel, in which grave violations of human rights was a daily occurrence.

# HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

CAN ANYONE KEEP A STRAIGHT FACE and suggest that there are more human rights violations in Cuba than in HANOI or BEIJING? CHINA massacred dissenters, and yet was granted favored nation status. We lifted the economic embargo on VIETNAM, which slaughtered and wounded thousands of Americans (primarily in self-defense), and we maintain an open, civil atmosphere in INDONESIA and SAUDI ARABIA, yet the embargo against Cuba grows meaner with each passing administration. In that time, the average Cuban, the farmer and the rural worker, had little or no access to health care, or higher education.

And while we're on the subject of human rights, , how many Iraqis have had theirs violated by American bombs? Or held by the military against their will with no charges made against them?

In April 1998 the UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION rejected a U.S. resolution criticizing Cuba over human rights issue, citing that the criticism no longer applies. A year later, on the tenth anniversary of the Chinese army's bloody crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators, **President Clinton** brought the promise of peace and participated in a traditional ceremony at TIANANMEN SQUARE, the very spot where hundreds of unarmed civilians were gunned down (something that has never happened in Cuba). **Clinton** argued that "the best way to promote change is through peaceful relations."

Ironically, the "peaceful relations" logic that both **Nixon** and **Clinton** applied to CHINA is not applied to our closest neighbor.

Whatever legitimate human rights violations are taking place in Cuba (mostly the jailing of anti-Castro activists—71 reported still in jail in 2006) can't begin to compare to the vicious cruelty that existed during the sixty years of U.S. controlled democracy. And it doesn't begin to compare with current human rights violations in many countries with which the US maintains friendly relations.

[On June 18, 2007, the UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL removed Cuba from the list of countries with poor human rights records.]

# REAL REASONS

THE EMBARGO, said *USA Today's* Walter Shapiro, is “the only inflexible foreign policy position maintained by the last nine presidents.” Shapiro added that, “sooner or later, even feel-good foreign policies should be subjected to the test of effectiveness: Are they bringing about the desired result?” [But is this continuing policy actually making anyone “feel good” other than a few white Cuban-Americans who don’t mind making their families suffer as long as they can blame that suffering on Castro? Spanish aristocracy had a similar contempt for Cubans that wanted separation and independence, and no amount of harm seemed to satisfy their hate. ]

Tragically, the main obstacle against ending the embargo today is the overwhelming influence of the CUBAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION (CANF). Made up largely of wealthy, white, *CUBAN EXILES*, the CANF has been involved in just about every legal and illegal attempt to overthrow Castro. They can afford to be major players in presidential politics, evidenced by the fact every winning candidate has courted the Cuban exile community on the anti-Castro issue, except for **Bill Clinton** in 1992. (Note, however, that Clinton made a sharp turn-around in 1996, and still lost in FLORIDA. His overall victory should stand as proof that it is possible to win a presidential election without winning in FLORIDA.)

The issue of the embargo against Cuba, the travel ban and a 200-year relationship between the two countries has never been properly explained to the American people. The “concept” of Cuba is still “exotic” and undefined, with few voters able to comprehend the issues, or make a clear case for whatever point of view they favor.

Each side sticks to its guns, and can’t even agree on what the facts are.

Proponents of the embargo (a shrinking minority) remain focused on Castro almost exclusively. The thrust of their efforts; the embargo, the travel ban, the wet-foot-dry-foot immigration law, the downed planes, the lives lost at sea, the separated families, the denied visas, the harassment of those with an opposing ideology, and the extraterritorial reach of US legislation, are all against “Castro,” not against *11.3 MILLION CUBANS*. The Cuban “casualties of war” are Castro’s fault.

As long as Cuba remains a foreign mystery, an abstract concept up for instant interpretation, she remains easily bought and sold.

In November 1999, DEMOCRATIC presidential candidate **Bill Bradley** said on CNN'S LARRY KING LIVE that the main opposition he had to ending the embargo was "loyalty" to his supporters. [He supported peace with CHINA and VIETNAM, as these did not offer a "loyalty" conflict.]

The other Democratic presidential candidate, **AL GORE**, stated almost as much, though you could almost see a desire to abandon political expediency for the moral restitution that ending the embargo would provide.

Not "opposing Castro" would have opened them to extra-spirited political attacks when passing through FLORIDA.

Prior to the **BUSH JR. ADMINISTRATION**, we seemed to have embraced the fact that open relations and communications are a more effective way to assert global influence than cold-war posturing, isolationism and military aggression. Even though our most enlightened ideas were never applied to Cuba, there was a global feeling that the big guy on the block could at least control himself most of the time.

Given the current state of US-global affairs, and the cost of the **WAR ON IRAQ**, it seems apparent that the time has finally come to reconsider if it is in our best interest to wait until both Castro brothers die to make peace with island? And *IF WE CHOOSE TO WAIT FOR THEIR DEATHS*, what does *that* say about us? The architects of the embargo will not fare well in the eyes of history, regardless of what happens in Cuba.

Foreign policy observers point out that if a genuine interest in cultivating peace with CUBA existed, the *LURE OF CAPITALISM* would be a far better option—more likely to subvert socialist foundations than *A FORCED CIVIL WAR* in which the U.S. military may be forced to intervene. But guided by vengeful exile hardliners, U.S. policy towards Cuba is only interested in victory in the form of overthrowing **CASTRO**, or waiting for his death. There's no major reason for a peaceful transition, as peace with Cuba doesn't satisfy any other immediate and major interest, as does CHINA's large new markets (over 1.2 billion people), and there's not a significant amount of oil to be had on the island. To controlling U.S. interests, Cuba is but an

attractive, ideally situated piece of real estate that “could still be ours,” and a meaningless compromise easily traded to the prevailing winds for a political victory.

Similar to the “rationalizing” that went into the planning and execution of the **BAY OF PIGS** invasion, the embargo is built on layers and layers of self-delusion and old-world, right-wing entitlement. (The major assumption in the failed **BAY OF PIGS** invasion was that Cubans would rise against Castro’s regime once the invasion began. This, however, did not happen.)

The practice of self-delusion, when it comes to Castro and Cuba, continues.

A 500-page report from the **G. W. Bush**-appointed COMMISSION FOR ASSISTANCE TO A FREE CUBA (May 2004) featured a plan for “the removal of the *CASTRO GOVERNMENT*” that included plans to reorganize schools, have trains run on time, and other occupation-like strategies. Later versions of the report included “top secret” sections, not available for public viewing. The illegality and inappropriateness of this document (which Cuba considers an act of aggression) is largely misunderstood by the typical U.S. citizen, and gravely underreported by *AMERICAN MEDIA*.

More recently, conventional thinking held that Cubans would not accept **Raul Castro** as a leader, and would revolt. On July 31 2006, Fidel stepped down due to an intestinal operation, and Raul took his place.

**Wayne Smith** observed in *The Guardian* (November 1, 2006) that in spite of celebrations on the streets of **MIAMI**, and repeated claims that “the Cuban people will never accept Raul!” the transition went smoothly and without incident, and the Cuban people have accepted Raul.

FROM  
BRIDGES TO THE CUBAN PEOPLE ACT OF 2001  
HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE,  
PEACE CORPS AND NARCOTICS AFFAIRS OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
107<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION  
JUNE 19, 2002



*“Even aspirin is in short supply there. And I found that giving people aspirin was something that was often appreciated enormously. But I also gave this to some of my friends who should have had access to drugs like that. “It really is very sad. There just isn’t enough to go around. But it doesn’t appear that there is preferential access because these people were asking for it as well.”*

**Mark M. Rasenick, MD, Professor of Physiology and Biophysics, and Professor of Psychiatry; Director of Biomedical Neuroscience Training Program at the University of Illinois, Chicago, College of Medicine**

# THE COST TO THE U.S.

BETWEEN 1959 AND 1985, U.S. TAXPAYERS PAID over \$2 billion for the CUBAN REFUGEE PROGRAM, originally designed by PRESIDENT EISENHOWER to weaken and discredit the revolution.

Not usually considered by supporters of the embargo is the fact that an open trading environment with Cuba would offer significant benefits to the U.S. business community.

For example:

- The embargo deprives US-based businesses of an important trade partner just 90 miles away. Many of those opportunities have been slowly grabbed by EUROPEAN, CANADIAN and SOUTH AMERICAN firms not afraid to openly defy the U.S. embargo.
- It's been estimated that trade between the U.S. and Cuba could start at about *\$3 BILLION A YEAR* as soon as the embargo is lifted, (although there's no way to estimate with certainty what that amount would be) with the total growing to \$7 billion after a few years. Rice growers in LOUISIANA and ARKANSAS, for example, would love to sell to Cuba again, as they did before 1959.
- There are a number of machinery and consumer goods that would also be traded, giving both sides the benefits of short delivery distances and increased sales.
- In the generally-active travel industry, U.S. hotel chains have watched their EUROPEAN & SOUTH AMERICAN competitors build profitable hotels on the best parts of the island.
- A letter sent by the U.S. OFFICE OF FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL (OFAC) to the U.S. CONGRESS late last year (and provided to the ASSOCIATED PRESS on April 30 2004) revealed that the TREASURY DEPARTMENT had 4 full-time employees dedicated to investigating OSAMA BIN LADEN and SADDAM HUSSEIN, and over 2 dozen assigned to investigating Cuban Embargo violations. The letter also stated that over \$8 million were collected in embargo viola-

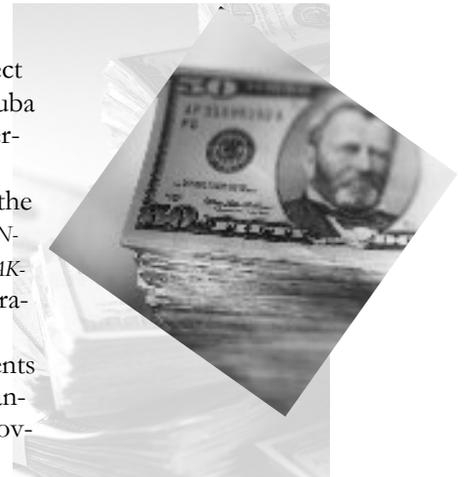
tion fines since 1994, and over 10,683 "enforcement investigations" opened since 1990. Relating to terrorism, the OFAC opened 93 "enforcement investigations" between 1990 and 2003. (Just whose priorities are these? Are Americans breaking the travel ban more "dangerous" than actual terrorists? And just who is defining these "priorities?")

- According to historical data from the UN FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION, Cuba is a solid market for total imports of:
  - Meat products (\$50-\$60 million per year)
  - Dairy, powdered milk and eggs (up to \$100 million)
  - Cereals including corn, wheat, barley and rice (over \$300 million)
  - Fruits and vegetables (up to \$75 million)
  - Other animal feed (over \$60 million)
  - Soybeans/meal/oils (over \$100 million) and,
  - Fish and fish products (\$25 million)
- 25 U.S. states could sell these products to Cuba, including: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, west Virginia and Wisconsin.

Perhaps the most serious loss to Americans as a direct result of the embargo and U.S. foreign policy toward Cuba is the benefits from Cuban advancements in bioengineering and medical research.

It is often joked in Cuba that the three successes of the revolution are in *EDUCATION*, *HEALTH CARE* and *SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH*, while the three great failures are *BREAKFAST*, *LUNCH* and *DINNER*. That may not be an exaggeration.

Cuban researchers have made significant advancements in the treatment of kidney cancer, lung cancer, breast cancer and melanoma, all of which have generally poor recov-



ery once they've spread through the body. **DR. DONALD L. MORTON**, Medical Director and Surgeon-in-Chief at **JOHN WAYNE CANCER INSTITUTE** in Santa Monica, California, testified to these facts before a **US SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING** on June 19, 2002 (Complete hearing transcripts: [http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=107\\_senate\\_hearings&docid=f:82470.pdf](http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=107_senate_hearings&docid=f:82470.pdf)).

"I believe that all U.S. citizens suffering from cancer deserve access to potentially life-saving therapies," said Dr. Morton.

Other practical benefits in this area are described by **DR. MARK M. RASENICK**, Professor of Physiology and Biophysics, and Professor of Psychiatry; Director of Biomedical Neuroscience Training Program at the **UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, CHICAGO, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE**.

"Cubans have made their own MRI machines because no one would sell them MRI machines. And they have used very small magnets, and they operate them with a personal computer, yet they get decent images.

"Now, if we were able to import this technology, two benefits would be the development of smaller, lighter and cheaper MRI machines which could benefit rural America... The Cuban Neuroscience Center has also developed very low-cost brain imaging techniques using electroencephalography or EEG."

A **WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)** report from 2000 ranks Cuba's public health system 39<sup>th</sup> out of 191 countries.

A Cuban-developed vaccine against meningitis B, which affects young children and is more severe than viral meningitis, is currently being prepared by **SMITHKLINE BEECHAM PHARMACEUTICALS** for world-wide distribution. The vaccine, according to the **PAN AMERICAN HEALTH ORGANIZATION**, has been 83 percent effective in **BRAZIL** and **ARGENTINA**.

And yet additional benefits can be derived from the island's practice of patient screening and sharing of patient records, which facilitate both research and treatment.

"How do we get the services that exist in New York, in Boston, in Hartford, in Los Angeles; how do we get them to Muskogee in Oklahoma or how do we get them to a relatively isolated area?" asks Dr. Rasenick. "These are problems that

have not been addressed in our country yet are of course extremely important for those individuals who are affected. That is a problem or that is an issue which has already been addressed in Cuba. And through exchange we could certainly benefit tremendously.”

Since 1959, the US has spent an enormous amount of *AMERICAN TAX DOLLARS* (that could have been better spent on internal social/welfare/education programs) to remove Castro from power and replace him with a government “conceived in the corridors of the **STATE DEPARTMENT** and the parlors of Miami’s Cuban-American exile leaders.” This effort continues to this day, in spite of the growing expense of the **WAR ON IRAQ**, and the complete failures (and complete embarrassment) of the many anti-Cuba programs.

This policy of hostility has many disadvantages:

- The embargo encourages illegal immigration to the U.S., often in dangerous situations that lead to mass deaths but makes for good television in Florida.
- Many of our trade partners have claimed that Article III of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT** violates international law. The issue has already disrupted relations with Canada, Mexico and the European Union, all of which have adopted retaliatory legislation .
- Around the world, the image sent out by the embargo is that of a cruel, Rome-like empire imposing it’s will on a small but resilient people who refuse to give up. Can the US afford to maintain this image with an embargo that seems to be isolating only its perpetrator from the rest of the world, and its few supporters from the rest of American society?
- The embargo keeps the very competitive Cuban athletes from participating in professional sports (such as boxing and baseball) which profit mostly Americans.

US policy towards Cuba, in general, features an *OBVIOUS ENTRAPMENT FACTOR* that is widely detested and criticized around the world:

- Laws, actions and rhetoric are designed to provoke a reaction from Cuba for which she will later be punished:

- The **WET-FOOT/DRY-FOOT IMMIGRATION** policy encourages Cubans to attempt to cross the dangerous waters of the **FLORIDA STRAITS**. If they “make it” to US dry land, they can stay, but if they’re caught at sea, they are returned. And if they’re killed, the headlines will be a variation of “Cubans Killed At Sea In Search Of Freedom.” All other illegal immigrants (wherever they come from) are returned no matter how or where they’re caught. This policy has also encouraged the practice of human smuggling, for a price.
- Congress votes millions of dollars every year to fund Cuban dissident projects, but if any dissident on the island is caught in cooperation with anything related to this money, they will go to jail. This produces US headlines and charges of human rights violations.
- The **BROTHERS TO THE RESCUE** incident in which 2 exile planes were shot down after an illegal flight over Cuban territory is but another example. On January 15 1996 the **CUBAN GOVERNMENT** issued formal complaints about repeated flights by planes belonging to exile organization **BROTHERS TO THE RESCUE** (Hermanos Al Rescate) which had been dropping leaflets over Havana, encouraging the overthrow of the Cuban government. The following day, announcers on **RADIO MARTÍ** (the US-government-sponsored radio station) dared the **CUBAN AIR FORCE** to shoot down the planes. US officials made no effort to stop the flights, and on February 24 two planes were shot down, and 4 exiles lost their lives. Two weeks later **President Clinton** signed into law the *CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY ACT*.

One thing the embargo does well is provide a handy excuse on which to blame Castro’s failures. Its intended meanness is not lost on the Cuban people, who consider their government “ingenious” in its efforts to overcome the effects of the embargo.

In **EUROPE** and **LATIN AMERICA**, those who wish oppose US influence look at Cuba’s response as an example of “self-reliance” necessary to succeed. For exam-

ple, most vaccines administered in Cuba today are produced on the island, eliminating the trouble and expense of importing them.

And then there's the moral cost.

Everyone knows that we're not at war with Cuba, and the PENTAGON is convinced that the island is not a military threat to the U.S. Yet our behavior towards Cuba shows something ugly and disturbing about ourselves.

## SUPPORT FOR ANTI-CASTRO TERRORISTS

The two most feared and notorious anti-Castro terrorists are living in Florida, with presidential pardons and vital records that could have prosecuted them officially destroyed by the FBI in 2005.

**Orlando Bosch**, and **Luis Posada Carriles** have spent a half century attacking anything and everything related to Cuba. They call it a "war against Castro," and since they've not been able to get anywhere near Castro, they've had to settle for less glamorous victims. Their crimes include blowing up a commercial airline with 76 passengers; trafficking drugs (**IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL**); planting bombs in numerous embassies in the US, Mexico and Latin America; attempted murder and conspiracy to commit murder; weapons possession and weapons smuggling charges; placing a series of bombs in Havana hotels and restaurants, harassing **CUBAN-AMERICAN** businesses for "donations" to be used in their war; and so on. Both learned their trade in the US military, before going solo in the mid-to-late 1960s.



Adding a touch of irony, a number of formerly-classified CIA files have been released under the *FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT*, making it possible to get a glimpse of the complete picture.

[While this is not the avenue to explore the crimes of the two most protected terrorists in the Western hemisphere, their presence on US soil and support by US elites is necessary to mention here. **THE NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVES** is a good place to start:

<http://www.gwu.edu/%7Eensarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB153/index.htm>)

According to current cultural and philosophical agreements to which most of the civilized world adheres, US policy amounts to a war against the Cuban people.

Here are the words of one of the most powerful hardliners in the country, **Ileana Ros-Lehtinen**, GOP Representative from **MIAMI** (in a 2006 interview for the British documentary “*638 WAYS TO KILL CASTRO*”):

“I welcome the opportunity of having anyone assassinate Fidel Castro and any leader who is oppressing the people, and if they don’t assassinate him and if they bring him to trial I welcome the opportunity to have him meet a jury of his peers... and answer. And in the end he will answer to God ... It didn’t happen under George Bush the first, and it didn’t happen under President Clinton... it hasn’t happened under **PRESIDENT BUSH** the second... but its going to happen...”

In that same documentary, Bush appointee **Otto Reich** asserts that “regicide, or assassination of the king” remains a “morally justifiable” act. He continues: “Any person who is capable of ordering the deaths of innocent people simply because they disagree with their religion, or philosophy, has to be taken out... of circulation.”

This is how imperial tradition (at US-taxpayer expense) remains the most important factor of US-Cuba relations. The one factor without which the embargo would not exist.

FROM  
REPORT OF THE COMMISSION FOR ASSISTANCE TO A FREE CUBA  
HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
109TH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION  
JULY 27, 2006



*“Opposition forces on the island are ready for a democratic government to replace the cruel dictatorship, freedom to replace torture, persecution and oppression, a free market economy to replace a collapsing planned economic system; and the United States will provide its unwavering support to Cuba’s freedom fighters in their fight for democracy, for liberty and an open market system.”*

**Ileana Ros-Lehtinen**  
**Representative from Florida**

# THE COST TO CUBA

WIDELY IGNORED IS THE COST TO THE CUBAN POPULATION. For all the talk about *HUMAN RIGHTS*, supporters of the embargo and its surrounding layers of hostility, never stop to consider the effect it has on the health and well being of the average Cuban.

It's difficult to isolate an aspect of Cuban life that has not been affected by the embargo. The accumulative effect of nearly forty years of economic hostility has induced significant changes to the basic consumption patterns of the population. Foodstuffs and primary products have to be purchased in distant markets and are subjected to problems of additional costs, freights, bonuses, etc.

Many imports must also be purchased at higher than market prices because of embargo restrictions, and medical products which are lacking on the island, such as plasma, hormones for the thyroid gland, penicillin, antibiotics, alkaloids and cortisone have been difficult to find.

Public health and government officials have had to become very creative to procure similar medical supplies and avoid various catastrophes.

# THE COST TO FAMILIES



Perhaps the most underreported fact of the near-50-year-old embargo is the suffering forced on Cuban families, which are, generally speaking, very close. It is not unusual for older generations to live together in Cuba, or to buy property in the same neighborhood, even the same block.

The **ELIAN GONZALEZ** ordeal serves as an example of the suffering and conflict caused by this unfortunate situation between the Cuban and American governments, and between Cuban family members of different political camps.

In many cases, families that were once on a daily contact lifestyle have not seen each other in years, or decades. **CUBAN-AMERICAN** families often set a little aside to send their family members in Cuba, although usually it's not enough.

(And what about those who don't have family in the US? Or those whose family can't afford to send them money?)

Arranging for a visit is a ridiculous tribulation on both sides of the Florida Straits, with an assortment of fees, applications and deadlines. It should be noted here that the **CUBAN-AMERICAN** community is the only immigrant community in the US subjected to such a strict level of control. Anyone else who has immigrated to the US can send home as much money as they want, and they can visit their homeland as often as they want without any legal ramifications.

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*“The United States, as the willful leader of the world, should set an example to all of us. One of the best ways of doing so is to call upon its enemies to say, ‘Let’s sit down and talk peace.’”*

**Nelson Mandela**, March 26, 1998



*“If you keep on doing what you have always been doing, you are going to wind up getting what you already got.”*

**Senator Micahel B. Enzi**

From his introduction to the Freedom to Travel to Cuba Act read on the floor of the US Senate, March 1, 2007

*“For more than 40 years, the rest of the country has been paying the price for a policy that serves the narrow self interest of very few individuals. The Mississippi Delta and the whole Gulf Coast region has suffered irreparable damage from severing ties with Cuba, which, before the embargo, was the number-one export market for states like Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. Our members in that region often ask how many farms could have been sustained over the years if Cuba had remained open. They say it is time for those folks in Miami to get off their high horse and give the rest of the country a turn in the saddle.”*

**Lissa Weinmann, Executive Director  
Americans for Humanitarian Trade with Cuba**

May 21, 2002 - Senate Subcommittee Hearing

# LEGISLATION

The most surprising thing any American can discover about the embargo is the amount of legislation it has generated over the decades, and its alarming level of extraterritorial reach. Many are shocked to learn about the efforts put forth by American diplomats to convince **EUROPEAN** and **SOUTH AMERICAN** governments to support the embargo, and about the insistence of the international community that the embargo end.

Over the years a number of laws and regulations have been systematically added, as **Congressman Torricelli** said in 1992, to “wreck havoc on the island.”

**Dr. Olga Miranda Bravo**, Vice-President of the **CUBAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**, contends that the embargo is, in fact, a blockade. “It cannot be considered an embargo,” she says, “as they publicly maintain, because Cuba is not indebted to the United States, nor has it committed a crime so punitive to justify the seizure and destruction of its assets by the **UNITED STATES**. With these measures, they have pursued a policy of asphyxiation and isolation of Cuba in order to cripple it, a policy of war being applied against Cuba in a time of peace.”

Under current law:

- No imports from Cuba are allowed into the US.
- No exports from the US are allowed into Cuba.
- All transfers of property, including extensions of credits or guarantees are prohibited.
- Transfers of technical or intellectual property are not allowed.
- Payment to Cuban musical artists are prohibited (the trend from the **STATE DEPARTMENT** is to deny visas to Cuban musicians, even when they’ve agreed to receive no pay).
- US citizens are prohibited from providing a “service” to Cuba or to a Cuban national. (This would include an academician who wants to lead a seminar or teach a class in Cuba.)
- A merchant vessel making a delivery on any American port cannot

have unloaded a shipment of goods in a Cuban port within the previous 180 days.

- No US or US-affiliate bank may maintain an account in dollars or process a transaction in dollars for Cuba or Cuban nationals.

Since the 1990s, a number of restrictions affect third countries:

- Third-country vessels cannot load or unload goods for 180 days after departing from a Cuban port (if it entered that port to engage in trade of goods or services). Such vessels may not carry goods or passengers to or from Cuba.
- Exports that use any US-origin components are prohibited exports to Cuba (even if the products were created and/or assembled elsewhere, with US parts).
- Neither third countries nor US subsidiary companies may re-export US-origin goods to Cuba without prior specific approval by the **US COMMERCE DEPARTMENT**.

So what is possible right now? What is legal and what is not?

While legislation against Cuba can appear and disappear with the random logic and precision of a law passed by the *SPANISH CAPTAIN GENERAL* of 18<sup>th</sup> century Cuba, this is what is legal right now:

- CUBAN-AMERICANS can send up to \$300 every three months to a close relative in Cuba, provided that relative is not employed by Cuban government and/or a member of the communist party. To do this legally, a maze of regulations must be undertaken, involving forms, deadlines, and arcane rules. But CUBAN-AMERICANS have found other ways to get money into the hands of family members.
- It's possible to bring back Cuban books, audio or video tapes, but anything else can and may be confiscated. According to the **US DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY'S OFFICE OF FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL (OFAC)** regulations booklet, *Cuba: What You Need To Know about The US Embargo*, goods of Cuban origin may be "seized at Custom's discretion."

- Immediate family members can visit Cuba once every 3 years for 14 days (The OFAC defines immediate family as spouse, child, grandchild, parent, grandparent or sibling). Again, a great deal of cold-war-bureaucracy is invoked in preparation for the simplest 14-day visit, including forms, fees, names of members you'll visit, deadlines and the ultimate approval of the OFAC. [Cousins, aunts and uncles are not part of the OFAC-family-tree, although they make up an important part of a traditional Cuban family unit.]
- Certain cultural and academic exchanges are *legal*, but *permissions* are, of late, rarely granted.

Additional information about what is and is not allowed can be obtained at the OFAC web site:  
<http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/programs/cuba/cuba.shtml>. [

A pdf file titled “CUBA: WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THE US EMBARGO” describes the law in these matters:  
<http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/programs/cuba/cuba.pdf>.

Since 2001, AMERICANS who travel to Cuba have been prosecuted and/or harassed by the STATE'S DEPARTMENT'S OFAC with increased frequency and vigor. They are charged with violation of the CUBAN ASSETS CONTROL REGULATIONS and the TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT of 1917.

“These violations expose travelers to a criminal conviction punishable by a fine of \$100,000 and a term of up to 10 years,” said **Nancy Chang**, Senior Litigation Attorney for the CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS in New York City (<http://www.ccr-ny.org/v2/home.asp>).

The restrictions “limit our rights under the first amendment to express our views, hear the speech of others, gather information, associate with others, and make up our own minds—rights that are absolutely essential to a democratic society.”

[The center publishes the document: *KNOW BEFORE YOU GO* - [http://www.ccr-ny.org/v2/legal/cuba/docs/KnowBeforeYouGoRestrictionsonTraveltoCuba\\_V2.pdf](http://www.ccr-ny.org/v2/legal/cuba/docs/KnowBeforeYouGoRestrictionsonTraveltoCuba_V2.pdf)]

So what will it take to end the embargo? Since the HELMS-BURTON ACT, signed into law by **Bill Clinton** in 1996, it will take two thirds of CONGRESS to legally bring this monstrosity to an end.

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FROM  
YEAR TWO OF CASTRO'S BRUTAL CRACKDOWN ON DISSIDENTS  
JOINT HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS  
AND INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS, AND THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
109<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION, MARCH 3, 2005

*“As of March 1, 2005 Amnesty International recognizes 71 prisoners of conscience in Cuba. Of these, 63 remain from the March 2003 crackdown and its aftermath. In addition, there are 6 other POCs that were arrested between 1994 and 2002.”*

Amnesty International urges the United States government:

- To place human rights concerns at the center of its decision-making on Cuba. The United States should take into account the impact its policies will have on day-to-day life for average Cubans and their enjoyment of basic human rights.
- To immediately suspend decisions on any measures that would worsen humanitarian conditions in Cuba and are aimed at destabilizing the country. Political instability and humanitarian crisis place civilians at risk of further human rights violations, and should not be considered as an option.
- To look seriously at ways to reduce hostilities with Cuba and lower the tensions that contributed to the broader negative political context for the latest crackdown. Some specific steps the U.S. might take include:
  - Discontinuing official assistance programs for political dissidents out of concern that such assistance in the past has put the dissidents at risk and been the rationale used by the Cuban government to detain and imprison dissidents.

**Eric L. Olson, Advocacy Director—The Americas  
Amnesty International USA**

# THE WHOLE WORLD OPPOSES THE EMBARGO

THE WORLD IS IN NEAR UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT that the embargo should end (is there anything else that the world in near agreement about?) and has become increasingly vocal about this issue.

Every major human rights organization has called for an end to the embargo, as well as hundreds of business, health and religious institutions and numerous governments. Many have also criticized the imperial aggression with which compliance with the embargo is pursued in EUROPE, CANADA and SOUTH AMERICA.

For fifteen consecutive years, the UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY has recommended an end to the embargo. [Unlike resolutions of the UN SECURITY COUNCIL, General Assembly resolutions are not binding, but they do show where world opinion lies.] In those fifteen years, a total of 2,183 votes have been cast against the embargo, and 46 in favor of it, with 296 abstentions.



And yet, in spite of the world's chorus of disapproval, the **Bush administration** continues to tighten the embargo, and heighten the violent rhetoric against Cuba, sticking to a failed policy like an ink stain to a white shirt.

The embargo "cannot be justified on moral or political conflicts with the stated humanitarianism of U.S. engagements in other parts of the world..." said a statement from the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIA-

TION issued in January 1994. It suggested that the U.S. “adopt a consistent humanitarian policy of alleviating human suffering by ending its Cuban embargo, and in particular lifting its ban on the sale of food and medical supplies and equipment; and... adopt a more humane approach to resolving differences with Cuba by encouraging a freer exchange of ideas and persons...”

The **AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR WORLD HEALTH**, in its report on “The Impact of The U.S. Embargo on Health and Nutrition in Cuba” determined that the embargo “has dramatically harmed the health and nutrition of large numbers of ordinary Cuban citizens and has caused a significant rise in suffering-and even deaths-in Cuba. In general, a relatively sophisticated and comprehensive public health system is being systematically stripped of essential resources.” The report lists malnutrition, bad water quality, lack of medicines and medical equipment as directly responsible for the downturn, and adds that “the embargo appears to violate the most basic international charters and conventions governing human rights, including the United Nations charter, the charter of the Organization of American States, and the articles of the Geneva Convention governing the treatment of civilians during wartime.”

In 1998, former secretaries of state **Henry Kissinger** and **Lawrence Eagleburger** urged **President Clinton** to authorize the creation of a bipartisan commission to carry out an “objective analysis” of U.S. policy toward Cuba. They were joined by former Defense Secretary **Frank Carlucci** and former Senate Majority Leader **Howard Baker**. A comprehensive study, they claimed, had not been done since 1960. Not surprisingly, the CANF opposed this proposal, and **Bill Clinton**, as usual, ruled in their favor.

# THIS IS NOT THE WAY A RICH AND POWERFUL COUNTRY SHOULD BEHAVE

When the Clintons went to South Africa in March 1998, they offered **MANDELA'S AFRICAN CONGRESS** much needed economic aid on the condition that they would abandon Cuba and offer support for the embargo. Almost everyone had denounced the racist regime in **SOUTH AFRICA**, yet only Cuba fought with South Africa's revolutionary army to end apartheid, a fact not forgotten by **Mandela**. "Our moral authority," he answered, "dictates that we should not abandon those who helped us in the darkest hour in the history of the country." Mandela turned down the offer.

"This is not the way a rich and powerful country like the **UNITED STATES** should behave toward a smaller neighbor," said **Jean Chretien**, Prime Minister of Canada after his official visit to Cuba in late April of '98. "When you are that powerful, that is the time to be benevolent, to be nice. Not to show your muscle."

Ironically, what the Cuban embargo does is fuel the very conditions in which migration, or escape to the North, is the only possibility Cubans have to make a positive change on their lives. Of course, even that possibility is diminished by the standing "wet foot/dry foot" policy, which states that "balseros" caught at sea will be returned, but those that make it all the way to an American beach can stay.

The embargo also provides a convenient excuse on which Castro's regime can blame its failures, and sends a chilling message to the Cuban people: the U.S. continues to be the enemy.

# CLOSINGS

So who is it, precisely, that we can hold accountable for the present state of *US-CUBA AFFAIRS*? The sad fact is that no single person, institution or political party can be held completely responsible for the present state of *US-CUBA AFFAIRS*.

While the embargo against Cuba, and the many surrounding layers of hostile policies, is clearly not a thinking person's solution to our naturally evolved but different ideologies, it does showcase our challenges and weaknesses, and illuminates an imperial tradition not generally shared with the *AMERICAN PEOPLE*. It also shows us how our political system can be manipulated by money, even against our own traditions and self-interest.

The embargo has never served our stated goals of peace. Today, it continues to make a political pawn out of every Cuban that's not a member of the government or military, harming most the very people it claims to want to protect.

The logic of trying to improve human rights by isolating the island and choking it with economic sanctions belongs in a "Marx Brothers" movie, not in the foreign policy of the most powerful nation in the world.

This is not the typical left/right conflict we've grown used to seeing on cable news shows and weekly magazines.

The **REPUBLICANS** have lost their way through old-world, manifest-destiny fantasies and **COLD WAR** daydreams, made worse by the "feel-good" aggressiveness of the Bush administration and by the fact that Cuban independence has never appealed to US-aristocrats. Only the option of profitable business with the island can entice them to consider peace with the Cuban people.

The **DEMOCRATS** have traded Cuba for the illusion of "traditional" values... and for the impression of "continuity..." and the way such illusions imply to voters. For every new idea they embrace, they must resurrect and/or revive something "traditional." Even when it makes no sense.

Senator **Joseph Lieberman**, a former presidential candidate (rumored to be a **DEMOCRAT** in spite of ample evidence to the contrary) supports the raising of money for Cuban dissidents (which inevitably leads to arrests in Cuba, anti-Castro

headlines in Florida, and no change or forward progress in any positive way); and ignores every lesson we should have learned by now.

It's taken many hands, much ambition, a great deal of hate and even more money, to get U.S. foreign policy on Cuba to where it is today. And let's not forget to add an ambitious lack of responsibility from our leading politicians, who've traded Cuba for the opportunity to live in the WHITE HOUSE.

**Bill Clinton** was such a politician. His administration should have been the one to spearhead an end to the embargo and the establishment of peaceful relations, given President Bush's earlier connection to the anti-Castro terrorists from his CIA days, and his oldest son's connection to the same group through Florida politics. Clinton and his Secretary of State, **Madeline Albright** were the best chance for peace since **Jimmy Carter**. But in the end, peace with Cuba was just not worth the fight.

That even they did not attempt to end this embarrassing policy of harassment and disrespect for the Cuban people is a sad statement on current American politics.

As the twenty-first century begins to wind up, Cuba's oldest enemy fights wars in two countries (with another one, Iran, in pre-production), and has military troops stationed in 130 nations around the world.

"Cuba has the same effect on US policy makers that the full moon has on werewolves," said Wayne Smith.

The American media barely questioned the intent of Bolton's "bio-terror" comments, but had these lies even remotely penetrated the American veneer, military action in Cuba would have been justified in the eyes of the Bush administration. Was Bolton's statement a tropical version of the weapons of mass destruction campaign? It's widely known that anyone with a remotely differing opinion on U.S.-Cuba policy has little chance of influencing official White House/OFAC course of action, or of even being heard. [See the quote from California Representative Barbara Lee on page 61.]

And how much blame do we assign to leaders of the Cuban-American community? **Jorge Mas Canosa** (founder of the CANF), **Ileana Ros-Lehtinen**, who

openly supports murder as a political tool, and leading business leaders who are called upon by the ruling class to trade the well-being of their families “back home...” for the sake of a violent and vengeful victory... **Carlos Gutierrez** and **Otto Reich** and others who will tolerate no talk of peace... no option but violence... the new keepers of the old Southern dream of a US Caribbean empire... Will Cubans ever trust these people who’ve prescribed pain, hunger and starvation and opposed every possibility of peaceful reconciliation?

Finally, what can we say about a US President who openly harbors known terrorists and assassins? And how will history look at this dark chapter in American relations with their neighbors?

Current efforts to end the embargo and set ourselves on a peaceful course seem promising. But promising efforts have proved fruitless so far. Can anything reshape U.S. policy towards Cuba other than a rapid and unprecedented increase in awareness among voters? Can “doing the right thing” be enough incentive for the populace to insist that their leaders oppose the very powerful Cuban-American lobby?



Across the *FLORIDA STRAITS*, Cubans continue to wistfully look to the future. It’s an island tradition, evolved, sculpted and airbrushed to state-of-the-art perfection for over 500 years. In Cuba, the future still promises what today is denied.

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FROM A HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS,  
FOREIGN COMMERCE AND TOURISM, OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION  
US SENATE  
107<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION  
MAY 21, 2002



*“Castro can’t eat all the food. OK? He talks too long at dinner.”*

**Barbara Boxer, US Senator from California**

*“We have a good many American farmers who need to find a foreign home for their product. We sell that product to China, a communist government. We sell it to Vietnam, a communist government. But we are told somehow that we ought not to encourage sales of food to Cuba. As I indicated, I don’t think Fidel Castro has ever missed a meal because of our embargo. I don’t believe he missed a meal in 40 years because we couldn’t ship US food to Cuba or they couldn’t purchase food from the United States. But I think poor, sick, and hungry people in Cuba are the victims of these policies, and I personally believe that it is immoral to use food as a weapon.”*

**Byron L. Dorgan**  
**US Senator from South Dakota**

# APPENDIX A:

# EMBARGO TIMELINE

- 1960** March 17. President **Eisenhower approves a covert action plan against Cuba** that includes the use of a "powerful propaganda campaign" designed to overthrow Castro. The plan includes:
- a) the termination of sugar purchases
  - b) the end of oil deliveries
  - c) continuation of the arms embargo in effect since mid-1958
  - d) the organization of a paramilitary force of Cuban exiles to invade the island.

October 19. U.S. imposes a **partial economic embargo** on Cuba that excludes food and medicine.

- 1961** September 4. **THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961** passes in the U.S. Congress. It prohibits aid to Cuba and authorizes the President to create a "total embargo upon all trade" with Cuba.

Louis A. Pérez, Jr., from his book *Cuba, between Reform and Revolution, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* Pg. 346

"The U.S. trade embargo after 1961 had jolting effects. By the early 1960s, conditions in many industries had become critical due to the lack of replacement parts. Virtually all industrial structures were dependent on supplies and parts now denied to Cuba. Many plants were paralyzed. Havoc followed. Transportation was especially hard hit: the ministry was reporting more than seven thousand breakdowns a month. Nearly one-quarter of all buses were inoperable by the end of 1961. One-half of the 1,400 passenger rail cars were out of service in 1962. Almost three-quarters of the caterpillar tractors stood idle due to a lack of replacement parts."



April 17. Cuban exiles, trained, armed and funded by the CIA, invade Cuba at **Bay of Pigs** (known in Cuba as Playa Girón). After three days of fighting the invading force is defeated by the Cuban army.

**1962**

February 7. President **Kennedy broadens the partial trade restrictions** imposed by Eisenhower to a ban on all trade with Cuba, except for non-subsidized sale of foods and medicines.

March 23. President **Kennedy expands the Cuban embargo** to include imports of all goods made from or containing Cuban materials, even if made in other countries.

August 1. The **FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT** is amended to prohibit aid to “any country” that provides assistance to Cuba.

October 2. The U.S. government cables all **LATIN AMERICAN** governments and NATO countries new measures to tighten the economic embargo against Cuba. As of today, the transport of U.S. goods is banned on ships owned by companies that do business with Cuba.

**1963**

February 8. The **Kennedy administration** prohibits travel to Cuba and makes financial and commercial transactions with Cuba illegal for U.S. citizens.

May 14. The **U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE** announces the requirement of specific approval for exports of all food and medicine to Cuba.

November 17. **President Kennedy** asks French journalist Jean Daniel to tell Castro that he is *now ready to negotiate normal relations and drop the embargo*. According to former Press Secretary **Pierre Salinger**, "**If Kennedy had lived I am confident that he would have negotiated that agreement and dropped the embargo** because he was upset with the way the Soviet Union was playing a strong role in Cuba and Latin America..."

December. The **FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT** is amended to prohibit U.S. aid to countries that continue to trade with Cuba.

December 12. Less than one month after President **John F. Kennedy's** assassination, U.S. Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy** seeks to end the travel ban to Cuba in a memo to Secretary of State

October 14. The **Cuban Missile Crisis** begins when U.S. reconnaissance aircraft photograph Soviet construction of intermediate-range missile sites in Cuba.



**Dean Rusk.** He refers to the ban as “inconsistent with traditional American liberties,” and difficult to enforce. The memo is not released to the public until June 29 2005.

December 13. **Robert F. Kennedy’s** memo of December 12 is discussed at a State Department meeting (to which RFK is not invited) and **UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE George Ball** rules out the possibility of ending the travel ban to Cuba. [The ban continues until 1977 when the **Carter Administration** opens travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens. The Reagan Administration reinstates the ban in 1981.]

**1964** February 25. Asked why the US trades with the Soviet Union but not with Cuba, Secretary of State **Dean Rusk** answers that the Soviet government is a “permanent” government, and the US views Castro as “temporary.”

July 26. The **ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS)** adopts mandatory sanctions against Cuba, requiring all members to sever diplomatic and trade relations. Only Mexico refuses to comply.

**1975** February 9. In a TV interview from Mexico City, U.S. Senator **Edward M. Kennedy** urges the U.S. government to lift the embargo and normalize relations with Cuba. “I believe the idea of isolating Cuba was a mistake,” says Kennedy. “It has been ineffective. Whatever the reasons and justifications may have been at the time, now they are invalid.”

July 28. The Organization of American States (**OAS**) **votes to end political and economic sanctions against Cuba.** This opens the way for each member nation to decide whether to have diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, which many had already established.

August 21. The U.S. announces that it will allow foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies to sell products in Cuba, and that it would no longer penalize other nations for trade with Cuba.

November 15. In Washington, Representative **John B. Breaux** and senator **J. Bennett Johnston Jr.**, Democrats from Louisiana, argue that it is in the national interest for Louisiana to be allowed to sell rice to Cuba. Mr. Breaux is quoted in the *New York Times*: “...my constituents say that if the United States can sell

grain to the Soviet Union and China, why can't they sell rice to Cuba?"

**1976** April 5. U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE **Henry Kissinger** states that there is no possibility of U.S. relations with Cuba while Cuban troops are in Africa.

**1977** March 19. U.S. **President Carter** drops the ban on travel to Cuba and on U.S. citizens spending dollars in Cuba.

**Wayne Smith**, DIRECTOR OF CUBAN AFFAIRS at the DEPARTMENT OF STATE under U.S. President **Jimmy Carter**: "There were three major fields or issues that had to be addressed before there could be a substantial improvement in relations. Number one: Cuban troops had to begin to leave Africa. Number two: There had to be some improvement in Cuba's human rights performance, and specially in terms of releasing political prisoners. And number three: A reduction in Soviet-Cuban military ties."

– From the book: "Cuba, Voices of Change," by **Lynn Geldof**.

May 25. The U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT warns that Cuba's recent deployment of military advisors in Ethiopia could "impede the improvement of U.S.-Cuban relations."

**1978** February 27. U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, **Cyrus Vance**, states that he does not foresee the normalization of relations with Cuba due to the presence of Cuban troops in Africa.

The **Carter Administration** relaxes laws to allow U.S. residents to send money to relatives in Cuba.

**1979** January 1. Cuban-Americans are permitted to visit their families in Cuba. More than 100,000 visit in the coming year.

June 19. In the U.S., Rep. **Ted Weiss** (D-NY) introduces unsuccessful legislation to end the U.S. trade blockade against Cuba and re-establish diplomatic relations.

**1981** January. **Ronald Reagan** is inaugurated as U.S. president, and institutes the most hostile policy against Cuba since the invasion at **BAY OF PIGS**. Despite conciliatory signals from Cuba, the new U.S. administration announces a tightening of the embargo.

- 1982** April 19. The **Reagan Administration** reestablishes the travel ban, prohibits U.S. citizens from spending money in Cuba, and allows the 1977 fishing accord to lapse.
- 1985** October 4. U.S. **President Reagan** bans travel to the U.S. by Cuban government or Communist Party officials or their representatives. It also bars most students, scholars, and artists.
- 1989** November 20. According to new regulations by the **U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY**, U.S. citizens who travel to Cuba can only spend a maximum of \$100 per day.
- 1990** October. In alliance with conservative Republicans, Cuban émigrés and the U.S. Congress pass the **Mack Amendment**, which prohibits all trade with Cuba by subsidiaries of U.S. companies located outside the U.S., and proposes sanctions or cessation of aid to any country that buys sugar or other products from Cuba.
- 1992** February 5. U.S. Congressman **Robert Torricelli** introduces the Cuban Democracy Act, and says **the bill is designed to "wreak havoc on the island."**

June 15. From an editorial in the *NY Times*:

"...This misnamed act (the **CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT**) is dubious in theory, cruel in its potential practice and ignoble in its election-year expediency... An influential faction of the Cuban American community clamors for sticking it to a wounded regime... There is, finally, something indecent about vociferous exiles living safely in Miami prescribing more pain for their poorer cousins."

October 15. U.S. Congress passes the **CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT**, which prohibits foreign-based subsidiaries of U.S. companies from trading with Cuba, travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens, and family remittances to Cuba. The law allows private groups to deliver food and medicine to Cuba. (At this time, 70% of Cuba's trade with U.S. subsidiary companies was in food and medicine. Many claim the **CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT** is in violation of international law and United Nations resolutions that food and medicine

cannot be used as weapons in international conflicts.)

October 23. President Bush signs the CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT. Congressman **Toricelli says that it will bring down Castro "within weeks."**

November 24. The UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY votes heavily in favor of a measure introduced by Cuba asking for an end to the U.S. EMBARGO. The vote is 59 in favor, 3 against (the U.S., ISRAEL and ROMANIA), and 79 abstentions. STATE DEPARTMENT spokesman **Joe Snyder** in the *LA Times*; "The Cuban government, in violation of international law, expropriated billions of dollars worth of private property belonging to U.S. individuals and has refused to make reasonable restitution. The U.S. embargo – and I point out it's not a blockade – is therefore a legitimate response to the unreasonable and illegal behavior of the Cuban government."

**1993** November 11. The UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY adopts a resolution on the "Necessity of ending the economic, commercial and financial embargo imposed by the United States of America against Cuba." The vote is 88 for the resolution, 4 against, with 47 abstentions.

*"I believe very few Americans realize what our country is trying to do down there - - starve people into submission and deprive children and old people of medicine."*

- Dr. Benjamin Spock  
From "Dr. Spock Takes Aid to Cuban Kids,"  
American Medical News, 2/22/93

**1994** October 26. For the 3<sup>rd</sup> year in a row, the UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY votes overwhelmingly for a measure to end the U.S. Embargo of Cuba. The vote is 101-2, with 48 abstentions, and only ISRAEL votes with the U.S.

**1995** October 5. The **Clinton Administration** announces a new people-to-people-contact plan.

November 2. The **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** recommends an end to the embargo (for the fourth consecutive year) by a vote of 117 to 3 (38 abstentions). Only **ISRAEL** and **UZBEKISTAN** join the **U.S.** in saying no. Since then, **each time the vote comes up at the UN, the number of nations voting against the embargo increases.**

**1996** March 12. President Clinton signs the **Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (Libertad) Act** (also known as the **Helms-Burton Act**) which imposes penalties on foreign companies doing business in Cuba, permits U.S. citizens to sue foreign investors who make use of American-owned property seized by the Cuban government, and denies entry into the U.S. to such foreign investors.

July 16. President Clinton suspends enforcement of Title III provisions of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT**.

November 12. By a vote of 137 to 3, the **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** recommends, for the 5<sup>th</sup> consecutive year, that the U.S. end the embargo against Cuba.

*"I call on this country to respect international law and self-determination, and to normalize relations with the Cubans. Surely, it is time to end the Cold War in this hemisphere. Let trade and travel grow."*  
- Rev. Jesse Jackson

**1997** January 3. President Clinton again suspends enforcement of Title III provisions of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT**.

February 12. The **CLINTON ADMINISTRATION** approves licenses for U.S. news organizations to open bureaus in Cuba. (The Cuban government allows only CNN in to the island.)

July 16. President Clinton again suspends enforcement of Title III provisions of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT**.

November 5. The **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** passes a resolution to end the Cuban embargo. The vote is 143 to 3.

**1998**

January. President Clinton again suspends enforcement of Title III provisions of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT**.

January 13. In Washington, the organization **AMERICANS FOR HUMANITARIAN TRADE WITH CUBA** is formed to allow humanitarian trade with the island.

March 13. In Boston, Roman Catholic Cardinal **Bernard Law** urges US President **Bill Clinton** to end the 36-year-old embargo. "It is impossible to reasonably support the embargo against Cuba while at the same time granting **Most Favored Nation Status** to the **PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**..." says Law.

March 20. U.S. regulations on Cuba are amended as follows:

- U.S. citizens may send up to \$1,200 annually to relatives in Cuba.
- Direct passenger flights are permitted, although implementation of these amendments is not immediate.

July 16. President **Clinton** again suspends enforcement of Title III provisions of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT**.

July 21. The **US TREASURY DEPARTMENT** denies PWN permission to participate in **EXPOCUBA**, an exhibition of pharmaceuticals in Cuba.

October 16. The **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** adopts a resolution against the U.S. embargo on Cuba for the 7<sup>th</sup> consecutive year. The vote is 157 to end the embargo and 2 (U.S. & Israel) to keep it.

October. The **US TREASURY DEPARTMENT** investigates two US organizations for traveling to Cuba without a license; **GLOBAL EXCHANGE** and **PASTORS FOR PEACE**.

September 11. After returning home from a visit to Cuba, ex world boxing champ **Muhammad Ali** calls for an end to the trade embargo against Cuba.

December 6. From Havana, US Senator **Christopher Dodd**, a member of the **U.S. SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE** urges his

*"The Cold War is over. The democratic process is under way everywhere in the former Soviet Union, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, and Cuba alone seems to be isolated from that process by the embargo."*

- Mikhail Gorbachev,  
October, 1998

government to establish a “new conversation for the new millennium” with Cuba.

**1999** January. The **Clinton** administration announces changes to the embargo, which include:

- Sales of some food and agricultural products to private individuals and non-governmental organizations,
- An increase in the number of charter flights to Cuba,
- Allows anyone (not just CUBAN-AMERICANS) to send up to \$1,200 per year,
- Allows major league team, the **BALTIMORE ORIOLES**, to arrange two exhibition games, one in Cuba, the other in the U.S., and
- Increases the amount of money a U.S. visitor can spend on the island from \$100 per day to \$185 per day.

January 16. President **Clinton** again suspends enforcement of Title III provisions of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT**.

February 18. Six members of the **U.S. Congressional Black Caucus** visit Cuba to evaluate the U.S.-imposed embargo. Among the visitors: **Maxine Waters** and **Barbara Lee** of California, **Sheila Jackson-Lee** of Texas, **Julia Carson** of Indiana and others.

February 23. The **COALITION OF AMERICANS FOR HUMANITARIAN TRADE WITH CUBA** joins the **UNITED STATES ASSOCIATION OF FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS** to call on the Clinton administration to end the embargo on food and medicines to Cuba. "The U.S. embargo on Cuba is the single most restrictive policy of its kind. Even Iraq is able to buy food and medicine from U.S. sources," says **George Fernandez**, Executive Director at AHTC. "As a Cuban American, I speak for the vast majority of us who do not think the U.S. should be in the business of denying basic sustenance to families and children in Cuba."

July 16. President **Clinton** again suspends enforcement of Title III

*"If the United States wants to demonstrate the value of our Stars and Stripes to the people of Cuba, we must permit them to see the flag, to touch the flag and, most important, to speak with those who are represented by the flag. The flag is our people, our spirit, our values, our culture and, yes, our products and services."*

- Dwayne O. Andreas,  
Chairman Emeritus,  
Archer Daniels  
Midland Company  
Cigar Aficionado,  
May/June 1999

provisions of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT**.

November 9. A resolution is passed in the **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** on the need to end the U.S. embargo against Cuba. The vote is 155 in favor and 2 against (**U.S.** and **ISRAEL**). This is the 8th time in as many years that the resolution is passed.

**2000** January 15. President **Clinton** again suspends enforcement of Title III provisions of the **HELMS-BURTON ACT**.

March 17. **US SECRETARY OF STATE, Madeleine Albright**, announces the first easing of sanctions on **Iran** (which began in 1979 after students seized the US embassy in Tehran). “We’re looking for ways to respond to changes in Iran,” said State Department spokesman **James B. Foley**, “and to advance prospects for a better relationship. It is something that is under consideration – how to best respond.”

May 7. In a more symbolic than legal decision, Cuban courts order the US to pay \$121 billion in damages for the 4-decade-long embargo. A similar lawsuit in November 1999 found the US government liable for deaths and damage from “aggressive policies towards Cuba,” in the amount of \$181 billion. Observers content that both lawsuits came about in response to a ruling by a US federal judge in Miami ordering Cuba to pay \$187 million to families of pilots shot down by Cuban fighter planes in 1996.

October 19. At a meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce, American Businessman and ICC Vice-President **Richard D. McCormick**, calls for an end to the US trade embargo of Cuba. “...embargoes don’t work,” said McCormick. “They are counterproductive; they just hurt the people who are in the least position to help themselves. I think that after 38 years it is time for this embargo to be ended. Unilateral sanctions don’t work.” (Mr. McCormick serves on the boards of **UAL CORPORATION (UNITED AIRLINES)**, **WELLS FARGO AND COMPANY**, **UNITED TECHNOLOGIES CORPORATION**, and **CONCEPT FIVE TECHNOLOGIES**.)

November 9. The **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** passes a Cuban-

drafted resolution calling for an end to the US-Cuba embargo. The vote is 167 in favor, 3 against, and 4 abstentions. Voting with the US against the resolution are the **MARSHALL ISLANDS** and **ISRAEL**.

November 29. A 23-member task force in the U.S., made up of liberals and conservatives, calls for an end to the embargo to "help the island's transition to a post-Castro era and reduce the chances of U.S. military intervention."

## 2001

April 18. In Washington, the **CUBA POLICY FOUNDATION** releases a poll in which a **majority of Americans support the idea of doing business with Cuba** and allowing travel to the island. Most agree with the decision to reunite **Elián González** with his father in Cuba.

August 23. Organizers of the **LATIN GRAMMY AWARDS** announce that they will change the location of this year's event from Miami to Los Angeles fearing violent protests from anti-communist exiles.

November 28. For the 10th consecutive time the **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** votes to condemn the 4-decade-old trade embargo by a vote of 167 to 3, with three nations abstaining. Voting for the embargo: U.S., Israel and the Marshall Islands.

November 30. The U.S. government turns down a Cuban offer to compensate Americans for properties confiscated by the Revolution 40 years ago.

## 2002

April 5. In Philadelphia, businessman **James Sabzali** is found guilty of violating the US embargo against Cuba.

May 13. From **HAVANA'S CENTER FOR GENETIC ENGINEERING AND BIOTECHNOLOGY**, **Jimmy Carter** says: "With some degree of reluctance I would also like to comment on the allegation of bioterrorism. I do this because these allegations were made maybe not coincidentally just before our visit to Cuba. In preparation for this unprecedented visit, I requested, and we all received, intense briefings from the State Department, the intelligence agencies of my country, and high officials in the White House. One purpose of this briefing was for them to share with us any concerns that my government had about

possible terrorist activities that were supported by Cuba. There were absolutely no such allegations made or questions raised. I asked them specifically on more than one occasion is there any evidence that Cuba has been involved in sharing any information to any other country on Earth that could be used for terrorist purposes. And the answer from our experts on intelligence was ‘no.’

I think it’s very significant though that this allegation was made, and I’m grateful for a chance to come here at the center of this effort on behalf of Cuba.”

June. **Matt Welch** writes in *Foul Ball* (Reason Online), “Even though the [Cuban] people are generally smart and jaded enough to tune out the government’s propaganda, they don’t have much of anything to replace it with, except for the odd BBC broadcast—and contact with foreign tourists. Every conversation with an American about the U.S. undermines Fidel Castro by definition, because it surely contradicts the banal lies he and his media mouth on a daily basis.”

July 23. In Washington, the **US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES** votes 262 to 167 to end the travel ban and allow the sale of American goods to Cuba. 73 Republicans vote against the embargo.

July 28. From an editorial in the *New York Daily News*: “...slowly but surely, the tide is turning in favor of lifting travel and trade sanctions against Cuba. More and more Republicans are not willing to let the larger interests of the U.S. and their own constituents be sacrificed to the gods of electoral politics.

“As Rep. **Jeff Flake**, the **ARIZONA REPUBLICAN** who led the effort to repeal the travel ban, said: “This is all about freedom. Our government shouldn’t tell us where to travel and where not to travel.”

July 29. From an editorial in the *Boston Herald*: “The more travelers there are (to Cuba) the more the truth will spread, and that can only help the transition of Cuba out of tyranny when the tyrant dies.”

August 7. In Washington, House Majority Leader **Dick Armey** (R-Texas) says the U.S. should open trade with Cuba.

*“I did not come here to interfere in Cuba’s internal affairs, but to extend a hand of friendship to the Cuban people and to offer a vision of the future for our two countries and for all the Americas.”*  
- Jimmy Carter  
May 14, 2002

August 7. From an editorial in the *Boston Globe*. “As for human rights, opening travel and trade to the island would improve the monitoring of human rights abuses and expose more Cubans to American values. Bush ought to put the interests of both Cubans and Americans before his domestic political needs.”

November 13. For the 11<sup>th</sup> straight year, the **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** overwhelmingly approves a resolution asking the US to end the 40-plus-years embargo against Cuba. The vote is 173 in favor of the resolution and 3 against (**US, ISRAEL, MARSHALL ISLANDS**), with no abstentions. European nations expressed objection to the embargo, citing US penalties on countries and companies doing business with Cuba as “extraterritorial,” and saying that the embargo is a bilateral issue between the US and Cuba and should not be imposed on others.

## 2003

March 12. U.S. Senators **Max Baucus** (D-MT) and **Chuck Hagel** (R-NE) introduce a bill in **CONGRESS** (**UNITED STATES-CUBA TRADE ACT OF 2003**) that seeks to lift the embargo.

March 12. **Stephan Vitvitsky** writes in *Tufts Daily*; “...the Cold War ended in 1991 when the Soviet Union ceased to exist. There is no more communist threat and the United States is the lone superpower of the world. So the embargo does not make sense in the post-COLD WAR world as it has outlived one of its main objectives by twelve years, quarantining countries allied with the Soviet Union.

March 21. Ten U.S. Senators from both political parties form the **CUBA WORKING GROUP**, to promote an end to the embargo. Members include **Max Baucus**, Democrat from Montana, and **Pat Roberts**, a Republican from Kansas. “We believe that the American people can have greater influence on Cuban society by developing a relationship with the Cuban people,” the senators say in a letter to senate leaders.

September 15. The **US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES** approve a bill ending travel restrictions to Cuba for US citizens. The bill,

*“We believe that the American people can have greater influence on Cuban society by developing a relationship with the Cuban people.”*  
- From a letter by members of US Senate Cuba Working Group, March 21, 2003

authored by Jeff Flake, wins by a vote of 227 to 188. [Like similar bills on the embargo passed by the House, this one will die in the Senate.]

September 30. The **U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT'S OFFICE FOR FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL (OFAC)** passes a regulation that bans publication of scientific articles from regimes subject to sanctions by the U.S. government, as is Cuba. (The measure is repealed on April 5, 2004)

October 10. U.S. President **George W. Bush** establishes the **COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO A FREE CUBA**, and further enforces the ban on travel to the island.

October 20. About 3 dozen US travel industry executives spend the day in Cuba to consider "future business potential." At the end of the day they return to a resort in **CANCUN, MEXICO**, where the first US-Cuba travel conference is held.

October 24. The **U.S. SENATE** votes (59 to 36) in favor of lifting the ban on travel to Cuba. The result is similar to a vote at the **HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES** last month. This is a major "rebuff" of President Bush's policy towards Cuba. (The travel ban was introduced by President **John F. Kennedy** in 1963.)

November 4. The **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** votes overwhelmingly against the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba for the 12<sup>th</sup> consecutive year. Only 3 nations vote for the embargo: the **U.S.**, **ISRAEL** and the **MARSHALL ISLANDS**.

**2004**

February 26. President Bush signs *PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION 7757*, which bans vessels from traveling to Cuban ports from U.S. ports.

April 30. According to a letter sent by the **U.S. OFFICE OF FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL (OFAC)** to the **U.S. CONGRESS** late last year (and now provided to the *ASSOCIATED PRESS*) the **TREASURY DEPARTMENT** had 4 full-time employees dedicated to investigating **Osama bin**

*"If Bush is serious about fostering change in Cuba, he will end both the restrictions that keep most Americans from traveling to Cuba and the long US economic embargo.*

*"Even many of the dissidents and so-called independent journalists I've talked to in Cuba oppose the embargo. While it offers false hope to the aging vanguard of anti-Castro Cubans in South Florida, the embargo holds little promise of ever actually dislodging the island's communist government."*

- DeWayne Wickham,  
USA Today, 2003

**Laden and Saddam Hussein**, and over 2 dozen assigned to investigating Cuban Embargo violations.

The letter reveals that over \$8 million were collected in embargo violation fines since 1994, and over 10,683 “enforcement investigations” opened since 1990. Relating to terrorism, the OFAC opened 93 “enforcement investigations” between 1990 and 2003.

October 28. For the 13<sup>th</sup> consecutive year, the **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY** votes overwhelmingly against the U.S. embargo on Cuba. The vote is 179 to 4, with 1 abstention. Voting with the U.S. for the embargo are **ISRAEL, PALAU** and the **MARSHALL ISLANDS**. In the only speech loudly applauded on the assembly floor, Cuba’s Foreign Minister **Felipe Perez Roughe** states: “The U.S. government has unleashed a world wide genocidal economic war against Cuba. It is the government of a large and mighty empire, but it is afraid of the example of a small rebellious island.”

December 16. A number of U.S. lawmakers and food firms meet in Havana. By the end of the week, Cuba has agreed to purchase about \$125 million in farm goods from U.S. companies.

## **2005**

June 21. The **U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE** approves an amendment that rolls back a rule issued by the **TREASURY DEPARTMENT** last February that requires that Cuba pay for food imports from the U.S. before they leave port. The full **HOUSE** and **SENATE** must approve the amendment before it becomes law.

June 29. The **NATIONAL SECURITY ARCHIVE** releases a memo written by Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy** on December 12 1963 (less than a month after President Kennedy’s assassination), in which he seeks to lift the travel ban to Cuba. He refers to the ban as “inconsistent with traditional American liberties.” Also released is a memo about a December 13 1963 meeting at the **STATE DEPARTMENT** (to which Kennedy was not invited), in which **UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE George Ball** rules out the possibility of ending the travel ban.

November 8. For the 14<sup>th</sup> straight year, the **UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

votes to end the US embargo against Cuba. The vote is 182 in favor, 4 against (US, ISRAEL, the MARSHALL ISLANDS, PALAU) and 1 abstention (MICRONESIA).

## 2006

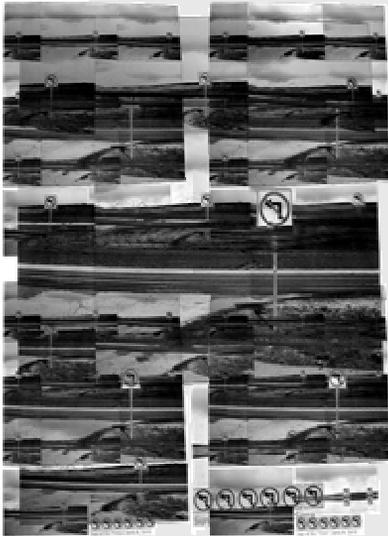
July 11. US President **G.W. Bush** approves \$80 million to be used for “boosting democracy in Cuba.” The fund is the result of proposals from a commission (members of which include **Condoleezza Rice** and Commerce Secretary **Carlos Gutierrez**) exploring “US policy towards Cuba after the eventual death of **Fidel Castro**.” The Cuban government refers to this as an “act of aggression,” and Cuban dissident-journalist **Oscar Espinosa Chepe** considers the fund “...counterproductive. I believe Cubans have to be the ones who love our problems and any interference serves to complicate the situation,” he says.

November 8. For the 15<sup>th</sup> straight year, the UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY votes overwhelmingly on a resolution to demand an end of the US embargo against Cuba. The vote is 183 in favor of the resolution (to end the embargo) and 4 against, with the nation of MICRONESIA abstaining. Voting with the U.S. is ISRAEL, the MARSHALL ISLANDS and PALAU.

## 2007

March 1. US Senator **Michael B. Enzi** introduces the *FREEDOM TO TRAVEL TO CUBA ACT* on the floor of the senate: “If you keep on doing what you have always been doing,” he says, “you are going to wind up getting what you already got. ...We are not hurting the Cuban government; we are hurting the Cuban people. ...It is time for a different policy.”

From  
REPORT OF THE COMMISSION FOR ASSISTANCE TO A FREE CUBA  
HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
109TH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION  
JULY 27, 2006



*“I think that it is, quite frankly, unconscionable that certain Cuban American groups and others had direct access and input about what would go into the report that affects the entire Nation, while members of Congress with alternative perspectives were excluded. I mean, this is America, and this is, I think, a democracy...”*

*I thought that was what the basic criticism—one of the basic criticisms of Cuba is, that it’s a closed society. Well, it’s been very closed dealing with you all with regard to this report...”*

**Barbara Lee, Representative from California**

# APPENDIX B

UN General Assembly votes on  
“the need to end the US embargo against Cuba”

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>	<b>ABSTENTIONS</b>
1992	59	3	79
1993	88	4	57
1994	101	2	48
1995	117	3	38
1996	137	3	25
1997	143	3	17
1998	157	2	12
1999	155	2	8
2000	167	3	4
2001	167	3	3
2002	173	3	0
2003	175	3	2
2004	179	4	1
2005	182	4	1
2006	183	4	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,183</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>296</b>
	<b>86%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>12%</b>

## FACTS

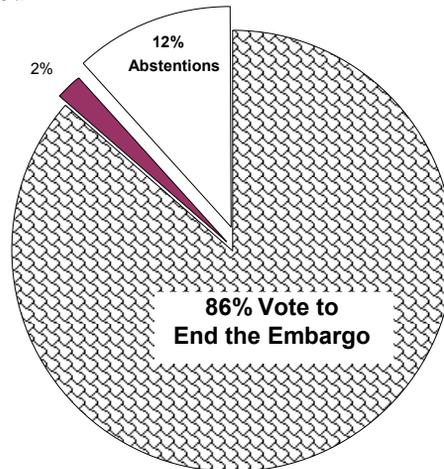
**1992 – 2006**

2,183 Votes to end the embargo

46 Votes to keep the embargo

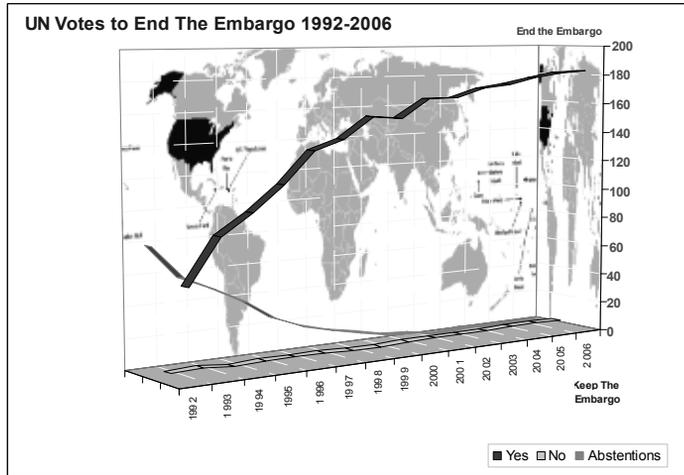
296 Abstentions

- More abstentions than support votes for the embargo
- Never more than 4 votes in support of the embargo
- Fewer to zero abstentions in the vote since 1999
- The same 3 countries usually vote with the US to maintain the embargo: Israel, Marshal Islands and Palou

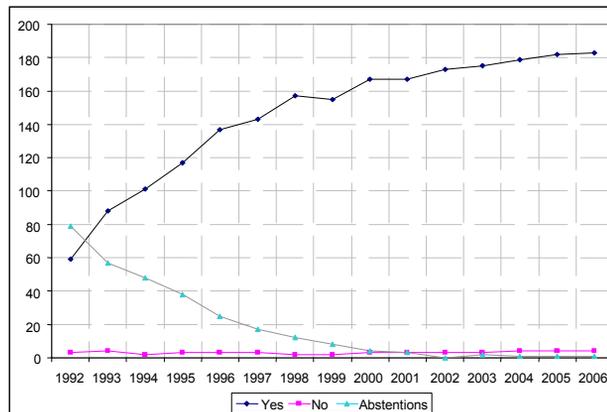


Download a free color Pdf file if this table and graphs  
at: [historyofcuba.com/embargo.htm](http://historyofcuba.com/embargo.htm)

# UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTES ON *THE NEED TO END THE EMBARGO*



The trend in world opposition to the US embargo of Cuba as reflected in 15 years of UN General Assembly votes



Source: Embargo Timeline / [historyofcuba.com](http://historyofcuba.com)

# APPENDIX C

## AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH

From 48 former U.S. senators from both political parties, read into the record by Senator Boxer on May 21, 2002, during a hearing before the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, Foreign Commerce and Tourism, of the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, US Senate, 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, Second Session

To President George W. Bush and his Administration  
and all members of the U.S. House and Senate:

We are a bipartisan group of former U.S. Senators who believe that U.S. policy toward Cuba needs to change. Our present policy was created as a tool to topple the Castro government. Fidel Castro has not been in power for 43 years—and we have had ten Presidents during that time. Our current policy has failed.

We are the only nation in the world that have an economic embargo and boycott of Cuba, and the clear lesson of recent history is that if economic sanctions are to be successful, they must have strong international support.

The reality is that the present policy retards the day when the Cuban people will enjoy fuller freedoms and hurts Americans and Cubans economically. Recent studies by Texas A&M and Rice University conclude that economic sanctions cost the American economy upwards of \$6 billion in the agricultural and energy sectors alone.

The United States recognizes and trades with several nations that have a human rights record worse than Cuba's. Recently, Secretary of State Colin Powell proposed lifting economic sanctions on Saddam Hussein's Iraq, while keeping sanctions on weapons. If that makes sense for Iraq, it certainly makes sense for Cuba where no other nation agrees with our policy.

We favor normalizing relations with Cuba, while at the same time making clear our support for human rights. These minimal first steps should be taken:

1. Lift the travel ban on U.S. visitors to Cuba. Unless there is a physical danger for American citizens, we should be permitted to travel anywhere.

2. Encourage academic exchanges and other exchanges, so that we can learn as much about Cuba as possible, and they can learn as much about us as possible.
3. Lift the barriers to normal trade with Cuba, except for trade that might have military significance
4. Repeal laws that cause friction with other nations that carry on normal relations with Cuba.

We look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

James Abourezk (D-SD)  
 Mark Andrews (R-ND)  
 Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX)  
 Daniel Brewster (D-MD)  
 Dale Bumpers (D-AR)  
 Jocelyn Birch Burdick (D-ND)  
 Marlow Cook (R-KY)  
 John C. Culver (D-IA)  
 Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ)  
 David Durenberger (R-MN)  
 Thomas Eagleton (D-MO)  
 J. James Exon (D-NE)  
 Sheila Frahm (R-KS)  
 David H. Grambrell (D-GA)  
 Jake Garn (R-UT)  
 Rod Grams (R-MN)  
 Mike Gravel (D-AK)  
 Fred R. Harris (D-OK)  
 Mark O. Hatfield (R-OR)  
 William Hathaway (D-ME)  
 Walter "Dee" Huddleston (D-KY)  
 Roger Jepsen (R-IA)  
 J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA)  
 Robert Krueger (D-TX)

Frank R. Lautenberg (D-NJ)  
 Harlan Mathews (D-TN)  
 Charles McC. Mathias (R-MD)  
 Eugene McCarthy (D-MN)  
 John Melcher (D-MN)  
 Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH)  
 Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL)  
 Frank E. Moss (D-MT)  
 Gaylord Nelson (D-WI)  
 Sam Nunn (D-GA)  
 Charles Percy (R-IL)  
 William Proxmire (D-WI)  
 Donald Riegle, Jr. (D-MI)  
 James R. Sasser (D-TN)  
 Richard Schweiker (R-PA)  
 Paul Simon (D-IL)  
 Alan Simpson (R-WY)  
 Robert Stafford (R-VT)  
 Adlai E. Stevenson (D-IL)  
 Donald W. Stewart (D-AL)  
 Steve Symms (R-ID)  
 Joseph D. Tydings (D-MD)  
 Malcolm Wallop (R-MD)  
 Lowell Weicker, Jr. (R-CT)

# APPENDIX D: THE EMBARGO IS NOT AGAINST CUBA

## IT IS AGAINST:

A member of the axis of evil	Our enemy
A ruthless dictator	Raul
A tyrant	Repression
Castro and his inner circle	Repressive communism++
Castro	The bearded one
Castro's brutal dictatorship	The Castro government
Castro's cronies	The Castro regime
Castro's Cuba	The Castro regime's tyranny
Castro's dictatorship	The dictator
Castro's oppressive regime	The enemies of freedom
Castro's tyrannical regime	The evil dictator
Communism	The Havana regime
Fidel	The tyrannical dictator
Fidel Castro's Terrorist Regime*	The tyrant dictator
Mr. Castro	To preserve freedom

\*This came from a U.S. House of Representatives resolution “expressing support to the organizers and participants of the historic meeting of the assembly to promote the civil society in Cuba...” adopted on April 20, 2005. The meeting began at 1:50 pm, and ended at 1:58 pm, by which time the name “Castro” had been read or spoken 18 times.

(<http://www.internationalrelations.house.gov/archives/109/20783.pdf>)

++Favored by U.S. Commerce Secretary Carlos M. Gutierrez

# APPENDIX E:

STATEMENT OF RALPH AND FILOMENA KAEHLER  
at a Hearing before the Committee on Agriculture in the House of  
Representatives, March 6, 2005

Why develop a friend 80 miles off of our coast, when we can create another enemy instead?

That is what the supporters of the embargo and the recently imposed anti-free trade restrictions are doing.

The Ralph Kaehler Family (Ralph, Filomena, Cliff, and Seth) of St. Charles, Minnesota, has been actively involved with Cuban trade and humanitarian issues since the U.S. Food & Agribusiness Exposition in Havana, Cuba September, 2002. We are a family owned farming operation in southeast Minnesota—Congressman Gil Gutknecht’s area. We raise and sell beef breeding stock, corn, and soybeans on our farm that has been in the family since 1881.

Our boys are 13 and 15 years old—we want them to go to Cuba to continue negotiating contracts—rather than having them sent there with a gun to help keep peace—if the flawed policy of the U.S. Government continues. The last UN vote on the issue of ending the USA embargo toward Cuba was 173 to 3.

1) We need to end the embargo with Cuba. To paraphrase Minnesota Speaker of the House Steve Swiggum, “If you don’t trade food with a country, you end up trading bullets.”

(2) Until we end the embargo, we need to interpret the rules of trade with Cuba as Congress intended.

(3) We need to have direct banking between U.S. & Cuba to reduce our expenses, make food products more competitive, and make it easier to receive and track payments.

Our small operation has had much success with trade with Cuba:

- exported first livestock since the embargo
- conducted feeding trials and sold the first Distillers Dried Grain
- sold the first large group of dairy and beef heifers first shipment July 2003, second shipment Jan 2005

- sold the first bison
- sold the first sheep—which included 3 different breeds
- negotiated the first letter of intent to purchase Powdered Milk—November 2003

Our family’s pending and current contracts that will be negatively impacted by the recent restrictions of free and democratic trade by our government’s new interpretation are:

- 10,000 MT Distillers Dried Grain
- 2nd sheep contract, 30–60 head
- beef and dairy breeding stock, 300 head
- Embryos from our boys’ 4– cattle herd

This will have a severe impact on our family farm business, along with the other farmers who supply us the products.

44

As one looks into the U.S. Cuba policy, you encounter a broad range of stories and emotions. On our first visit, we went to Cuba with a neutral stance regarding the US-Cuba policy—but now, we wholeheartedly agree with the following observation which so eloquently captures the typical American’s response upon seeing the situation for himself, “If you go to Cuba politically neutral, you will come back an advocate to end the embargo.”

Our family and all 23 producers and business people who traveled to Cuba with us for Alimport Negotiations Events have come back as, “Ardent Advocates for Normalization of Trade Relations with Cuba.” These farmers and businessmen that traveled with us represent the following Agricultural business groups: Beef cattle, Dairy cattle, Sheep, Bison, Sugar Beets, Corn, Soybeans, hay, Edible Beans, Brokerage companies, and journalists.

Cuba is the first nation to buy large quantities of U.S. live beef and dairy breeding stock since the discovery of the BSE cow in December of 2003. Of all the nations that could have shown support for U.S. cattlemen—Cuba stepped up to the plate first.

Other credits to Cuba—it has grown to be our 25th largest export market—we cannot use the term “partner” as our trade with Cuba is one way, due to our Government’s restrictions of imports from Cuba.

In a Democracy, the majority is supposed to rule, not an elite minority. As long as the embargo is in place, this minority is ruling. We respectfully ask you to end the embargo that has been so ineffective, threatens peace with our neighbor, and has been detrimental to both the Cuban people and the American Farmer. In the immediate future, we request that you support the Cuban Trade Facilitation Act of 2005 as introduced by Senator Baucus.

Thank you for taking the time to hear our concerns.

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ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY  
From an article the April 17 2001 issue of the *Boston Globe*, on the 40th anniversary of the Invasion at Bay of Pigs:



*“...the embargo protects the Castro regime, providing it with an all-purpose alibi for economic hardship and enabling Castro to play the nationalist card, potent with his proud people. Lifting the embargo would very likely drown Castro’s revolution in a torrent of American tourists, investors, consumer goods, and popular culture. That is why anti-Castro dissidents within Cuba, unlike the anti-Castro fanatics in Miami, argue against the embargo.*

*...Cuba is not a foreign policy issue for the United States, it is an issue of domestic politics. Florida is the fourth-largest state and, as the recent presidential election demonstrated, a crucial prize. The hard-line Cuban-Americans around Miami are thought to hold the key to victory. Their only wish about the embargo is to tighten it. And the brother of the new president is the governor of Florida.*

*Polls today show that most Americans would welcome resumption of relations with Cuba. This year at least 200,000 Americans will visit Cuba. Farm states see Cuba as a market for their agricultural surplus. Businessmen watch with envy while Canadian, Spanish, Venezuelan, and German competitors invest in Cuba. Even *The Wall Street Journal* is skeptical about the embargo.*

*But hardliners continue to claim that tightening the embargo would somehow, after 40 ineffectual years, lead to the overthrow of the regime. They also use the excuse of human rights. Castro is hardly a model human rights practitioner. Still, countries like China and Saudi Arabia, with which Washington has full diplomatic relations, have far worse human rights records than Cuba’s.”*

# APPENDIX F: READINGS

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Cuba – A Peak Oil Country, Pat Murphy, *The Community Solution*

Time for America to Be Relevant in Cuba, Charles B. Rangel and Jeff Flake, *Washington Post*, April 14 2007

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After 46 Years of Failure We Must Change Course on Cuba, Wayne S. Smith, *Guardian*, November 1 2006

Human Rights Watch Report, Vol. 17, No. 5, October 2005

US Changes Position on Cuba's Weapons, Tom Regan, *Christian Science Monitor*, September 8 2005

Robert F. Kennedy Urged Lifting Travel Ban to Cuba in '63, *National Security Archive*,

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US Tiptoes Between Terror – Castro's Policies, Howard LaFranchi, *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 20 2005

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Mandela Rejects Clinton Plan for US-Africa Trade, *San Francisco Examiner*,  
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ON BECOMING CUBAN, Luis A. Perez Jr., Harper Collins

THE MAFIA IN HAVANA, Enrique Cirules, Ocean Press

HEALING THE MASSES, CUBAN HEALTH POLITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD, Julie M. Feinsilver, University of California Berkeley Press

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CASTRO OBSESSION, US COVERT OPERATIONS AGAINST CUBA, 1959-1965, Don Bohning, Potomac Books Inc

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**RESOURCES @ historyofcuba.com**

**The Embargo Timeline –**

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**The Spanish-Cuban-American War -**

<http://www.historyofcuba.com/history/scaw/spawar.htm>

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**Guantánamo Bay: A Historical Look -**

<http://www.historyofcuba.com/history/funfacts/guantan.htm>

For a convenient list of all the web sites and reports mentioned in this book visit the companion web page: <http://historyofcuba.com/embargo.htm>





*“...we’re talking past each other, and it’s frustrating for both of us, and I hope maybe you’ll think a little bit about what we said here today.”*

Senator Barbara Boxer, May 21, 2002



