

BUSH ON CUBA

Selected Statements by the President

With a Foreword by Vice President Dan Quayle



CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION

The Cuban American National Foundation is an independent, non-profit institution devoted to the gathering and dissemination of data concerning the economic, political and social welfare of the Cuban people, both on the island and in exile. The Foundation supports the concept of a free and democratic Cuba.

The Foundation promotes an objective view of Cuba and Cubans, and an objective appraisal of the Cuban government and its policies.

The Foundation supports a general program to enlighten and clarify public opinion on problems of Cuban concern, to fight bigotry, protect human rights, and promote cultural interests and creative achievement.

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The Cuban American National Foundation
1991

FOREWORD

by

Dan Quayle

Vice President of the United States

In his Inaugural Address, President Bush said that a new breeze was blowing throughout the world, knocking down walls of oppression and breathing life into nations long deprived of liberty and freedom. During the revolutions of 1989, all Americans rejoiced when the winds of freedom pushed Eastern Europe toward democracy and the Soviet Union toward political and economic reform.

There remain, however, several renegade regimes in the world. They are resisting the winds of change. And atop this list of dictators stands Fidel Castro. For three decades, he has arrogantly assumed to himself control of Cuba's destiny, denying his people their natural rights and individual liberties.

Today, the tide has shifted. Castro's former allies in Eastern Europe are condemning his regime of force and fear. Similarly, former admirers in this country are now calling for him to relinquish his grip and free Cuba. In maintaining his dictatorship in this day of liberation, Castro has only served to underscore the extreme isolation in which he has placed himself.

The citadels of dictatorship are falling throughout the world. Do the leaders in Havana think they can evade democratic elections and political freedom forever? The power of the people is evident every day on the streets of Eastern Europe. It will soon be felt in Cuba.

For many, it took the liberating events in Moscow and Eastern Europe to expose to the world the true and violent nature of the Castro regime. Others, however, have never been swayed by illusions of Fidel Castro's "socialist paradise."

George Bush is one of those who has never wavered in his opposition to Castro's dictatorship. As the following pages show, George Bush has always spoken eloquently and forcefully about the denial of human rights

and political freedoms in Cuba, and about Fidel Castro's attempts to subvert his neighbors.

In this book, President Bush expresses his wish and intention that Cuba will one day be free. George Bush has witnessed first hand what free Cubans have been able to accomplish in this land of opportunity. He has been touched by their passion to see their homeland free, and inspired by their unending love of democracy and freedom. We all look forward to the glorious day when, together, we celebrate freedom in the streets of Havana.

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**THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE
UNITED NATIONS
1971**

CUBAN MEDDLING IN U.S.-PUERTO RICO AFFAIRS

I have asked for the floor in order to speak against the proposal by the representative of Cuba which would overturn the recommendation of the General Committee that provisional agenda item 104, called "The colonial case of Puerto Rico," not be inscribed.

I am amazed to find the gentleman from Cuba talking about free elections. And I can think of only one explanation for our distinguished colleague's performance here today, and that is that the concept of free elections, the concept of self-determination by free elections, regrettably is an alien concept to him.

During the discussion of this item in the General Committee yesterday, we tried to be very brief, and I will be so again. I shall not engage in the general debate. The reasons for which the General Committee properly decided yesterday not to recommend inscription of this tendentious item remain very valid today.

The item is prejudicially entitled "The colonial case of Puerto Rico." Who has decided other than our colleague that Puerto Rico is a colony? Certainly not the people of Puerto Rico.

The intent of this item and of its author is to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States and of Puerto Rico. And the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico is founded on the clear recognition by the United States of the Puerto Rican people's inalienable right to self-determination.

Over 80 percent of the vote in Puerto Rico approved the establishment of the free associated state in 1952. And by the approval of the overwhelming majority therefore, a relationship was established that has endured and developed over nearly 20 years.

No change in this relationship has ever been imposed on the people of Puerto Rico. It has steadily evolved with their approval repeatedly expressed through free elections.... And it should be emphasized that none of the political parties in Puerto Rico has ever challenged the integrity of the electoral process.

...The people of Puerto Rico will again have an opportunity to register their political choice at the polls in November 1972, a free election, a contested election—a concept alien, I might add, to our distinguished friend from Cuba. And no political party will be prevented from participating because it advocates a political program different from that of the majority.

That fact that a tiny, infinitesimal minority in Puerto Rico holds contrary views is not unique. There are such minorities in my country, and I expect there is in each of your own countries.... There would be a tiny minority that would want to do it in some way totally different than the way your governments are constituted. And, indeed, this is true, I would say, of course around the world.

For these reasons the United States strongly supports the recommendation of the General Committee. I trust that we may dispose of this question promptly so we can proceed with the important matters that have caused us all to assemble here.

[Statement by U.N. Ambassador George Bush after a Cuban-sponsored proposal to discuss Puerto Rico was rejected by U.N. General Assembly, September 24, 1971. The recommendation of the General Committee not to include item 104 in the agenda was approved.]

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

1979–1980

CONFRONTING THE SOVIET GLOBAL CHALLENGE

...Finally, and equally important, we confront Soviet adventurism around the world. Their Cuban mercenaries—40,000 strong—are now planted in at least 24 different countries in Africa; their Vietnam proxies—100,000 strong—have swept aside the government in Cambodia; and the Soviets themselves are daily beaming radio broadcasts into Iran, telling the people there how perfidious the United States has been.

Personally, I do not understand how anyone could review all of the evidence without concluding that the Soviets are probing and testing our will.

And the central challenge they present is not one of overwhelming us with their nuclear weaponry—though that is always a grave possibility—but of slowly, inexorably breaking the links between the United States and its friends abroad.

That is why, in many respects, it does not necessarily serve Soviet intentions to convert Iran into a pro-Soviet state; what will serve their purposes equally well is to destroy Iran's ties to the West, turning it into a non-aligned, perhaps radicalized, state with policies paralleling those of a nation like Libya. That is the true nightmare that should haunt the White House today.

The second proposition that I want to advance this afternoon is that in light of this challenge, the overreaching responsibility of the United States in world affairs is to be the leader in preserving man's hope for freedom.

The President said in his State of the Union address this week that we need a "new foundation." In foreign affairs I completely agree. We do need a new foundation.

First, we must show more respect and understanding in the way we treat other nations that are friends and allies who share our commitments.

I deeply believe in the struggle for human rights and I believe that the United States should be the champion of that struggle; but I do not believe that we advance that goal—and certainly, we weaken our alliances and

friendships—by publicly kicking around nations like Argentina and Brazil while moving closer to a repressive regime like Cuba. Similarly, I cannot understand what purpose is advanced by continually sanctioning South Africa while remaining virtually silent about the atrocities committed in Cambodia. Let us press forward for human rights, but let us do so in harmony with our other goals.

We weaken our alliances and friendships by publicly kicking around nations like Argentina and Brazil while moving closer to a repressive regime like Cuba.

interests in the world and to stand firm in protecting them. As Winston Churchill said: "We cannot parley unless we arm. We cannot negotiate unless through strength"....

[From a speech delivered to Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, Washington, D.C., January 25, 1979]

CARTER'S DIPLOMATIC RETREAT I

...Diplomatically, our retreat is even more apparent. In the Far East, after our stinging defeat in Vietnam, we see the Soviet fleet now calling at Cam Ranh Bay and Soviet TU-95D bombers flying out of Da Nang, while Soviet-backed soldiers from North Vietnam run roughshod over Cambodia. Our friends in Korea fear—with good reason—that we may soon

abandon them militarily, while our friends in Taiwan speak openly of betrayal. Along the southern rim of Asia, two of our alliance systems built a quarter of a century ago—SEATO, and more recently, CENTO—have fallen apart. Along the so-called northern tier, even the President's National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, admits there is an "arc of crisis." Americans have been chased out of Afghanistan, our influence is waning in Pakistan, we have been forced out of Iran and our relations with Saudi Arabia have badly soured.

The litany of trouble is long and, unfortunately, growing larger still. In Africa, Soviet-backed forces now control Ethiopia, tightening the noose around the Arabian peninsula; in the meantime, Cuban surrogates—some 40,000 strong by the State Department's latest count—have apparently infested at least 16 countries, the Marxist-armed guerrillas threaten to set fire to Rhodesia and other parts of southern Africa. Even in our own hemisphere, there is mounting concern that anti-American guerrillas will soon battle their way to power in several Central American countries.

There are bright spots on the diplomatic horizon, of course, but the tide is running against us; and all about us, we hear voices asking whether the American century had ended. How right they are to ask and how difficult it is to answer.

Looking over the past quarter-century, it is clear that the decline of American power did not begin with Jimmy Carter, nor should all of our problems be heaped upon his doorstep. Long before he left Plains, Georgia, both the Soviets and the nations of OPEC were flexing their muscles.

My quarrel with the Carter administration, then, is not that it is the source of our difficulties, but that it seems so helpless in overcoming them. Unfortunately, this administration has neither a vision of America's role in the world nor even a clue of how to get there. Instead, its foreign policy seems like a tiny sailboat adrift on a violent sea, tossed in one direction or another by every new gust of wind. Neither friend nor foe can look upon us for steady, reliable leadership, and they are naturally beginning to pursue their own course, independent of American interests.

Harold MacMillan, chosen by Winston Churchill years ago as his successor at Number 10 Downing Street, has said: "Europeans have to deal with the weakest American administration in my lifetime." And there are

many others—both publicly and privately—who are joining him. The International Institute for Strategic Studies in London commented two weeks ago in its annual report that the Carter administration presents “a complicated and, at times, confused picture to the world.” The President’s personal style, the report continued, has left him unable “to provide the cohesion and consistency required to make the American system of government function effectively.”

But perhaps the most damning indictment is the assertion that as Americans look to Washington, D.C., for leadership, “often they see paralysis, stagnation, and drift.” And that, my friends, is the assertion of the President himself, delivered just twelve days ago.

What nation will join us in condemning foreign invasions and internal repression while our chief spokesman at the U.N. calls the Cubans a stabilizing force?

This perception of weakness is thus widely shared, and no wonder. How can our allies depend on us, after all, when our government one day promises that it will stand by an old friend, Taiwan, and then the next day abrogate our national defense treaty with them, admitting that it never even tried to negotiate the guarantee of a peaceful solution. What world leaders will gamble on the United States after watching the Chancellor of West

Germany, Helmut Schmidt—at our urging—courageously call for development of the neutron bomb and then the next day have our President yank the rug out from under him? What nation will join us in condemning foreign invasions and internal repression while our chief spokesman at the U.N. calls the Cubans a stabilizing force and says that the Ayatollah Khomeini will be remembered as a saint in Iran? This vacillation—this splendid oscillation—has not only endangered U.S. interests, but has made us the butt of jokes around the world. President Carter, says British historian Paul Johnson, is like a cushion, for “he always bears the impression of the last person who sat upon him.”

Ladies and gentlemen, we can reverse the decline in American power

and influence around the world. And indeed, we must, for without a strong, steady voice for peace in world affairs, there is a growing possibility that the world will slide into a new age of darkness. But the record of the past two-and-one-half years leaves no doubt that this administration has neither the capacity nor the courage to guide us out of the valley and up onto the high road again....

[From a speech to the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, June 6, 1979]

SOVIET SURROGATES

Question: What would or could you do as president to deal with the use of Cuban troops in Africa or elsewhere as sort of a surrogate army for the Soviets?

Bush: They are surrogates for the Soviets and we have to start with that understanding—that we’re not just dealing here with Castro’s adventurism. This is a game in which Cuba is being used as a pawn of the Soviets to gain political advantage and seek hegemony everywhere. We’ve got to have a principled foreign policy, one where the Soviets can’t inject those forces wherever they want and get no response from the United States and our allies. We had allies, for instance, that were eager to help in the Horn of Africa and in Angola. But we said “no support.” And the Soviets took that as an indication that they could go into other places. . . . If the U.S. appears to be impotent, it will spawn all kinds of adventurism. Not that the U.S. can be the world’s policeman, but there’s got to be a perception of strength to ensure order and some of it has to involve a turning-around of [Carter administration] policy. You’ve got to remember there are certain things Castro wants from the United States. And I think there ought to be a code of behavior that he’s held to before he gets anything.

Question: Are there circumstances under which you would support a normalization of U.S. relations with Cuba?

Bush: I’m not ready to talk about normalization. Just to improve relations at all, I think the minimum requirements should be that the Cubans

remove all their troops from Africa and provide stronger assurances there won't be any destabilization of other countries in this hemisphere.

[Interview with *Political Profiles*, September 1979]

CASTRO IN AFRICA

Question: ... We once had military superiority, and today we have what Sen. Nunn would say is "clinging parity." But the Soviets, or at least communism, seem to advance under any condition. Would you, as president, be interested in supporting a forward strategy for the U.S., that is, in aiding pro-Western forces that might be in rebellion against a Soviet-controlled regime?

Bush: Let me give you an example that I can talk about because I don't want to come off as a guy who'll always be meddling in somebody else's affairs. That would not be the kind of president I'd be. But I think the Senate of the United States was wrong in curtailing support for forces in opposition to the communist forces in Angola, led by Jonas Savimbi.

The Senate, in its infinite wisdom, cut off aid, saying, well, we don't want to have any more Vietnams. There was never any intention of sending U.S. troops into Angola. At that point there were 18,000 Cubans in Africa. Today there are 44,000. We step back, we vacillate, we are unwilling to support anything of that nature, and you wake up and things are worse. We're dealing with an aggressive intent on the part of the Soviets. The Chinese are right when they say the Soviets are seeking hegemony all across Africa. They're right about that.

Question: Would you do anything about Cuba today?

Bush: I've insisted that the President use whatever leverage we've got and whatever is necessary to get those Soviet troops out of Cuba.

Question: How about pressuring Cuban troops out of Africa?

Bush: I think the same thing. I would certainly not move any closer to Castro. He's out there using Cuban troops as surrogates for the Soviet Union in Africa.

Question: Is there anything specifically that we could do that you are aware of or want to mention?

Bush: Let me just say that there are things that Cuba and the Soviet Union want from us that they should not get until there's some satisfaction on this issue.

[Interview with *Human Events*, November 24, 1979]

CARTER'S DIPLOMATIC RETREAT II

... What is the "Carter Doctrine" as practiced over the past three years?

Simply stated, it is that the United States, though the professed leader of the free world, should not be depended on to meet force with anything except words and phrases—because this nation's military power has been reduced to the point where America does not, in fact, have the strength to meet its commitments around the world.

So it is that in the interest of an illusory "détente" based on the "Carter Doctrine's" naive vision of Soviet intentions, we cancelled the B-1 bomber—even as the Soviets began to develop their own new bomber.

Under the "Carter Doctrine," we slowed down development of our new ICBM—while the Soviet Union began developing no fewer than five new missiles.

Under the "Carter Doctrine," we cancelled the neutron warhead—even as the Soviet Union built up medium-range missile targeting against Western Europe.

Then, of course, we have borne witness to the "Carter Doctrine's" unique obsession with SALT II.

Until the invasion of Afghanistan, it appeared that no Russian action, no matter how flagrant, could cause Jimmy Carter to question the motives of the Soviet leadership or the value of the SALT agreement.

By the terms of the "Carter Doctrine," therefore, the President, his

Secretary of State and his National Security Advisor vigorously opposed any "linkage" between SALT and even so flagrant an action as the placement of a Soviet brigade in Cuba ninety miles off the American coast.

That administration's obsession with SALT continues even to this day. Only seventy-two hours ago, in fact, the White House announced that it intends to pursue the ratification of SALT II next year.

In addition to being completely at odds with the Carter administration's supposed policy of keeping sustained pressure on the Soviet Union to remove its troops from Afghanistan, this latest White House announcement—to say the least—presumes a great deal about the composition of the executive as well as the legislative branch this time next year.

It also indicates that, regardless of what the public opinion polls may look like today, Jimmy Carter's reading of the intentions of the American people come November are as inaccurate as his naive assessment of the Soviet behavior.

And consider, if you will, the harsh reality of that behavior in recent years. The reality about the Soviet Union that the Carter administration has yet to face up to.

I have spoken of the Russian build-up of raw material power. On a strategic plane, the Soviets, given confidence by their burgeoning strength, have embarked on a course that threatens to strangle the oil life-line of the United States, Western Europe, and Japan.

The strategic advance began as far back as 1975 when over forty thousand Russian-supplied Cuban mercenaries invaded Angola to prop up a collapsing communist regime. Significantly, the Democratic-controlled Senate, then led by a coalition of Senators Walter Mondale, Edward Kennedy, and Robert Byrd, voted to cut off assistance to the non-communist Angola forces.

Now there are those who ridicule the idea of a "domino theory" as it applies to aggression. Yet, listen to what has followed in the wake of this country's failure to aid the anti-communist forces in Angola five years ago.

In 1977, these same Cuban troops in Angola sponsored an invasion of neighboring Zaire.

There was no American action.

In the fall of 1977, Cuban troops swarmed across Africa to Ethiopia, where, under the command of a Soviet general, they defeated Somalia.

Again, there was no response.

Then, in April 1978, the government of Afghanistan was overthrown, its president murdered, and a communist government installed.

Again, the United States did nothing. The Carter administration even offered aid to the so-called Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

In June 1978, communists from South Yemen assassinated the leader of North Yemen, and a few days later one communist faction overthrew another and executed the so-called president of South Yemen.

In November 1978, the Soviets concluded a friendship treaty with Vietnam. Two months later, Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia.

In December 1978, the Soviet Union signed a friendship treaty with Afghanistan. Less than one year later, in September 1979, there was an abortive coup against the same Afghan leader who signed this treaty. Three months later, Soviet troops invaded the country and murdered him, while a new puppet leader was installed, with the aid of active Soviet troop intervention.

Keep in mind, this was the same period in which the Carter administration, after first praising the Shah, watched the government of Iran disintegrate. Indeed, incredibly enough, this was the same period in which the Carter administration not only halted all military assistance to Pakistan but actually opened talks with the Soviets to demilitarize the Indian Ocean.

Add to all these strategic failures of will the appalling tendency of this president to deal in overblown language—pompous words without action—and it is obvious why not only the Soviet Union but the weak

When an American president declares that Russian troops in Cuba are—I quote—"unacceptable," but then proceeds to accept that hostile presence as a fact of geopolitical life, is there any wonder why this country has lost credibility?

regime that now rules Iran show nothing but contempt for American power.

When an American president declares that Russian troops in Cuba are—I quote—“unacceptable,” but then proceeds to accept that hostile presence as a fact of geopolitical life, is there any wonder why this country has lost credibility not only among its friends and allies, but its adversaries, whether in Moscow or Teheran?

So it is that tonight, March 2, 1980, Russian troops still remain in Cuba and in Afghanistan and American hostages are still being held in Teheran.

Military weakness and erratic and often incoherent foreign policy—these are the bitter fruits of the “Carter Doctrine.” More, they are the high price of Jimmy Carter’s continuing on-the-job education regarding Soviet intentions and the reality of world power....

[From a speech at Harvard University, March 2, 1980]

THE VICE PRESIDENT

1981–1988

REVOLUTION OF TYRANNY

...The Castro regime is a perfect minuscule model of its sponsor and master, the Soviet government. And the revolution they seek to export is not a revolution of freedom and human dignity, it is a revolution of tyranny and the brutal repression of human rights—including the precious right to worship one's God, the very foundation of Western civilization and culture.

To condemn the repressive policies of any nation in Central America, without recognizing that the worst offender of human rights in this hemisphere is Russia's satellite in Havana isn't simply hypocrisy, it is short-sighted foreign policy that ill-serves the cause of peace and freedom....

[From a speech at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, May 9, 1981]

RADIO MARTI

Radio Martí must pass. It was created by a vision of this administration. There's some up there [in Congress]—mainly, regrettably, the opposition party—fighting it.

[Statement at Miami press conference, October 28, 1982]

NOT SOFT ON CASTRO

We have not been soft on Fidel Castro because we have not felt he has done one single thing to demonstrate that he wants to live in peace with the United States.

[Statement in Miami, May 9, 1983]

CUBA-NARCO CONNECTION I

Regrettably, there have been intelligence reports—allegations, proof in some cases—that at some level . . . these matters are being condoned—matters of safe harbor for ships, or transshipping or taking things off a boat and putting them onto a plane.

But, just as those things go on in this country, they go on in Cuba. I'm inclined to feel there's plenty of blame to be assigned in the Cuba situation....

[Statement during announcement of the opening of five anti-drug-smuggling centers, Washington, D.C., June 17, 1983]

DEMOCRACY VS. DICTATORSHIP IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Question: Vice President Bush, both Cuba and Nicaragua are reported to be making extensive preparations to defend themselves against an American invasion, which they claim could come this fall, and even some of your Democratic opponents in Congress have suggested that the administration may be planning a December surprise invasion. Can you tell us under what circumstances a re-elected Reagan administration would consider the use of force in Central America or the Caribbean?

The Vice President: We don't think we'll be required to use force. Let me point out that there are 2,000 Cuban military and 7,500 so-called Cuban advisors in Nicaragua. There are 55 American military advisors in El Salvador. I went down on the instructions of the President to speak to the commandantes in El Salvador and told them that they had to move with Mr. [Alvaro] Magaña, then the president of El Salvador, to respect human rights. They have done that. They're moving.... I'm not saying it's perfect, but the difference between El Salvador and Nicaragua is like the difference between night and day.

El Salvador went to the polls. Mr. Duarte was elected by 70 percent of

the people in a certifiably free election. In Nicaragua, you have something very different. You have a Marxist-Leninist group, the Sandinistas, that came into power talking democracy. They have aborted their democracy. They have humiliated the Holy Father. They have cracked down on the only press organ there, *La Prensa*—censoring the press, something that should concern every American. They have not had any human rights at all. They will not permit free elections. Mr. [Arturo] Cruz—who was to be the only viable challenger to the Sandinista junta, to Mr. [Daniel] Ortega—went down there and found that the ground rules were so unfair that he couldn't even wage a campaign.

One country is devoid of human rights. The other is struggling to perfect their democracy. We don't like it, frankly, when Nicaragua exports its revolution or serves as a conduit for supplies coming in from such "democracies" as North Korea, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, and Cuba to try to destabilize El Salvador. Yes, we're concerned about that, because we want to see this trend toward democracy continue. There have been something like 13 countries since we've come in move towards the democratic route.

And let me say that Grenada is not unrelated. And I have a big difference with Ms. Ferraro on that one. We gave those four tiny Caribbean countries a chance. We saved lives—most of the thousand students said that they were in jeopardy. Grenada was a proud moment, because we did stand up for democracy. But in terms of a threat from these countries, there's no kind of nuclear weapons threat. It's Mr. Mondale that proposed the quarantine, not Ronald Reagan.

[From the vice-presidential debate with Geraldine Ferraro, October 11, 1984]

CUBA-NARCO CONNECTION II

Although we're not yet certain to what extent, communist Cuba and Nicaragua are definitely in bed with drug smugglers. Guns for drugs. Cuba and Nicaragua have given safe haven and other assistance to drug

smugglers. In return, they may well receive hard cash, and we know they have received help in sending weapons to insurgents.

[From a speech to Miami Citizens Against Crime, January 14, 1985]

NICARAGUA: WAREHOUSE OF SUBVERSION AND TERRORISM

...The United States has paramount strategic interests at stake in not allowing Nicaragua to become another Soviet client state as Cuba did.

...On the face of it, the Sandinistas offer to remove about one percent of the Cuban presence or to pause in their imports of arms, which they acknowledge could not be absorbed at this time, do not appear to represent significant moves. This administration wants the Sandinistas to commit themselves to specific, concrete actions that would show their good-faith interest in peace.

Look at the influx of Cubans, Libyans, PLO members, and followers of the Ayatollah Khomeini in Nicaragua. Do we really want to allow the virus of international terrorism to infect the American mainland? Worse than another Cuba, we run the risk of seeing another Libya develop—a warehouse of subversion and terrorism only two hours by air from the Texas border....

[From a speech to the Austin, Texas, Council of Foreign Affairs, February 28, 1985]

GRENADA'S FUTURE IS IN FREEDOM

...We are vitally interested in the continuation of democracy and interested that Grenada not be threatened from outside by other powers.

I know that many on this island are worried about the safety of their democracy. Many people feel the unprincipled, anti-democratic forces and their foreign allies will threaten them. Let me assure you we will not leave you unprotected. Despots of whatever stripe can forget their designs on this nation. Grenada has found her future in freedom.

[From a speech in St. George's, Grenada, March 14, 1985]

MORE DUARTES, NOT CASTROS

...In Central America, there is a center of resistance to the democratic tide—that is the Marxist-Leninist regime in Nicaragua. What we need in this hemisphere is not more Castros but more democratic leaders like José Napoleón Duarte of El Salvador.

...If Fidel Castro is serious about improving relations with the United States, there are concrete things he can do to get better relations. For starters, he can stop relying on his fellow communists in Moscow and stop exporting revolution.

[From a speech to the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, San Juan, Puerto Rico, September 20, 1985]

RADIO MARTI: THE VOICE OF TRUTH

We see Radio Martí as the voice of truth in Cuba. Castro's response to Radio Martí shows how dangerous truth can be to a dictator.

[Statement during swearing-in ceremony for Radio Martí Advisory Board, Miami, December 9, 1985]

SAVIMBI: "YOUR CAUSE IS OUR CAUSE"

...Throughout the Third World, a prime target for communist expansion, more and more people are demonstrating that they are willing to fight and die to prevent it from being imposed upon them.... In Afghanistan, in Nicaragua, and in Angola, brave and courageous people are fighting the same enemy. I think one of our administration's greatest achievements has been opening the eyes of the American people, and the people of the Western democracies, to the moral power we share as free people. Whittaker Chambers once wrote, "The success of communism...is never greater than the failure of all other faiths."

President Reagan has reignited in our people that faith in human freedom which is the heart of our society. Free people everywhere are, indeed, part of the same family, and as part of the same family, we must stand together. This is a power against which no tyrant, no terrorist, no despot of the right or left, can hope to prevail.

Dr. Savimbi, you were eloquent yesterday at your meeting with President Reagan. Later when you came to my office, you spoke again of your dedication to the cause of democracy and reconciliation in your country and throughout the continent.

You have carried your message to the world.

Two years ago, Jack Wheeler, an American activist in the cause of human freedom, trekked into Angola to meet with you. In an interview that was later published in the United States, you told him, "It is the Third World that has to give the West the courage to oppose the Soviet Union and stand up for its ideals, not the other way around."

Dr. Savimbi, we support the free people of Angola who are fighting for liberty and independence. You stood firm when the odds were overwhelmingly against you. Your valor and strength of character have, indeed, inspired us and given us strength. Let no one doubt, as President Reagan has put it, that "your cause is our cause." Thank you and good evening.

[From a speech at a Conservative Political Action Conference tribute to Dr. Jonas Savimbi, Washington, D.C., January 31, 1986]

THE POVERTY OF COMMUNISM

...Some say the problem in Central America is not communism but poverty. There is abject poverty in Nicaragua and other Central American countries as well. But shouldn't people who want to escape poverty fight against communism, not for it?

Look at the two sides of the Iron Curtain—Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Which is poor, and which is not?

Look at Southeast Asia, at Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos on one hand, and at Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore on the other. Where do more people live in poverty? Where is there prosperity and opportunity?

Look at our own hemisphere. In Cuba, Castro turned a thriving economy into a basketcase. Nicaragua has slipped steadily downhill. Compare these to, say, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, or Costa Rica....

[From a speech at Westminster College, Missouri, March 5, 1986]

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH TO THE CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION

Today, May 20th, is a day of anniversaries.

First, it's the 84th anniversary of Cuban independence—for which U.S. fighting men like Theodore Roosevelt joined Cuban champions of freedom like José Martí in battling to free Cuba from a colonial tyrant.

Today is also your fifth anniversary—the fifth anniversary of the Cuban American National Foundation. And a proud five years it's been.

In the past half-dozen years you've beaten the odds and won the establishment of Radio Martí, which is, by the way, broadcasting my words today.

But you've done more than that. Time and again you've brought home the truth about Castro and his regime to the nation and the world.

And time and again you've stood for the freedom of men and women everywhere...for the cause of freedom fighters from Nicaragua to Angola.

Truth, freedom, democracy—for more than two centuries this has been the cause of patriots not only in this country but throughout the Americas and it's your cause, as well.

Patriot—you know, that's a word that describes your chairman, Jorge Mas...your president and the distinguished former Ambassador of the

United States to the United Nations, José Sorzano...and your executive director, Frank Calzón.

One million Cubans in the United States produce twice as much wealth each year as all 10 million Cubans living in Cuba. That tells the failure of Castro.

I have great respect for these three Americans. I salute them and I salute this organization and all it stands for—freedom and democracy, particularly a free and democratic Cuba. That's what I stand for too.

I've mentioned two anniversaries. There's one other—the anniversary of the first broadcast from

Radio Martí just one year ago today. Radio Martí has a growing audience inside Cuba. Of course, there's one fellow who doesn't much like it.

Fidel Castro thinks Radio Martí is there to give him hell. It reminds me of something Harry Truman once said. He said, "I didn't give 'em hell. I just told them the truth and they thought it was hell."

On this day of Cuban American anniversaries, I want to talk with you about Cuba and America, and I'd like to start with something here at home, here in Miami.

Anyone who has seen Miami as I have over the years, knows about what writer George Gilder has called the "Cuban Miracle" in America.

He knows about the new businesses that Cuban Americans have started in this city—over 19,000 by the end of last year.

He knows about the rebirth of Miami that has come from the Cuban love of family, love of work, and creative, enterprising spirit.

Because of you, Miami is one of America's most vibrant cities. You're

the kind of pioneers and entrepreneurs who have built America from its earliest days. And you're the most eloquent testimony I know to the basic strength and success of America as well as to the basic weakness and failure of communism and Fidel Castro.

Think of this. Today there are one million Cubans living in the United States. There are 10 million Cubans living in Cuba. Same culture. Same heritage. But the one million Cubans in the United States produce twice as much wealth each year as all 10 million Cubans living in Cuba. That tells the failure of Castro. There's more.

In 1958, Cuba was the fourth wealthiest country in this hemisphere in terms of earnings-per-person. Today, after 27 years of Castro, it's 16th, behind such countries as Panama, Paraguay, and Trinidad and Tobago.

In 1958, a baby was less likely to die as an infant in Cuba than a baby born in Spain, Puerto Rico, Germany, or Italy. Today the Cuban baby is more likely to die.

Under Castro, Cuba has had more than 24 years of food rationing, but just two years ago Castro called for "ten years of austerity."

It reminds me of a joke that I've heard that Russians tell each other... at least when the secret police aren't around. It goes—question: what would happen if communists took over the Sahara desert? Answer: in a few years even sand would be in short supply.

In just over a quarter-century Castro has taken one of this hemisphere's strongest, most productive economies and ruined it. To keep Cuba afloat, he's become the hired help of the Soviet Union. He gets his sugar subsidy and in return he sends young Cubans to Angola, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua to fight and die for his Soviet bosses. It's a sad truth but under Castro today Cuba has only two big exports—sugar and death.

But it's not always the death of Cuban soldiers. Castro claims he doesn't sponsor terrorism or drug smuggling into the United States. Yet in the last few years he's been tied to both.

It's a sad truth but under Castro today Cuba has only two big exports—sugar and death.

For example, right now, there lives in Cuba under Castro's protection a terrorist who worked for Cuban-sponsored and -directed Puerto Rican radicals. He is wanted by the FBI. He took with him to Cuba a portion of \$7 million he helped steal three years ago from a Connecticut bank.

To take another example, in 1982 four aides to Castro were indicted by a federal grand jury in Washington on drug smuggling charges. They are safe in Havana, protected from justice.

If Castro isn't helping smugglers, if he isn't helping terrorists, then he shouldn't fear turning any of these people over to stand trial in this country.

Castro has destroyed Cuba's economy and, through subservience to the Soviet Union, humiliated Cuba before the world. But his sins against his country and his countrymen go far deeper than that.

The great Cuban patriot, José Martí, wrote, "Everytime a man is deprived of the right to think I feel a child of mine has been murdered." Few regimes in world history have ever tried as thoroughly and brutally to deprive the right to think, few have ever tried to suppress all human rights as have Castro and his henchmen.

In Latin America today, over 90 percent of the people live in democracies or countries going the democratic route. When the President and I entered office the number was fewer than a third.

In 1981, many countries in Latin America had prisoners without names, cells without numbers. In the last six years, most of those cells have been opened and most of those prisoners have gone free.

Not in Cuba. Yes, a few have been released. I know you've heard the testimony of martyrs like Jorge Valls, Armando Valladares, and Andrés Vargas Gómez.

The Americas Watch committee reports that there are "more long-term political prisoners in Cuba than anywhere else in the world." They say that Cuba is the only country in this hemisphere that doesn't have a domestic human rights monitoring organization and that shuts the door on international human rights groups, as well.

Castro boasts of the medical care all Cubans can receive. But Amnesty International reported in 1985 that, for political prisoners, "The extent of

medical care seemed to vary with the conduct of the prisoners." If you don't play along, you don't get treatment.

Today the State Department is releasing a survey of human rights abuses in Cuba. It pulls together many reports about Castro's human rights abuses. And it cites specific cases.

I believe that it's not enough to say generally that Cuba denies freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of religion and the press, or that trials are summary and that in prison men, women, and children are tortured. All that is true. But the generality doesn't convey the full truth.

The full truth is in the specifics—and the specifics I am about to give you are all from the State Department report.

Specifics, such as that in 1984 five teenagers got prison terms of one to five years for painting on a wall the words, "Viva USA" and "Viva Reagan," and that the year before a young man was executed for belonging to a group of students who painted anti-government slogans on a wall.

Specifics, such as that a writer received eight years for keeping in a drawer notes to himself that were critical of communism.

Specifics, such as that in 1983 three Jehovah's Witnesses were executed for having a mimeograph machine to reprint religious tracts, and that just to own a Christmas tree is to risk imprisonment.

Or that, in 1983, 11 farmers were executed for refusing to sell their crops to the government for less than the cost of growing them and for burning them in front of the government warehouse.

Or that, also in 1983, Castro sought the death penalty against five workers who talked about forming an independent union. When they were given jail terms instead, Castro had the sentences thrown out, a new trial called with a new judge and got his death warrant. Then he imprisoned the judge who had defied him, the defense lawyers, and other lawyers who were part of the case. Only after international protest did he commute the death sentence to thirty years in prison, which was what the lawyers got, too.

Specifics, such as that a boy of 12 was thrown into prison on vague political charges, kept there for a sentence of nine years. When that sentence was up in 1971, he wasn't released. He's still in prison. He was let out for a few minutes in 1984, told he was going to the airport and freedom, then yanked back into his cell.

Specifics such as the physical and psychological brutality to political prisoners, for example keeping them in inhumanly small cells, almost naked, without food, sometimes without water, no word allowed from the outside, suffering beatings and humiliations.

In testimony before an international human rights panel last month, Teresa Mayán, a former Castro prisoner, said that, "If anybody says this all happened years back, I am here to tell them it is still happening."

Castro once said, "History will absolve me." History won't absolve him. History has never absolved a tyrant.

When I hear people talk about easing the embargo on Cuban goods, I want to ask them, "What about the political prisoners, particularly the very dedicated ones, the *plantados*?"

We're tightening the embargo, not loosening it. And we're doing the right thing.

And when I hear Americans praise Castro or say that communism is just something that people in, for example, Nicaragua might prefer the same way that they might prefer democracy, I want to ask them what about the children in Castro's prisons? What about the mother whose crime was only wanting to know where her disappeared son had gone? We cannot turn our backs on these people or on the spread of the communist system in our hemisphere.

The voices cry out from behind the prison walls. We must hear them. We must not ignore them. Their cause is our cause... and the cause of all free men and women.

That's why we must help the *contras* in Nicaragua, the freedom fighters in Angola, and those who struggle against communist tyranny all over the world.

Castro once said, "History will absolve me." History won't absolve him. History has never absolved a tyrant. History is on the side of freedom and democracy... for history is the record of the human spirit as it combats the forces of evil in this world.

I believe in the spirit of man. I believe that freedom and justice will ultimately prevail. I look to a day when this hemisphere is free and

democratic from the Arctic Circle to Tierra del Fuego...to a day when every young American of whatever country can look forward to the opportunities in life that Cubans in the United States have used so well... to a day when we see an open economy and a free government, freedom of worship and freedom of speech, freedom of the press in a free, strong, proud, and democratic Havana.

Viva Cuba libre. Vayan con Dios. Muchas gracias, mis amigos.

[Miami, May 20, 1986]

GRENADA II

Kicking Castro out of Grenada was a very good thing.

[Comment at Florida International University, Miami, March 1, 1988]

NO ACCOMMODATIONS WITH CASTRO

It's wonderful to see so many old and trusted friends. Many of you are from Florida, although Jorge [Mas] was briefing me earlier, telling me about the numbers of states represented. I think that's just outstanding....

I want to tell you a story that I'm sure everybody from Miami has heard. But maybe not those from some of the other states that are represented here. Fidel Castro and Raul were riding through Havana and they saw a long line of people. "Let's stop," Fidel said. "Let's get in line, talk to the people, see how they think, see how things are getting along." Well, they got in line, and the crowd melted away. So they then walked up to the front of the line. "What's going on here?" Fidel asks the official. "Why did all those people leave when my brother and I got in line?" "Well, you see, Señor Comandante, this is the line to leave the country," the official says, "and when you and your brother got in line, everyone else decided to stay." [Applause]

Right from my heart I want to congratulate the Foundation on the work you've done and the leadership you've shown. And we do share the same goals and the same values: A free and democratic Cuba, economic development of the Caribbean Basin, and the pursuit of peace both in our own hemisphere and throughout the world. In the brief time that I have today, I want to offer my views on how we can achieve those goals. And in doing so, address concerns that may be weighing on your hearts.

In recent weeks at least one newspaper in South Florida has run stories suggesting that our administration is somehow going soft on Castro. In fact, Castro himself would like you to believe that, because we have isolated him so effectively, both economically and diplomatically. And frankly, I want to set the record straight here. There have been no accommodations made with Castro's corrupt, communist government. And there will be no accommodations made with that government as long as Ronald Reagan is in the White House, and if I might inject a partisan note here, if I am

There will be no diplomatic or economic agreements that prolong the tyranny of communists and the suffering of the Cuban people.

calamitous Castro has been for Cuba, for the hemisphere, and really, in a sense, for the whole world. In just over a quarter of a century, he's taken one of the hemisphere's strongest, most productive economies, and ruined it. He sold the soil and the sons of Cuba to the Soviet Union for the weapons and subsidies that keep him in power and in luxury. Today there are 47,000 Cuban troops, to the best of our estimating ability, in Angola, trying to suppress Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters. And last fall, with the support of our administration, Savimbi's supporters de-

elected, I can guarantee you there will be no accommodations made. [Applause]

There will be no diplomatic or economic agreements that prolong the tyranny of communists and the suffering of the Cuban people. Our determination to restore freedom and democracy to Cuba has never wavered. And freedom there is not a bargaining chip of any kind at all.

You know better than any how

feated the largest offensive ever mounted by the Marxist government in the history of that 13-year war. We're going to continue to aid the democratic resistance in Angola until the Soviet and Cuban forces are driven out, and democracy is voted in.

As you know, Fidel Castro has force-fed the Cuban people his own brand of the daily news. He has suppressed the truth and covered the island with a shroud of disinformation. For example, Castro now claims that improvements in prison conditions is proof that life in Cuba is getting better. Well, it didn't take long for Armando Valladares here, to put it in perspective. He said, "The prisons have improved, from barbarity to savagery." And I guess I speak for all of you when I say I am very proud to have a man of his courage here with us today, and the Foundation is proud, and thank you very much for all you do, Armando. [Applause]

One of the leaders of a country that is a great friend of ours, a prime minister, asked me one time why I felt as strongly as I do about Cuba, and mainly about Nicaragua, about what was happening there. I said I'll tell you why, but I'll get you someone else that can tell you better. I'm going to send you a copy of a book. And I sent him a copy of the book, *Against All Hope*. And that prime minister today, though his country isn't supporting our efforts as much as we'd like in Central America, I think has a much better understanding about that area as a result of that wonderful book.

In any event, with the help of this Foundation—and I salute all the leaders here—with the support of the United States, Radio Martí has pierced the veil of deception and deceit in Castro's Cuba. And today, its listening audience is twice as large as that of the most popular state-run radio station, maybe even higher. As Rolando Cartaya, the vice president of the independent Cuban Committee for Human Rights, recently told members of Congress, to the people of Cuba, the Cuban revolution is divided into two phases: before Radio Martí and after Radio Martí. And

Radio Martí has pierced the veil of deception and deceit in Castro's Cuba.

now, its time to go one step better. Now its time to create TV Martí so that they, the Cuban people, can see the world as it truly is, not as Castro would like them to believe that it is. You know it's been said that a picture is worth a thousand words. Well, in the case of TV Martí, thousands of pictures are worth a single word, freedom. And that's why Fidel Castro fears it. [Applause] So I'll join with the others from our administration here, I'll promise you today that I will help lead this administration's support of TV Martí, work with members of Congress, some of whom are here, who believe as strongly as we do in it. We're going to work with the Congress to get it funded and get it on the air. Truth is fundamental in a free society. As Jesus said, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free." And let us bring the truth to the Cuban people, and the truth shall set them free. [Applause]

Support for freedom, democracy, and human rights must be the organizing principle of American foreign policy. And let me be specific. In the years ahead, I'm going to champion the cause of freedom and democracy around the world. In Afghanistan, where our efforts have led to the withdrawal of Soviet troops, in Africa, in Nicaragua, and yes, in Cuba. Why should Cuba be the exception to the rule? So let's do more than talk. Let's work together, you and me, to bring freedom and democracy to your homeland.

And in closing, I want to thank each and every one of you for being here. I'm convinced that there is more we can do. I'm announcing a private sector initiative that will benefit Cuban refugees who are now living in third countries. I have high hopes for this initiative. Not only is it going to bring more Cubans to America's shores, I believe it will help make the Cuban American community even stronger and more unified than it already is. This initiative is good for the Foundation, and it's good for our government, and it's certainly good for the United States of America.

I want to ask a favor of you. In the months and years ahead I'll be visiting South Florida, other areas of the country where you live, and I hope you will then introduce me to the new Cuban Americans who have been aided by this program. I want them to know that this Vice President welcomes them with an open heart and open arms. I want them to see for themselves that this is truly the land of the free and the home of the brave. And I want

them to find peace, prosperity, and opportunity in this, the freest, fairest, the most decent nation on the face of the earth.

You know, as Vice President you get to do a lot of interesting things. You get to do a lot of moving things. And the one that I'll never forget, and some of you were at my side, was when I had the honor of giving the oath of citizenship, there in the Orange Bowl, to thousands of new Americans, surrounded by their families. And I'll tell you, for those who haven't been to such a ceremony, and most have, because of your own history and because of your friends, I expect Claude [Pepper] would agree, there is nothing like it. There is nothing as emotional and moving. Whether it's Cuban Americans, or Vietnamese, or whomever. New people coming to the United States for the first time, saying the pledge of allegiance as citizens and singing the Star Spangled Banner. I'll never forget it, and it's got to continue.

Thank you all, and God bless you. Thank you very much.

[Speech to the Cuban American National Foundation Annual Congress, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1988]

VALLADARES: AN AMERICAN HERO

I think of a teacher right here, at a largely Hispanic school, Jaime Escalante, teaching calculus to young kids, 80 percent of them going on to college. I think of a young man now in this country named [Armando] Valladares, who was released from a Cuban jail, came out and told the truth in this brilliant book, *Against All Hope*, about what is actually happening in Cuba.

I think of those people that took us back into space again, Rick Hauck and that crew, as people that are worthy of this. I agree with the governor on athletics. And there's nothing corny about having sports heroes, young people that are clean and honorable and out there setting the pace. I think of Dr. [Anthony S.] Fauci...a very fine doctor at the National Institutes of Health, working hard doing something about this disease of AIDS.

But look, I also think we ought to give a little credit to the President of the United States. He is the one that has gotten us that first arms-control agreement while the cynics abounded; he is leaving office with a popularity at an all-time high, because to the American people, he is a hero.

[Response to who America's heroes are, during presidential debate with Michael Dukakis, October 14, 1988]

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

1988

**ROOM FOR
GLASNOST
IN CUBA**

...There are many ways for Cuba to demonstrate a commitment to democracy, which it doesn't have, and we have to have some solid proof, not rhetoric about Cuba's intentions.

We've got to see a diminution, if not cessation, of this Cuban surrogacy for the Soviet Union. That has to be, and I'm not going to waver on that at all.

There's plenty of room for a little glasnost, there's plenty of room for a little perestroika, in Cuba, and I would like to see that regime take a lesson from Mr. Gorbachev and start lightening up. There will not be, under a Bush administration, a radical shift in direction in U.S.-Cuba policy....

[Remarks to Hispanic Republicans, Washington, D.C., December 21, 1988]

THE PRESIDENT

1989-

U.N. WATERSHED ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CUBA

I wish to express my support for the U.N. Human Rights Commission's report on human rights in Cuba. We find the report full, balanced, and objective. Consideration of Cuba marks a watershed in the U.N. treatment of human rights abuses. For too long, the U.N. had focused on small countries which lack extensive support within the organization. Many of those countries today are either functioning democracies or have taken significant steps on the road toward full democracy. Meanwhile, long-standing violators of human rights have enjoyed immunity from scrutiny and have even fostered human rights investigations into other countries.

For more than 30 years, the people of Cuba have languished under a regime which has distinguished itself as one of the most repressive in the world. Last year, the international community won an important victory when the U.N. Human Rights Commission decided to conduct a full investigation into the situation in Cuba. The report which was released in Geneva is based on firsthand testimony about persistent violations of human rights in that country and is the culmination of that investigation.

*For more than 30 years,
the people of Cuba have
languished under a regime
which has distinguished itself
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the world.*

The United States firmly believes that this report should begin a long-term effort to bring about true and lasting changes in the Cuban government's performance on human rights. In the year since the U.N. Human Rights Commission decided to investigate Cuba, there have been slight and superficial improvements. But much more needs to be done before the Cuban people can truly be said to enjoy the rights guaranteed them by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I call upon other members of the Commission and all countries that value freedom to

maintain pressure on the Cuban government by continuing U.N. monitoring of the human rights situation in Cuba. The people of Cuba and oppressed people everywhere look to the U.N. as their last best hope. We must not disappoint them.

[Statement on the United Nations Human Rights Commission Report on Cuba, February 27, 1989]

LET'S SEE SOVIET "NEW THINKING" IN CENTRAL AMERICA

...The Soviet Union also has an obligation and an opportunity: to demonstrate that its proclaimed commitment to "new thinking" is more than a tactical response to temporary setbacks, but represents instead a new principled approach to foreign policy. In other regional conflicts around the world, the Soviet Union has adopted a welcome new approach that has helped resolve longstanding problems in constructive ways. In Central America, what we have seen from the Soviet Union and Cuba can only be described as "old thinking."

In the last decade, the Soviet bloc has poured at least \$50 billion in aid into Cuba and Nicaragua. Soviet and Cuban aid is building in Nicaragua a military machine larger than all the armies of the other Central American nations combined and continues to finance violence, revolution, and destruction against the democratically elected government of El Salvador. Indeed, Soviet-bloc military support for the Marxist guerrillas has increased since the United States ended military support for the Nicaraguan resistance, and Soviet military aid to the government of Nicaragua continues at levels wholly uncalled for by any legitimate defensive needs. The continuation of these levels of Soviet-bloc aid into Central America raises serious questions about Soviet attitudes and intentions towards the United States.

The Soviet Union has no legitimate security interest in Central America, and the United States has many. We reject any doctrine of equivalence of

interest in this region as a basis for negotiations. Instead, the Soviet Union and Cuba have an obligation to the leaders of Central America to stop violating the provisions of the Esquipulas accord, which the Soviet Union and Cuba both pledged to uphold. The time to begin is now....

[Statement on the Bipartisan Accord on Central America, March 24, 1989]

"OUR OBJECT IS A FREE, UNITED, AND DEMOCRATIC CUBA"

What a great pleasure, and thank you for that warm welcome. It's I who should be welcoming you to celebrate this wonderful occasion, the 87th anniversary of Cuban independence. But you know, I would be delighted to be here on any day, for we Americans owe a debt of gratitude to the Cuban people. And that debt goes back to 1776, when George Washington's troops were short of food and supply. Some of you may remember how the women of Havana banded together and raised 1.2 million livres for the cause of American freedom. And 126 years later, another people fought bravely for the cause of freedom. For it was on May 20th, 1902, after a long and brutal struggle, that the Cuban Republic was born. And we gather here to remember that victory and the fact that freedom knows no boundaries. Perhaps it was Cuba's George Washington, José Martí, who said it best: "To beautify life is to give it an object."

My friends, our object is human liberty and a free, united, and democratic Cuba. And, as President, I am unalterably committed to a free, united, democratic Cuba; and I'm not going to ever falter in that support. I know that you all are with me in that, and so is our country, for we oppose those who mock the very rights that we treasure: freedom of speech, religion, assembly, economic freedom. And in response, our demand is plain and simple: democracy and respect for human rights—not sometime, not someday, but now.

And this afternoon I call on Fidel Castro to free all political prisoners and to conform to accepted international standards regarding human

rights. I challenge him to allow unrestricted access to the United Nations and other organizations monitoring their compliance, and a policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states. And on this celebration of Cuban Independence Day, I challenge him, Fidel Castro, to take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections and full democracy.

A useful first step would be to accept a proposed plebiscite in Cuba. I also strongly believe that Cubans who wish to leave Cuba should be allowed to do so—a fundamental human right guaranteed by free nations. And I challenge Castro to show that Cuba is truly independent by sharply reducing the Soviet military presence there. And this I pledge: Unless Fidel Castro is willing to change his policies and behavior, we will maintain our present policy toward Cuba. Knock off this wild speculation

*I challenge Fidel Castro
to let the will of the people
prevail.*

as just that—some suggesting that our administration is going to unilaterally shift things with Fidel Castro. I am not going to do that, and I'm glad you're here to hear it directly from me.

And until we see some of these changes I'm talking about, we will continue to oppose Cuba's reentry

to the Organization of American States. This too I promise: To help break down the monopoly on information that Castro has maintained for 30 years, we will continue Radio Martí, and we will push forward our proposal on TV Martí. It is important that the people of Cuba know the truth, and we will see that the people of Cuba do know the truth about their dictator and about the world.

The thirst for democracy is unquenchable. Totalitarian systems everywhere are feeling new pressures from the people. You see it today on the television sets, coming out of China. We've seen those beginnings of it in the Soviet Union and many, many other countries around the world. So, don't tell me that Cubans don't want freedom and democracy; they do. And I challenge Fidel Castro to let the will of the people prevail.

In short, what we want to do is to advance that day when Cuban

Independence Day achieves a new and a richer meaning: freedom from the evil of tyranny and oppression; freedom from the economic misery wrought by the communist misrule—the freedom that can liberate lives and lift the human heart—and, yes, the freedom of democracy.

To achieve that freedom, heroes must lead the way. In a sense, they already have, and are. For Cuba can claim many, many heroes—those who struggled valiantly almost 90 years ago and those who struggle today—unsung heroes, for example, like longtime political prisoner Alfredo Mustelier Nuevo, who refuses to give up; heroes like Dr. Claudio Benedí, here on stage, who has condemned eloquently—repeatedly—Castro's violation of human rights; or another great patriot of the Western Hemisphere, a hero of mine, a hero of our times, and I'm referring, of course, to Armando Valladares. Let the American people see him now—22 years in Castro's prisons. He wrote a book about that ordeal. It meant a lot to the entire Bush family and has certainly been an inspiration to me. You've all read it, I hope, and if not, why, we can boost the sales by recommending it. [Laughter] It's called *Against All Hope*, and it describes how he, how Armando, survived beatings and starvations and unspeakable horror. It's a tribute to the arching human spirit, to that will to live, which helped endure the cruelest of regimes; a tribute, also, to the courage of the Cuban people, resolute and unafraid.

I had a discussion with one of the great leaders in this hemisphere. And he wondered why we were doing what we were doing in Central America. I said, "Well, I'll tell you why. It's a book called *Against All Hope*. That book relates to the deprivation of human rights in Cuba." And he said, "Well, what does that have to do with Central America?" I said, "Read the book, and you'll see. Read the book, because you'll understand that a deprivation of human rights in a Cuban prison is no different than the deprivation of human rights in a prison in Nicaragua." And he did, and I hope it's made a difference in that country's approach to foreign policy. But whether it did or not, the respect I have for Armando and the courage he has shown really knows no bounds. It is absolutely without limits, and the fact that he headed our [United Nations] delegation fighting for human rights said an awful lot about our commitment, the commitment of every American to human rights and to freedom.

And so, the courage that is demonstrated by these—and I risk offending by failing to mention others right here in this room—but that courage has helped you and your families endure. And one day it will, I am convinced—I really believe this—unite a million free Cuban Americans with their long-suffering Cuban brothers. And if hope can stay alive in the heart of Armando Valladares, surely we will see Cuba free again.

Thank you for coming. God bless you, and God bless America. Thank you very, very much.

[Remarks on the observance of Cuban Independence Day, Rose Garden ceremony, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1989]

THE CUBAN PEOPLE DESERVE FREEDOM

Question: Do you foresee a political opening in Cuba?

The President: I see nothing to make me think that [this] hope will be a reality anytime soon. I remember Gorbachev being in Cuba and, in a sense, encouraging Mr. Castro to come with him in terms of reform, and Castro still dragging his feet. But who would have predicted various manifestations of the desire for freedom that have taken place around the world?

...The Cuban people are wonderful people and they, like others in our hemisphere, aspire to the very freedoms that we often take for granted in the U.S. But, regrettably, they're not even up to where the Soviet Union is in terms of reform.

Question: How does this affect U.S.-Cuba relations?

The President: I'm not about to shift our policy toward Fidel Castro. I would love to find a way to improve relations in a way that would help the Cuban people, but we cannot do it as long as we have a regime that appears to be negative toward reform, toward human rights, toward continuous transshipment of [military] goods into Central America.... As long as these problems exist, there will not be improved relations with Castro's regime.

I say that with a heavy heart because I would like to think there would be ways to help the Cuban people.

[Interview with *The Miami Herald*, July 2, 1989]

THE BLESSINGS OF FREEDOM

Thank you, Ileana [Ros-Lehtinen], and thank all of you for that warm welcome. What a pleasure it is, an uplifting pleasure, to be with the next U.S. Representative from Florida's 18th district. ...It really is a pleasure to be here. And indeed, in a sense, it's, for me, like a reunion seeing so many friends and so many people to whom I'm personally indebted for their political support. And of course, it's a great pleasure to be with our outstanding U.S. Senator Connie Mack. What a job he is doing for this state and for our country.

...I'm going to get in trouble if I don't single out all my friends at this dais or out in the audience, but I see Jorge Mas here. And all I would say to you, Jorge, is keep up your battle—sometimes lonely, always principled—for bringing truth to Cuba. I support what you are doing in terms of TV Martí, and we are not going to let the people down....

This is an important election. The spotlight of the nation is going to be on Dade County. We've got plenty of problems around the world, but on the world scene, the United States stands tall and confident.... We've seen how democracy is surging forward around the world, taking roots in outposts like Poland and Hungary. The excitement I felt when I was in Poland and Hungary—I just wish I could have shared it with everybody in the room.

Ileana Ros knows the world as it really is when it comes to foreign affairs. With Cuba—Castro's Cuba—90 miles away, she understands the horrors

*I know the agony of
divided families and the
concern that many here today
feel about their beloved Cuba.*

of totalitarianism. And listening to her, she also understands the blessings of freedom.

On the subject of totalitarianism, let me simply state I think I know the agony of divided families and the concern that many here today feel about their beloved Cuba. And, yes, someday I'd like to see improved, yes, normalized relations with Cuba. But that cannot be, and it will not be as long as Castro violates the human rights of his own people; as long as he, almost alone in the entire world now, swims against the tide that is bringing sweeping change and democracy and freedom to closed societies all around the world. As President, I will look for signs that Castro wants to move away from subverting his neighbors, move towards more openness, more freedom for his own people. But until I see demonstrable change, there will be no improvement in relations with Cuba. It simply cannot be.

Speaking of freedom, I want to recognize one special couple here, not just as Ileana's proud parents but as defenders of liberty who struggled against communist tyranny. I saw them smiling back there when their daughter was speaking—Enrique and Amanda Ros. As successful American entrepreneurs, they've proven once again, like so many here today, that if you're willing to work hard, America is still the home of freedom and opportunity like nowhere else on earth. Ileana tells of how, in 1939, her grandfather took a small boat into Havana harbor to rescue his cousin who was trapped aboard the SS *Saint Louis*, a Jew fleeing the Nazi Holocaust. Ileana's grandfather watched helplessly as the infamous "Voyage of the Damned" was turned away. And that's why her grandfather helped smuggle Jewish refugees out of Cuba when Castro's tyranny crushed freedom on the island, crushed religious freedom, crushed all freedom.

Her experiences give her an increased sensitivity to the problems of all oppressed minorities, wherever they may be. She's a strong supporter of Israel, of free emigration for Soviet Jews, and of the freedom fighters who are battling communist oppression in this hemisphere and overseas. And that is principle. That is tough leadership. And that is Ileana Ros-Lehtinen....

[Remarks at a campaign fundraising luncheon for Ileana Ros-Lehtinen in Miami, August 21, 1989]

FREE THE PLANTADOS

I view with grave concern the news that long-term Cuban political prisoner Alfredo Mustelier Nuevo has been on a hunger strike since completing 20 years in Castro's prisons on October 27. For the past week, he has been refusing liquids as well, and his current health situation is extremely serious.

The revised Cuban Penal Code limits incarcerations for all offenses to no more than 20 years, except when the death penalty may be imposed. In addition to Mustelier, two other political prisoners have languished in Cuban prisons for over 20 years: Ernesto Díaz Rodríguez and Mario Chanes de Armas. All three men are serving out these long prison sentences after trials which lacked any semblance of due process. These three men, who have bravely endured years of harsh prison conditions, are no threat to the Cuban government.

I call upon the Cuban government to release these men immediately, as well as to free remaining political prisoners. I call upon the international community to raise its collective voice and press the Cuban government to let these people go and to conform to accepted international standards regarding human rights. The intolerable present human rights situation in Cuba, where some 50 human rights activists have been arrested since the U.N. Human Rights Commission visited last year, underscores the need for continued United Nations monitoring of Cuba's human rights practices.

[Statement on Alfredo Mustelier Nuevo's hunger strike and the treatment of other Cuban political prisoners, November 11, 1989]

CUBAN SUBVERSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

...I must say that I want to tell you how upset I am that, in a time when we're all trying to build peace in Central America through diplomatic means, the FMLN in El Salvador, aided and abetted by Nicaragua and

Cuba, regretfully has reverted to senseless bloodshed and gross violation of all the agreements reached to promote peace in Central America.

And for those who were in that meeting in Costa Rica, you will know that there was an embarrassing moment when President Cristiani [of El Salvador] turned to Comandante Ortega and said, "Stop sending these military weapons across in contravention of our agreements." It was a dramatic moment, and the President was absolutely right in his insistence that that stop. And so, we support President Cristiani. After all, he did go through what many of us have gone through, many of us in this room: certifiably free elections. He's made a determined and politically courageous effort to talk to the FMLN; and I just think that, if we're democrats here, we ought to be supporting the concept of stopping the weapons going in there—senseless violence today in a country that I'm convinced wants peace....

[From remarks to Ministers of the Organization of American States, Washington, D.C., November 14, 1989]

WINDS OF CHANGE

...Change is coming swiftly. And with this change, the dramatic vindication of free Europe's economic and political institutions; the new Europe that is coming is being built—must be built—on the foundation of democratic values. But the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. After all, this is serious business.

...These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, democracy transforming the Americas with stunning speed. Regrettably, there are some exceptions: Panama, Nicaragua, and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from their communist allies. So when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to all the people of Latin America....

[From the President's Thanksgiving Day Address to the nation, Camp David, Maryland, November 22, 1989]

CUBA, CENTRAL AMERICA, & THE MALTA SUMMIT

I.

Question: You talked about your concern about events in Central America, Mr. President.

The President: Absolutely.

Question: You've received assurances from the Soviets that they'd cut off the arms supply.

The President: They haven't cut off arms supply to Cuba. And as Mr. Oscar Arias said, there is one person most responsible for support of the FMLN trying to deny democracy to Central America, deny democracy to El Salvador; and that is Fidel Castro. And at the same time he coupled Daniel Ortega in with that.

So, we've got to discuss these issues, and I think the Soviets are prepared to talk about it. If they want an agenda item, if they want a statement from the President, I'm not the sort of man who will go there and not raise it. Now you've got a headline.

[White House press conference, November 28, 1989]

II.

Question: Mr. President, a moment ago, you said that neither you nor Mr. Gorbachev is looking for a confrontation at Malta. And yet, from yesterday, we learned that you planned very early in your talks to tell Mr. Gorbachev your concerns through Oscar Arias of the introductions of weapons through Cuba. If you do that, isn't that apt to, one, create some tension in those talks and, two, perhaps cast a pale over the improving relations with the USSR?

The President: No. I don't want to surprise him, and I would surprise him if I don't raise that subject. No surprises. And he knows how strongly we feel about it. That was discussed at the [Soviet Foreign Minister] Shevardnadze meeting. I believe that it's been represented to the Soviet Union by Nicaragua that they are not sending arms into the FMLN. And

I will be prepared to discuss with keen definition exactly what our complaints are against the Nicaraguan support for FMLN, and I will accurately replay to him what Oscar Arias asked me to replay to him: his concerns about Cuba's role in all of this.

So, it would be a surprise to him if I didn't raise it. I don't think it has to be contentious because they've already made certain representations to us about not supporting the FMLN.... What I'd like to see is them swing further over. They're talking about choice and free elections and all these things. Let's apply that to this hemisphere. I don't think it has to be raised in a way that's going to blow something up. I think they expect to talk about it, and we expect to talk about it.

[White House press conference, November 30, 1989]

III.

Question: A couple of weeks ago, Secretary (of State) Baker said that the Soviet role in Cuba, Central America, was the primary obstacle to a more beneficial full-scale relationship between the two countries. ... Did you advance the issue at all?

The President: I don't know if we advanced it, but I was very, very clear in telling him how strongly I feel about that. And it did build on what Jim Baker had talked to Shevardnadze about in Wyoming. So, there is no doubt in their minds that their assistance to Cuba and their lip service for the Sandinistas give us a considerable amount of difference with them. It's very clear—well, until we see a free Cuba, self-determination and the people deciding what they want, Cuba will stick out until that date as a tiny country that's swimming against Mr. Gorbachev's own tide. And I made that point to him.

[Press conference in Malta, December 3, 1989]

IV.

Question: President Bush, you have accused the Soviet Union of sending arms to Central America, and, President Gorbachev, you have denied those charges. Now both of you sit here together. Who is right? {Laughter}

The President: Maybe I ought to take the first shot at that one. I don't think we accused the Soviet Union of that. What we did say is arms were going in there in an unsatisfactory way. My view is that not only did the Nicaraguans acquiesce in it but they encouraged that to happen. And the evidence is demonstrable. But I'm not challenging the word of the Foreign Minister. He and Jim Baker talked about that, and President Gorbachev and I talked about it.

All I know is that—and he said it earlier—free elections should be the mode. And I also reported to him what Mr. Oscar Arias called me about, blaming Castro and the Sandinistas for exporting revolution and for tearing things up there in Central America.

So, we may have a difference on that one, but I want to be careful when you say I accused them of sending these weapons. I did not, because Mr. Shevardnadze made a direct representation to Mr. Baker. And everyone knows that there's a wide international arms flow out there. But whatever it is, however it comes, it is unsatisfactory for countries in the region that want to see the evolution toward democracy continue.

The Chairman: The President explained correctly the discussion on the subject. We were never accused, and we didn't have to accept or reject anything. We informed the President that we had firm assurances from Nicaragua that no arms, including those aircraft, are being used. And the President took our arguments and agreed to them. As regards the fact of principle—I have mentioned it—is that we are for free elections so that this conflict would be resolved by political means and the situation was kept normal.

The President: Well, that's what we agreed on. I agree that that's the assessment. I still feel that arms are going into El Salvador. We've seen clear evidence of it. But I can't argue with the factual presentation made here.

But we have a difference. I don't believe that the Sandinistas have told the truth to our Soviet friends. And why? Because we know for a fact that arms have gone in there. I'm not saying they're Soviet arms. They've said they aren't shipping arms, and I'm accepting that. But they're going in there. And I am saying that they have misled Mr. Shevardnadze when they gave a specific representation that no arms were going from Nicaragua into El Salvador. So, we have some differences in how we look at this key

question. And the best way to have those differences ameliorated is to have these certifiably free elections in Nicaragua. And Castro—I have no influence with him whatsoever, and maybe somebody is yelling that question at President Gorbachev. But look, we've got some differences in different places around the world.

[Joint press conference with Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta, December 3, 1989]

V.

Question: Mr. President, you said in announcing your meeting with Chairman Gorbachev that one of the main reasons was that you wanted to make sure that in this time of change you didn't miss anything. In your two days of meetings, did you learn anything that you feel that you might have missed had you not had them?

The President: Yes. What I would have missed is I wouldn't see quite as clearly his priorities. I see them more clearly because he and I sat down and talked. We had about eight hours of talk, some private. And I feel I can sense much more clearly the things he feels more strongly about. And we had a good chance to point out to him some of the difficulties with our relationship.

It wasn't all sweetness and light. I had a very good opportunity to tell him how we view the problems in our own hemisphere: the sending of arms in there to help the FMLN and the unhelpful role that Cuba is playing. I recited in detail the Oscar Arias phone call to me: "Please raise with Mr. Gorbachev the destructive role of Cuba."

So, I think it's more emphasis, although we did put forward some general themes on the economy. And I think he was pleased because I think from his standpoint—and this is important for mine—he now sees that we want to have a cooperative, forward-leaning relationship with the Soviet Union.

[Press conference in Brussels, Belgium, December 4, 1989]

VI.

...As you know, I've just returned from what many have called a saltwater summit with Mikhail Gorbachev. Our meeting was a positive, productive,

hopeful step toward a new American-Soviet relationship. Our talks ranged widely and offered a glimpse of what all of us have hoped for, for these 40 years: a more stable, more peaceful world. With the support of the American people and with the solidarity of the alliance, the promise of a new world of freedom is within our reach. May it be fulfilled in our lifetime.

I offered a number of ideas to Chairman Gorbachev. And I suggested that we work to complete a trade agreement, which would lead, then, to most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union by the time I meet with him next year, at the end of June, here in the United States. I proposed that we work to sign a new treaty in 1990 to dramatically reduce conventional forces in Europe.... And I suggested we accelerate the START process and speed the ban on chemical weapons.

Now, tensions have been reduced. But there was one area where we differed, one area where I had to speak firmly and frankly, and that was on Central America. There can be no misunderstanding here. Whatever the Sandinistas have told the Soviet Union, we know for a fact that arms are going from Nicaragua into El Salvador. And we also know that Fidel Castro continues to export revolution not just into El Salvador but into other countries as well. Such activities in Nicaragua and Cuba weigh heavily on U.S.-Soviet relations. And we want to be the first hemisphere, our hemisphere, free of that burden. We want this to be the first hemisphere made up of entirely free, democratic countries. And we support freedom everywhere....

[Remarks at a fundraising dinner for Senator Phil Gramm in Houston, Texas, December 7, 1989]

CONDITIONS FOR BETTER RELATIONS

Question: ...In Cuba, I understand that if Castro pulled his troops out of Africa and released the political prisoners, he could expect some thawing in relations with your administration. Why hasn't that happened?

The President: Well, in the first place, some Cuban troops still remain in

Africa. And secondly, Castro has been resisting further international inspection of the conditions inside Cuba. And thirdly, Castro, instead of recognizing the dynamics of freedom and democracy, appears to be digging himself in further, almost in splendid isolation, against the changes that are taking place around the world, and thus doing damage to the Cuban people, who are wonderful, wonderful people. There's no lightening up. It's simply a reiteration of totalitarianism that seems to have gone out of fashion. And so I would like to think the leopard would change its spots, but there doesn't seem to be any indication of that.

Question: Is there anything that Castro can do, other than abdicate, that would lead to a different U.S. attitude towards him?

The President: Well, I think free and fair elections and a recognition of the democratic changes that are taking place, and a shifting from a highly militarized island to something that would be more helpful to his own people—and that would be market forces and a willingness for more openness in the economic sense—would all be helpful steps he can take.

But instead of that he's digging in. He's going against the tide. He's alone. He's still respected in some quarters as the man that overthrew Batista—overthrew him—but he's adhering to a failed doctrine—a doctrine of Marxism, or Marxist socialism. And all you have to do is look at Eastern Europe, and if that isn't enough, look at this hemisphere—people in Panama rejoicing at a chance to be democratic, and the people in Nicaragua throwing out, by overwhelming support, with an overwhelming voice, the very last vestiges of Marxism in the hemisphere other than Castro. And you see Chile moving, coming at it from the other way. So he's missing something. The man is missing the dynamics of this change. And his people are being deprived in the process.

Question: Do you see any indication that there's any popular movement against him in Cuba, that there's any kind of organized—

The President: Nobody can convince me that if he permitted free elections, open and fair, that there wouldn't be rejoicing in the street. But when you have a totalitarian regime that oppresses its people, sometimes it's pretty hard to understand that the people want freedom. And I would simply say, look at Romania.

Question: That's right. In Romania, as other places, there was a popular movement that started that led to the overthrow—

The President: But it was almost like an instant explosion in Romania. There have been—yes, there have been some heroic people through the history, just as there have in Cuba. Armando Valladares is one of them—now an American.

But I mean, there's plenty of examples of people who demonstrate courage standing up against Castro. But the regime has been so oppressive and so dictatorial that it's been hard for these movements to go forward.

[Interview with *Media General News Service*, March 19, 1990]

AID TO PANAMA, NICARAGUA

I want to talk today about Panama and Nicaragua. The changes there are dramatic in terms of democracy. Yesterday I was asked about Cuba, and of course, I'm terribly disappointed that Castro seems to be firming up his totalitarian position instead of moving towards the free and fair elections—what I think all of us here would like to see. I'd like to see him shift from that highly militarized island and let democracy have a chance.

But I think if we are helpful to Nicaragua and Panama, it will simply increase the pressure in that marvelous island of Cuba for change. And so, this is what I'd like to talk about today. And I know that the Senate and House are going to come to grips with this problem.

[Remarks on U.S. economic assistance for Nicaragua and Panama, Washington, D.C., March 19, 1990]

AIDING A DEMOCRATIC CUBA

Question: Mr. President, I'm from Miami, so my question has to do about Cuba. Tell us the policy of the United States as of now toward Cuba as the last military

regime in this hemisphere and also if the United States would be willing to help the new Cuban government after Castro is gone, like it's helping Panama and Nicaragua.

The President: Well, your question implies that Castro will be gone, but clearly the United States would rejoice in being able to help a democratically elected government in Cuba. I am convinced that the people of Cuba want the same thing that the people of Nicaragua demonstrated that they wanted, the people of Panama demonstrated that they wanted, and the rest of the countries in the hemisphere have demonstrated that they want: democracy and freedom.

And Castro has not changed. Indeed, he's swimming against the tide. And I don't believe there would be any resistance from any quarter to helping the people of Cuba once they had the right to express themselves in free and fair elections.

I don't think it will do much good, but I would encourage Castro to move toward free and fair elections. I would encourage him to lighten up on the question of human rights, where he's been unwilling to even welcome the U.N. back to take a look again. And I am not going to change the policy of the United States government towards Mr. Castro. We're going to continue to try to bring the truth to Cuba, just as we did to Czechoslovakia and Poland and other countries.

[White House press conference, March 23, 1990]

STAND FOR FREEDOM, STAND FOR TV MARTI

...The information industry is not an adornment to modern life. It is the essence of who and what we are. It is truly an information age.

Last May, I discussed the future of Europe with the citizens of Mainz, a German city nestled in the green hills along the Rhine River. And it was while I was there that I appreciated anew the Biblical expression, "In the beginning was the Word." For it was in that German town that the inventor of the printing press, Johann Gutenberg, first put the

scholarship of the ages into the hands of millions of knowledge-hungry readers.

His one invention made possible all the pamphlets and journals of the Enlightenment and of the American Revolution. From the call to arms of Thomas Paine to the cool logic of *The Federalist Papers*. You might argue that out of that one invention sprang the very idea called America.

Today, along with the word, we have the image—images projected on color television and evoked by the sounds of radio. But while Western democracy broadened, as our knowledge broadened, the circle of democracy and knowledge narrowed under communist regimes that took power on many continents.

For these nations, truth was something to be twisted and stretched by the brutal hands of authority, manipulated beyond recognition. The Czech author, Kundera, calls this time the "kingdom of forgetting"—when whole nations almost forgot their heroic histories and finest traditions. From Havana to Prague to Phnom Penh, the peoples of these lands never fully gave in to the amnesia because even in the worst hours of repression, they could always count on a friendly voice to remind them of the truth: Radio Martí, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe—and, God bless it, the Voice of America.

...In the realm of ideas and ideals, there are no borders. No government should fear free speech, whether it's from entertainment programs or accurate, unbiased news about world events. And that is why Congress strongly supported TV Martí and why I strongly support TV Martí. We will scrupulously adhere to the letter of the law; but let me say again, the voice of freedom will not be stilled as long as there is an American to tell the truth. [Applause]

And, look, I do understand the practical concerns that some of you have about this. But I also understand that you represent the very principle TV Martí exists to serve—that free flow of ideas. Before we are businessmen and

No government should fear free speech, whether it's from entertainment programs or accurate, unbiased news about world events.

women—before we are doctors, lawyers, or mechanics—we are Americans. Americans have always stood for free speech, and we always will.

So I have come here to ask something of you. I ask you to stand by your traditions—the best traditions of America. I ask you, once again, to stand for TV Martí and to stand for freedom....

[From a speech to the National Association of Broadcasters, Atlanta, Georgia, April 2, 1990]

CUBA WILL BE FREE

...Nowhere have our principles been more effective than in the international arena. Look at the results: In the Revolution of '89 we saw freedom dawn in Eastern Europe. And now we're so very close to extending the compass of freedom across the Americas. Look at the map. There was once a dictatorship, a brutal one, in Panama. But the people spoke in a democratic election, and then came Operation Just Cause, and now the people rule in Panama. And they're going to continue to rule. I might say, Connie [Senator Connie Mack], I wish we had more senators like you, because we then would have passed long ago that money that we need to support democracy in Panama and the democracy in Nicaragua. The Senate ought to move.

We all remember there was once a militant regime in Managua, but then came that election. Now the people are about to begin rule in Nicaragua, just next week when Violeta Chamorro takes office. And of course, there is one last hardline holdout in the West—only one: Cuba. But I believe that, like its neighbors in every direction, Cuba, too, will join the ranks of free nations, making this the first totally democratic hemisphere in history. It may not happen tomorrow. It may not happen next week or next month. But it will happen. The people of Cuba will be free. I will guarantee you that....

[Remarks at a Republican Party fundraising dinner in Orlando, Florida, April 20, 1990]

END SOVIET SUBSIDY TO CUBA

Question: Mr. President, as you know, the people are quite interested and concerned about our relations with Cuba. I'm interested in knowing what you think of the Soviet proposal that the United States loosen its economic embargo of Cuba as a step toward the Soviet Union reducing its subsidies for Cuba.

The President: I've got a better idea: The Soviets ought to stop spending \$5 billion a year in Cuba. I think that would be enormously helpful to get the Cuban people what most every other country in this hemisphere has and clearly what many in Eastern Europe are enjoying—democracy and freedom.

So, my suggestion would be: If that totalitarian and brutal society were not propped up by an enormous subsidy from the Soviet Union, I have every reason to believe that Cuban people would have a right to achieve the freedom that other countries have achieved. So, that's where I'd start on that question, and I would not accept the idea that this is a time to change our policy toward Fidel Castro.

[White House press conference, June 13, 1990]

AID TO THE USSR?

Question: ...On the pressure from the allies—which you'll see in NATO and then again at Houston—to help the Soviet Union, to give them some...actually more than technical aid. Have you changed your thinking? Are you moving toward some sort of agreement with the allies?

The President: We have some differences in the alliance on this question.... I've tried to be very frank and up front not only with the allies, but with the Soviets, on the difficulties we have at this juncture, because there has got to be economic reform there, market reform and all kinds of changes

that I believe Gorbachev wants to see take place. But they have to be in place for the United States to go forward. Then we have a political agenda that we've tried to be very frank about. Secretary Baker has presented it in considerable detail to Mr. Shevardnadze, and I had a chance to touch on it with President Gorbachev.

You see, it is hard for the American people to say, why put X-billions of dollars of money into the Soviet economy when it's not reformed, when they're spending 18 percent of their gross national product on military, and when they're spending an estimated \$5 billion in Cuba? Some of our allies might not be as concerned about that last point as we are. I'm very concerned about it....

[White House press conference, June 29, 1990]

LONE HOLDOUT OF TOTALITARIANISM

...Fidel Castro should be celebrating along with other countries the demise of the Berlin Wall. Instead, Castro is criticizing Gorbachev for being not true to a communist revolution. He's out of step. He's swimming against the tide. He is a symbol, the lone holdout of a Marxist totalitarianism that has failed all around the world. And he ought to be better to his people than that.

If Castro wants to say something constructive—more democracy, more freedom, more openness, more free press, more acceptance of a change that is worldwide, fine, I'm listening.... But to say that, as some have suggested, you ought to go down—sit down and talk to Castro right now and that will solve any problems, I don't see that at all.

...And as long as the Soviet Union continues to provide a subsidy to Cuba, it will be very, very difficult for the United States to help the Soviet Union with their enormous financial problems.

[Interview with *The Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1990]

SWIMMING AGAINST THE TIDE

Question: Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has urged you to enter into a dialogue with Fidel Castro. As you mentioned, just yesterday Secretary Baker met with {Cuban U.N. Ambassador} Isodoro Malmierca, the first time in thirty years discussions at that level have been conducted. Does this signal a change in U.S. policy towards Cuba?

The President: No. No, it does not. It signals no change.

Question: So the only reason was for the U.N. resolution {on Iraq}...

The President: The U.N. resolution, having a vote at the United Nations, and that's it. There are so many things that Castro could do to enhance relations between the United States, but he's not willing to do them. He's not willing to open up on the human rights question. He's not willing to give a little on Marxist control over his own citizens. He's not willing to do what every other country in this hemisphere is doing, moving down democracy's path. He's still a dictator, a totalitarian dictator, that's swimming against the tide. And he's got to shift a little bit here.

At some point, I'd love to think that there would be improved relations with Cuba. We have no argument with the Cuban people. I happen to have great links and roots because of family in Miami. And what the Cubans who moved to Florida have done, in terms of work ethic, the family, the strength of family, and all of this, just inspires me. But, they are fiercely independent. And I think the people in Cuba would welcome this democratic path that everybody else is on in the hemisphere. But Castro's a dictator, he's holding the lid on tight.

Question: Would you favor a strategy of proposing elections in Cuba, like the ones in Nicaragua and Czechoslovakia.

The President. Absolutely. Self-determination and free elections are very important concepts. Obviously you'd have to have a free election climate. You'd have to have fair play for opposition who wanted to get their case to the people. Again, absolutely. Look what's happening in other countries in Central America and South America.

[Interview with the Hispanic television network *Univision*, during the U.N. deliberations on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, November 29, 1990]

A TOTALLY DEMOCRATIC HEMISPHERE

It's an honor to mark this important occasion with so many of the men and women who make it their calling to advance the cause of freedom and human rights around the world. It's a special pleasure to meet with you as we look back on a year in which the cause of freedom has made such gains; a year in which the collapse of the communist idea and end of four long decades of cold war and conflict enabled the world to look with new hope toward an era of peace, an era of freedom.

With freedom's advance come new challenges. This is especially true in Europe, the continent that for so long stood at the heart of the East-West

conflict. There the Revolution of '89 has given way to the renaissance of 1990, to the difficult business of democracy-building. The hard work of consolidating these great gains has just begun. America can take pride in the role that we've played in this revolution, but not

make the mistake of thinking that our work is now over.

...This advance in human rights is not confined to one continent alone. I have just got back two days ago from a trip to South America. I visited five countries, each one now back on the democratic path. One of them, Argentina, turned back an antidemocratic challenge just two days before I got there. When we arrived in Buenos Aires, you could see and feel the depth of Argentina's dedication to democracy and its ideals. As I said there: The day of the dictator is over; the war of ideas has been won by democracy.

Human rights and respect for all it entails—freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and other individual liberties, including property rights, free elections, multiparty systems—these fundamental rights are gaining ground the whole world over, in Latin America and in Asia, where free-market principles now power some of the world's fastest-growing

economies. I want to see our hemisphere—this hemisphere—be the first totally democratic hemisphere.

There is one outstanding example where it is not totally free and where human rights are not respected, and that's Cuba. And I hope someday soon that they will join the family of democratic nations here....

[Remarks on signing the Human Rights Day Proclamation, Washington, D.C., December 10, 1990]

VALLADARES: SYMBOL OF LIBERTY

December 28, 1990

The White House
Washington

Dear Armando:

It is with extreme regret and reluctance that I accept your resignation as United States Representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. You have served with dedication and distinction in a time of great movement toward improved human rights throughout the world.

As you have said with your typical brief eloquence, our nation's values have triumphed. I might add that you, too, have triumphed as a symbol of the unquenchable spirit of liberty which burns in every person on earth. You showed how courage and conviction can win over brutality and tyranny. That is why I have proudly called you one of my personal heroes.

The United States will remain vigilant against abuses of human rights around the world. As you leave government service, you retain this country's—and the world's—gratitude for your service and your spirit. In particular you take Barbara's and my deepest admiration and affection.

Sincerely,
George Bush

[Letter to Armando Valladares, December 28, 1990]

CUBA AND U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Question: One of the keys to a democratic outcome in Cuba will be the end of extensive Soviet economic and military assistance to Castro's government. Although recent press accounts indicate that the economic relationship between these countries is changing, the problem is that those who seem to be calling the shots in Moscow now are the orthodox communists, for whom Cuba still retains significant strategic importance. What can the United States do to prevent those powerful people and institutions from continuing their assistance to Cuba? And if the assistance continues, how will it affect U.S.-USSR relations?

The President: My administration has strongly supported continued international pressure on Cuba to open up its political and economic system and to allow its people to breathe the new air of freedom that we see in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and to a lesser extent, in the Soviet Union itself. For this reason, we have continued to support trade limitations and diplomatic isolation of Cuba as the best available means to convince Fidel Castro that he cannot swim against the tide of history. We find little comfort in simply asserting that the Cuban regime is an anachronism, for every new day of Castro's dictatorship brings the prospect of further repression, economic deprivation, and suffering for the Cuban people. We and all those who love freedom in this hemisphere look forward earnestly to the day when the Cuban people will be able to share the blessings of liberty.

We have raised the issue of the Soviet military and economic support of the Cuban regime directly with Soviet leaders on several occasions, and will continue to do so. Soviet aid to Cuba was slightly reduced last year and we would like to see further reductions. While we cannot prevent further Soviet assistance to Cuba, we have underscored that it is an irritant in our relations, and that its continuation will remain a major issue in U.S.-Soviet relations.

[Interview with *Hispanic Business* magazine, May 1991]

Recent Titles by the Cuban American National Foundation

Castro's Special Period in a Time of Peace. Proceedings of a conference by CANF examining Castro's attempts to resist worldwide trends towards democracy and free markets. Panelists include Jerrold Post, Rolando Bonachea, Benigno Aguirre, and Pamela Falk. Also included is a policy statement on Cuba by Michael Kozak of the Department of State. Price: \$4.00.

Cuba's Cloudy Future by Susan Kaufman Purcell. Assesses the implications of the collapse of communism for the Cuban Revolution and discusses Fidel Castro's options to extricate himself from Cuba's current political, economic, and social crises. Dr. Purcell is Vice President for Latin American Affairs at the Americas Society. Price \$3.00.

Human Rights in Cuba, 1990: Special Report. A compilation of human rights reports on Cuba by the U.S. State Department, Americas Watch, Amnesty International, and the OAS. Also includes text of U.N. resolution on human rights in Cuba. Free of charge.

The Cuban Revolution at 30: A Conference Sponsored by the Cuban American National Foundation. Leading Cubanologists assess Cuba after thirty years of Castroism. Topics examined are Cuba's domestic and international situations, Soviet-Cuban relations, Fidel Castro after three decades in power, and U.S.-Cuban relations. Price: \$5.00.

Chistes: Political Humor in Cuba. A compilation of eighty-three jokes (*Chistes*) canvassed from recently arrived Cuban exiles that demonstrates how the Cuban people—through the avenue of political humor—express their disaffection with Fidel Castro and the Cuban government. Price: \$4.00.

Is Cuba Changing? by Susan Kaufman Purcell. A general overview of the Cuba situation after thirty years of Castroism, this essay offers suggestions for U.S. policy in light of Cuba's current economic difficulties and aversion to Soviet-style reforms. Price: \$3.00.

Castro's America Department: Coordinating Cuba's Support for Marxist-Leninist Violence in the Americas by Rex A. Hudson. In this 72-page essay, the author examines the office of the Cuban government responsible for subversion in the Western Hemisphere, using nearly three hundred footnotes to document evidence of its involvement abroad. Mr. Hudson is a Latin America specialist at the Library of Congress. Price: \$5.00.

A Public Survey on the Quality of Health Care in the Province of Holguín, Cuba. A Confidential Report by the Cuban Communist Party. Smuggled out of Cuba and translated by the Cuban American National Foundation, this report effectively demolishes the myth of "great accomplishments" by Cuba in the field of health care. Price: \$5.00.

Narco-Terrorism and the Cuban Connection by Rachel Ehrenfeld. An analysis of Havana's role as "command center" for a network of narco-traffickers and terrorists in the Western Hemisphere. Price: \$4.00.

The Cuban University Under the Revolution by Eusebio Mujal-León. This 65-page essay examines the role of the university—the historic focal point of the Cuban struggle for independence and democracy—in the Cuba of Fidel Castro. Price: \$5.00.

Towards a New U.S. – Cuba Policy (1988). A briefing on Cuban domestic and international policies which offers thirty policy options for a new and more effective U.S. policy towards the Castro regime. Price: \$4.00.

General Del Pino Speaks: An Insight into Elite Corruption and Military Dissension in Castro's Cuba. An abridged translation of Radio Martí's 1987 interview with the highest ranking military officer ever to defect from Cuba. Topics include Cuba's involvement in Angola; corruption in the Cuban government; and the disillusionment among the Cuban people with the Castro regime. Price: \$5.00.

Castro's Puerto Rico Obsession is a study of Castro's campaign to promote a Marxist Puerto Rico. It details Castro's efforts to promote Puerto Rican "independence" in the United Nations and his support for Puerto Rican terrorist groups. Price: \$4.00.

This is one of a series of reports and reprint articles
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Current discussion on U.S.-Cuba policy is enhanced
by presenting a diversity of views.
The author is responsible for factual accuracy
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