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لجنة حقوق الإنسان
الدورة الحادية والستون
البند ٩ من جدول الأعمال

مسألة انتهاك حقوق الإنسان والحريات الأساسية في أي جزء من العالم

مذكرة مؤرخة ١٨ نيسان/أبريل ٢٠٠٥ موجهة إلى مفوضية الأمم المتحدة السامية
لحقوق الإنسان من البعثة الدائمة لكوبا لدى مكتب الأمم المتحدة في جنيف

تمّدي البعثة الدائمة لكوبا لدى مكتب الأمم المتحدة والمنظمات الدولية التي يوجد مقرها في سويسرا
أطيب تحياتها إلى أمانة لجنة حقوق الإنسان في مفوضية الأمم المتحدة السامية لحقوق الإنسان، وبالإشارة إلى المذكرة رقم
٩٠ التي وجهتها البعثة إلى المفوضية في ١٤ آذار/مارس ٢٠٠٥، تتشرف بأن تحيل إليها طيه الصيغة الإنكليزية لنص
الوثيقة المعنونة "كوبا وحقوق الإنسان" (الجزء الأول)*.

وترجو البعثة الدائمة لكوبا التفضل بإدراج نص الوثيقة المذكورة كوثيقة رسمية من وثائق الدورة الحادية
والستين للجنة حقوق الإنسان في إطار البند ٩ من جدول أعمالها. كما ترحو التفضل بتعميم الوثيقة على جميع
الإجراءات الخاصة التابعة للجنة حقوق الإنسان وإتاحتها لمن يرغب في الاطلاع عليها في الموقع الذي أقامته
المفوضية على الإنترنت من أجل الدورة الحادية والستين للجنة حقوق الإنسان.

* المرفق مستنسخ بالإنكليزية فقط.

Annex

**CUBA
AND
HUMAN RIGHTS
PART I**

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AGRESSION AGAINST THE CUBAN PEOPLE IMPLEMENTED
BY THE GEORGE W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION: A SERIOUS
THREAT TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE.**

2005

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CHAPTER 1: THE HOSTILE AND AGGRESSIVE ACTS AGAINST CUBA BY THE US GOVERNMENT REACH UNPRECEDENTED HEIGHTS FOR TWO STATES THAT ARE NOT AT WAR

The aggressive threats, statements and actions of successive US governments, aimed at destroying the revolutionary process undertaken by the Cuban people, has been a constant feature over the 45 years of the Cuban Revolution.

The unhealthy hostility with which the US treats Cuba has a *sui generis* character about it, it really is unique. A foreign policy against a country has never before had such an extensive and sophisticated arsenal of aggressive political, economic, cultural, diplomatic, military, psychological and ideological measures. No coercive and actively hostile policy taken against a country has ever lasted for so long. The aversion that the imperialist groups in power in the United States feel for the Cuban Revolution is far greater now than it was during the times of the Cold War.

The Bush administration, in its more than four years in office, has taken action and made statements that confirm that the objective of the US policy towards Cuba continues to be to destroy the process of profound revolutionary transformations that the Cuban people have been working on since 1959, using any means to attain this goal, and not ruling out the option of a military attack.

The hackneyed euphemism 'to promote the transition towards democracy and respect of human rights', conceals the imperialist motive of the United States' plans of aggression against the Cuban people. The temporary factor of *urgency*, which has been added over the last few years to the messages and statements given by top Washington representatives with regard to their effort to promote the 'transition' in Cuba – meaning 'regime change' in their own political jargon – adds an additional warning signal to the evaluation of the anti-Cuban plans of the Bush administration.

The so-called 'regime change' has always been the US policy towards Cuba. The difference that occurred after the September 11 attacks was that, previously these attacks had been carried out undercover; their aggressive acts had various fronts and there was no established timeframe. Now, however, they have organized with utter barefacedness and for the entire world to see, a unique plan which comprises all of the aggressive, anti-Cuban programmes and acts.

Now they proclaim, without the slightest embarrassment, the 'right' of the Empire to change governments and political systems, using pretexts that change according to their hegemonic interests, spanning from the struggle against terrorism, the fight against the spread of arms of mass destruction and, most recently, the need to put an end to 'tyrannies'.

Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Roger Noriega, has said that "President Bush is committed to seeing the end of the Castro regime" and that the government is "moving swiftly and inexorably toward that goal".

In 2004, President Bush, along with other important members of his administration, strengthened their anti-Cuban rhetoric even further by drawing a tendentious and dangerous parallel with the supposed 'liberating' reasons for their attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq. On approving the recommendations of the so-called Commission of Assistance to a Free Cuba, President Bush said,

"(...) the people of Cuba should be free from tyranny. We believe the future of Cuba is a future of freedom. It's in our nation's interest that Cuba be free. It's in the neighborhood's interest that Cuba be free. More importantly, it's in the interest of the Cuban people that they be free (...)"¹

¹ Speech by George Bush, on approving the Report of the Commission of Assistance to a Free Cuba, on the 6th of May 2004. Quoted by Daniel W. Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, in a speech to the Cuban-American Veterans Association, in Miami on the 9th of October 2004. Office of International Program Information of the US Department of State, 14th of October 2004, <http://usinfo.state.gov/espanol>

The hypocritical and cynical rhetoric about 'freedom' has been one of the main elements of the references to Cuba made in countless statements by President Bush and other important names of the Department of State, as well as by the most fervent representatives or the anti-Cuban, terrorist mob of Miami.

Free Cuba from whom? The Cuban people freed themselves in 1959 from the bloody dictatorship of the pro-American tyrant Fulgencio Batista, from the neocolonial control that was being exerted on the island by authorities in Washington and by transnational corporations that owned the country's main riches, the Cuban patrimony and even the very presence and influence of the American mob groups. The Cuban Revolution freed, protected and strengthened the country. The Cuban people broke the yoke of institutional racism, discrimination against women, nepotism and political corruption, murders and political killings, illiteracy, chronic unemployment, insalubrity, hunger and poverty. The only thing that remains for Cuba to free itself from is the American blockade and its hostile policy of aggression, the pretension and the plans by successive US administrations to redominate the island, its plans for underdevelopment inherited from colonialism and neocolonialism, and for an unjust international economic order that limits development opportunities.

The possibility of a US military attack against Cuba is as real today as it was in the period leading up to the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs), in 1961. To support this theory, it suffices to evaluate the unprecedented increase and intensification of aggressive acts perpetrated by the Bush administration against Cuba in a wide range of fields, particularly the threatening statements made in Washington, as well as in Miami, all in a climate marked by global aggressiveness expressed by the sectors in power in the United States

The imperialist character of the ideas and implications expressed in the new US National Security Strategy, which was officially presented on the 17th of September 2002, leaves no room for doubt. The main elements of this strategy are:

1. The preemptive attack, for which they claim the right to unilaterally intervene, in a quick and decisive manner, in any country that they consider to be a potential threat to their safety.
2. The change of regime as practice for overthrowing governments that that are not to their liking, and in the name of 'democracy' and 'human rights' impose regimes that guarantee the interests of the occupying power.

The new US National Security Strategy points out, in no uncertain terms, that "while the United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, it will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively."

That is to say, the United States will only turn to the United Nations and other foras of the international system when it needs them to support their projects for worldwide hegemonic domination, in a blatant display of disdain for multilateralism.

The concept of 'preemptive attacks' is not a new one, but for the first time in history it has risen dangerously to become the doctrinarian principal in the one and only superpower's National Security Strategy.

On the 1st of June 2002, in his speech to cadets at the West Point military academy, President Bush publicly declared his determination to subordinate every nation to the will of his government, pointing out that any nation, anywhere, now has a decision to make; either they are on the side of the US or on the side of terrorism.

With the approval of a multimillion budget of more than 400 thousand million dollars for the Department of Defense and the appointment of several neoconservative rightwing hawks to the most important posts in the State, Defense and Justice secretariats, including the assignment of an expert in clandestine operations as the new head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Bush administration appears to have begun to step

up its policy of preventive war and the consolidation of its global hegemony by using force or threatening to do so.

The unyielding decision of the Cuban people to fully exercise their right to self-determination represents an obvious obstacle to the imperial plans of political, economic and military domination devised by US power circles, not because of Cuba's economic or military capacity, but rather because of the political challenge that the attitude of a small country in the traditional 'backyard' of the United States represents, and because of the encouraging alternative that its project of social justice and equity means to the millions of people worldwide. It is because of this that many American documents produced recently dealing with the subject of national security have again referred to Cuba as a supposed "threat".

The theory that Cuba is a supposed 'threat' to the security of the United States has been fabricated using false pretexts that some high-ranking officials of the current US Administration repeatedly brandish in their speeches, among these are: supposed links that Cuba has with terrorism and the international trafficking of drugs; the supposed existence of Cuban programmes to develop biological weapons of mass destruction; and the eventual mass exodus of Cubans to the state of Florida. Every one of these false allegations has been publicly refuted and destroyed by the Cuban Government, using evidence that the United States has not been able to contradict.

There is an obvious inconsistency in the American accusations that Cuba is a threat to their national security. During a conversation with journalists, at the beginning of October 2004, aboard a plane that was taking him to Brazil, Secretary of State, Colin Powell, remarked that:

"(...) We don't see everything through the lens of Fidel Castro. Fidel Castro is a problem for the Cuban people. I don't view him as that much of a problem for the rest of the hemisphere (...)"

Mr. Powell also added on that occasion that the Cuban president was really a threat 15 years ago.²

A few days later, in response to the irate reactions of the anti-Cuban mob in Miami, Powell was forced to backtrack and stated that President Fidel Castro "has never stopped being a troublemaker" in Latin America and that the region will be better off when he's gone". He added that what he meant to imply in his previous statement was that "Cuba doesn't present the sort of regional threat that it did when Castro had the military and political backing of the Soviet Union."³

As the famous American film director, Oliver Stone, rightly pointed out in a press conference at the San Sebastián Festival, Spain, in September 2004: "The right wing is the same everywhere (...) It is like an octopus, snatching everything with its tentacles. They control the Internet, radio and TV stations, and newspapers. But above all, they are perfectly organized. Right wingers master the art of negative publicity and are capable of destroying the image of anyone they consider to be their enemy. They discredit anything opposed to their interests, utilizing mass emailing, articles, and reports. In the United States, censorship is the order of the day (...) They thought that my first movie about Castro, 'Comandante' was hideous, and they killed it almost before it was even born. They were merely afraid of it (...)"⁴

² Es Fidel Castro un problema solo en Cuba? (Is Fidel Castro just a problem in Cuba?) IBLNEWS, 7th of October 2004.

³ Powell corrects himself and says that Cuba is still a threat in the hemisphere, DPA cable on: UNION Radio. Net. Venezuela, 9th of October 2004.

⁴ Statements by Oliver Stone, quoted by Salim Lamrani, 'Guerra de propaganda contra Cuba: La Cumbre de Praga (Propagandistic war against Cuba: the Prague Summit), at www.rebelión.org, 7th of October 2004.

A few examples are given below, in chronological order, which reflect the spiral of aggression that has been afflicted on Cuba at the hands of the Bush administration over the last two years.

2003

In 2003 the US policy of hostility toward Cuba was strengthened in all fields. Anti-Cuban action escalated significantly, opting for a more aggressive and provocative course of action. Among the many examples, it is worth mentioning:

- Increasing violation of the Migration Accords and more encouragement, tolerance and impunity given to illegal migration

Between the 19th of March and the 10th of April 2003, while the United States was supposedly implementing its war against terrorism, two passenger planes were hijacked and taken to the United States, applying the same *modus operandi* as that used to hijack the planes that collided with the Twin Towers in New York. The two planes were arbitrarily confiscated by American authorities, who refused to extradite the criminals responsible.

During this same period, as Cuban authorities discovered, 29 plans were hatched to violently hijack vessels and aircrafts. The perpetrators were vagabonds and others with a long history of criminal activity. US authorities had previously denied many of these people entry visas to the United States to visit their relations or to emigrate through the legal channels.

Cuba, on the other hand, continued to fulfill its obligations to fight terrorism and the hijacking of aircrafts. Between 1968 and 1984, a total of 71 aero planes were hijacked in the United States and taken to Cuba. In total, 69 people responsible for these acts were sanctioned and served harsh sentences in Cuba; the immense majority of whom left the country after serving their time. Cuba put an end to the crime of hijacking American planes and taking them to Cuba by handing over two criminals who hijacked an aircraft to the US justice system on the 18th of September 1980. (See: Statement made by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 2nd of May 2003.)

- The imposition of new measures of harassment on the work of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington (CISW) and the Cuban Mission to the United Nations

In just 13 months (from December 2002 to January 2004) the United States arbitrarily expelled 19 Cuban diplomats from Washington and New York, including several members of the consular staff in Washington. Washington authorities falsely claimed that they had been carrying out activities outside of their official capacity, which were considered to be detrimental to the United States. This nonsense reached its peak when it was claimed that supposed 'activities related to the trafficking of narcotics' were taking place.

Until now, faced with the denial and stance of Cuba, they haven't been able to come up with one single piece of evidence to back up these unfounded accusations. (See: Statement made by the comrade Rafael Dausá, the then director of the North American Department of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the 7th of January 2004.)

- Notable increase in the provocations and subversive activities of the USIS in Havana

Even before the current head of the US Interests Section in Cuba (USIS), James Cason, arrived in the country, he had already embarked on open provocation and all kinds of interfering behavior aimed at increasing, organizing, financing and encouraging the subversive activities of mercenary organizations that serve the dominative interests of the superpower. Officials at this diplomatic office, which include several US secret service officials, exponentially increased the use of trips monitoring the situation of illegal emigrants returned to Cuba, in order to carry out subversive operations on Cuban soil. The USIS buildings and even the residence of the Section's head became centers of training, guidance and subversive conspiracy.

- Substantial increase in the financial resources aimed at promoting subversive behavior in Cuba

The United States substantially increased the public and secret funds allocated to financing their mercenary organizations in Cuba.

Implementation was strengthened and the funds earmarked for this were increased through the USAID. From 1997 until the end of the 2003 fiscal year, this federal agency allocated more than 27 million dollars to the application of Section 109 of the 'Helms Burton Law'. It also sent more than a million printed sheets to Cuba encouraging the destruction of the country's constitutional order, and sent over more than 7 thousand radio receptors that were able to pick up the most subversive radio signals. Also in 2003, the anti-Cuban congressmen made sure that Congress approved the sum of 15 million dollars per year to finance the Cuban counterrevolution. This represented an additional 10 million US dollars each year, compared to the budget approved for this purpose in 2002.

- The restrictions on American citizens traveling to Cuba are stepped up

Letters of warning were sent to more than 1.226 Americans from the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the US Treasury (OFAC), double the amount sent during the last four years of the Clinton Administration. These notifications represented the first stage of the legal process against American citizens for violating the Treasury Department's regulations about trips to Cuba, an act which could lead to a fine of thousands of dollars and even a jail sentence. Following instructions from the White House, the Department of Homeland Security has invested all its intelligence resources in catching those who travel illegally to Cuba.

- The so-called 'people-to-people' exchanges were banned

On the 24th of March, 2003, the US government withdrew permission for the people-to-people educational exchanges, thus restricting the few licenses that were awarded for academic and cultural exchange trips between the two countries. Also, a greater number of visas for Cuban artists, intellectuals, academics and scientists to participate in events in the United States were turned down.

- Subversive radio and television transmissions increased

On the 20th of May 2003, the radio station set up by the US government with a view to promoting and guiding subversion in Cuba, went on air using four new frequencies that affected and caused interference in Cuban radio broadcasts. On this same day, a US Air Force C-130 plane carried out a test transmission of the official anti-Cuban TV signals, from 6 pm to 8 pm, using channels and systems legally assigned to Cuban TV stations, and duly registered in the ITU.

From September 2003, anti-Cuban radio and television transmissions began with the use of satellites. As part of the intensification of radio electronic aggression, an average of 2220 hours a week of anti-Cuban radio and TV signals were transmitted from the United States. From both government and private stations false news and messages aimed at promoting destabilization on the island, the destruction of its political system, illegal emigration and a situation of ungovernableness that would serve as a pretext for those who were trying to force a military solution on Cuba.

- Cuba is included in a report drafted by the Department of State to condemn and single out governments for "misconduct"

On the 30th of April 2003, the US government presented a yearly report entitled 'patterns of Global terrorism', which once again included Cuba in the list of states which supposedly supported terrorism at an international level. At this time the list comprised seven countries: Iraq, Iran, Syria, Sudan, Libya, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Cuba. The composition of this list coincided 'by chance' with countries that hindered the US's plans for hegemonic domination.

- The harassment and psychological torture of the Five Cuban antiterrorist fighters, unjustly imprisoned in the United States, and of their families, continued and intensified

The US government used arbitrary tactics to punish the five young Cubans unfairly sanctioned in the US for the crime of seeking information that would allow them to protect the Cuban people from the terrorist acts perpetrated by Florida-based organizations. Federal agencies continued to sabotage the appeal process, they made it even more difficult for them to receive consular visits and maintain contact with their families, they delayed the process of granting visas to the families of these five anti-terrorist fighters without any justification and denied the wives of Gerardo Hernández and René González, as well as the young daughter of René, entry into the United States to visit their loved ones.

- The campaigns to condemn Cuba in multilateral organizations and to internationalize the anti-Cuban policy of hostility became more severe

US authorities pulled out all the stops, using every form of pressure and influence, in order to make sure that Cuba was explicitly condemned in the UN Commission on Human Rights and in the Organization of American States; they failed at both attempts.

Using the services of their loyal and committed servant in the European Union, Mr. Aznar, then president of Spain, the United States managed to bring the Union member countries under their control with regard to the design and implementation of their policy towards Cuba, making them their accomplices in the imperialist and hostile policy imposed on the Cuban people.

-Significant increase in anti-Cuban propaganda campaigning in the United States

Spokespeople for the Bush administration made several statements, the tone of which was dangerously aggressive, that resorted to pretexts such as the justified act of punishing mercenaries of their anti-Cuban policy.

- A new fair to present food and agricultural products from the United States to the Cuban market was banned

Following the two successful Fairs of Food and Agricultural Products exhibiting the merchandise of private US companies, which were held in Havana in 2002 and 2003, the American Government announced, in 2004, that the next fair of this nature was banned.

-A so-called 'Presidential Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba' was created, presided over by the then Secretary of State, Colin Powell, and for Housing, the anti-Cuban Melaquíades Martínez

On the 10th of October 2003, in a speech spiked with threats against Cuba, President Bush announced the creation of a so-called 'Presidential Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba'. He put the then Secretary of State in charge of this commission, allocating Housing issues to Melaquíades Martínez, loyal exponent of the terrorist mob of Miami in the Bush administration. The purpose of this Commission was to assess and present concrete proposals to the US President so that he could realize his wish to intensify the blockade, increase anti-Cuban hostility and overthrow the Revolution. (See: Statement made by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 13th of October 2003.)

-Any attempt by Congress to modify the policy towards Cuba has been met with an even stronger active and executive opposition

High-ranking members of the Bush administration linked to the design and implementation of the anti-Cuban policy, have repeatedly announced the Executive's intention to veto any bill aimed at relaxing, even partially, the measures of the blockade against Cuba.

On the 12th of November 2003, in view of this permanent threat and in order to ensure that the President was not forced to veto a bill that had two-party support, the bicameral Conference Committee of the Congress of the United States that was studying the bill on budget allotment for the Treasury and Transport Departments, decided to undemocratically eliminate the amendment of the bill which fought to relax travel restrictions

imposed on American citizens wishing to travel to Cuba, violating all the norms and regulations of Congress in the process. This occurred despite the fact that this amendment had been passed by a notable majority in the Chamber as well as the Senate. (See: Statement made by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cuba on the 13th of November 2003).

-Threats made against Cuba in speeches by representative of the US Government became more frequent and aggressive. The following are notable examples:

..On the 10th of April, 2003, the US ambassador in the Dominican Republic, Hans Hertel, a close friend of President Bush, stated that what was happening in Iraq was going to send out a very positive sign and that it was a very good example for Cuba. He added that the war against Iraq marked the beginning of a freedom crusade to 'democratize' every country worldwide.

..The next day, the Governor of Florida, Jeb Bush, brother of the US president, affirmed that "after the success in the war in Iraq, the United States should turn its look to the neighborhood and pressure the international community so that the Cuban regime can not continue".

..On the 13th of April, the Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, when asked whether an attack against Cuba would ever be an option, he replied, "We hope they have the opportunity to say what they want, and practice freedom of religion and freedom of speech, freedom of assembly". He didn't rule out a military attack on Cuba

In April, representatives of the US Government made threatening and hypocritical statements indicating that their country would not tolerate the mass exodus of rafters arriving from Cuba.

..On the 25th of April, the head of the Office of Cuban Affairs of the Department of State, informed the head of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, attached to the National Security Council, that he viewed the continual hijacks in Cuba as "a serious threat to the national security of the United States", as if it hadn't been Washington representatives who had encouraged and tolerated the criminal activities of traffickers and terrorist hijackers.

..On the 4th of May, the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, when asked about the possibility of 'liberating' Cuba, replied, "We do not think that it is appropriate at this time to consider, if you're talking of military force, to use military force for this particular purpose". Note that the phrasing used by Powell leaves open the possibility of a military attack sometime in the future.

..In a letter dated the 27th of May, the congresswoman of Cuban descent, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (Republican-Florida), told President Bush, "Mr. President, under your leadership the United States has witnessed the liberation of the people of Afghanistan and Iraq (...) I want to offer you proposals and recommendations that will allow your administration to plot a course of action that will help hasten a change of regime a mere 90 miles away from American coastlines", clearly alluding to Cuba.

..In a speech made on the 4th of June 2003, before the Committee of International Relations of the Chamber of Representatives, the then Assistant Secretary of State for the Control of Weapons and International Security, John Bolton, said that: "although Cuba has ratified the Biological Weapons Convention, we believe it has at least a limited offensive biological warfare research and development effort. Cuba has provided dual-use biotechnology to other 'rogue' states. We are concerned that such technology could support bioweapons programs in those states. Furthermore, Cuba's biotechnology industry is a top national priority and is characterized by its dual use, sophisticated equipment, modern facilities, generous funding and highly qualified personnel".

.. On the 18th of June, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Dan Fisk, affirmed, "The United States has adopted a number of actions since the last wave of arrests and convictions [referring to the mercenaries who were convicted for lending their services to the US' anti-Cuba policies of hostility], but it won't be making any information available to citizens, future actions are being analyzed,

some of which you'll see and others not", suggesting that a lot of this action will be taken in an undercover manner.

..On the 2nd of October 2003, during a hearing of the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Roger Noriega, announced a new plan of subversive action against the Island and repeated the cynical accusations that Cuba was developing a limited programmed of biological weapons. (See: Statement made by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 5th of October 2003)

..On 10th of October 2003, President Bush affirmed that the Cuban regime would not change by its own choice, but Cuba must change. On this occasion the US President uttered a new anti-Cuban lie when he stated that the Cuban Government promoted the illicit sex trade.

According to cables received, on the 19th of December, Mr. Otto Reich, then special envoy of the White House to Latin America, said, "The United States is exceedingly concerned at the constant reports of the presence of Cuban agents in Venezuela", which blatantly manipulates the supportive presence of more than 10 thousand Cuban doctors and teachers in Venezuela, who are there to support the social programs of the Bolivarian Revolution.

2004

- The adoption and precipitate application of the Report for the so-called "Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba"

The Bush administration was responsible for increased aggressive statements and actions against Cuba that reached unprecedented heights in 2004. One of the worst acts was when, on the 6th of May, 2004, the anti-Cuban measures of the Report of the so-called Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba were passed and proceeded to be applied in a precipitate manner.

Making reference to this Report, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Dan Fisk, said that "it was the first comprehensive U.S. government strategy to assist the Cuban people in hastening the day of freedom in Cuba (...) and to prepare the United States to support Cuba's democratic transition (...) these are a means to an end: the end of the Castro dictatorship (...)"⁵

American foreign policy experts, who occupied top posts in previous governments and in international organizations led by Peter Hakim, president of 'Inter-American Dialogue', admitted that the US policy towards Cuba which comprises the Report attempts to generate violence and social destabilization on the island, as they revealed in a letter sent to the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, which was published on the 9th of September in a report by correspondents of the Mexican newspaper *La Jornada* in Washington and New York.⁶

The Report examines the measures and action to be taken to topple the Cuban Government, as well as a project for the future political, legal, economic and social organization of Cuban society, according to Washington's vision and under its military rule.

⁵ Advancing the Day When Cuba Will Be Free, Daniel W. Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs. Remarks to the Cuban-American Veterans Association. Miami, Florida. 9th of October, 2004. International Information Programs of the Department of State. 14th of October, 2004. <http://usinfo.state.gov/wh/Archive/2004/Oct/15-582301.html>

⁶ 'Denuncian que la politica de Estados Unidos pretende generar violencia en Cuba' (It is revealed that the US is trying to generate violence in Cuba) Prensa Latina, 9th of September 2004.

Although this plan served Bush's electoral interests in Florida, its main purpose is to implement the strategic plan that successive US governments have shared for more than 200 years: to take over the island of Cuba and adapt its people to American society.

The American plan is a cruel, cynical, demagogic, interfering one which violates the Charter of the United Nations, International Law, the Constitution and laws of the United States and the human rights of not only the Cubans living in Cuba and in the United States but also those of US citizens.

The application of all the measures which comprise the Report for Assistance to a Free Cuba, would obviously require US military intervention against the Cuban people and the consequent installation of an occupying government which will implement the detailed plans that have been devised and do away with the constitutional system freely and sovereignly chosen by the Cuban people.

- The persecution of Cuban financial assets abroad

In an unprecedented display of aggression in the history of international financial relations, the US Government announced new measures aimed at hindering and trying to halt Cuban international financial operations. (See: Message by the Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro Ruz, read out on the Informative Round Table Discussion about the new economic aggression of the US government and Cuba's response, in the *Granma* newspaper, dated the 26th of October 2004.)

The first sign that a new, large-scale act of economic aggression was underway was when the largest Swiss bank, UBS was fined 100 million US dollars by the US Federal Reserve, for the supposed violation of US sanctions against Libya, Iran, Yugoslavia and Cuba. The Swiss bank was accused of accepting US dollar bills or sending them to countries under a sanction regime imposed by the United States.

From May 2004, the Miami press and congressmen of the anti-Cuban mob, along with the US Government itself, launched a systematic campaign, speculating and spreading rumors about the origin and destination of Cuban dollar funds, and using pressure and threats to intimidate any bank that could have financial relations with Cuba, in order to prevent them from receiving US currency bills when undertaking financial transactions with the island. This was aimed at depriving Cuba of the right to use the US dollars that it had made through totally legitimate activities, such as tourism.

In connection with this new anti-Cuban hysteria, repeated calls were made for the Government, various Congress committees and the US legal system to investigate Cuba's financial flow and to find and penalize those responsible for supposed 'money laundering' activities.

In a speech made on the 9th of October to the Cuban-American Veterans Association, Daniel W. Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, publicly said, "another pillar in our strategy is to identify long-ignored revenue streams for the Castro regime and then move to degrade them. For example, tourism, which has replaced sugar exports as Cuba's main foreign-exchange earner".

Among the new measures that the US government has adopted with these aims in mind, Fisk mentioned, "We have established a Cuban Asset Targeting Group staffed by law enforcement officials from several agencies to investigate and identify new ways hard currency moves in and out of Cuba, and to stop it".

On the 10th of May 2004, an article appeared in the Miami *El Nuevo Herald* brimming with despicable and blatant lies, whose headline translates as 'Cuba laundered \$3.900 million in Swiss bank' which, besides lying about and twisting anything to do with normal commercial transactions that Cuba carries out with foreign countries, incited American authorities to take new action against Cuba as regards banking and finance. The article, among other

things, encouraged the congressmen of the terrorist and anti-Cuban mob of Miami to hold hearings in the corresponding committees of the Chamber of Representatives in order to clear up this colossal scandal.⁷

On the 9th of June 2004, an article in the *El Nuevo Herald* implied that the funds deposited in the aforementioned Swiss bank had been accredited to persons or entities unknown in unspecified banks, when in reality these funds were always used in transactions with internationally known companies. This newspaper hysterically demanded that the list of companies that had undertaken commercial or financial transactions with Cuba be brought to the light. The article, affirming that these names must be known, calls upon the Florida congress members, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Díaz-Balart to exert pressure in order to find out where the money came from and what its destination was; this illustrates the seriousness of the plan that was being hatched against Cuba.

On the 10th of June, 2004, *El Nuevo Herald* once again reported that the Miami mob, by way of its most famous spokespeople, congress members Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Díaz-Balart, was requesting that the US federal government investigate the origin and destination of the aforementioned funds. The newspaper opined, by way of the article, that the United States should investigate the origin and destination of around \$3.900 million dollars that it believes the Cuban Government 'laundered' through an international program of the Federal Reserve. Florida congress people Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Díaz-Balart declared yesterday, in letters sent to the Federal Reserve and the Chamber's Finances Commission.

In a press release dated the 22nd of June 2004, Ileana Ross stated: "I'm waiting for the results of the investigations (...) if the Union of Swiss Banks (USB) is found guilty of violating US restrictions in transactions involving terrorist regimes such as Cuba's, it is of vital importance to fine those responsible accordingly"

Continuing with her campaign, Ileana Ross wrote a letter to the president of the International Relations Committee of the Chamber of Representatives, on the 30th of June, demanding that this matter be investigated.

On the 3rd of June 2004, the Miami *El Nuevo Herald* launched a disdainful attack on the Inter-American Development Bank and ECLAC saying that the 'set up' is covered by the IDB (Inter-American Development Bank) and ECLAC with inflated remittance figures that they attribute to the Cuban-American community, and, after expressing their wish that the matter be cleared up, they added that the scandal over laundered money shows that Cuba is a confidential haven for the money of terrorists and embezzlers that must be uncovered.

Using the crude sensationalism characteristic of the anti-Cuban mob of Miami, *El Nuevo Herald* published an article on the 23rd of June, that translates as Search for Links with Cuban Funds in United States', which, among other things, reported that "(...) the US had begun a legal investigation to determine possible links between 'American entities and persons' with \$3.9 billion that Cuba filtered into the banking system, using a Federal Reserve program (...)".

Apparently, the lies about this matter that are published in Miami on a daily basis are so copious and blatant that the Swiss bank, UBS, felt the need to publicly deny any accusation of laundering money in Zurich on the 25th of July, 2004. A spokesperson for the bank explained that he "had no knowledge of new bank investigations" and that "the United States' Federal Reserve (FED) and Switzerland's Federal Bank Commission (CFB) have already examined the case".

However, such statements didn't prevent the Miami mob and their media voice from continuing with their perfidious campaign. On the 16th of September 2004, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen once again spoke to *El Nuevo Herald* to express that "this will take a whole lot of time" and threatened other banks by pointing out that "other banks are being looked at".

As the Cuban Government opportunely revealed, the Bush administration was prepared to block the income that Cuba received from tourism and other services and stop Cubans residing in the United States from being able to

⁷ The chronology is based on the message by the Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro Ruz, delivered on the Informative Round Table Discussion on the new economic attacks by the US Government and the Cuban response, in *Granma*, on the 26th of October 2004.

send remittances to their relations in Cuba. The island would be prevented from making deposits in foreign banks of dollars that were licitly obtained and completely accountable for. Cuba wouldn't be able to use these dollars to buy medicine or food, or import the supplies needed for their stores, where those who receive remittances from relations residing in the United States do their shopping.⁸ (See: Information report by the Revolutionary Government in the *Granma* newspaper, dated the 8th of June 2004.)

It is impossible to imagine a more cynical and perverse formula: the United States, with its criminal blockade, ensures that the remittances from Cuban relatives and the payments by foreign visitors to Cuba are sent and made in cash. Now they were trying to prevent Cuba from using this cash to pay for its imports by employing blatant pressure tactics.

Due to the situation that had arisen, it was necessary to take urgent measures that would protect the interests of the country, faced with the serious damage that the new anti-Cuban maneuver would cause. On the 23rd of October 2004, with this aim in mind, the Minister President of the Banco Central de Cuba, Francisco Soberón Valdés, announced Resolution No. 80/2004.

In a complex but successful operation, the aim of which was not to collect dollars, but rather respond to a dangerous economic attack that was being developed, the Cuban Government took the US dollar out of national circulation from the 8th of November 2004.

Also, from this date onwards, a tax of 10% was charged to every dollar exchanged in cash for convertible Cuban pesos, in order to compensate for the risks and costs that the use of US dollars had caused the Cuban economy, as a consequence of the aforementioned plans of the US Government.

The measures adopted by Cuba in response to these plans did not penalize possession of US dollars or other freely convertible currencies, nor did the exchange rate between the dollar and the Cuban peso change; it continued to be one for one. All Cubans who possessed dollars had two weeks, from the 28th of October, which were later extended to three, in which to exercise their right to change them for convertible Cuban pesos at the tax-free rate of one for one.

The resolution also established that any future transactions made with credit or debit cards would not be charged any tax, whichever currency may be being used, since it has nothing to do with the movement of cash.

This complex aggression not only posed a serious threat to Cuba's international financial activity, but also to the right to development and to the economic, social and cultural rights of the Cuban people, particularly the rights to food, health, education and employment of all Cubans, the people from whom this aggression was trying to deprive the financial resources and supplies necessary to ensure that they have them.

In other words, the Bush administration was trying to paralyze Cuba's international finances, in order to cause the economy to come to a standstill and provoke an extremely critical social situation, given the condition of a small, underdeveloped economy that is open and dependant on the income from tourism and foreign commerce.

The accusation that Cuba launders money is a lie that should not be told by the authorities of a country in which 50% of all illegal operations of this kind worldwide are carried out by their banks. The fact that the United States, the world's leading drugs market and consumer, accuses Cuba of laundering money earned from the trafficking of drugs is a defamatory lie that crumples at the slightest attempt to analyze it. The fact that the government of the world's first country for corporative corruption and State terrorism, and that mob legislators of Cuban descent, they themselves corrupt terrorists, insinuate that Cuba laundered money

⁸ Information report by the Revolutionary Government "Denuncia Cuba nueva y cobarde medida del gobierno de Estados Unidos" (Cuba denounces new, cowardly US Government measure), *Granma* 8th June 2004

connected to corruption and terrorism, would be a sick joke if it wasn't for the serious danger that it poses to the economy and the wellbeing of the Cuban people.

Once again the Empire's attempt to economically suffocate Cuba failed spectacularly and crashed and burnt when faced with the wisdom, the foresight, the creativity and the close unity between the leaders of the Revolution and the Cuban people. Any impartial and objective onlooker was again left in no doubt as to the confidence, understanding and unconditional support that the Cuban people give to their Revolution and to its top leadership.

- Substantial increase in material and financial resources used to encourage mercenary activity against the Cuban people

The statements made in this regard by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Dan Fisk, on the 9th of October 2004, were eloquent. Fisk said, "We have provided an additional \$14.4 million -- of a proposed \$29 million in additional money -- to support the development of civil society in Cuba and the empowerment of the Cuban people in their efforts to effect positive change. Six million dollars has already been transferred to USAID to dramatically expand its work with civil society groups".⁹

Fisk particularly stressed the conspiratorial work undertaken by the US interests Section in Havana, which he said continued "to provide more support to the opposition than any other diplomatic mission or entity in Cuba."

Who can believe that the US Government really lends its support to simple 'freedom fighters and defenders of human rights'? Who are they trying to fool? Throughout his speech, Fisk is really referring to the mercenaries of their anti-Cuban policy, who were recruited and trained by US special services and financed with federal funds assigned by authorities in Washington.

The United States has never politically, let alone financially, supported the true defenders of human rights in Latin America; people who, at the risk of their own lives, opposed the bloody military dictatorships imposed by Washington. The United States has never supported the defenders of human rights in this region, on the contrary, they performed technology transfers in order to increase the effectiveness of acts of torture, extrajudicial executions and unnatural disappearances.

-The limited trips to Cuba for Americans are deterred and increasingly plagued

In addition to all of the restrictions on trips to Cuba that have come into force over the last few years and the new limitations applied by virtue of the Report of the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, the American authorities have increased the application of punitive measures, they have fined organizations and persons that have traveled to Cuba substantial amounts of money and have even began legal proceedings against them.

Dozens of non-governmental organizations, including several groups of Cuban-Americans, have been visited by inspectors from the Department of Treasury, who has given them questionnaires to fill in within a maximum of 20 days, in which they are asked to give full details about what they did in Cuba.

On the 10th of June, 2004, two inhabitants of Cayo Hueso, Peter Goldsmith and Michele Geslin, the organizers of a regatta between Key West and Cuba, who were calling together navigators from all around the world, were charged by American authorities for promoting and participating in the Conch Republic Cup, in 1997, 2000, 2002 and 2003.¹⁰

⁹ Statement published by the Bureau of International Information Programs of the Department of State. 14th of October, 2004. <http://usinfo.state.gov/espanol>

¹⁰ "Mano Dura con los Violadores del Embargo a Cuba", (A heavy hand with those who violate the embargo) by Gerardo Reyes. *El Nuevo Herald*, 11th of June, 2004)

Three Methodists from Milwaukee were fined 25 thousand dollars each for going to Cuba in 1999 to develop their relationship with the Methodist Church on the island. “The sanctions go against freedom of religion and are discriminatory”, a spokesperson for the group sanctioned expressed.¹¹

- Increase in the amount of violations of the Migration Accords and in encouragement of illegal migration

On the 5th of January 2004, three days before the date proposed by Cuba for a new round of bilateral discussions on migration, the United States suspended it indefinitely, citing secondary and insignificant elements that have been debated at length and in depth in previous migration discussions. (See: Statement made by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 5th of January 2004.)

The Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Roger Noriega repeated an old threat, taking advantage of the temporary power difficulties with that were affecting Cuba, as a result of the serious breakage that brought the main electrical generator on the island to a halt for months.

Noriega said, “we have forewarned the Cuban Government that the United States considers any attempt at manipulating or provoking massive emigration towards our coasts a threat to national security”.¹²

With regard to migration, practically the only positive gesture made by American authorities, was on the 21st of April 2004, when a Florida court sentenced the six hijackers of the Cuban plane DC-3, which belonged to the Aerotaxi company and was hijacked on the 19th of March 2003, to between 20 and 23 years in prison.

The Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement which expressed the view “that the sentence issued by the US authorities against these hijackers is a positive sign (...) and that it is in keeping with the interests of Cuba and the United States expressed in the Migration Accord, signed in 1994, aimed at directing Cuban migration towards safe, legal and orderly channels and opposing and preventing the use of violence by those who tries to arrive, or do arrive in the United States from Cuba by hijacking crafts and vessels”. (See: Statement by MINREX, dated the 24th of April, 2004.)

While the US Government had made the relationship between Cuban émigrés and their country of origin increasingly difficult, Cuba, faced with a great challenge, continued to make progress and smoothen out their relationship with Cuban residing abroad, which is a continual and irreversible progress, in order to normalize and relax their relationship with Cuban émigrés and residents abroad. (See: Press conference of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Felipe Pérez Roque, on the 3rd Conference **‘The Nation and Emigration’**, which took place at MINREX on the 18th of May 2004 and his speech at the opening of the meeting on the 21st of May, 2004.)

Cuban nationality was returned, in a gesture of peace, justice and good will and as recognition of their positions of respect and rapprochement to their Homeland, and to their work towards family contact and the normalization of relations between the two countries, to seven members of Brigade 2506, which took part in the defeated mercenary military invasion of Playa Girón, in April 1961. These people had lost their nationality as an accessory legal sanction.

Also, in September 2003, Cuba publicly announced that from the 1st of June 2004, Cubans residing abroad would no longer have to request an entry permit in order to visit Cuba, with the exception of a few members of terrorist groups

¹¹“Como en los mejores tiempos del Macartismo” (Like in the good old days of McCarthyism) by Angel Rodríguez Álvarez, in ACN (Cuban News Agency).

¹² Washington advierte a Cuba que no tolerará nueva ola de balseiros (Washington warns Cuba that it won't tolerate a new wave of rafters, by PABLO ALFONSO, in *El Nuevo Herald*, 2nd of October 2004. Statements made in the backdrop of the Conference on the Americas, in the Biltmore Hotel of Coral Gables.

for understandable protective measures. They can simply get their passport authorized free of charge in order to enter the country, as often as necessary.

Due to the reduction of flights in both directions because of the measures and policies that are being applied by US authorities, and the increase of all types of measures aimed at aggravating the economic situation affecting Cuba and Cuban families, a migratory process could arise which may spiral out of control, if the Migration Accords fail, bringing with it the excuse to launch a military attack on the island.

- Cuba is included in a unilateral decertification report on “misconduct” issued by the Department of State

Over the last few months, the Bush administration has increased its efforts against the development of the Cuban tourist industry, with the aim of suffocating its economy. Encouraging and fabricating a false image of Cuba as a ‘rogue’ country is a fundamental part of this work.

The danger of the media campaigns of lies and defamation against Cuba stems from the fact that there are many people around the world who know very little about the Cuban revolution and could fall victims to the lies and ploys that the US Government is spreading by way of its extensive media.¹³

The latest report issued by the Department of State on the situation of terrorism worldwide, published in April 2004, once again placed Cuba on the list of countries that back international terrorism.

The US Government has never proved, and could never prove that Cuba has participated in any terrorist act. Their false pretexts have been systematically discredited and refuted as time has gone by; this has caused many, including members of the US Government, to admit that the inclusion of Cuba on the aforementioned list is no more than a political maneuver against our country.

Paradoxically, Cuba’s proposal to sign a Bilateral Programme to combat terrorism, which was first presented to the US Government on the 29th of November 2001, and has been put forth by Cuban authorities on several occasions since, has been rejected by the United States by way of empty, irrational and unfounded arguments.

The policy of the Cuban Revolution with regard to terrorism does not accept questioning of any type, especially from Washington.

Cuba condemns all terrorist acts, methods and deeds, in all their shapes and forms, regardless of the location, the perpetrators, the victims and the motive. The island is also opposed to any act aimed at encouraging, supporting, financing or covering up any terrorist act, method or deed.

Cuba has seen, perhaps more than any other country, the consequences of terrorist acts. Since the very first days of the Revolution, Cuban men, women and children have fallen victims to the cruelest and most ruthless forms of terrorism, which have often been backed, protected, financed and organized by the US Government itself, or by its protégés in the anti-Cuban organizations of Miami.

On the 14th of last June, the ‘Report on the Trafficking in Persons and Human Smuggling in 2004’ was presented, it was drafted by the Department of State and, for the second time, included Cuba. On this occasion, a more extensive and negative part, abounding with lies and insults, was devoted to Cuba, which drew particular emphasis to the supposed existence of child sex tourism, hard labor and prostitution of minors on the island.

The US Government lacks the morals and credibility necessary to question Cuba about the rights of children, not to mention human smuggling.

¹³ See speech delivered by Cuban President Fidel Castro Ruz, on the occasion of the 51st Anniversary of the Attack on the Moncada Barracks, Universidad Central de Las Villas, 26th of July, 2004.

The United States is one of only two countries in the world that hasn't ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, despite the fact that it was approved 14 years ago and, with 189 ratifications, it constitutes the most universal legal instrument on human rights.

Motivated by unscrupulous political aims, the United States is guilty of implementing one of the most atrocious operations to traffic children that has ever been carried out. In the 1960's, Operation Peter Pan, as it was known, separated 14 thousand Cuban children from their parents and took them to the United States; many of these infants were molested and raped by their guardians, teachers or carers.

The United States is the world's leading consumer and encourager of the illegal industries of pornography and prostitution; these industries abuse children, and, together, are one of the fundamental elements that bring about the international trafficking in persons.

In 1999, the Cuban Parliament modified the Penal Code in order to recognize the sale and trafficking of minors for the purposes of corruption, pornography, prostitution, organ trading, hard labor and the consumption or dealing of drugs, as well as crimes against the usual migratory process and the trafficking of people, among others, as criminal offenses and to severely punish them. The penalties handed down for other existing crimes, such as rape, violent pederasty, corruption of minors, procurement, trafficking in persons and crimes committed with minors or in the case that victim is a minor, were also increased.

Cuba has been both conscientious and severe with the application of this Law, in order to prevent and punish any possible crime of this nature. Between 2000 and May of 2004, 881 procurement trials were held and 1.377 people were sentenced. From 1999 to June 2004, 112 people were arrested for trafficking of human beings, the majority of whom have now been sentenced by Cuban courts.¹⁴

On several occasions during the migration talks that have taken place between the two countries since 2000, Cuba has put forth concrete proposals to collaborate with the US in order to combat the trafficking of human beings, drugs, terrorism, child pornography, and other related crimes. The United States has always turned them down.

It is also cynical and hypocritical that in every one of these reports – there are also reports relating to the lists of states that supposedly promote terrorism, restricting democracy and human rights, and limiting religious freedom, etc. – there is no mention of the position of the United States, one of the countries that would have to answer the most to the international community for their 'misconduct' and for the grave violation of its own people and of other peoples worldwide.

- Information on Cuba is manipulated and twisted with an obvious view to lying and justifying the threats of aggression and brutal measures taken against the Cuban people

On the 16th of July 2004, in a speech clearly influenced by the upcoming elections, given at a hotel in Tampa, Florida, Bush didn't hesitate to manipulate statements made by the Cuban president, Fidel Castro, to the effect that "Cuba has the cleanest and most educated prostitutes in the world," arriving at the mistaken conclusion that Cuba "is a destination for sex tourism"¹⁵ (See: Speech made by President Fidel Castro during the ceremony for the 51st anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks and Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, given at the Central University of Las Villas on the 26th of July 2004.)

¹⁴ "Nueva infamia contra Cuba en la escalada agresiva de Bush" (New lies against Cuba in the escalating attacks by Bush), by Lourdes Pérez Navarro. *Granma* newspaper. Havana, 17th of June, 2004.

¹⁵ "Bush sigue manipulando declaraciones de Fidel Castro" (Bush continues to manipulate statements made by Fidel Castro), by Carlos Iglesias. World Data Service, Publisher on the 26th of July, 2004, in *Aporrea.org*

“We also face a problem only 90 miles off our shores. The regime of Fidel Castro has turned Cuba into a major destination for sex tourism,” said Bush during a conference on the trafficking in persons.¹⁶

It was actually the bloody dictator, Fulgencio Batista –with the support and protection of the United States - who encouraged the US mob to convert Havana into a paradise of sex, gambling and prostitution in the 1950’s, for the enjoyment of tourists and US marines. The Cuban Revolution had to work tirelessly in order to rehabilitate and reintegrate into society the hundreds of thousands of prostitutes that it inherited as a legacy of the US neocolonial control over the island.

Before the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, around 100 thousand women were either directly or indirectly involved in prostitution, due to poverty, discrimination and unemployment. The Revolution educated these women and sought work for them. From then on the so-called ‘tolerance zones’ that had existed in the US influenced republic, were prohibited.

When the press looked into the source used by the Executive for this unusual statement by President Bush, White House officials said that it was a thesis written on Cuba in 2001 by a student, which was available on the website of the Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy. At the time, the student in question, Charles Trumbull, who now attends the Vanderbilt University Law School, was studying at Dartmouth College.

The young man was annoyed at how his project had been manipulated by the White House, and said, “It is really disheartening to see bits of my research contorted, taken out of context, and used to support conclusions that are contrary to the truth”.

The American newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*, which could never be accused of being kind to the Cuban Government, remarked that the only thing clear to the student is that the speech made by Bush manipulated the contents of his work, while he maintained that the meaning that the Cuban leader gave his idea was clear in his thesis. The young student, who carried out field studies on the island, explained to the *Los Angeles Times* that it shows that they (White House officials) didn’t read much of the article.

The cable services of news agencies later reported the following clarifications made by the student:

“(...) Prostitution boomed in the Caribbean nation after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

“Castro, who outlawed prostitution when he took power in 1959, initially had few resources to combat it. But beginning around 1996, Cuban authorities began to crack down on the practice.

“Although prostitution still exists, it is far less visible, and it would be inaccurate to say the Government promotes it.(...)”¹⁷

White House officials told the Californian newspaper that the only source of information that they had researched for the President’s speech in Tampa was the aforementioned thesis.

Although the attempt to twist the contents of the thesis was exposed by the author himself, a spokesperson for the Department of State pointed out to the newspaper that the material on Cuba was hastily added, barely a day before the speech, which only gave them time to find this thesis, and according to other cables, the Washington representative ‘defended the inclusion (of the phrase), arguing it expressed an essential truth about Cuba’. Or rather, that in the eyes of the White House the ‘essential truth about Cuba’ is anything that the President chooses to say, regardless of whether it has any bearing on the truth.

¹⁶ “Bush acusa a Castro de converter Cuba en destino turismo sexual” (Bush accuses Castro of turning Cuba into a sexual tourist resort) in terra.com.Colombia, 22nd of July, 2004

¹⁷ Speech given by the Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and President of the Council of State and Ministers, on the 26th of July, 2004.

In the words of Julia Sweig, of the Council on Foreign Affairs, “it is extremely dirty and it shows that when it’s a question of policy towards Cuba, they — the US administration — are willing to resort to any trick”.

On the 18th of September 2004, *The New York Times*, quoting sources from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), revealed that the United States was also lying when it accused Cuba of developing offensive programmes of biological weapons.¹⁸

According to this newspaper, the CIA, apparently under pressure following the scandal over their ridiculous reports on the presence of arms of mass destruction in Iraq, were now rejecting the reports that they themselves had drafted in 1999 that linked Cuba, without the slightest shred of evidence, to the supposed production of biological weapons in third countries that had been classified by Washington as promoters of terrorism.¹⁹

According to NOTIMEX, the US intelligence services are preparing a second report, which will be completed in a few months, to correct the version that said that Cuba would produce arms of mass destruction and replace it with another that indicates the suspicion that the Cuban regime would have the ‘technical capacity’ to produce them and adds that ‘it is unclear’ whether or not they are being produced.²⁰

The report mentions the fact that Cuba has “a medication and biotechnology program that it uses to produce vaccinations for a broad immunization program, recognized by doctors and scientists” and also mentions the fact that “many of these products are sold in other countries”. Some of these sales were manipulated by the US Government as “potential Cuban threats”.²¹

- Increase in the threatening and aggressive statements made about Cuba by members of the anti-Cuban, terrorist mob of Miami, closely linked to the Bush administration

Known terrorists of Cuban descent from the Comando F4 organization that operates in South Florida, were invited to the Channel 41 show on Miami TV, hosted by Oscar Haza, nephew of the bloody Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, whose regime ended the lives of more than 20 thousand Cubans between 1952 and 1958.

Dressed in military gear, along with other members of his terrorist organization, the leader of Comando F4, Rodolfo Frómeta, openly stated that his organization has people ready to carry out armed attacks on the Cuban Government, that his group trains with AK47 and semi-automatic weapons and that these were legally acquired in the United States, although he admitted that he didn’t have the documentation to prove this.

In a communication signed by the self-titled Colonel Reinaldo Acosta, Comando F4 issued a warning about terrorist attacks on foreign investments in Cuba, saying that “people who invest in Cuba are just as responsible for our misfortune and, as such, their investments will be treated as military targets as of 3 to 4 months from now”.

In an open letter to Bush, dated the 9th of May, 2003, Rodolfo Frómeta and other leaders of the Comando F4 organization informed Bush of their plan to carry out armed attacks on Cuba and stated that their “greatest wish was for this great country —its administration, in this case — to dissolve the Neutrality Law once and for all (...) because even the constitution of this great nation sanctions the use of force (...) many are the exiles or leaders of the

¹⁸ “El agente Goss ‘renuncia’ a su pasado”, (Agent Goss ‘renounces’ his past, by Jean-Guy Allard, *Granma Internacional*, 28th of September, 2004.

¹⁹ Idem.

²⁰ Corrige EU reporte sobre armas en Cuba, NOTIMEX cable, published by *El Universal*, Mexico, 9th of September, 2004

²¹ Corrige EU reporte sobre armas en Cuba, NOTIMEX cable, published by *El Universal*, Mexico, 9th of September, 2004

exile community's organizations who request harsh sanctions and even an invasion, we support both, but, we reiterate, the F-4 Commandos once again request being authorized to take action, physically unfettered".²²

One of the strongest evidence to prove the conspiracy and the US official tolerance of terrorism against Cuba, are the statements made on channel 41 (UNIVISION), on the 22nd of March, 2004, by the Republican congressman and former Florida district attorney of Cuban descent, Lincoln Díaz-Balart, who said in an interview with Oscar Haza that "Castro's assassination is the only option for Cuba".²³

He added that when he was district attorney, he didn't find "a single law prohibiting me from expressing my opinions this way", this statement was also made on channel 41 of Miami TV. No one in the United States, a country where the rule of law and respect of the International Law apparently prevails, replied or even criticized him.²⁴

Trusting in the impunity that is granted in Miami to those who are in favor of the use of terror, Díaz-Balart ratified his murderous statement in an interview with the journalist, Adriana Vargas, on the "La Noche" programme on RCN, on the 13th of April 2004.²⁵

The family of the anti-Cuban mobster, Lincoln, has a long history of crime and terrorism. In the 50's, Rafael Díaz-Balart, the father of the anti-Cuban federal congressmen for Florida, Lincoln and Mario Díaz-Balart, was one of the most active leaders of the bloody machinery of repression set up by the Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista; he was a congress member and right hand man of the then Government Minister.

Soon after he arrived in New York in January 1959, Rafael Díaz-Balart founded, with the blessing of US authorities and together with a group of fleeing, repugnant henchmen, the 'White Rose' organization (which is also known by its Spanish name, 'La Rosa Blanca'), the first terrorist group in the long history of the Cuban counterrevolution. The White Rose was behind countless terrorist attacks on Cuba, including the brutal assaults on the largest Havana department stores La Época and El Encanto, which took human lives.

On the list of murderers who joined Rafael Díaz-Balart in the White Rose, appear the names of Pilar García, head of the National Police under the Batista dictatorship, who personally took part in torturing prisoners and 'Colonel' Merob Sosa, guilty of slaughtering hundreds of peasants in the mountains of the Sierra Maestra, to the east of Cuba, who were killed for supporting the guerilla movement led by Fidel Castro.

In 1989, Lincoln Díaz-Balart included in his manifesto supported by the terrorist National Cuban-American Foundation, the pardon of Orlando Bosch, the international terrorist of Cuban descent. Bosch took a leading role in the explosion in mid-flight, over Barbados, of the Cuban DC-8 passenger plane, in October 1976, in which 73 people were killed. Bosch was considered to be a terrorist by the FBI and for that reason he was awaiting deportation by US authorities. The president at that time, George Bush (senior), pardoned him in response to action taken by representatives of the anti-Cuban mob in Miami.

On the 27th of August 1994, Lincoln openly advised the White House to allow Miami terrorists to launch attacks on Cuba from US soil.

Lincoln Díaz-Balart has always been linked to the most extreme sectors of Miami, starting with the group of murderers that comprised the paramilitary committee of the National Cuban-American Foundation and who today form the Cuban Liberty Council, the anti-Cuban organization preferred by the current Bush administration, and the brains behind the anti-family measures announced on the 6th of May 2004. Among their followeef May 2004.

²² "Television channel in Miami invites a terrorist group to talk about their attacks on Cuba and Venezuela with complete impunity." `8th of June, 2004. www.rebelión.org

²³ "Bad surprise for Díaz – Balart", by Jean Guy Allard, in www.cubasocialista.com, 8th of July, 2004.

²⁴ "Cuba: dreams of an assassination", La Prensa on line, 28th of June, 2004.

²⁵ "Bad surprise for Díaz – Balart", by Jean Guy Allard, in www.cubasocialista.com, 8th of July, 2004.

Among their follower' of the international terrorist Luis Posada Carriles, the mobster Luís Zúñiga Rey, who unethically and illegally joined the official US delegation to the 60th session of the Commission on Human Rights and Ninoska Pérez Castellón, daughter-in-law of the renowned henchman of the Batista dictatorship, Roberto Martín Pérez, who was the leader of the terrible Radiomotorized Brigade.

Lincoln Díaz-Balart actively participated in the operation of intimidation and terror that was implemented on the 22nd of November 2000, when a group of 'protestors' of Cuban descent, recruited by the Republican Party, interrupted the recount of votes in Miami-Dade with shouts and threats, thus ruling out the possibility that the fraud committed against the Democrat candidate, Al Gore, would come to light. It was Lincoln who told Miguel Saavedra, head of the anti-Cuban organization 'Vigilia Mambisa', to cause the commotion with his group of criminals.

It is illegal in the United States, and in any part of the world, to defend terrorist acts on television. Encouraging the assassination of other world leaders is also illegal under the Neutrality Act of the United States. There is no better proof of the US Government's public complicity with such terrorists than the impunity with which they announce their misdeeds on television.

- Increase in funds and improvement of technical resources to illegally transmit radio and television broadcasts of a subversive nature in Cuba

As part of the implementation of the anti-Cuban measures announced on the 6th of May, 2004, the US Government began to transmit illegal signals, on a weekly basis, of the ill-titled Radio and TV Martí to Cuba, using a flying platform set up in a C-130 military plane operated by the National Guard.

For the transmissions, a medium wave frequency, which had previously never been used for American radio stations is being employed. The flying platform cost 70 thousand dollars a day.²⁶ In 2004, programs were also broadcasted over the Internet, 24 hours a day.

According to what Daniel W. Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, said on the 9th of October 2004, "To circumvent Castro's jamming, Commando Solo, the C-130 aircraft equipped with a powerful electronic transmission capability, has so far flown four times, beaming Radio and TV Marti signals to the island(...)".²⁷

The ill-titled Televisión Martí is the only invisible television station in the world, thanks to an ingenious and economical method of interception, established by Cuba, in exercise of its sovereignty.

- Increase in action against the Five Cuban Heroes, held as political prisoners in the Empire, and against their families

As part of the ploy to harass the Five Cuban Heroes, held as political prisoners in the Empire, and their families, last year the US Government reduced the amount of consular visits by the Cuban Interests Section in Miami to one every 3 months, it stopped the employees of the Cuban Interests Section from accompanying the families of the Five, it rejected requests for visas for the families of the Five that were made through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it repeatedly refused to issue visas to Olga Salanueva and Adriana Pérez, the wives of two of the arbitrarily detained anti-terrorist fighters and also excessively delayed the process of issuing visas to the other relations.

The ruthless acts qualify as cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment, according to the current international instrument to combat and sanction torture, of which the United States is a State Party.

²⁶ Press announcement by the deputyspokesperson of the Department of State, Adam Ereli, 23rd of August, 2004, in USIA and diarioexterior.com, 26th of August, 2004.

²⁷ Advancing the Day When Cuba Will Be Free, Daniel W. Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs. Remarks to the Cuban-American Veterans Association. Miami, Florida. 9th of October, 2004. International Information Programs of the Department of State. 14th of October, 2004. <http://usinfo.state.gov/espanol>

- Increase in the persecution of Cuba's tourist, business and financial transactions in third countries

The stepping-up of the blockade in order to reduce Cuba's hard-currency income, is one of the main ways in which the Bush administration has intensified its policy of hostility and aggression against the Cuban people.

In 2004, regulations of the blockade were applied to 13 companies linked to Cuba and to their affiliates abroad, which specialized in trips and the sending of packages and remittances; this has made it impossible for them to transact with people or institutions that are subject to US jurisdiction. This measure even made it illegal to access the websites of these companies.

On the 26th of October, the US Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), banned any US resident or citizen from carrying out financial transactions on the website www.sercuba.com, through which they could supposedly send remittances to Cuba via the Internet.²⁸

OFAC was trying to find an easy way to pressurize the associates of SerCUBA in Europe, and even American citizens, or citizens of Cuban descent residing in that continent, who were now being threatened with large fines and even jail sentences, if they disobeyed the 'imperial edict'.

This is a question of extraterritorial measures that are illegal and act in extreme violation of the very Constitution of the United States, which protects the right of every citizen to travel and use their personal resources without limitation.

- Announcement of new measures against Cuba in June and July of 2004, with the aim of further restricting the flow of hard currency and consumer goods to the island

On the 22nd of June 2004, the US Government made it illegal to send clothes and toiletries such as soap and shampoo, veterinary products, fishing tackle and equipment for making soap and other similar products. It also arbitrarily limited the people to whom the packages could be addressed – only offspring, parents, siblings or grandchildren - the frequency and quantity were also reduced, meaning one package for every household compared to one for every person, as was the practice before.

The statement made by the Department of Commerce, which announced these measures, implicitly acknowledged the negative impact that these new restrictions would have on Cubans who received packages from their relations in the United States, when it said that they "represented humanitarian aid for the Cuban people in critical areas".²⁹

On the 8th of July, 2004, the US Coast Guard Service also increased measures to prevent the possibility of vessels traveling to Cuba. It announced, on this day, a regulation that stipulated that any American ship of less than 100 meters in length, that didn't need special permission to travel to Cuba, now had to obtain a special permit if it was planning to sail to Cuba, even if wasn't going to leave directly from US waters. Boats found not to have this permit could be fined or confiscated and the persons responsible penalized.³⁰

Before granting authorization, the Coastguard Service requires the sailors to show their permits from other US federal agencies, to prove that they are not violating the regulations of the blockade imposed on Cuba.

²⁸ The Treasury Department vs SerCuba: "A thousand smokescreens for the blockade", by Amaury E. del Valle, 28th of October, 2004, in www.cubadebate.cu

²⁹ Restrictions on packages sent to Cuba, by Wilfredo Cancio Isla, *El Nuevo Herald*, Miami, 23rd of June, 2004.

³⁰ "New Rules for Ships Traveling to Cuba", LA VOZ DE LAS AMÉRICAS (THE VOICE OF THE AMERICAS), 9th of July, 2004.

Recently, US citizens and permanent residents were banned from buying any Cuban product, such as rum or cigars, even in a third country. And not even for personal use outside of the United States. Purchase of these products alone is a crime for any US citizen.

Violation of these norms could be punishable by trial and a fine of up to a million dollars for corporations and 250 thousand dollars for individuals, an up to ten years imprisonment, according to an announcement made by the US Treasury Department.

The US Department of the Treasury made it quite clear in a recent communication that “regulations prohibit people subject to US legislation to buy, transport, import, become involved or participate in any transaction connected to merchandise outside of the United States, if said merchandise is of Cuban origin, is or has been located or transported in and through Cuba, or has been made or derived, in whole or in part, from any product which has been grown, produced or manufactured in Cuba”³¹

As a result of the restrictions put into effect by Washington last June to restrict the number of flights bringing Americans and Cuban émigrés to the island, the number of Americans traveling to Cuba fell to less than half in 2004, according to figures from the US Department of State. Between July and December of 2004, 50 588 American citizens traveled to Cuba in charter flights, compared to the 119 938 that visited during the same period the year before. This figure represents a reduction of 57.47%. Also, reservations dropped to 13 735, almost two thirds less than the amount made during the same month in 2003.³²

The new US measures will not manage to economically suffocate the island. Despite the recent intensification of the American blockade, two devastating hurricanes which caused losses to the sum of 2 146 million pesos, the unprecedented increase in oil and a lengthy draught that is affecting eastern end of the country, the Cuban economy increased by 5% in 2004, a higher rate than the previous year. In 2004, for the first time, Cuba received more than two million foreign tourists in one year, 8% more than in 2003. The export of goods increased by 32.5%, exceeding 2 thousand million dollars, a sum that hadn't been surpassed since 1991.

- Intimidation of Cuban émigrés in the United States in order to calm their increasing displays of dissatisfaction with policies towards Cuba

Leaders of the Cuban-American mob based in Miami, threatened the Cuban émigrés residing in the United States who, in their hundreds, had been carrying out protests in that city against the measures that reduced travel and family remittance to Cuba, that they could loose their residency in the US.³³

‘Exile’ in Miami is a myth dreamt up by the US special services in cahoots with the anti-Cuban mob, with propagandist aims in mind, and is something for which the hundreds of thousands of people who have emigrated from the island for economic reasons or to be reunited with their loved ones are in no way responsible.

The policy of the Cuban Revolution in this area has always been the same, since the very beginning: participation and permanent involvement in the revolutionary process is and always will be the individual decision and voluntary choice of every citizen. Those who wish to emigrate may do so - with a very small number of exceptions for well founded reasons -, as long as they have the means necessary and a country willing to receive them through the usual and legal channels.

³¹ “A fine of \$ 250,000 and up to 10 years in prison is imposed on anyone who purchases a Cuban cigar”, in *Granma International*, Havana, 14th of October, 2004.

³² “China makes Cuba an official tourist destination, Washington manages to stop US -Cuba trips”, by Americaeconomic.com, 23rd of December, 2004, in www.americaeconomica.com/numeros4/297/reportajes/4Gema 297.htm

³³ “EU warning to Cuban exile community”. *El Universal*, 7th of June, 2004, based on a cable from the DPA agency.

- Reinforced application of the extraterritorial regulations established in Title IV of the Helms-Burton Act.

After five years in which no new cases were processed under Title 4 of the Helms-Burton Act of 1996, which establishes the rejection of entry visas into the United States for Cuban investors and their close relatives, in May, 2004, the Super Clubs hotel chain in Jamaica was ordered by the US Government to abandon its business in Cuba.

Faced with the threat that the US would prevent the top officials of this private company and their relatives from entering the country, the entity decided to end the business transactions of one of its hotels in Cuba. The reason why the US put pressure on this Jamaican company, was due to a complaint made by a Cuban-born person residing in the United States, who claimed to be the owner of the land-expropriated by the Cuban Revolution - on which the hotel that the Jamaican company was negotiating is built.³⁴

As the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Dan Fisk publicly revealed, the United States is "actively investigating more than two dozen Helms-Burton Title IV visa sanction cases. The most recent Title IV trafficking judgment was passed in April. No visa sanctions were imposed because the Jamaican company (Super Club hotel chain) terminated its commercial involvement with the confiscated property in question. This was the first judgment in 5 years. (...)"³⁵

On the 8th of July, 2004, in the federal court of Miami, a family of Cuban descent brought a lawsuit against the French tourist chain, Club Med, for building and running a five-star hotel between 1997 and 2003, at Varadero beach, on land that the family owned before the triumph of the Revolution. The lawsuit was presented despite the fact that Club Med had sold the property the year before to a Spanish hotel company.

The prosecutor pointed out that the lawsuit was presented in Florida because Club Med has a big state in this city, including a hotel in Port St. Lucie, and that "Club Med cannot have business in Cuba and have these in a substantial fashion with Cuba's communist regime"³⁶

The blackmail is blatant and the logic small-minded. If a foreign company does business with the United States, the most important market in the world, it cannot have anything to do with Cuba.

If this new lawsuit succeeds in the Miami courts, it will serve to encourage the professed desire of the White House to apply the full power of the Helms-Burton Act, the extraterritorial regulations of which have as yet been only partially implemented, due to the fact that presidential decrees are announced every six months, limiting the application of Title III.

- Threats against the incipient imports of food from the US.

The matter of whether to further hinder the sale of agricultural products to Cuba, which was authorized at the end of 2001, following the two devastating hurricanes that swept the island, causing damage to the sum of almost 2 thousand million dollars, is currently being evaluated by the US Treasury Department.

For months the George W. Bush administration has been reviewing the rules established with regards to the cash payments that the Cuban government makes to the US companies that sell food to the Island. A spokeswoman for the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), said that it would disclose "new regulations shortly", in relation to these payments.³⁷

³⁴ "Another 'case' to be added to the Helms-Burton Act", by Frank Martín. World Data Service, 6th of July, 2004.

³⁵ Remarks by Daniel Fisk to the Cuban-American Veterans Association. Miami, 9th of October, 2004. International Information Programs of the Department of State. 14th of October, 2004. <http://usinfo.state.gov/espanol/>

³⁶ "Exilios sue Club Med for using property in Cuba", by Amy Driscoll, in *El Nuevo Herald*, 9th of July, 2004

³⁷ "US reviews sales to Cuba", by Wilfredo Cancio Isla, *El Nuevo Herald*, 25th of November, 2004

A bi-party group of congress members, lead by Jo Ann Emerson, Missouri representative, sent a letter to the Treasury Department, stating that “there is no need for stricter requirements for sales to Cuba” and that “to request payment prior to the sending of goods would do away with all sales of agricultural products to Cuba”

In an effort to preserve the emerging food exports to Cuba, 34 powerful, national agricultural organizations and export companies from the US, wrote a letter to President George W. Bush, dated the 8th of December, asking him “not to bring unnecessary and harmful changes with respect to the implementation of TSRA [law authorizing exports to Cuba]. Any change would threaten to close up an important market for US agricultural exporters”³⁸

The signatories reminded President Bush that Cuba currently holds 22nd place in the list of buyers of agricultural products from the United States, and is capable of spending up to \$400 million per year, they also pointed out, “this isn’t a market that we can afford to lose”.

Among the important companies that signed this Letter were: American Farm Bureau Federation, Ag BioTech, American Meat Institute, National Foreign Trade Council, the shipping company Crowley Maritime, National Milk Producers Federation, National Turkey Association, US Dairy Export Council, US Wheat Associates and other nationally well-known producers of rice, wheat, chicken and dairy products, from states such as Minnesota, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, North Dakota and South Dakota.

The signatories of the petition opined “that obligatory advance payments in cash, which some officials and congresspeople who support a redoubling of the blockade interpret as obliging Cuba to pay before goods even leave US ports, contravene international trade regulations, violate TSRA statues and are more restrictive than any other export practice in the world”³⁹

They also pointed out that the ‘reinterpretation of payments’ could result in the cargo being seized by US institutions and citizens that, backed by legal reports, demand compensation from the Cuban Government. “Neither US exporters nor Cuban buyers are in a position to accept this extraordinary legal risk”, the letter emphasized

In this connection, the rabid anti-Cuban congresswoman Ileana Ros Lehtinen stated: “we will continue to bring pressure to bear on OFAC to have it ensure compliance with what the law establishes and oblige Fidel Castro to pay before receiving shipments”.

- Absurd, politically swayed trials recommence to award arbitrary compensation, to the sum of millions of dollars, from Cuban funds frozen in the United States as well as other property and assets

According to the copy of the Miami *El Nuevo Herald*, dated the 15th of November of last year, in the Miami-Dade Court of Justice, the American citizen, Janet Ray Weininger, ‘sued’ the Cuban president, Fidel Castro and the Cuban State for the murder of her father, Thomas ‘Pete’ Ray, who was brought down in the CIA plane that he was flying during the invasion of Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs), on the 19th of April, 1961.

In the trial – unusual from the point of view of the timeframe standards of the US legal system - , the Miami-Dade judge, Ronald Greensick, found in favor of Ms. Ray in little over 48 hours, and ‘ordered’ the Cuban Government to pay 86.5 million dollars for what he called the ‘execution’ of her father.

Ms. Janet Ray, who was only six years old when the event occurred, told vicious lies to support her lawsuit, by virtue of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, which allows victims of States that have been unilaterally and arbitrarily defined as being terrorist by the US Government – a list which includes Cuba - to sue them for damages.

³⁸ “No changes wanted in US sales”, by Wilfredo Cancio Isla, *El Nuevo Herald*, 30th of November, 2004

³⁹ Idem.

Since then, any legal claim against Cuba is responded to immediately by the US legal authorities, who award arbitrary compensation to the sum of millions of dollars.

When Ms. Ray filed her lawsuit in Miami, several legal experts said that the claim was flimsy. Even the *Herald* reported the opinion of David Abraham, a law professor at the University of Miami, who said that you couldn't invade a foreign country and expect a warm welcome.

Thomas Willard Ray – the father of the plaintiff - known as 'Pete', flew to Cuba as a mercenary to attack a foreign country. He was never imprisoned, nor was he attended to by any doctor for any type of injury, as was claimed.

Almost 40 years ago, the American journalists David Wise and Thomas R. Ross, wrote a book entitled 'The Invisible Government', which details the events of the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs)⁴⁰

One of the chapters of the book, 'The case of the Birmingham widows', tells of the death of four pilots from the Alabama National Guard, in the early hours of the 19th of April, 1961, who were part of a CIA commando group. They flew over Cuban lines in five B-26 bombers that set off from the Happy Valley airport in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, covered with insignia of the Cuban Air Force in order to confuse Cuban troops and take them unaware.

The American journalists explained how firstly the CIA and later the whole government continually lied to the families of the four dead pilots, assuring them that they had been killed in a terrible accident when their C-47 transport plane crashed into the sea.

The authors mention the statements, among others, made by Robert Kennedy, Secretary of Justice and brother of the president of that time, who said in an interview, on the 21st of January, 1963, almost two years after the invasion, with David Kraslow from the Knite newspaper chain, that not one American had died during the Bay of Pigs invasion.

For this reason, American authorities made no reference to the subject at all for 18 years, despite the fact that details of the plane shot down and the death of its two crew members had been available from the very beginning.

It wasn't until the end of 1979, under the Carter administration, that the US Government acknowledged the death of Mr. Ray, and on the 5th of December of this year his corpse was handed over to US authorities and to his young daughter, Janet Ray.

Some time later, in April 1980, the Cuban magazine *Verde Olivo*, published, in its 16th edition of that year, the eyewitness account of Dr. José M. Miyar Barruecos, the current Secretary of the Cuban Council of State, in which he describes the CIA air operations in Playa Girón, with the help of photos he took himself.⁴¹

When recounting the events, Dr. Miyar recalled how, at dawn on the 19th of April 1961, a B-26 plane lost altitude during its second low-flying attack on a command post and on Cuban troops, and made an emergency landing in the middle of a sugarcane plantation, to a defensive barrage. Seconds later there was a huge explosion which burnt the back part of the plane. After searching among the smoldering and charred remains of the aircraft, no trace was found of its two pilots.

Dr. Miyar Barruecos explained that various factors lead them to believe that the two pilots had had time to escape.

Commander Fernández Mell, who led the search, ordered the troops to do everything in their power to capture them alive. This was not possible. One of the pilots, when discovered hidden near the small road from the mill, shot his 38 short barrel revolver, and was killed immediately by a burst of fire from an automatic rifle. When the other pilot was discovered, he tried to throw a hand grenade, and died instantly from several wounds to the chest and right eye. The

⁴⁰ "CIA pilot's daughter tells stories and is alter money", by Lázaro Barredo Medina, 30th of November, 2004, in www.cubadebate.cu/index.php?tpl=especiales-show¬iciaid=3832¬iciafecha2004-11-30

⁴¹ Idem

latter was Thomas Willard Ray, whose corpse was officially claimed by the US Government 18 years later, at the request of his family. The other pilot was Frank Leo Baker.

-Orchestration of propagandist shows as part of the strategy of anti-Cuban public diplomacy

On assessing the anti-Cuban acts perpetrated by the Bush administration, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Daniel W. Fisk declared: “We also have stepped up our efforts to mobilize international diplomatic and public diplomacy efforts to increase international support for Cuban civil society and transition planning. We applaud such initiatives as the International Committee for Democracy in Cuba, led by former Czech President Vaclav Havel. (...)The resulting ‘Declaration of Prague’ called for the release of all political prisoners, and included harsh condemnations of the Castro regime. President Havel told the press, ‘Cuba is a giant prison’.”⁴²

The way in which the work of the Commission on Human Rights has been manipulated in order to impose a sentence on Cuba, has fulfilled a very important role in carrying out said strategy.

On the 16th of June, 2004, Michael Kozak, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, told a congress subcommittee, “To support Cuban's dreams for democracy, the United States provides moral support as well as political support through continuing efforts in international fora such as the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.” He forgot to mention, of course, that this “moral and political support” was offered thanks to most sordid pressure and blackmail applied and used against CHR member countries.⁴³

Daniel W. Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, said in Miami, on the 9th of October, 2004, “We actively supported and lobbied for a resolution critical of Cuba's human rights record at the 2004 UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva”.⁴⁴

Under instructions, and using funds invested by US authorities, the so-called ‘International Summit for Democracy in Cuba’ took place from the 17th to the 19th of September, 2004, in Prague, Czech Republic, under the supposed aegis of the self-titled International Committee for Democracy in Cuba (ICDC). The so-called committee was founded, with guidance from Washington, by Vaclav Havel, the former president of the Czech Republic – a character who is always ready to lend his services in exchange for the handsome paycheck awarded by the Empire - in September 2003.

When the meeting in Prague drew to an end, new anti-Cuban farces had been organized in other places, always following the same script and using funds handed over by the Bush Administration.

On the 9th of November, 2004, the seminar entitled ‘The Transition from Communism: the Lessons Learned and the Changes Facing Cuba’, was held in Miami, publicly sponsored by the Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies of the University of Miami (using federal funds) and the Czech Embassy in Washington.

The anti-Cuban show that had been organized to take place on the 16th of November, 2004, at the premises of the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly, no less, and in the backdrop of the Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State

⁴² Remarks by Daniel Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, to the Cuban-American Veterans Association, Miami, 9th of October, 2004. Bureau of International Information Programs of the Department of State. 14th of October, 2004. <http://usinfo.state.gov/espanol>

⁴³ Statements by Michael Kozak, US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, on the 16th of June, 2004, to the Subcommittee of Human Rights and Wellbeing, of the Commission of Government Reform of the Chamber of Representatives, quoted in ‘la cosa no es fácil para Kozak’, by Percy Alvarado, in Cubadebate, 19th of July, 2004.

⁴⁴ “Advancing the Day When Cuba Will Be Free”, Daniel W. Fisk, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs. Remarks to the Cuban-American Veterans Association, Miami. 9th of October, 2004. Bureau of International Information Programs of the Department of State. 14th of October, 2004. <http://usinfo.state.gov/espanol>

and/or Government in San José, failed spectacularly, due to the firm response of honest citizens of this country, who prevented this serious attack on the dignity of the Cuban people from taking place.

Despite the tolerance and complicity of the Costa Rican Government, the so-called International Fora for Democracy in San José, Costa Rica was aborted due to a public outcry, when scarcely two speakers from the minority groups of political intriguers and anti-Cuban terrorists had taken the floor (See: Secret anti-Cuban meeting in Costa Rica, Speech by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cuba, the 16th of November, 2004.)

Who attended these events organized and financed by Washington ?

These meetings have called together corrupt politicians, ousted former governors, officials, agents and former agents on the payroll of the US special services, representatives of the anti-Cuban mob in Miami and renowned terrorists of Cuban descent, as well as 'intellectuals', whose minds have been hired by the Empire.

For example, Carlos Alberto Montaner, who in 1963, joined a group chosen by the CIA and was trained in the field of intelligence in Fort Benning, USA, and has since then been working as a special services agent. Montaner defends the American blockade, which has been repeatedly condemned by the overwhelming majority of the international community, he also opposes foreign investment and promotes the international isolation of Cuba.

The reason behind the 'meetings' in Prague, Miami and Costa Rica is to create the image of supposed international support of the anti-Cuban policy of the United States and to recreate its media war against the Cuban Revolution.

The result of this type of meeting is always a document brimming with hate and threats against the Cuban people, which, of course, clearly supports Washington's anti-Cuban policy. The 'Prague Declaration' was no different; it recommended that the pressure on and siege of Cuba be increased, the 'help' given to mercenaries of the anti-Cuban policy be stepped up and that the preservation of the sanctions that Aznar instigated to control the European Union's policy towards Cuba to suit the imperialist interests of Washington. In Prague, at the request of the Bush administration, Mr. Havel publicly called for the Cuban Government to be overthrown.⁴⁵

James Cason, Head of the US Interests Section (USIS) in Havana, who commands the paid mercenaries of his government in Cuba, participated in the meetings in Prague and Miami. He was first speaker in the latter of the two.

So as there are no doubts as to who is the true promoter and whose interests these initiatives serve, President George W. Bush sent a letter to the organizers of the seminar in Miami, in which he expressed his gratitude for the efforts made by the Czech republic and the former president, Vaclav Havel, to promote the 'cause of democratization' in Cuba.⁴⁶

- Increase in the interfering statements, provocations and comparative activities of the Head and several officials of the United States Interests Section in Havana

The Bush administration uses its Interests Section in Havana as a forward position in its aggressive plans against Cuba. The current head, James Cason, has taken the work to undermine the aims that brought about the beginning of respective representation in Washington and Havana during the President Carter Administration, to new heights.

The most recent episode in the escalation of bilateral aggression in the diplomatic field, was the public and inconceivable provocation that the USIS created when it hung propaganda in the garden of its premises 'paying tribute' to the 75 mercenaries justly sentenced by Cuban courts.

⁴⁵ Paulo A. Paranagua, << A Prague, Vaclav Havel appelle à aider l'opposition cubaine pour construire l'après Castro>>, *Le Monde*, 21st of September, 2004

⁴⁶ Pablo Alfonso, "Debates over transition in Cuba". *El Nuevo Herald*, 10th of November, 2004.

This provocative act is the culmination of a long line of interfering and offensive acts, orchestrated by the Head and several officials of the United States Interests Section in Havana, between September and December of 2004, at the headquarters of this Section, as well as in their homes and in the backdrop of public diplomatic activities in other Embassies.

The behavior of these American diplomatic officials infringes the regulations that govern the conduct of the representatives of a State, in connection with the institutions and laws of the State in which they are accredited (See: Chronology of the provocative action of the USIS officials. September – December, in *Cubadebate*, the 20th of December, 2004.)

Youth organizations and dozens of Cuban artists hung signs, murals, posters and drawings around the outside of the US diplomatic headquarters - their response to the attack against the dignity of the Cuba. They were artistically recreated, irrefutable graphic proof of the imperialist and fascist policies of the current Bush administration, of the brutal consequences of its criminal aggression against several countries around the world and of the mass torture carried out by their officers and soldiers in detention centers and concentration camps in various parts of the world.

The Cuban people will defend at any price their rich history, the memory of their heroes and martyrs and national independence, something which has cost them many lives and sacrifices.

- Significant increase in the persecution of and imposition of fines on individuals, NGO's and American and third country companies for traveling to Cuba or performing financial or commercial transactions with institutions or persons defined by the United States as Cuban

During the course of 2004, a total of 77 companies, banking institutions and non-governmental organizations were fined for violating various regulations of the American blockade imposed on Cuba. The total number of fines imposed for the infringement of the blockade against Cuba, amounted to 1 262 011 US dollars. If to this sum, the fines that a group of entities had to pay for violating the 'sanctions' imposed not only on Cuba, but also on other countries, excluding the famous fine of 100 million charged to the Swiss bank UBS, then the total sum would amount to 1 451 539 dollars.

Of all the entities to receive fines, 11 are foreign companies or subsidiaries of American companies, all of which are located in third countries. In the information given above, at least 7 foreign countries are not mentioned, these include the airlines IBERIA, ALITALIA and Air Jamaica, DAEWOO and the Bank of China – to mention just a few - , whose affiliates in the United States were penalized for violating certain stipulations of the blockade against Cuba. Once again, the extraterritorial character of the measures of the blockade against Cuba is left in no doubt.

Of the entities fined, 29 are companies and firms, 27 are banking institutions, 10 are non-governmental organizations and 11 are foreign companies and subsidiaries of American companies in third countries.

Likewise in 2004, 316 citizens and residents of the United States were fined, to the total sum of 497 780 dollars, above all for failing to comply with the travel restrictions and for importing Cuban products. Refusing to supply information to the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) and holding a contract with a Cuban entity were also cited as violations.

The total amount of fines imposed on entities and individuals by virtue of the stipulations of the genocidal blockade against Cuba, reaches almost 2 million dollars.

At the beginning of September 2004, the Spanish airline, Iberia, revealed that it had paid a fine of 8 thousand dollars to the US Treasury, but denied that it had violated the blockade against Cuba. The events took place in 2000, when US authorities questioned Iberia for transporting Cuban tobacco in one of its planes, which stopped over in Miami

on its journey to Central America. According to Iberia, the merchandise was from the Canary Islands and was being taken to a client in Central America.⁴⁷

The fine of 20 thousand dollars (around 14 880 euros) which the US Treasury Department announced that it had imposed on the Spanish Bank, Santander, without disclosing details about the amount transferred or the identity of the recipient, was for making one transfer to a body which could be the Cuban Government, which was carried out in 2001 from its affiliate Santander Bank & Trust in the Bahamas (known as Santander Central Hispano Bank & Trust when the file was opened).⁴⁸

This was the second Spanish company to be penalized in accordance with the Helms-Burton Act, following the change of government in Spain in March 2003.

The US administration also decided to penalize DaimlerChrysler North American Holding Corp, because the former Mercedes-Benz company in Mexico sold vans to Cuba in 1999. The company was fined about 30 thousand dollars, the biggest fine to be imposed on a European company for trading with Cuba.⁴⁹

On the 8th of July, the Treasury Department reported that the pharmaceutical company, Chiron Corporation, had been fined 168 500 dollars by the United States, when the firm revealed that a European subsidiary company had sold two types of child vaccinations to Cuba between 1999 and 2002.⁵⁰

The Alpha Pharmaceutical Incorporated laboratories, located in Panama, also paid a fine of 198 700 dollars for doing business with the island.

The most recent penalties once again reveal the inhumane nature of the measures established by the US blockade against Cuba and how they violate the international standards of human rights, affecting areas as sensitive as the Cuban people's right to health and life, as well as those of their children.

- Increase in the amount of visas denied Cuban academics, scientists, artists, athletes and officials

Over the last year the amount of visas denied Cuban artists, academics, scientists, athletes and officials has also increased. Hundreds of Cubans were deprived of the possibility to take part in American and international events held in the US. The American people were also denied their right to receive information and opinions from all sides, from enjoying the arts and benefiting from the Cuban scientific breakthroughs.

Cuban musicians as talented as Ibrahím Ferrer and Manuel Galbán, writers such as Miguel Barnet and Eduardo Heras León, film and TV producers such as Gerardo Chijona and Lisette Vila, actresses such as Verónica Lynn, as well as a long list of important exponents of Cuban culture have been prevented from participating in presentations and events in the United States.

Between may 2003 and April 2004, 53 representative of the culture sector waited in vain for their entry permits into the United States, while the reply given to the request of 215 artists, was a flat refusal. At this same time, 21 Cuban sport directors were also denied visas.

At the end of September 2004, the Department of State refused to grant visas to the Cuban delegation comprising 64 university professors and academics that had been invited to participate in the annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), which held a meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada, from the 7th to the 9th of October of last

⁴⁷ "EU fines Spanish bank for transferring money to Cuba", AFP and REUTERS, in *La Jornada*, Mexico, 8th of December, 2004.

⁴⁸ EUROPA PRESS, Madrid, 7th of December, 2004, quoting the economic paper *Expansion*.

⁴⁹ "The Cold War continues in the engine world. US applies historic sanction on DaimlerChrysler", Patricia Cantalejo, in *MOTOR.TERRA.ES*, 17th of November, 2004

⁵⁰ Cable by Prensa Latina, Washington, 8th of July, 2004

year. This is the first time that the United States has denied a whole Cuban delegation visas to attend a conference held by this organization.⁵¹

The measures and policies that have been applied as regards travel permits for Cuba and visas for Cubans hark back to the darkest and most dismal stage of the ideological intolerance of the terrible McCarthyism, a phenomenon that until now was only remembered as something that happened a long time ago. Action of this kind reveals the falseness of the American rhetoric on freedom and human rights, and arbitrarily deprive the Cuban and American peoples from seeing and sharing the notable breakthroughs that they have made in these areas.

-Increase in the presence and influence of anti-Cuban figures in Congress and the Executive, in the second term in office of the George Bush Administration

The beginning of George W. Bush's second term in office is characterized by the presence of anti-Cuban figures in Congress and holding important posts in the Government.

The fact that Melquíades Martínez (Mel), the republican of Cuban descent, has been elected to the federal Senate by the state of Florida, Porter J. Goss, the republican congressman in Florida and CIA station chief in Miami during the 60's, has been nominated as new Director of the CIA, and Carlos Gutiérrez, businessman of Cuban descents, has been named Secretary of Commerce, makes it quite clear that Bush will continue with his policy of anti-Cuban hostility and take it to new heights.

Mel Martínez, based in Orlando, Florida, is the first member of the anti-Cuban mob to have a seat in the federal Senate, joining Capitol Hill the 3 republican congressmen for Florida and the democrat for New Jersey that comprise the Chamber of Representatives. Martínez, who is the most eminent member of the anti-Cuban mob in the first cabinet of the current President Bush, also worked in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. As well as this, he was one of the co-founders of the so-called Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, designing the new strategy aimed at overthrowing the Cuban constitutional system.

Mel Martínez has expressed his intention to work towards making the Bilateral Migration Accords between Cuba and the United States null and void. He aims to extend the right to apply for status of 'refugee' to Cubans picked up at sea and offer them the benefits of the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1996.⁵²

This proposal would further encourage illegal emigration and trafficking in persons and would cause the tension surrounding bilateral migratory relations to increase.

On meeting Condoleezza Rice - then National Security Adviser to the White House and new Secretary of State - at Capitol Hill, on the 4th of January 2005, after being sworn in as Senator, Mel Martínez told Ms. Rice, 'we insist on the need to create a flying platform to broadcast to Cuba'.⁵³ Martínez was referring to the use of a US military plane to illegally transmit radio and television signals to the island, using a program specially designed to promote destabilization, illegal emigration and the subversion of Cuban constitutional order.

On the occasion of being sworn in as imperial senator, Martínez also met up with the former president of Panama, Mireya Moscoso, who was accompanied by Jorge Mas Santos, president of the Cuban-American National Foundation, the terrorist organization of Cuban origin.⁵⁴ Not long before her term in office drew to an end, Ms. Moscoso pardoned 4 renowned terrorist of Cuban descent, led by Luis Posada Carriles, tried by the Panamanian

⁵¹ "Visas denied to 64 Cuban academicians", Pablo Alfonso, *El Nuevo Herald*, 30th of September, 2004

⁵² No let up in sight, by Guillermo I. Martínez, in *Sun Sentinel*, 18th of November, 2004

⁵³ Mel Martínez makes history, by Rui Ferreira, in the *New Herald*, January 5 2005, www.Miami.com/mlld/elnuevo/10566348.htm

⁵⁴ *Idem.*

Courts for planning a terrorist attack that would have taken place during a busy public attempt at the university, activity by the Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Referring to the importance of Martínez's presence in the Senate in terms of the impetus that it will give the anti-Cuban policy, the mobster Mas Santos stated, "Mel is a person with wide access to the White House and with the good idea of focusing the struggle within Cuba, of continuing to support the dissidents on the island".⁵⁵

A Florida newspaper, the *Sun Sentinel*, revealed that, 'given what (Mel) Martínez thinks about Cuba and his close ties with the president, it is quite clear that the United States will not soften its policy towards Cuba under Bush'.⁵⁶

On the 29th of November, 2004, President Bush appointed the American of Cuban origin, Carlos Gutiérrez, as the new Secretary of Commerce. Gutiérrez, the president and chief executive of the transnational corporation Kellogg since 1999, who currently lives in Battle Creek (Michigan) emigrated to the United States in 1959, at the age of six. He has shown himself to be in favor of the Bush administration toughening its policy of hostility.⁵⁷

Representatives of the anti-Cuban mob expressed their wholehearted support of the appointment of Gutiérrez, maintaining that the official backs the blockade. In June 2004, Gutiérrez donated 4 thousand dollars to the United States-Cuba Pro Democracy Political Action Committee, that oppose any change in the US policy of hostility against the Cuban people, according to a report that the group presented to the Federal Election Commission. The republican congresswoman, renowned anti-Cuban mobster, gave her public backing to the nomination of Gutiérrez.⁵⁸

In his thank-you speech following the announcement made by the US President of his appointment as Secretary of Commerce, Gutiérrez referred to himself as a 'political refugee'.⁵⁹ In a speech confirming his appointment to the Senate Commerce Committee on the 5th of June 2005, he clearly expressed his support of the President's (George W. Bush) policy towards Cuba, affirming that above all, he firmly believes in the aim of introducing democracy to Cuba, which is what this policy entails.⁶⁰ He added that he was deeply worried about doing anything that could protract the current situation in Cuba⁶¹, denying that there was any possibility of relaxing the blockade on Cuba in the slightest.

The appointment of Porter J. Goss as the new director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) could mean an important intensification in the undercover operations carried out by the American special services against Cuba.

Goss, in his capacity as Republican representative of Florida, used to be the president of the Federal Chamber's Committee on Intelligence, a hideout for groups of terrorist and extremists of the anti-Cuban mob.

The new Director of the CIA has maintained close ties with the most adventurous, unscrupulous and violent members of the anti-Cuban mob in Miami for more than 40 years. In 1962, Goss joined the Special Operations Unit of the CIA and from the JM-WAVE station in Miami, which for years had hundreds of operations officers at its

⁵⁵ Mel Martínez makes history, by Rui Ferreira, in the New Herald, January 5, 2005, www.Miami.com/mld/elnuevo/10566348.htm

⁵⁶ Idem.

⁵⁷ "Carlos Gutiérrez, the second Hispanic in Bush's administration" in El Sentinel, Florida, 29th of November, 2004

⁵⁸ "Under Gutiérrez, Kellogg considered trade with Cuba", by KEN GUGGENHEIM, Associated Press, *El Nuevo Herald*, 2 December 2004.

⁵⁹ White House Office of the Press Secretary Bulletin. "President Bush appoints Carlos Gutiérrez trade secretary"

⁶⁰ France Presse dispatch, "Gutiérrez firm on democracy for Cuba", published in Nuevo Herald, 6 January 2005.

⁶¹ Press dispatch by Nestor Ikeda, "Gutiérrez appears defensive about trade with Cuba". Associated Press, published in Nuevo Herald, 6 January 2005.

disposal, participated in the design, organization and direction of various attacks on Cuba, including the Playa Girón invasion (Bay of Pigs), Operation Mongoose and several plans to assassinate the then Cuban Prime Minister, Fidel Castro.⁶²

Later, the Agency sent him to several intensive activity zones in Latin America and the Caribbean, where he continued to take part in operations aimed at isolating the Cuban Revolution and smothering the popular leftist movements that were spreading through the region at that time.

On the 18th of May, 2002, Goss admitted to the *Washington Post* that he had participated in terrorist operations of the CIA mega station in Miami, JM-WAVE. At that time this operative center devoted its time to organizing and carrying out murders, starting fires in economic targets and public places, setting off bombs and spreading infections, as well as other terrorist acts against Cuba.⁶³

This sinister character joined the anti-Cuban mob in its extremist campaigns on numerous occasions. While head of the Congress Committee on Intelligence, he never bothered about the mistakes made by Héctor Pesquera, the FBI Special Agent in charge of South Florida, who ignored the presence of 14 of the 19 Al-Qaeda terrorists in the state - perpetrators of the criminal attacks of the 11th of September 2001 - as he was pursuing Cubans who had infiltrated terrorist groups in Florida at the time.

In July 2002, he echoed the false accusation that Cuba was supposedly capable of producing biological weapons, in order to hinder the efforts of those requesting that the travel restrictions to Cuba be lifted. Goss's professional history only serves to foretell a dangerous return to the policy of undercover operations against Cuba.

Another element that points to a future increase in activity by those who wish to see the hostile policy against Cuba strengthen in 2005, is that the federal legislators of Cuban descent, led by the mobster, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, announced at the beginning of last December, their intention to found a legislative group provisionally named the Democratic Cuba Group, aimed at opposing the Cuban Work Group, comprising legislators from both parties, which promotes changes in the anti-Cuban policy of the United States, whose objective is the gradual normalization of bilateral relations.⁶⁴

Ros-Lehtinen said that the new congress group would try to cut US agricultural exports, prevent US banks from doing business with Cuba and even encourage the Bush administration to apply the most controversial stipulations of the 1996 Helms-Burton Act, which penalize foreign investors in Cuba.

The appointment of the former National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, as Secretary of State, was also perceived by the representatives of the terrorist mob of Miami as a decisive contribution to the policy against Cuba. The mobster and congresswoman, Ros-Lehtinen, described her as "a true believer in the anti-Castro cause".

-Aggressive and threatening statements against Cuba in 2004

On the 6th of January, 2004, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, Roger Noriega, among other lies, criticized Cuba for 'QUOTE'. He took advantage of the occasion to add, in a clearly threatening tone, QUOTE With complete cynicism and a defiant tone he added that QUOTE

On the 8th of January, 2004, Colin Powell, the then secretary of State, repeated the unfounded accusations against Cuba, when he said that "Cuba has been trying to do everything possible to destabilize parts of the region".

⁶² "Latin America in the sights of the Pentagon: back to the dirty war of the 70s" by Carlos Fazio, in totalnews.co.ar and "Cuba expects aggressive new CIA director" by Andrea Rodríguez, Associated Press, Nuevo Herald, 1 October 2004.

⁶³ Quoted in "Agent Goss 'renounces' his past" by Jean-Guy Allard, *Granma Internacional*, Havana, September, 2004.

⁶⁴ Election galvanizes Cuba embargo backers, by Pablo Bechelet, Miami Herald, 11th of December, 2004.

The next day, Condoleezza Rice, National Security Adviser, spoke in similar terms, saying “Cuba continues (...) to stir up difficulties in other parts of the region. Two months ago, President Bush created a Commission to examine what the US government can do to stimulate the development of democracy in Cuba and prepare it for the day a post-Castro Cuba, which will be democratic, arrives”.

On the 12th of January, 2004, President George W. Bush stressed, “dictatorship has no place in the Americas. We must all work for a rapid, peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba”.

On the 16th of January, 2004, during a seminar on USAID’s so-called Cuba Transition Project, Roger Noriega affirmed that the Bush administration was willing to cooperate “with international organizations and keeping the multilateral community focused on Castro’s continued human rights abuses”. He thus confirmed this administration’s decision to continue manipulating the work of bodies like the Commission on Human Rights to serve the United States’ policy of hostility towards Cuba.

John Bolton, former Under Secretary of State for Weapons Control and International Security, declared, “Cuba’s threat to our security often has been underplayed.” Addressing the House of Representatives’ Committee on International Relations in March, 2004, he also underscored the singularity of the threat posed by Cuba — a mere 90 miles away from US continental territory — and its “has long been a violator of human rights, earning it a place on the State Department’s list of state-sponsors of terrorism”. He added, “The Administration believes that Cuba remains a terrorist and biological weapons threat to the United States”. State Department officials declared that these statements were backed by the intelligence community.

On the 30th of March, unable to respond to the facts and arguments presented by Cuba which discredited his accusations, Bolton stated, “Cuba remains a terrorist and [biological weapons] threat to the United States.”

On the 6th of May, 2004, President Bush repeated his “liberation of the Cuban people” diatribe, saying that “the aim of the measures —referring to the new anti-Cuban measures announced that day — *is* “to identify ways to hasten the arrival of that day.”

Referring to these measures, anti-Cuban congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen expressed, “the new pressure brought to bear on Castro’s economy dwindles its financial resources”. She thanked President Bush for “the leadership shown in ensuring that democracy and freedom are closer than ever for Cuba.”⁶⁵

Anti-Cuban congressman and mobster Lincoln Díaz-Balart called President George W. Bush “the best friend of the Cuban cause that has ever passed through the White House”. He also thanked Bush for implementing these regulations — referring to the new anti-Cuban measures announced on the 6th of May, 2004 — which significantly step up the embargo on the Cuban tyranny”.⁶⁶

On the 16th of July, 2004, President Bush once again stepped up his “democratizing” rhetoric addressing the Cuban people, saying that his administration was working “toward a comprehensive solution of this problem: The rapid, peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba. We have put a strategy in place to hasten the day when no Cuban child is exploited to finance a failed revolution and every Cuban citizen will live in freedom.”

Vice-president Richard Cheney also publicly expressed his support for a redoubling of anti-Cuban hostility and aggression. On the 7th of October, 2004, he stated that President Bush “approves the restrictions on trips and remittances imposed on Cuba” and acknowledged that there were efforts in Congress to prohibit or

⁶⁵ Quoted in “Trips and remittances to Cuba restricted” by Pablo Alfonso, Nuevo Herald, 17 June 2004.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

postpone the implementation of these restrictions, but that “the president approves them and will not let anything interfere in the matter of Cuba during his term”.

On the 31st of October, 2004, President George W. Bush resorted to his anti-Cuban “liberation” rhetoric again, making significantly more serious threats this time around. He stated that he strongly believed that “the people of Cuba should be free from the tyrant” and added he would continue to “bring pressure to bear on the tyrant in the next four years, because freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world”.⁶⁷

Former Secretary of State Colin Powell recently summarized the essence of the policy against Cuba. When asked why Cuba wasn't “liberated” as Iraq was, he answered “that military options are not always used immediately”. He explained these (referring to military actions) were preceded by other instruments: “isolation, sanctions, pressures, economic activity,” *although he made it clear that “sometimes there is no other appropriate solution other than the use of military force.”*

On the 22nd of November, 2004, *El Miami Herald* published declarations by Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld under the headline of “U.S. Leads the World Towards Peace, Freedom and Democracy”. With respect to Cuba, Rumsfeld stated that it was under “a dictatorship whose last days may yet to be written.”

Lies and threats have sustained and guided the anti-Cuban declarations of the Bush administration's main figures in 2004. An objective analysis of the program announced by and the behavior of this administration in the first weeks of its second term reveal that the challenges and dangers in store for the independence, self-determination and peace of the Cuban people will be even greater in 2005.

Continuation and redoubling of the anti-Cuban policy of hostility in George W. Bush's second term

Two events which took place immediately after his reelection tell us we can expect the continuation and even the redoubling of the anti-Cuban policy of hostility during President George W. Bush's second term.

The first was the publication of a press notice entitled “Cuba: Human Rights Situation”, presented on 4 November 2004 by State Department spokesperson Richard Boucher. As usual, the press notice spreads lies and slanders about Cuba, accusing it of supposed human rights violations and of “persecuting” “independent civil society activists”; this is how it refers to the just sentencing of various mercenaries carrying out the US' anti-Cuban policy (See Declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Granma Internacional* newspaper, dated 6th of November, 2004).

In an article published on the 5th of January, 2005 in New York's *La Prensa On Line* newspaper, Luis Ortega, a Cuban-born journalist who considers himself an exile, discredits the United States' hackneyed claims that Cuba has incarcerated independent activists and dissidents. Referring to a group of these who were released last year on probation when they had only just begun to serve their sentences, the New York columnist wrote: “(...) *they are not heroes. They are paid agents. They do not represent a just and noble cause that demands sacrifice, but are rather employees of a foreign government used for publicity. They have the full attention of all the US press, radio and television, with Washington's blessing. (...) Not one legitimate opposition movement, excluded from Washington's payroll, independent and willing to confront the regime, has emerged in Cuba in 46 years. Abroad, anti-Castroism has become a succulent business that has left no few millionaires in its wake (...)*”.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ “Bush's reelection and the Cuban counterrevolution”, Percy Francisco Alvarado. Vanguardia Newspaper. Santa Clara. Cuba. 11 November 2004.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

After several visits to Cuba, US filmmaker Oliver Stone —internationally renowned for his political objectivity and sharpness — also offered a vision of Cuba’s human rights situation and so-called “dissidents” which contradicts Washington’s. During a press conference at Spain’s San Sebastián Film Festival last September, he stated:

“In Cuba, I observed an openness and freedom that I had not found in any other country in the region, the Caribbean or Central America. I have met many world leaders in Panama, El Salvador, Nicaragua, but I have never seen the kind of spontaneous affection for a leader expressed on the streets as I have seen in Cuba towards Fidel.”

The second anti-Cuban gesture which immediately followed Bush’s reelection was the letter, signed by the US President, sent to the organizers of the anti-Cuban seminar held in Miami at the beginning of November with the support and financing of Washington authorities. In his letter, the US leader wrote that there was no doubt about the fact that “*the eleven million Cubans who live under a brutal dictatorship wish to live in freedom, as ex-communist countries in Eastern Europe started to do so one day at the end of the previous century.*”⁶⁹

Miami’s anti-Cuban terrorist mob met Bush’s reelection with euphoria and enthusiasm, as it foreshadows the continuation and redoubling of this republican administration’s anti-Cuban policy. A number of the main anti-Cuban spokespeople assure us of this.

The anti-Cuban congressman and mobster Lincoln Díaz Balart affirmed *that* “these elections had closed off all roads for Castro.”⁷⁰

One of the directors of the terrorist Cuban-American National Foundation (CANF), Camila Ruiz, declared they were very happy to be able to continue working in Bush’s administration to bring about democratic change in Cuba.⁷¹

Ninoska Pérez Castellón, director of the ultra-reactionary and aggressive Council for Cuba’s Freedom, declared she believed that during the next four years in the White House, Bush would carry through with his promise to hasten the end of Cuban President Fidel Castro’s dictatorship, and to be the ally of the Cuban people to help it obtain its freedom”.⁷²

The White House’s paid mercenaries in Cuba also wrote to congratulate the US leader and made declarations in support of his new term in office. Thus they betrayed their people once again.

A military action against Cuba is a clear and present danger

The ‘Call to the World’s Conscience’ made in Mexico in April 2003 and read at Havana’s José Martí Revolution Square on 1 May 2003 by Mexican researcher and sociologist Pablo González Casanova before more than a million Cubans, important figures, artists, intellectuals, academicians and political scientists from all latitudes, stated that “a harsh campaign against a Latin American nation is underway today. The harassment to which Cuba is subjected could become the pretext for an invasion. Against this, we hold up the universal principles of national sovereignty, of respect for territorial integrity and the right to self-determination, essential to the just co-existence of nations”.

⁶⁹ Quoted in “Busb’s reelection and the Cuban counterrevolution” by Percy Francisco Alvarado, Vanguardia Newspaper, Santa Clara, Cuba, 11 November 2004.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

Nobel Prize winners Rigoberta Menchú, Nadine Gordimer, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel and Gabriel García Márquez and other innumerable figures, including Mario Benedetti, Ernesto Cardenal, Oscar Niemeyer, Harry Bellafonte and Danny Glover, joined in this call.

In May 2003, the A.N.S.W.E.R. (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) coalition headquartered in the United States also made an emergency call in a show of solidarity with Cuba, aimed at the US' and the world's anti-war and pro-peace movement.

In its call, A.N.S.W.E.R. underscored the fact that *“a series of events have taken place in past weeks with respect to relations between the United States and Cuba. The Bush administration has taken its policy of hostility toward Cuba to a new level. There are more and more signs indicating that Bush is trying to spark off a new crisis and possibly a war against Cuba”* (See <http://www.internationalanswer.org>).

On the 21st of November, 2004, the more than 120 representatives of solidarity and friendship organizations from 21 countries who participated in the European-Cuban Solidarity Meeting held in Luxembourg issued a final declaration, affirming that: “Cuba’s independence and all of the social achievements of its society are in danger. (...) the danger is evident.”. During his reelection campaign, George W. Bush stated: “Just like Afghanistan and Iraq, I am worried about Cuba”, adding that he was committed to see an end to the ‘Castro regime’”.

The undersigned made a call to the whole world to defend Cuba against any kind of aggression and reaffirmed their continued solidarity with and support for the Cuban people.⁷³

On the 22nd of May, 2004, prominent businessmen, politicians, former high officials, intellectuals and other US figures belonging to the Americans for Humanitarian Trade with Cuba wrote an open letter to George W. Bush requesting the lifting of restrictions on trips and the sale of food and medicine to Cuba. The undersigned included the multimillionaire banker David Rockefeller, Reagan administration National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci, Nixon administration ex CIA Director and Secretary for Defense James Schlesinger and filmmakers Oliver Stone and Francis Ford Coppola, among others.⁷⁴

On the 23rd of June last year, the Spanish Congress’ Foreign Affairs Commission approved a proposal condemning the blockade policies and the recent measures adopted by the US to redouble these, a proposal backed by all parties save the right-wing Partido Popular (Popular Party).⁷⁵

Britain’s House of Commons approved a joint declaration — with 79 % of votes in favor — condemning President’s Bush’s current policy towards the Cuban Government and an eventual military action against the Cuban population. Peter Hain, House of Commons chairman, said: “I am absolutely opposed to military action being taken against Cuba and also opposed to the continuing blockade of Cuba by the United States. I visited Cuba two years ago and was very impressed with the social advances that have been made despite all the pressure from the US.”⁷⁶

Participants in the so-called Third National Summit on Cuba held in the University of Tampa in October, where US company and business leaders met to analyze relations between the US and Cuba, criticized the

⁷³ *Granma Internacional*, Havana, 23rd of November, 2004.

⁷⁴ National Information Agency (AIN), Cuba, 22nd of May, 2004

⁷⁵ EUROPA PRESS, Madrid, 23rd of June, 2004.

⁷⁶ Cuba Debate, House of Commons Says No to U.S. War on Cuba, 23 September 2004. www.cubadebate.cu/index.php?tpl=noticias-show-full¬iciad=3375¬iciafecha=2004-09-23.

United States' traditional policy towards Cuba and spoke in favor of lifting trade and travel restrictions on Cuba.⁷⁷

The Center for International Policy, Washington-based independent academic fora, published a half-page ad in the *El Nuevo Herald* newspaper showing a photo of Bush with the following headline: “*One man canceled Christmas in Cuba, and it wasn't Fidel Castro*”. The ad includes a text inviting citizens to write Senator Mel Martínez and other politicians to tell them that relatives of Cuban-Americans in Cuba should not have to spend Christmas alone and to ask them to lift the travel ban on Cuba.⁷⁸

A non-exhaustive inventory of some of the Bush administration's main aggressive actions against and declarations about Cuba confirms — as our government has repeatedly denounced — that anti-Cuban hostility is still on the rise and that one cannot discount the possibility that the United States will undertake a direct military action to restore a neocolonial regime in Cuba.

No US government leader or spokesperson has excluded the possibility of using military force against Cuba when asked directly about the matter. On the contrary, they repeatedly bring up circumstantial or contingent factors to momentarily evade the subject.

No past US administration had reached such anti-Cuban extremes as this one, clearly telling us that the neoconservative and fascist-minded groups currently wielding power in the United States have not set aside the option of using military force to destroy the Cuban Revolution.

All of these actions are also clear signs of the despair of Washington power groups and representatives of the annexationist and terrorist Miami mob over the failure of their imperialist policy towards Cuba.

In contrast to the US government's growing provocations and escalating aggression towards Cuba, the Cuban people and Government have systematically demonstrated their determination and will to work towards improving bilateral relations between both countries and the historic bond of friendship which unite our peoples.

The Cuban people will never give up its independence, nor its ideals of freedom, solidarity and social justice.

As has always occurred since the triumph of the Revolution, every illegal act of aggression by the United States will meet with a firm and balanced response congruous with the rights of the Cuban people and Government.

⁷⁷ “US Conference advocates lifting sanctions on Cuba” Mitch Stacy, Associated Press, *Nuevo Herald*, 9 October 2004.

⁷⁸ “US lobby publishes ad in the Herald to protest restrictions on travel to Cuba”, *Americaeconomica* on line, 22nd of December, 2004.

CHAPTER 2: A NEW IMPERIALISTIC PLAN TO DOMINATE CUBA AND RECOLONIZE THE COUNTRY

One of the clearest examples of how the Bush administration has redoubled its policies of hostility, aggression and blockade —encroaching further on Cuba’s right to self-determination— is the president’s endorsement and quick implementation of the provisions included in the report of the so-called “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba”, submitted the 6th of May, 2004. This document describes an extensive, aggressive plan to destroy the constitutional order established and supported by the Cuban people and to return Cuba to the state of subservience it endured for more than half a century as a result of occupation by US forces and the imposition of a neo-colonial regime on the country after the first imperialist war known to history.

The “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba” was created by the current White House boarder with the express aim of hastening what has been called a “regime change” in Cuba. There was no need to wait for an analysis of the Commission’s document to know, beforehand, it would be anti-Cuban and profoundly annexationist in nature and describe the brutal methods of imperialist aggression that were included in the letter and spirit of the document.

This hypothesis was based on several arguments. It underscores, to begin with, the composition of the Commission. This “select” group was assembled with several representatives of the most reactionary power circles in the United States, precisely those who call for the elimination of the Cuban Revolution through any means, including a military invasion. Several of the most recalcitrant, revanchist and annexationist elements of the Cuban-born mob based in Miami also shone in the Commission.

Secondly, the task given the Commission left no room for doubts. It was asked to hasten or quickly and urgently bring about a “transition to democracy” in Cuba, a process understood as the destruction of the political, economic and social system chosen by the Cuban people and its replacement with another, thought out by Washington to its minutest detail.

Last but not least, the hypothesis was consistent with President Bush’s extremely aggressive foreign policy and the anti-Cuban actions he relentlessly undertook throughout his first term in office. In an electoral year and as proof of his commitment to bring about a “regime change” in Cuba —his aspiration to be the first US president to visit a post-Revolutionary Cuba having been frustrated— Bush stepped up the policy of anti-Cuban hostility and aggression pursued by past US administrations to an unprecedented level, setting up a strategic platform that systematizes all previously agreed on measures, policies and actions and recommends new initiatives to break the sovereign will of the Cuban people and quickly topple its government.

A guiding principle in the design of the anti-Cuban platform requested by Bush was the proviso that all strategic proposals include suggestions as to concrete measures that can be taken to ensure the US government is in control of events, once a “regime change” has been achieved in the island.

Never before has the brutality and unscrupulousness of an administration’s anti-Cuban policies been so blatant. To achieve the proposed aims, the Commission didn’t even have reservations about recommending the violation of a right as elementary as the respect for family ties.

The report of the so-called “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba” is a huge 450-page program whose objective is diametrically opposed to what its title expresses, that is to say, whose aim is to encroach on the freedom and independence of Cubans and make their country US property.

It proposes measures to redouble aggression against Cuba in all spheres in order to destabilize the country internally and create conditions that will justify a direct military intervention. It also recommends policies to discredit and stigmatize the Cuban Revolution and neutralize the support of other peoples, honest intellectuals and all objective and just individuals in the world, who admire, respect and support the Cuban people’s spirit of resistance.

Strategic tasks aimed at toppling the Cuban government described in the report include: increased support of recruitment, organization and financing of internal counterrevolutionary forces; political and diplomatic campaigns against Cuba in different international fora; stepping up the disinformation campaign against our country; providing funds to and securing the support of international actors —allied and subordinate governments, supposed “non-governmental organizations”, think-tanks and academic institutions of similar ideological makeup as Washington or included on its payroll, “intellectuals” who rent out their talent and sell their “principles” and others of equal pedigree— for its policies of anti-Cuban hostility; adopting new measures to step up the blockade and economic war on Cuba and what they have called “undermining the regime’s succession plans”; sketching out the nature and stages of the “change” and meticulously describing what prerequisites the puppet government set up in the country will have to meet.

The irrational and illegitimate nature of the Commission’s motivations and work makes itself evident in the fact that a significant number of its suggestions contradict not only basic principles and precepts of international law but also US laws and regulations.

The report recommends that \$ 59,000,000 —over and above previously approved funds — be used to finance actions aimed at toppling the revolutionary government. The breakdown is as follows:

- \$ 18,000,000 to finance new subversive broadcasts by the inaptly called Radio and Television Martí. A broadcast system using a C-130 known as SOLO Command would immediately be set up to make weekly broadcasts and funds would be destined to the acquisition and repair of an aerial broadcast platform that would broadcast anti-Cuban programs of the US Information Agency full time.
- \$ 7,000,000 for USAID’s subversive anti-Cuban program, by virtue of Section 109 of the Helms-Burton Act.
- \$ 5,000,000 to support mercenaries at the service of the US’ anti-Cuban policy within the island.
- \$ 5,000,000 to promote subversive activities by infiltrating and manipulating the work of organizations dealing with women’s rights.
- \$ 4,000,000 for programs to recruit mercenaries of African descent (blacks and mulattoes).
- \$ 4,000,000 for programs to recruit young mercenaries in favor of their anti-Cuban actions.
- \$ 3,000,000 to finance anti-Cuban programs by supposed NGOs around the world.
- \$ 3,000,000 as logistical support for mercenaries on USINT’s payroll.
- \$ 2,000,000 to infiltrate mercenaries in international associations or organizations, to give these certain “legitimacy” and “credibility”.
- \$ 3,000,000 for programs to recruit and provide financing to mercenaries who disguise themselves as union activists and to facilitate their “international contacts”.
- \$ 5,000,000 for anti-Cuban “public diplomacy” initiatives (including conferences, international seminars and misinformation media campaigns).

The first chapter also proposes a series of new measures to redouble the genocidal blockade imposed on the Cuban people by the United States and to prohibit the limited exchange which exists between the US and Cuban people.

Some of these irrational, at times inhuman, measures are listed below:

- Allow only direct relatives of Cubans residing in the United States —grandparents, grandchildren, parents, siblings, wives and children exclusively— to receive remittances and packages.
- Prohibit Cubans residing in the United States from sending remittances and packages to their relatives in Cuba if these are government officials or members of the Communist Party.

- Reduce the number of visits to Cuba allowed US residents of Cuban origin from one every year, as had been permitted till then, to one every three years. In addition to this, a specific permit is required for each trip instead of the general license which had till then been in effect.
- Restrict the number of permits for travel to Cuba, issuing these only for visits to “direct relatives” (grandparents, grandchildren, parents, siblings, wives and children exclusively). Visits or the sending of any kind of aid to cousins, uncles and other close relatives are prohibited.
- Establish a law to allow Cubans newly arrived in the United States to travel to Cuba only after three years of having emigrated.
- Reduce the amount of money US residents of Cuban origin can spend during their visits to Cuba from 164 to 50 dollars daily.
- Order US authorities to carry out “covert operations” to prevent any violation of the aforementioned provisions. “Rewards” will be paid to those who denounce any violation of these provisions.
- Continue to restrict the issuing of licenses for educational trips and academic exchanges to US citizens and institutions and set up stricter regulations in this connection.
- Redouble efforts to involve governments of third countries in campaigns against the Cuban Revolution.
- Encourage actions in third countries to reduce tourism to Cuba.

These measures encroach on the basic rights of all Cubans, are an inadmissible intrusion upon the families and private lives of individuals and turn Cubans residing in the United States into lower-rate citizens unfairly and cruelly discriminated against.

The additional restrictions imposed on Cubans and their relatives residing in the United States are illegal, contradict basic principles enshrined in the Constitution of the United States and the spirit and letter of numerous bills adopted by the US Congress. What’s more, they violate the Ninth Amendment of the US Constitution which clearly establishes that no one can deny or infringe upon those rights not envisaged by the Constitution and that, therefore, constitute inalienable rights of each and every citizen of that country.

To check on and encourage compliance with all of the provisions included in the report, the Commission recommended that the position of Coordinator for the “transition in Cuba” be created in the State Department, a position which recalls the role of proconsul played by Washington representatives in Cuba during the first half of the 20th century.

The remaining five chapters address the measures that the US government would impose on Cuba —if it ever managed to destroy the Cuban Revolution— as part of a detailed plan of political, juridical, economic and social restructuring of the island guided by Washington’s vision of and lust for domination.

Each chapter merits its own individual analysis as each contributes to unmask the ultimate aim of the United States’ policy towards Cuba: to deprive the Cuban people of its sovereignty and of its right to self-determination.

The second chapter deals with some of the measures the US government would adopt once it took over the administration of an occupied Cuba, in spheres such as public health, education, housing and other basic services. Without any beating about the bush, it refers to profound and radical transformations which would eliminate all manifestations of “Castroist communism” —this is how existing social assistance and security services for everyone, state subsidies and free educational and health services for everyone are referred to— and introduce the “free market values and practices” in the image of the United States, a country, the richest in the world, where more than 40 million people have no medical insurance.

In the so-called “transition” process, the system of basic services today enjoyed by all Cubans would be dismantled and, in its place, a scheme cooked up following neo-liberal recipes would be set up, bringing the

habitual exclusion and marginalization of the poorest sectors with it. The document makes reference to the destruction of Cuban textbooks and other didactic and pedagogic instruments currently in use which it considers “profoundly politicized”, without the slightest bit of respect for the intrinsic quality of their contents. In the sick minds of those who prophesize the consolidation of the US Empire at a global scale, the deadly showers of “smart” bombs and the rivers of blood and tears of the Cuban people will “clear” the way to “freedom” and “knowledge” for Cuba. Textbooks used as tools for neocolonial domination for more than half a century—which made Cuban children believe, among other things, that US troops had to selflessly intervene in Cuba at the end of the 19th century to free us from Spanish colonialism and put an end to the bloodshed, in view of our rebels’ inability to achieve Cuba’s independence on their own— would be dusted and used once again.

The Commission’s report announces the elimination of Cuba’s current National Welfare and Social Security System—which offers coverage for everyone—and the privatization of health and education services, which would cease to be free and accessible to everyone. In the case of education, the report envisages the reopening of schools for the elite, the development of private education at all levels of schooling and the charging of fees for public education.

The programs being put into practice in Cuba to make university education accessible to everyone or the special aid offered young people from low-income families so that they may continue their studies would be eliminated in one fell swoop.

The report recommends that, “before the transition”, a Committee for government and international intervention and assistance—set up by US government agencies— be created to direct transformations in the social sphere; this Committee would call on international organizations such as the OAS to participate in these actions.

The report betrays the downright meddlesome and idiotic nature of their aims when it sets aside the National Council of Churches as a possible social interlocutor—an institution it labels “an instrument of government control over Protestant churches— and envisages the strengthening of the Catholic’s church leadership.

The anti-Cuban program endorsed by President Bush on 6 May 2004 acknowledges the role of the Miami-based terrorist anti-Cuban mob in protecting Washington’s imperial interests in the neocolonial regime that would be imposed on the island. Representatives of this mob would act as window-dressing for a puppet government, giving the administration a “Cuban” face.

The Cuban-born terrorist mob would be authorized to create a “Foundation for Assistance to a Free Cuba”. This organization would in fact do nothing else but reconcile and promote the interests of the most reactionary, aggressive and annexationist sectors of the anti-Cuban lobby in the United States.

What the report envisions is a veritable witch-hunt, a revanchist program fueled by the hatred and the resentment that, for 45 years, has accumulated in those who have been defeated by the Cuban people in every attempt to destroy the Revolution. At the height of cynicism and hypocrisy, they dress the counterrevolutionary offensive to be undertaken following the military invasion with euphemisms such as “justice and reconciliation” or “social cleansing” processes.

Hoping to block out the sun with a finger, the Commission’s report announces a supposed immunization plan against the main illnesses for children under 5, as if a country that immunizes all of its children against 13 diseases—through 10 freely administered vaccines, 7 of which are produced domestically— needed anything of the sort.

The third chapter describes plans to dismantle the institutions which guarantee the rule of the Cuban people and to dissolve the numerous organizations which ensure the full participation of every citizen in a society deeply rooted in the people and imbued with values of patriotism and solidarity.

The chapter, however, does not promote a power vacuum. Here —as throughout the document— the report outlines concrete strategies for the creation of a new political, juridical and institutional system to be set up along with, of course, the armed institutions which would suppress popular unrest and protect the interests of the United States and the Miami-based terrorist mob.

With the assistance of the US Justice, Treasury and recently created Homeland Security Departments, the US State Department would organize, train and control a “new police force”.

The report envisages the mass trials of current government officials, Communist Party leaders, Revolutionary Armed Forces and Ministry of the Interior officials, grass-roots organization and social leaders and all citizens who actively supported the Revolution, including heads of Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs).

The report of the “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba” empowers the US government to suspend the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba, an instrument approved by referendum by more than 95 % of Cubans.

The occupation government would modify and restructure Cuba’s legal system, civil and criminal proceedings, laws and even the Faculty of Law’s program of studies. It would also encourage the creation of the usual political parties, yellow unions committed to the interests of US transnational corporations and the sordid businesses of the Miami anti-Cuban mob and an institutional network that would sustain a caricature of a Republic, such as the one left behind by the Cuban people through a process of profound, revolutionary transformations.

The report proposes the revision of the labor legislation, and a change in the structure and functioning of the Ministry of Labor, of one of the few countries in the world that can boast of having achieved full employment.

What’s more, even though the United States carries with one of the most dubious electoral systems in the world —lacking in transparency and credibility and being almost completely subordinate to wealth and power— the “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba” asks the US government —whose current president is haunted by the specter of electoral fraud— to “create and assist” in the operation of a new electoral and political party system in an occupied Cuba.

The ‘democratic’ elections held in a Cuba devastated by bombs and made to toe the line through the sophisticated torture methods of US forces would be legitimated by monitoring missions assembled by the United States with the aid of the OAS, once accurately called its “Ministry of Colonies”.

The fourth chapter prescribes the quick and total privatization of Cuba’s economy following the overthrow of the revolutionary government; aligning the country’s economic and financial policies with those of the United States by making these subordinate to the prescriptions and impositions of international financial institutions and establishing a “free market” economy which strictly adheres to the neoliberal schemes that have had such devastating consequences for the great majority of people in Latin American and other Third World countries.

It demands the restitution of property nationalized in the revolutionary process to American transnational corporations and to representatives of Cuba’s profoundly non-patriotic oligarchy of old, most of whom have obtained US citizenship. It is well worth remembering that many of the oligarchy’s most important proprietors were torturers and henchmen hired by Batista’s dictatorial regime, the corrupt politicians of successive, supine governments, those who bled public funds and national resources dry and unscrupulous people who profited from the suffering, hunger and ignorance of the Cuban people.

The document refers to the “restitution of property” to the exploiters of old as the key to the country’s economic transformation and the panacea for its sustained growth. Historical reality, the fact that, in the recent past, these same people plunged the country into a profound structural crisis and were able to guarantee the vast majority of Cubans only poverty and humiliation, is swept completely under the rug.

The report concerns itself especially with the different ways in which property would be restituted in the agricultural, commercial and residential sectors. It proposes that a US government Commission be created to guarantee the Restitution of Property. This commission would adopt decisions and impose the measures required to guarantee their implementation. Much violence would doubtless be needed to take away the lands of farmers who have been made landowners by the Revolution or to once again impose high rent payments on the 85 % of Cuban families who —also thanks to the Revolution— are today the owners of the homes they live in.

Those in Washington and Miami who hope to take the Cuban people back to a past of systematic evictions and dispossessions are deluding themselves if they think they could do so without meeting with the resistance of millions of Cubans who would fight to the death.

The report of the “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba” also proposes that, to facilitate Washington’s administration of an occupied Cuba, the US government create a Committee for Economic Reconstruction, made up of representatives from the State, Trade, Treasury, Justice, Agriculture and Housing Departments and USAID.

The neoliberal recipes these proconsuls would follow in Cuba would result in: the dismantling of the current fiscal and monetary policy, which aims at an equitable re-distribution of incomes and to stimulate the country’s economic growth; the elimination of price controls and subsidies for first order consumer goods, including electricity and water services; the elimination of the cooperatives and the expropriation of their resources; a redefinition of priorities with respect to national budget allocations and the revision and ultimate elimination of the numerous social programs whose results have placed Cuba at the vanguard of the Third World in this sphere.

In keeping with the United States’ tried and tested policy of lies and making opportunistic use of the well-known “carrot and stick” formula, the Commission’s report is “confident” that the needed resources will be mobilized to support the country’s privatization and economic transformation, for which they will try and “share” costs with other countries and the international community of donors.

To ensure that trade between Cuba and the United States and eventual investments satisfy the expectations and lust for riches of main US economic circles and dominant sectors of Miami’s anti-Cuban mob —to the detriment of the Cuban people’s most genuine interests— the report also proposes the creation of a so-called US – Cuba Joint Committee on Trade and Investment which, of course, would also be directed from Washington.

Cuba would be dragged along and forced to accept the conditions of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the OAS and the Interamerican Development Bank, tangled up in a web of conditions and demands which would efface whatever phantasmal vestige of sovereignty could remain in a country occupied and subjugated by the United States.

The fifth chapter details and expands on different ways of administering and privatizing the country’s strategic economic sectors and production infrastructure. Concepts, directives and passages from previous chapters are repeated, as though to ensure no one has the slightest margin of space to diverge from the strategy sketched out to recolonize Cuba.

Four fundamental lines of action are to be followed: the privatization of all public services; the intervention of international financial institutions in Cuba’s economy; the technological retrofitting of industry and services, with the obliged purchase of US equipment and US intervention in and “consultancy” for all branches of the economy.

Imperial greed and power would devour everything: the airlines, airports, maritime activities, railways, roads, energy generation and distribution plants, public transportation, mining, telecommunication, water resources and many other sectors.

The report does not propose that funds be assigned, in the manner of donations, to “restructure” the economy. Cuba would have to become steeped in debt by requesting million-dollar credits to purchase US products and secure guarantees for its investments. Then, the financial guard dogs of the world’s power centers —the Bretton Woods institutions— would keep the country on a leash, transforming the Cuban economy into a mere enclave of transnational capital and an appendix of the Empire.

US advisors on two-year contracts, as minimum, —these *would* enjoy employment privileges and security — would supervise and ensure the Americanization of Cuban ministries and institutions.

US companies would be hired —only in “exceptional cases”, according to the report— to run all of the abovementioned services. Was the “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba” affected by such a severe drought of ideas that it could not but plagiarize the plans designed to “reconstruct” occupied Iraq? Or might it be that the invasion and occupation of Iraq are the dress rehearsal for the future conquests envisaged by those who advocate the expansion and consolidation of the US Empire at a planetary scale?

The Commission’s report suggests that US companies and institutions plan and direct construction and maintenance activities and manage roads, bridges, port facilities, railways and airports. An “open skies” agreement which would ruin Cuba’s national airline company would be imposed on the country.

Major US transnational companies would control oil and gas extraction and refining and own the rights to explore and exploit oil deposits in Cuba’s marine platform, depriving the country of its energy self-sufficiency once and for all. The United States would have exclusive control of any important energy reserve in Cuba or its marine shelf.

US experts would also dictate a new legislation to govern the telecommunications sector and would impose new bilateral agreements for the use of radio-electric spectrum on Cuba. Public radio and television stations —and, with them, educational, cultural and recreational programs for the people— would be liquidated and Cuba’s doors would be swung open to the US entertainment industry and the ideological impact and negative effects which come with it, namely: transculturation, the encouragement of violence, exaggerated individualism and a promotion of the amoral values of the plutocratic society which prevails in the United States.

The sixth chapter is devoted to discrediting Cuba’s environmental protection policies, policies, to be sure, which are internationally recognized.

The government that has refused to sign the Kyoto protocol and the Convention on Biological Diversity, that lifted restrictions on oil prospecting in Alaska, cynically and arrogantly ignores the laws, policies and programs currently in effect in Cuba, instruments which speak of a profound ecological awareness and the will to protect the environment. Cuba strictly observes and rigorously implements the 26 international conventions, treaties and protocols on the environment that it has ratified and which place it at the front guard in this field.

The report proposes: the imposition of environmental governability policies designed in Washington; the modification of the legislative body currently in effect in this field and the training —by US agencies— of personnel assigned to key local and national government, industry, academic and research positions.

There is nothing subtle about their plans to suck Cuba’s maritime and fishing resources dry and to administer and take full advantage of the biodiversity stored up in the island’s natural parks.

With respect to the supply and treatment of drinking water, the report calls for the replacement of existing equipment and chemical reagent sources, areas which would provide a sure market for US products.

Implementation of measures included in the report of the “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba”

As explained above, President Bush made the Commission’s report his own last May and called for a rapid implementation of its proposals.

If this annexationist abomination was ever implemented in its entirety, the Cuban nation would be annihilated under the banner of “freedom and democracy”.

Making a good part of the report a reality would require the destruction of the Cuban Revolution and crushing the heroic resistance put up by the Cuban people against the US aggressor.

There are, however, a number of important and serious measures proposed by the report which can be implemented without occupying Cuba militarily, measures which have in fact been implemented in quick fashion.

On the 14th of October, 2004, Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Daniel Fisk reported that, 150 days after the Commission’s Plan was submitted, \$ 14,400,000 (of the \$ 29,000,000 proposed as additional aid) had been allocated to support the “development of civil society” —i.e. the recruitment and financing of mercenaries— in Cuba and that \$ 6,000,000 had been assigned to USAID to significantly expand its work with “civil society groups”.

According to this official, the remaining \$ 8,400,000 had been channeled to international “partners” —referring to governments, organizations and renowned “figures” who sell their services to the best bidder— with the supposed aim of securing broader “international participation” and aiding “civil society activists” through a new process designed to put the “ideas” of so-called “democratic activists” from around the world into practice.

He declared, also, that the prerequisites for providing aid to mercenaries in Cuba —again labeled with the euphemism of “Cuban civil society groups”— had been simplified and that the supply of different means had already started.

In his speech, Fisk expressed his full support for the creation of the so-called International Committee for Cuban Democracy, to be funded and directed by Washington and presided over by the loyal US paid lackey and ex Czech President Vaclav Havel. Havel, who calls himself a writer, actually shone in the role of actor recently, following the script assigned him by US special services to the letter, in an anti-Cuban spectacle of little note in Prague which enjoyed ample press coverage.

The Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere affairs also stated that, with the application of new restrictions on trips and remittances and gift packages sent to Cuba on 30 June 2004, by 10 October Cuba had been deprived of over \$ 100,000,000 in hard currency and that, within a year, this figure would rise to \$ 375,000,000, such that the reduction of all the country’s incomes would be no less than \$ 500,000,000 dollars.

The redoubling of the policy of hostility, blockade and aggression that the report of the “Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba” calls for is underway at full speed. The threats and challenges which loom over the Cuban people’s right to self-determination, development and peace are greater every day.

CHAPTER 3: TERRORISTS: ‘GOOD’ AND ‘BAD’?

For over four decades, the Cuban people has been the victim of innumerable terrorist actions and attacks planned, financed and supported by a foreign power —the United States in the overwhelming majority of cases. These have caused thousands of Cuban families irreparable psychological and emotional harm. The economic damage suffered by Cuba as a result of successive acts of sabotage and even biological warfare has also been very serious.

The aim of these actions has been to destroy the political, economic and social system adopted by the Cuban people —in the full exercise of its right to self-determination— through terror, instability and uncertainty. US soil has systematically and continuously been used to plan, finance, and support—and recruit and train people for— terrorist actions against the Cuban people.

The many different forms of terrorism used against Cuba include: the destruction of economically important and civilian facilities; attacks on coastal facilities, merchant ships and fishing vessels; attempts on Cuban facilities, equipment and personnel abroad, including diplomatic bodies, airline offices and planes; attempts

at assassinating main government leaders; the introduction of agricultural and animal germs and plagues and strains of human diseases, among others.

More than 3,478 men, women and children have lost their lives and another 2,099 Cubans have been physically handicapped for life as a result of at least 681 proven and well-documented acts of terrorism and aggression against Cuba. It is worth mentioning that these actions have not stopped over time: 68 took place in the 1990s and another 39 in the last five years.

Cuban citizens have not been the only victims of terrorist actions against Cuba. 190 terrorist actions against 90 third countries have been carried out in the United States. Dozens of terrorist actions against the assets of foreign companies that maintain economic relations with Cuba, or against representatives of countries who maintain ties to the country, have also been organized and executed.

Terrorist activity was significantly redoubled and came to play a systematic role in the policy of hostility and aggression towards the Cuban Revolution on 1961 with the adoption of the “Program for Covert Action against the Castro Regime” approved on 17 March 1960 by then US President D. Eisenhower, a plan later pursued by President J.F. Kennedy. This plan, known as “Operation Mongoose”, authorized the creation of a secret intelligence and action organization in Cuba and assigned funds to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) needed in this connection.

On 18 January 1962, the plan known as “Project Cuba” was adopted; it contained 32 covert war operations that had to be executed by the departments and agencies involved in “Operation Mongoose”.

In addition to the hundreds of terrorist actions planned and directly executed by the US government’s Special Services, a broad spectrum of other terrorist actions —some consummated, others neutralized in their preparatory phase— were also undertaken. Responsibility for these terrorist actions which, supposedly, were not directly sponsored by Washington authorities, fell upon US-based organizations made up of Cuban-born terrorists —many of them trained by the CIA and US Army units— who, to say the least, were inspired by the official policy of destroying the Cuban Revolution through any means and who have always enjoyed the complete impunity secured for them by successive US administrations. Many of these terrorists who had not operated officially for the US government were even protected by the Special Services and offered asylum in the United States or in US military bases in other countries.

In 1960, numerous terrorist actions against public buildings such as cinemas, theaters, schools and shops were carried out to sow panic and terror among the population. The most criminal and bloodiest of these was the blowing up of the French steamship “La Coubre” in Havana’s port on 4 March of that year, while munitions bought for the Rebel Army in Belgium were being unloaded. This criminal act caused 101 deaths —those of a number of French people among these— more than 200 wounded and numerous disappearances.

We could point out the attack of 18 February among the actions against economic targets carried out in 1960. That day, the plane bombing the “España” Sugar Mill was destroyed in mid air by one of its own bombs. US pilot Robert Ellis Frost was at the helm, accompanied by Onelio Santana Roque, ex-member of the Batista dictatorship’s repressive corps. The flight plan indicated the plane had taken off from Miami airport in Florida. Other documents recovered with the body of the pilot revealed he had participated in aerial bombings over Cuba on three previous occasions and that he was going to receive \$ 1,500 for the bombing that day.

It is significant that the majority of the most renowned chieftains of the cynically called “Cuban exile community” participated directly in and executed terrorist actions against Cuba in the 1960s. In fact, most of them remain conceptually involved.

On 30 December 1960, a bomb factory was seized and 17 terrorists who, following instructions from the US Embassy in Havana, had been placing suitcases full of plastic explosives in shops, were detained. Two renowned representatives of the Cuban-born terrorist and annexationist mob, vested with the benevolent and fraudulent epithet of “peaceful anti-Castro political opponents” by the Western media, were among the terrorists arrested. One of them was none other than the “journalist” and “publicist” Carlos Alberto

Montaner —chieftain of the anti-Cuban mob in Madrid— who was not convicted at the time because he was a minor. He left the country at a later date by requesting asylum from a Latin American embassy. The other terrorist, who would later become the “star” of Washington’s anti-Cuban campaign was the US “Human Rights Ambassador”, “His Excellency” Armando Valladares, phony writer and paraplegic, unmasked before public opinion when he stoop up from his wheelchair and walked nearly 400 meters to get into the plane which took him out of the country.

In addition to these, the US government and terrorist organizations based in the United States and some Latin American countries had at their disposal a whole crop of murderers and torturers who had served Batista’s dictatorship and had fled on January 1959 to Northern climes in search of impunity for their crimes against the Cuban people.

Some of the most important include: Jesús Blanco Hernández, Conrado Carratalá Ugalde, Sotero Delgado Méndez, Martín Díaz Tamayo, Mariano Faget Díaz, Armentino Fera Pérez, Irenaldo García Baez, Pilar García García, Rafael Gutiérrez Martínez, Julio Estelio Laurent Rodríguez, Agustín Lavastida Alvarez, Lutgardo Martín Pérez Molina, Rolando Masferrer Rojas, José Eleuterio Pedraza Cabrera, Orlando Eleno Piedra Negueruela, José María Salas Cañizares, Ángel Sánchez Mosquera, Merob Sosa García, Manuel Antonio Ugalde Carrillo and Esteban Ventura Novo.

In the majority of cases, Cuba’s incipient revolutionary government requested the arrest and extradition of the criminal, requests ignored by US authorities.

The year 1961 saw an increase in terrorist activity. This included the burning of sugar-cane fields during harvest, the sabotage of factories and attacks on farms, actions which resulted in the deaths of 281 citizens, mostly farmers, women, children and young militiamen and volunteers who were then participating in the Literacy Campaign that began that same year.⁷⁹

On April of this same year, the Bay of Pigs military invasion also took place. The invasion was carried out by an army of approximately 1,500 mercenaries organized, trained, equipped, financed and transported by the US government. The plan, thwarted, envisaged the subsequent landing of US forces, who contemplated the defeat of the mercenaries from their vessels.

Many of the mercenaries who participated in the invasion and in other terrorist actions in the dirty war against Cuba remain active in the rank and file of terrorist organizations which continue to operate against our country. Many others become salaried CIA agents and carried out covert operations in Latin American countries and other parts of the world, participating in political assassinations, weapons and drug trafficking, sabotage and dirty war campaigns like those waged against the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua. Others —many of whom gravitated toward the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF)— were instructed to disguise themselves as a “peaceful political opposition in exile”. This group, publicly redeemed with respect to terrorist violence, however, never put aside what it really knows how to do and enjoys doing. It has continued to organize and finance terrorist actions like those carried out by Central American mercenaries against Cuban tourist facilities in the 1990s.

Another form of terrorist activity perpetrated against Cuba was banditry, thus christened by the people because of the felonies and murders committed by the 299 terrorist bands which —armed, sustained and directed by the US government— were active throughout Cuba’s territory from 1959 to 1965. Banditry had its chief enclave in the Escambray Mountains, in the country’s central region. These bands murdered more than 500 people, mainly innocent farmers and agricultural workers.

⁷⁹Around 100 thousand volunteers participated in the Literacy Campaign and went to the most remote area of the country to teach almost a million Cubans how to read and write.

Recently declassified official US documents reveal that the United States' government sponsored, supported and was directly linked to the bands that operated inside our country. In October 1961, CIA Inspector General Lyman Kirkpatrick submitted a secret report referring to a covert action known as "Operation Silence". Following instructions from the US government, the CIA carried out 12 separate operations to supply arms, munitions and explosives to the bands which operated in our country.

In the same document, when referring to the enormous center established in Florida by the CIA to conduct covert activities against Cuba, Kirkpatrick acknowledged that "it had been expanded from 40 to a force of 588 between January 1960 and 16th April 1961, making it one of the largest of such centers operated by the secret services".

The hijacking of planes was another type of terrorist activity organized by the CIA as part of its plans to topple the Cuban Revolution. With these actions, the US government's Central Intelligence Agency put into practice a heretofore unprecedented kind of terrorism. Between 1959 and 2001, 51 Cuban planes were hijacked. Almost without exception, all were rerouted to the United States and the vast majority of them were never returned. Pilots, guards and passengers were murdered or wounded by the hijackers. A number of planes were destroyed or seriously damaged in the hijacking attempts that were frustrated.

At the beginning of the 1970s, new terrorist organizations made up of torturers and henchmen who had been employed by the Batista regime —and other delinquents and criminals who began to leave Cuba in 1959— were created. Terrorism continued to be a lucrative business for the anti-Cuban mob, tolerated and aided by US authorities.

Organizations such as Alpha 66 and the Coordinator of United Revolutionary Organizations (CORU), based in Florida and New Jersey, were responsible for a great many terrorist actions against the Cuban people — and against the interests of other nations that maintained trade and economic relations with Cuba— carried out in the 1970s and 1980s.

Around this time, paramilitary actions against Cuban merchant and fishing vessels entered the scene of anti-Cuban terrorism. On 4 October 1973, Cuban fishing boats Cayo Largo 17 and 34 were attacked by two strikers crewed by terrorists; fisherman Roberto Torna Mirabal was killed and the rest of the crew was left on rubber rafts, without food or water, as a result of the attack.

On 6 October 1976, the most monstrous and brutal terrorist action perpetrated during this period took place: the blowing up, mid flight, of a Cubana Airline plane carrying 73 passengers: 57 Cubans, 11 young Guyanes (6 of whom had been selected to study medicine in Cuba) and 5 citizens of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. All of them were killed.

The attack on Cuba's commercial airplane was carried out by two Venezuelan mercenaries who had been hired by two of the most renowned Cuban-born terrorists: Orlando Bosch Avila — responsible for 321 terrorist actions and, the Department of Justice's statements notwithstanding, residing in Miami since 1990 after receiving special authorization from President Bush (senior) to live in the United States— and Luis Posada Carriles, shamelessly indicted by ex Panamanian President Mireya Moscoso, whose long history of terrorism will be described in greater detail later.

These Cuban-born terrorists had been recruited by the CIA in 1960 and had been trained in sophisticated sabotage techniques with every means at the Company's disposal. Both were members of CORU at the time, created in 1976 by Orlando Bosch himself by bringing various terrorist organizations together. CORU considerably stepped up its terrorist actions not only against Cuba but also against 24 other countries in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean.

While terrorist actions continued to be carried out in Cuba, the United States became the scene of several attacks on the property of countries which maintained relations and trade with Cuba, Cuban diplomatic officers to the UN, private US institutions, Cuban émigrés who did not agree with the anti-Cuban mob's terrorist policies and even on high officials of foreign governments, as exemplified by the case of Orlando Letelier —Foreign

Secretary of Chilean President Salvador Allende's government—assassinated in Washington by Cuban-born terrorists working for the repressive apparatus of General August Pinochet's dictatorship.

The US people had a horrifying glimpse, at home, of the terror their government had unleashed against a small neighboring country in 1959.

On this occasion, Washington authorities reacted by arresting a number of terrorists and attempting to dismantle some groups that were self-financed and operated independently. To evade authorities, many groups publicly dissolved themselves, changed their names, temporarily suspended their activities and even moved their base of operations to other states.

Terrorist groups which toed the line with respect to US public conduct norms and continued to carry out terrorist actions exclusively against Cuba were tolerated.

Some terrorist actions against Cuba perpetrated on US soil include:

- 5 June 1976: the Cuban Mission to the UN is the target of an attack with explosives which resulted in serious material damage;
- 1977: Cuban émigrés Carlos Muñoz Varela and José Eulalio Negrín are killed for being in favor of dialogue with Cuba;
- March 1980: a powerful bomb is placed in the car of Cuba's permanent representative to the UN in New York;
- 11 September 1980: Félix García, member of Cuba's mission to the UN, is killed.

The most reactionary and aggressive sectors of the Cuban exile community in the United States — particularly those in Florida— once again promoted the use of terrorism in their war on Cuba during the final period of the Bush (senior) administration. This led to a virulent wave of new forms of terrorist actions, perpetrated during President William Clinton's two terms in office.

The Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) —which makes generous contributions to the political campaigns of various US legislators and presidents— took over the organization and financing of terrorist actions against Cuba in 1992. Under instructions and with money from CANF, several terrorists recruited in Central America placed bombs in Cuban tourist facilities in exchange for monetary rewards. In 1997, they set off seven bombs in different hotels and tourist facilities in Cuba. In one of these attacks, the young Italian tourist Fabio Di Celmo was killed. The aim was clear: to ruin Cuba's tourist industry, which was already its most important economic sector.

Terrorist actions against Cuba have not let up during George W. Bush administration. Suffice it to point out that, between 6 August 2002 and 10 April 2003, another 11 terrorist actions took place, mostly the hijacking of planes and ships and their rerouting to the United States. During these violent actions, sharp instruments and even firearms were used to threaten and coerce the crew and passengers.

Terrorists tried in Cuba have been meted out harsh sentences; with some exceptions, this has not been the case with Cuban-born terrorists tried in the United States.

The story of a recent and despicable wrong

On 25 August 2004, five days before the end of her term as president of Panama, Miraya Moscoso pardoned four renowned Cuban-born terrorists who were being processed in this country, namely: Luis Faustino Clemente Posada Carriles, Gaspar Eugenio Jiménez Escobedo, Guillermo Novo Sampoll and Pedro Remón Rodríguez (*brief descriptions of the terrorist records of the individuals pardoned by Mireya Moscoso appear at the end of this chapter*).

The four terrorists were trained and used by the CIA, directly and indirectly, to carry out terrorist actions against Cuba and other countries over the past four decades.

Hours after the pardon was signed and under official protection, the four criminals were taken to Panama's International Airport, where they were waited for to be taken out of the country.

Luis Faustino Clemente Posada Carriles, the confessed author of one of the most atrocious acts of sabotage perpetrated on a Cuban commercial airplane in mid flight, traveled to another Central American country, where he resides under a false identity.

Gaspar Eugenio Jiménez Escobedo, Guillermo Novo Sampoll and Pedro Remón Rodríguez traveled to Miami, USA where, upon arrival, they were spared the complicated security and control check-ups that people are subjected to by the White House when they enter the country, with the supposed intention of detecting alleged terrorists.

Once again, the country that had named itself the leader of a trumpeted crusade against terrorism has taken in and protected known international terrorists of Cuban origin. These criminals freely walk the streets of the Empire, and they are even celebrated as 'idealistic anti-Castro fighters'.

There is every indication that in the eyes of the Bush administration, these brutal criminals qualify for the category of 'good' terrorists which —while contrary to International Law and the decisions adopted by the United Nations in this field— is very useful and convenient to their plans of hegemonic domination.

As you will remember, the abovementioned terrorists had been arrested in Panama in November 2002; they had already been condemned by this country's justice system for having planned the assassination of Cuban president Fidel Castro —by using tens of kilograms of high explosives— during a meeting with students, workers and indigenous Panamanians that the Cuban delegation to the 10th Ibero-American Summit was to hold in the University of Panama's auditorium.

The impunity that these four terrorists now enjoy was already in the making on 10 April 2001, when former president Moscoso rejected the just and well founded extradition request made by Cuban authorities, by way of Executive Resolutions 58, 59, 60 and 61. The request that the four terrorist be extradited was made official by the Cuban Government on 12 January 2001, in keeping with all the requirements necessary for such purposes, by Panamanian legislation as well as by international instruments in force at the time.

By deciding to pardon these men, Moscoso discredited and ridiculed the statements made on 15 July 2004 by her Minister of Foreign Affairs who, according to the communiqué issued by the Panamanian Foreign Office, had reiterated that "Posada Carriles and his accomplices were judged and sentenced and must serve the sentence handed down to them".

As may be recalled, Luis Posada Carriles and Gaspar Jiménez Escobedo were sentenced to 8 years imprisonment, while Pedro Remón and Guillermo Novo Sampoll were given 7 years. These sentences were appealed by the prosecution, on behalf of trade union, student and indigenous Panamanian organizations, due to irregularities in the process, and because the sentences handed down were not befitting of the crimes of which the court had found them guilty.

Although former president Moscoso insisted on claiming that her decision was based on humanitarian considerations, it is widely known that this wasn't the real reason behind this shameful act.

Washington representatives and the Miami-based annexationist mob, including the ringleaders of terrorist groups that operate against Cuba with impunity, had repeatedly demanded that the four terrorists be released from jail. The media speak of a large financial reward which was given to Moscoso in exchange for her sinister and immoral decision.

During his visit to Panama for the Republic's Centenary, Colin Powell himself, then the US Secretary of State, asked Moscoso to free the four terrorists as soon as the trial was over.

By siding with terrorism against Cuba and protecting convicted and self-confessed criminals, former President Moscoso has not only acted in a shameful manner but has also done so in blatant violation of

Panamanian legislation, which forbids the granting of a pardon until the judicial process has been completed and a sentence has been passed.

To interrupt court proceedings against renown terrorists, which at that time were in the appeal stage, and prevent justice from ever being seen in this, such a delicate case, is an insult to the Cuban people, to the victims of the crimes carried out by these individuals, to the Panamanian people and all those who fight this disgrace with dignity worldwide.

Also, the freeing of these terrorists at a time when the international community is working so hard to fight terrorism, is an immoral act which also demonstrates great irresponsibility.

Cuba has made it clear that the historical responsibility for and consequences of this pardon will be laid at the door of former President Moscoso. This action is incongruous with efforts that must be made at an international level to effectively prevent terrorism, including the application UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001), and with the obligations undertaken by the Panamanian State as Party to the relevant international legal instruments relating to terrorism, which include, among others, the International Agreement for the Repression of Terrorist Attacks Committed with Bombs, approved by the United Nations' General Assembly on 15 December 1997.

On 21 September 2004, in a letter addressed to the president of the Security Council, Cuban Minister of Foreign Affairs Felipe Pérez Roque stressed the fact that in the first report submitted to the Security Council's Counter Terrorism Committee (S//2002/15), Cuba offered extensive information about terrorist actions carried out against the country and about the perpetrators of such acts, in compliance with this organization's Resolution 1373 (2001).

Among other data, this information included a list of the terrorist organizations that act or have acted against Cuba from abroad and a list of the material or intellectual authors of terrorist acts. On this list were the names of the four individuals pardoned by Ms. Moscoso.

So far, and despite our request to know what the Security Council's Counter Terrorism Committee is planning to do with the large amount of information supplied by Cuba, no answer has been given.

Cuba hopes that the Security Council's Counter Terrorism Committee, established by virtue of Resolution 1373 (2001), will evaluate Moscoso's actions, on the basis of Resolution 1373 (2001) provisions, and that this will put an end to the impunity that these terrorists currently enjoy.

The Cuban people and Government, who have fought admirably against international terrorism for several decades, are more than willing to continue to face and fight terrorism in all its forms and guises, with the conviction that all terrorist acts are condemnable and should be fought against.

The Heads of State and Governments that participated in the 14th Ibero-American Summit held in San José, Costa Rica in November 2004, expressed this sentiment when they also promised "not to offer help or refuge to people who carry out, organize or participate in terrorist acts".

Cuba opines that all terrorist acts and actions affect the lives, health, property and security of innocent people, that they encroach on the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of states, that they imperil the functioning and stability of national institutions, that they seriously damage the productive infrastructure and the economic activity of states and exacerbate international instability, creating new sources of tension and sometimes provoking international conflicts.

Therefore, Cuba champions a truly effective international cooperation, which makes it possible to prevent and fight all terrorist acts, eliminate its causes, assure that the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of terrorist acts and actions, as well as those who support or finance them, are apprehended, tried or extradited. However, this cooperation must be internationally legitimate and be based on the unlimited respect for International Law, the Charter of the United Nations and international instruments on human rights.

The battle against terrorism can not be fought through the terror created by denying people their rights and exercising a supposed unilateral political power.

As a sign of its international commitment to fighting terrorism, Cuba has ratified or given its support to the 12 existing international Agreements and Protocols on terrorism. In December 2001, it enacted Law No. 93 Against Acts of Terrorism, which is a comprehensive, modern and strict code on these disgraceful acts.

There is no 'good' and 'bad' terrorism, depending on who carries it out, what the declared motivations are or against whom these criminal acts are aimed.

All victims of terrorism, regardless of how it is implemented, where it takes place, against whom it is aimed, and who is responsible for it, have the right and the duty to demand justice.

Therefore, the Cuban people demand that they are given justice and that the impunity that the terrorist groups that plot against their men, women and children from the United States of America is put to an end.

Brief summaries of the *curricula vitae* of the four Cuban-born terrorists pardoned by the former Panamanian president, Mireya Moscoso, three of whom have been taken in by the United States government

Luis Faustino Clemente Posada Carriles

Some of the alias he most often uses are:

Ramón Medina, Ignacio Medina, Juan Ramón Medina, Ramón Medina Rodríguez, José Ramón Medina, Rivas López, Juan José Rivas, Juan José Rivas López, Julio César Dumas, Franco Rodríguez Mena.

He left Cuba on 25 February 1961 after having taken refuge in the Argentinean Embassy in 1960.

Joined the US army where he received military training.

By 1963 he was already an established CIA agent and trained others for sea-borne missions.

He settled near Tampa in 1964 and was in charge of a camp run by the Revolutionary Junta (JURE); Cuban born terrorists were trained there. While there he was taught about explosives and demolition by CIA experts. Around this time he led a CIA infiltration team which undertook various actions against Cuba.

During the 60s he established connections with members of such terrorist organizations as Alpha 66, Commandos L and the 30 November Movement (Movimiento 30 Noviembre)

Towards the end of the 60s he moved to Venezuela where, in 1967, he joined the Intelligence and Prevention Service Branch (DISIP) with the position of Head of Operations and worked as liaison with the CIA. Later on he set up the Detective, Commercial and Industrial Investigations Agency which was closed down after it was proved he was one of the two people behind the sabotage of the Cubana de Aviación plane in Barbados in 1976 which killed 73 people and for which he was tried and jailed.

He was held in various Venezuelan jails from 1976 until 18 August 1985 when he escaped with the help of the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) and the complicity of corrupt prison authorities.

He then moved to El Salvador where he worked for about two years at the Ilopango military base as an advisor to the Nicaraguan Contra.

He was seriously wounded in Guatemala in February 1990. He had been working there for Teléfonos de Guatemala (GUATEL) as an advisor on security matters. Because of the attack on him, he received economic support from Alberto Hernández, director of the CANF, who paid some of his hospital fees.

After he recovered, he was taken to San Pedro Sula in Honduras where he was put up in a hotel by his friend, the Cuban-born businessman Rafael Hernández Nodarse.

In the 90s he was in frequent contact with Gaspar Jiménez Escobedo, known as Gasparito, and with other terrorists; he helped organize several attempts on President Fidel Castro's life. He helped Miami based organizations to buy arms in Central America which they used to carry out terrorists acts against Cuba.

During this period he often traveled through Central American countries, especially Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica and El Salvador. He is on very good terms with military men and businesspersons in those countries who support him. He also went to Miami, Spain, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Aruba.

In January 1994 he helped to plot an attempt on President Fidel Castro's life which was financed by the Cuban American National Foundation. It was to be carried out in Honduras if the Cuban Head of State attended President Carlos Roberto Reina's assumption of office. In June he went to Colombia with Gaspar Jiménez Escobedo on similar business.

In June 1994 he went to Costa Rica to blow up a Cuban ship and in December of that year he and Ramón Orozco Crespo organized a dynamite attack on a Cuban target.

In 1995 Posada Carriles, in collusion with some Honduran soldiers placed 41 bombs in Honduras according to a denouncement made in 1997 by Dr. Ramón Custodio, president of the Honduran Human Rights Committee.

In 1997, working with the Cuban American National Foundation's top brass he created the terrorist network in Central America by recruiting mercenaries in that region, the aim being to carry out terrorist type operations against Cuba. He publicly acknowledged this to be the case in mid 1998.

He and CANF board member Arnaldo Monzón Plascencia were also involved in 1997 in planning an attempt on President Fidel Castro's life to be implemented during the 7th Ibero-American Summit on Margarita Island, Venezuela. He collaborated with counterrevolutionaries Nelly Rojas, Pedro Morales and Francisco Pimentel and others on his projects. They apparently offered him support.

He was the direct organizer of several terrorist bomb attacks in Cuba. The first of these was in April 1997 and was carried out by Chávez Abarca and Otto René Rodríguez Llerena, mercenaries recruited by him. Fourteen bombs were made eight of which exploded, 4 were deactivated before they could explode and 2 were seized when they were trying to bring them into Cuba. These bombs killed one person, injured several and caused costly material damage. The offices of Cuban companies Havanatur in the Bahamas and Cubanacan in Mexico were also attacked.

He was directly involved in a plan to try and assassinate president Fidel Castro during his visit to the Dominican Republic in August 1998. Other terrorists living in Miami were also involved.

That same year he planned to blow up a Cubana de Aviación plane en routed from Havana to Central America.

During 1999 and 2000 Posada Carriles continued to plan similar terrorist operations the aim of which was to damage the Cuban economy and Cuban property and interests abroad; he purchased explosive and other materiel for this purpose.

The 10th Ibero-American Summit assassination attempt was organized directly by Francisco "Pepe" Hernández and Alberto Hernández in meetings with Posada Carriles in Central American countries.

He had several meetings with Gaspar Jiménez and Antonio Iglesias and others to go over the details of this attempt. The money he gave them to buy arms and explosives was provided by the Cuban American National Foundation.

Between August and October of the previous year, Posada Carriles made several trips to Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama to organize the attempt. He received money and other help in Costa Rica to enable him to smuggle the arms he had bought overland into Panama.

In Panama he carried out the reconnoitering he needed to do to implement his plan.

During the 10th Ibero-American Summit in Panama in November 2000 he and Gaspar Eugenio Jiménez Escobedo, Guillermo Novo Sampoll and Pedro Remón Rodríguez were arrested by Panamanian authorities for their involvement in a plot to assassinate the president of the Republic of Cuba.

Gaspar Eugenio Jiménez Escobedo

He was trained by the CIA from 1961 on, especially in the use and handling of explosives.

He was a member of terrorist organizations Abdala, Cuba Independiente y Democrática and replaced terrorist Orlando Bosch as head of CORU when the latter was in jail in Venezuela after the Cubana plane was blown up in Barbados.

Planner and executor of several attacks on Cuban officials working in Cuban missions and businesses abroad.

On 23 July 1976 he and terrorists Gustavo Castillo and Orestes Ruiz Fernández tried to kidnap Daniel Ferrer Fernández, the Cuban consul in Mérida, Mexico where Artaignan Díaz Díaz a technician with the Cuban Caribbean shrimp fleet was killed. After spending several months under arrest, he managed to escape from the Mexican prison where he was being held.

In 1977 he was arrested by US authorities and charged with breaking the United States government's Law of Neutrality. He was later released.

In 1986 he and Silas Cuervo went to El Salvador and met with terrorist Luis Posada Carriles to organize a plot to kill Fidel Castro. Around that time Posada Carriles was in charge of a camp where a large amount of armaments were stored which he had asked the Americans for, so they could carry out joint actions against the Sandinista Revolution.

From June 1993 onwards he became part of a Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) paramilitary group and became one of its most active members.

He was the "bodyguard" of a former CANF board member, Alberto Hernández.

In 1993 he also took part in the plans to organize an attempt to assassinate President Fidel Castro; the attempt was to take place during the ceremonies when Honduran President Carlos Alberto Reina took office. Since Fidel Castro did not go to Honduras, the attempt was postponed until 1994 during the 4th Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government. It was unsuccessful.

He was one of the liaisons between the CANF and Posada Carriles when the failed Panama assassination attempt was being planned. He went to Central America to meet Posada Carriles and give him money for this plot.

In 2000, during the 10th Ibero-American summit held in November of that year in the Republic of Panama, he and Posada Carriles, Guillermo Novo Sampoll and Pedro Remón Rodríguez were arrested by Panamanian authorities for being involved in a plot to kill the Cuban president.

Guillermo Novo Sampoll

Infamous terrorist who with his brother Ignacio Novo Sampoll and José Dionisio Suárez was responsible for the murder of former Chilean Foreign Minister Orlando Letellier

In 1961 he joined other mercenaries in the preparations for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. His group however did not manage to land since the invading forces were defeated very quickly. He publicly admitted that he had placed bombs under the name of Comando Cero while as member of Julio Pérez Pérez' terrorist group.

In December 1964 he attacked the United Nations Organization building in New York with a bazooka while Comandante Ernesto Ché Guevara was making a speech in the plenary as Cuba's representative. Novo was arrested by the FBI but allowed out on \$15,000 bail.

In June 1967 he and his brother Ignacio were arrested by the New Jersey police department for illegal possession of explosives. He was sentenced in 1968 to be fined \$250 and to two years probation.

In 1973 he was brought before the New Jersey District Court for breaking the US Neutrality Law when he took part in attacks on the Cuban Consulate in Montreal, Canada and against a Cuban boat. He was sentenced to six months in jail and 5 years probation.

At the end of the 80s he joined the paramilitary group of the CANF, a terrorist organization based in Miami.

During the 10th Ibero-American summit in the Republic of Panama he, Posada Carriles, Gaspar Jiménez Escobedo and Pedro Remón Rodríguez were arrested by local authorities for their part in a plot to assassinate the Cuban president.

Pedro Crispin Remón Rodríguez

Born in Cuba in 1945, left that country and settled in the United States.

He is a member of Omega-7, a terrorist organization.

Named in a confidential FBI report as the murderer of Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez and of Cuban-American citizen Eulalio José Negrin.

He was trained by the CIA just before the Bay of Pigs invasion.

According to an October 1993 declassified FBI report, Pedro Remón was stopped on the Canada–US border in December 1980 —hours after a bomb went off in the Cuban Consulate in Montreal— and found to be involved in terrorist activities by US authorities.

He was involved from its inception in the plan to assassinate President Fidel Castro when he spoke in the University of Panama in 2000; he was in fact one of the principal organizers of the plot.

He and Posada Carriles, Guillermo Nuevo Sampoll and Pedro Remón Rodríguez were arrested by Panamanian authorities and charged with being involved in a plot to assassinate the Cuban president during the 10th Ibero-American Summit held in November 2000 in the Republic of Panama.

CHAPTER 4: THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE FIVE YOUNG CUBAN TERRORIST FIGHTERS, UNFAIRLY IMPRISONED IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THOSE OF THEIR FAMILIES, ARE BEING BLATANTLY VIOLATED FOR ILLEGITIMATE POLITICAL MOTIVES

René González Sehwerert Sehwerert, Ramón Labañino Salazar, Gerardo Hernández Nordelo, Fernando González Llort and Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez are five young men —two of whom are US citizens— who fought against terrorism and defended the human rights of the Cuban people;

The US Government has been subjecting these five young men, arbitrarily imprisoned in that country for over six years, to systematic and sustained torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. Such treatment is part of a shameless plot intended to break, physically and morally, these five defenders of the Cuban people's human rights.

These brave young men, risking their own lives, were warning Cuba about and thus preventing many terrorist actions directed at Cuba, planned and organized by various groups which operated with impunity inside the United States.

The five are intellectuals, simple men and three of them have children. Not one of them committed a single violent act. The things they were accused of had to do with the peaceful exercise of the Cuban people's legitimate right to defend itself from terrorism. They worked to defend their people's right to life, to well-being and to development. They were motivated by nothing other than their consciences and principles and were inspired by a deep love for their people.

The only weapon each one of them had for this struggle was his own intelligence and sacrifice; they were convinced that the information they obtained to neutralize the terrorist acts of the anti-Cuban groups in the United States would be extremely useful in protecting the lives and property of men, women and children in Cuba.

During the course of more than 40 years, thousands of Cubans have been killed or left permanently crippled as a result of the actions of these groups, whose training camps, recruiting and fundraising campaigns enjoy wide press coverage in cities such as Miami.

The crimes perpetrated by those terrorist groups against Cuba are recorded in declassified official documents of the US government itself and have appeared in this document.

Overview of the case:

On 12 September 1998 the five were arrested and taken to the Miami headquarters of the FBI where they were interrogated non-stop for six hours with no lawyer present.

On 14 September they were taken before a Miami Court where they were assigned defense lawyers and given date for a bail hearing; bail was denied in the hearing on 29 September of that same year.

From 5 January of 2000 on, the defense lawyers began to submit motions asking for a change of venue since it would not be possible for the accused to be given a fair trial in Miami, as guaranteed under the Fifth and Sixth Amendments of the US Constitution.

On 20 March 2000, the five, represented by their lawyers, submitted a motion requesting that the trial be transferred to Fort Lauderdale arguing that the terrorists against whom the five had been working were based predominantly in Miami. They supported their request with a poll whose results showed that there was prejudice against the five in Miami.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ The survey conducted by Dr. Gary Morgan, professor of the International University of Florida and Member of the Psychology Association of the United States, revealed that 69 % of people in Dade County were predisposed against the accused. Nearly 49 % of those polled said that they could not give a just or impartial verdict. Approximately 90 % of all polled said that under no circumstance would they change their opinion.

It is impossible to obtain a fair verdict in Miami in any court case involving Cuba. The streets of Miami are full of self-confessed terrorists who boast openly of their exploits, organize and announce them publicly and the authorities never do anything at all to prevent or punish them.

On 27 July 2000 Judge Joan Lenard denied the motion which requested a change of venue. Once she did this the scene was set for the trial to begin on 27 November, 2000 a trial so plagued with irregularities that it was both illegal and unconstitutional since the Fifth and Sixth Amendments of the US Constitution were violated. The five were tried in a community completely hostile to them which denied them the opportunity to face an impartial jury and to be tried with due process.

The sentences handed down were irrationally long and vengeful, the court having refused to consider any of the attenuating circumstances put forward by the defense.

Gerardo Hernández was sentenced to two life sentences plus another fifteen years, Ramón Labañino to life plus 18 years, Antonio Guerrero to life plus 10 years, Fernando González to 19 years and René González to 15 years yet the principal counts on which they were charged were not proven and statements in their favor made by witnesses during the trial were ignored.

On 12 November 2002 Mr. Leonard Weinglass, Antonio Guerrero's lawyer, backed by the other defense lawyers asked the Miami Court for a new trial in a motion presented to the Florida District Court.

The arguments on which the motion was based included the unfortunate way the prosecution and the judge had dealt with the original defense demand that the trial be held anywhere but in Miami. It had made this request on several occasions from January 2000 on and attached documents and sworn statements which clearly demonstrated its just nature and the need to restore the legality which had been transgressed, all in the light of new evidence in the interest of justice.

On 10 February 2003 Judge Lenard of the South Florida Federal District Court denied this motion without even granting the lawyers a hearing so they could illustrate the reasons behind their motion.

On March 10, 2004 the oral appeals hearing took place in the Eleventh Circuit Court in Atlanta and once again the defense requested that a new trial be held anywhere but in Miami thus hoping to ensure that it would unfold with due process which had been absent from these proceedings since the beginning.

The relatives of the Five are still waiting for the court to hand down a decision.

Facts which show that the trial of the Five young Cubans, anti-terrorist fighters and defenders of their people's human rights, was rigged and manipulated for political reasons

1. Miami: An Utterly Hostile City Where Justice Is Impossible

The guarantee of an impartial jury was completely ignored in holding a farce of a trial against the Cuban Five in Miami, an utterly hostile city, seriously biased against the accused. The Fifth and Sixth Amendments of the US Constitution were grossly violated.

Miami is a US city where terrorist groups have set off bombs and violently attacked people who have attended concerts by Cuban bands, and where, in defiance of rulings handed down by competent courts, Elián González was kept hostage for four months.

2. Violation of the Principle of Due Process of Law

Penalties for serious crimes were applied without a single piece of concrete and precise evidence being adduced, in violation of the principle that the prosecution must prove the alleged crimes beyond all reasonable doubt.

The defense's right to freely review and examine the documents presented as evidence by the prosecution was constantly subject to restrictions, as the documents were classified under the CIPA (Classified Information Procedures Act). Its declassification was carried out in an arbitrary fashion, thus defense

lawyers were often prevented from having access to the information with enough time to evaluate the facts adequately; similarly, a number of requests by the defense asking that documents throwing light on the facts be admitted as evidence were denied.

The prosecution was allowed to manipulate witnesses at all times and a press campaign aimed at intimidating the latter was mobilized, preventing facts and information that constituted evidence favorable to the defendants from being presented to the jury and the court.

3. Cruel Forms Of Imprisonment Intended To Create Serious Obstacles For The Defense; This is Tantamount Torture And Has Caused The Cuban Five And Their Relatives Suffering Which Constitutes A Flagrant Violation Of Their Human Rights

In violation of the UN's Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, article seven of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and even the 8th Amendment to the United States' Constitution, following their arrest, the Cuban Five, who had committed no breach of discipline were kept in solitary confinement in punishment cells; their first time in solitary confinement lasted 17 months, the second 48 days.

In April of 2003, the Cuban Five were once again subjected to the horrors of "The Hole". On this occasion, US government authorities wanted to hinder the preparation of the appeal documents that were submitted to the Eleventh Circuit of the Court of Appeal in Atlanta and the request for a just and unbiased trial in a place other than Miami.

4. Mistreatment And Psychological And Emotional Torture Perpetrated Against The Relatives Of The Cuban Five Young Men

Having repeatedly been denied visas by US authorities, Adriana Pérez and Olga Salanueva have not been able to visit their respective spouses, Gerardo Hernández and René González, since the time of their arrests five years ago. The decision also affects little Ivette, René's daughter, who does not know her father, as she was four months old at the time of his arrest.⁸¹

In violation of the obligations and duties for Consular Relations accepted when the United States signed the Vienna Convention, the State Department has made it difficult for Cuban consular officers to exercise their duty and right to offer consular assistance to the Cuban Five and for the Five to receive this assistance.

5. Defenders of Their People's Human Rights: Yes. Spies: No

In an unprecedented move, the Cuban Five were convicted for alleged espionage against the United States, without any evidence or testimonies having been adduced to substantiate the claim that the national security of the United States or the interests of its people were damaged or violated in any way. There were witnesses who specifically refuted the charges that the Cuban Five had carried out acts of espionage; these included people such as ex-CIA agent General Clapper, who was called as an expert witness for the prosecution, as were former high ranking officers of the US Armed Forces, such as Generals Wilhelm and Atkeson, Colonel Buckner and Admiral Carroll.⁸²

⁸¹ In a display of utter stupidity and cheek, the US administration has used the argument that Adriana and Olga are terrorists —and, more recently, has invoked allegations that these women are intelligence agents, saboteurs or capable of overthrowing the US government by way of force, violence or other illegal means— to deny the latter entry visas.

⁸² General James R. Clapper, ex – chief of the Intelligence Agency of the Department of Defense; General Charles Wilhelm, ex – commander in chief of South Command; General Edward Atkeson, ex – army vice chief of staff for intelligence; Admiral Eugene Carroll, ex – vice-chief of naval operations and Colonel George Buckner who held a high position in the US Air Defense System's Command.

6. They Didn't Commit Any Acts of Violence or Cause Any Harm to People or Their Property

The injustice of convicting Gerardo Hernández for premeditated murder, when no evidence, witnesses or even circumstantial evidence to prove his guilt or link him to any crime of this nature was presented is as alarming as it is scandalous. Although there was no evidence or witnesses against him, he was alleged to be responsible for what happened on February 24, 1996, the day when Cuban authorities downed two aircraft that repeatedly invaded its national territory.

In judging what the Republic of Cuba did that day in legitimate defense of its territory, the court violated the Act of State Doctrine that has been clearly and repeatedly recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States. By passing judgment on acts of the Cuban State, the court in Miami violated International as well as American Law, and in attributing these acts to Gerardo Hernández, who was not representing that State, who was not a member of the Cuban Air Force, nor took part in any of the events that occurred that day, the court grossly violated the basic precepts of Penal Law.

It could be said that Gerardo Hernández is the only person in the world serving two life sentences one of which is for an offence he had not been charged with when the sentence was passed. As the trial unfolded, the prosecution found itself obliged to acknowledge in writing, on 25 May 2001, that it could not prove the charge for which Gerardo was given one of his life sentences and asked that it be modified. The prosecution said:

“In the light of the evidence presented in this trial this presents an insurmountable hurdle for the United States in this case and will likely result in a failure of the prosecution on this count since it imposes an insurmountable barrier to this prosecution”

7. In The Trial Of The Cuban Five, The US Government Withholds Evidence And Proof Of Terrorist Actions Against The Cuban People

The US government presented several motions to exclude from the proceedings any consideration of the activities of counterrevolutionary terrorist groups in Miami, which provided the logical reason for what the Cuban Five did.

In order to achieve this aim, the prosecution prepared and presented a motion to have renowned terrorists plead the Fifth Amendment to the US Constitution. It thus prevented those individuals from testifying and making statements about the terrorist acts they have perpetrated against the Cuban people, key elements in constructing an argument explaining the motivations of the Cuban Five.

8. Irregularities In The Jury Selection

In no other jurisdiction would the defendants have found themselves forced to use 9 of their 15 peremptory vetoes just to eliminate from the jury people with connections to anti-Cuba groups that operate in the southern Florida.

The prosecution rejected six candidates for jury service, just because they were fact they were Afro-Americans.

9. The Jury's Suspiciously Unusual Behavior

Despite having heard 74 witnesses (43 for the prosecution and 31 for the defense) over a period of nearly seven months, the Miami jury deliberated for a very short time and announced the exact date and time on which it would pronounce its verdict many days in advance. It requested no clarification and expressed not a single doubt, despite the complexity of the task at hand: to reach a decision on the basis of documents containing tens of thousands of pages and on the many charges brought against five accused. The jury brought in a guilty on all counts verdict for the Five in record time.

10. The politicized and irrationally excessive nature of the sentences

The judge did not accept any of the attenuating circumstances proven during the trial but she did accept the prosecution's request to increase the seriousness of the charges. Gerardo was given two life sentences, plus

15 years; Ramón was given one life sentence, plus 18 years; Antonio was given one life sentence, plus 10 years; Fernando was sentenced to 19 years in prison and René to 15 years.

The Cuban Five are political prisoners who are denied this status and held under the same conditions as and mixed in with common criminals, in violation of article 8 of the UN's Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

11. The Cuban Five were put in five separate prisons, in five different States, in some of the remotest places in the United States

The Cuban Five are located very far away from the offices of their respective lawyers, making any contact with them, as well as with relatives and friends, extremely difficult. Attempts are made to make the job of their legal representatives as difficult as possible.

12. The Real Problem: Terrorists Who Get Off Scot Free

During their trial, the Cuban Five demonstrated that, while in the United States the only information they tried to obtain was connected to monitoring the Cuban-American terrorist José Basulto and "Brothers to the Rescue" the organization he founded. They also tried to obtain information about the activities of other infamous Cuban-born terrorists who attack Cuba from the United States with complete impunity; these include Orlando Bosch, responsible for blowing up a Cuban commercial plane in mid flight, killing 73 people including the entire Olympic fencing team. Another terrorist the Cuban Five monitored was Luis Posada Carriles, who was also responsible for the terrorist attack on the Cuban civil airplane which killed the 73 people on board and is one of those who plotted to assassinate the Cuban Head of State Fidel Castro. The plan was to place several bombs in the auditorium of the University of Panama and detonate them when the Cuban leader went there to meet with thousands of Panamanian students and teachers. Working with money supplied by the Miami-based Cuban American National Foundation, Posada Carriles orchestrated the terrorist bombings in Cuban hotels in 1997. These killed an Italian tourist and wounded several other people.⁸³

13. Judge Joan Lenard violated procedural law several times thus helping to deprive the defendants of their elemental rights and making the defense's job more difficult

Miami Federal Court Judge Joan Lenard began by turning down the defense attorneys' request to be given access to documents that had been classified, which contained almost all of the alleged evidence used to charge and convict the Cuban Five; she then turned down another motion presented by Mr. Weinglass, Antonio Guerrero's defense attorney, to which the remaining defense attorneys added their names, calling for a re-trial anywhere but in Miami.

To support this motion, the defense presented new evidence taken from *Ramírez vs. Ashcroft*, 2002, which involved a fraudulent and ill-intentioned government attitude. In *Ramírez vs. Ashcroft*, the prosecution ended up in the dock, and, on presenting itself for trial, the government claimed that no fair and unbiased trial was possible in Miami, since the crime was related to Cuba. How should we interpret that double standard? It is clearly a case of corruption, the premeditated misuse of power by a government.

14. The Atlanta's Court Regrettable Strange Refusal to Admit The Report On The Five Cuban Prisoners In The United States (June Of 2003)

The Eleventh Circuit Appeal Court in Atlanta's refusal to consider the report submitted to it by jurist Erick

⁸³ In both New York Times articles (dated 12 and 13 July 1998), Luis Posada Carriles admitted to having organized the campaign of terrorist attacks on Cuban tourist complexes and acknowledged that leaders of the Cuban American National Foundation had financed his operations. He admitted to having paid and sent to Cuba those who had placed the bombs in hotels in Havana. Referring to the Italian tourist killed by one of these bombs, he told Times: "...he was sitting in the wrong place at the wrong time".

Luna, a distinguished University of Utah professor, on behalf of the Cuban Society of Penal Sciences, (an instrument commonly referred to as an Amicus brief) is something which almost never occurs in the US justice system, since such reports seek only to give the court a wider view of the cases before it.

The report offers copious information about terrorist actions against the Cuban people and other facts of great interest that would have permitted the defense to use the Necessity argument which is recognized by the US justice system and which is the principle that guided the actions of the Cuban Five.

15. Collusive silence of the American media on the unjust trial

The case of the Cuban Five has all of the features of a news story of US nationwide interest. Former generals and admirals testified, there were 72 witnesses, diplomatic notes and White House Memorandums and even one of former President Clinton's advisers testified. Additionally, it was the longest trial held in the United States that year and the only trial involving American foreign policy issues.

Despite all this, and in obvious compliance with US government instructions, the vast US media machinery paid not the slightest attention the unjust and illegal trial of the Cuban Five, with the exception of those controlled by the Cuban American terrorist mob, which, of course, stirred up a spirit of vengeance and hatred towards the Cuban heroes, a veritable witch-hunt of the five anti-terrorist fighters.

16. Support from the US Legal Community and International Solidarity

Some of the most prestigious lawyer and jurist associations in the United States and worldwide have added their voice to the struggle for the release of the Cuban Five. The National Jury Project, whose members are distinguished experts in the US jury system, has presented a plea to the trial court calling for a retrial.

In addition to this, the National Lawyer's Guild, which represents nearly 5,000 lawyers in the United States, has presented a formal request to the court, calling for a retrial in an unbiased setting. This request was backed by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, a body with members from 90 different countries and consultative status at the UN's Economic and Social Council.

There are already 208 solidarity committees in 79 different countries of the world working on behalf of the Five young Cuban anti-terrorist fighters unjustly imprisoned in the United States,. More voices proclaiming their solidarity are heard around the world and in the United States, part of an effort to right the injustice and have the Cuban Five return to their country and families.

The Cuban people reiterate their call for justice for and solidarity with these five defenders of their right to life, to self-determination, to the highest levels of wellbeing and development, which have been violated and continue to be threatened by the actions of a group of Cuban American terrorists who act at the instance of or enjoying the impunity granted to them by the US Government.

17. Mistreatment and emotional and psychological torture of the relatives of the Five Cubans:

- Obstacles placed in the way of consular visits
- Limitations imposed on the ability of consular officials to accompany the relatives when they have been able to visit the Five.
- Visa denials
- Delay in granting visas

The Five have been the favorite target in the Bush administration's escalating hostility and aggressiveness towards our people.

Since 2003, the United States government, motivated by a desire for vengeance and hoping to provoke, increased measures to isolate and punish these young defenders of the Cuban people's human rights even more by sabotaging the appeal process and trying to break the spirit and steadfastness of the Five and their families.

Since 2003, more and more obstacles have been placed in the way of consular visits to the Five and of their contacts with their families. The delays in granting visas and the refusal to grant visas to Adriana Pérez and Olga Salanueva, the wives of Gerardo Hernández Nordelo and René González respectively are two of the cruelest and most inhumane acts ever seen and ones that violate International Law, in particular international human rights instruments, and even US law.

In March 2003, the State Department cancelled planned consular visits to Gerardo and Fernando; this coincides with the imposition of new restrictions on the movements of our officials in Washington.

In June 2003, the State Department took the first steps that ultimately led to a complete elimination of any possibility that Cuban consular official with accreditation in Washington could accompany relatives of the Five on their prison visits.

During family visits in June, July and August of last year, the State Department imposed an additional condition: consular officials were no longer allowed to stay for the weekend with the relatives in the towns closest to the prisons but had to return to Washington.

The relatives of the Five were left with no consular care and attention when they had to deal with emotions aroused by seeing their loved ones after such a long wait.

The first time that the State Department denied consular officials permission to accompany relatives was in December 2003 when they denied them permission to accompany Gerardo's family. The excuse given was that this was a journey of a personal and not consular nature.

It must be remembered that the relatives of the Five Cuban human rights defenders have to overcome the very complex obstacle course installed by the blockade on Cuba just to get to the United States. And this is compounded by the fact that the Five heroes are imprisoned in very remote places. The relatives are therefore obliged to change planes several times, travel hundreds of kilometers on highways stay in completely unfamiliar towns and get to the prisons which are in locations of difficult access and do all of this completely unaided.

The mothers, wives and other relatives of the Five have dealt with all this cruelty —and more—with unflinching courage.

The violations of Adriana Pérez and Olga Salanueva's human rights —the wives of Gerardo Hernández Nordelo and René González respectively— are even crueller.

On 7 January 2004 MINREX published a statement denouncing the absurd revanchist behavior of US authorities. In Note 845 from the US Interests Section in Havana dated 23 December 2003 they once again returned the visa application forms submitted by Olga Salanueva and Adriana Pérez informing the ministry that they would no longer accept visa applications for these two women sent by MINREX but that Olga and Adriana must submit their visa applications personally.

From 2 February 2002 on, the US Interests Section in Havana began to apply the same measures to the rest of the family members of the Five, that is, from that date forward their visa applications were not to be submitted by MINREX but in person by our comrades' relatives.

On 27 February 2004, the State Department — in open violation of the responsibilities assumed under the 1961 Vienna Convention on Consular relations— sent a diplomatic note to the Cuban Interests Section in Washington that henceforth consular visits to the Five by our officials in Washington would only be authorized once every three months.

This hostile act received a reply from Cuba in MINREX statement "A new outrage against our Five heroes" issued 4 March 2004. Among other things it denounced the new restrictions on the consular activities of our officials in Washington.

The refusal to grant visas to Adriana Pérez and Olga Salanueva is not the only flagrant violation of the rights of the Five and their families to keep in contact through periodic visits. They have also been long delays in granting visas to other family members.

The visa application process has not been worry-free for the other family members either. To cite just one case: visa applications were submitted by Carmen Nordelo, Magalys Llord, Irma Sehwert and Colmes Labañino on 7 August 2003 and on 23 September 2003 but the visas were only issued in April 2004, seven or so months later.

In their inhuman behavior, US authorities turn a blind eye to the fact that several of the relatives of the Five heroes are already of advanced age.

Refusal to grant visas to Adriana Pérez and Olga Salanueva, the wives of Gerardo Hernández Nordelo and René González, respectively.

Olga and Adriana have repeatedly been denied visas and thus they have been prevented from seeing their husbands.

The last visa application for the two women was made in February 2004 and was turned down in April 2004

Adriana Pérez' Case

Has never visited the United States. Has never been able to see her husband after his arrest on 12 September 1998.

- In practice, the United States government does not have nor could have any evidence or any indication whatsoever to back its contention that Adriana's presence in the United States could jeopardize the interests or security of that nation.
- Adriana's name does not appear on the indictment listing the charges that were falsely laid against Gerardo nor on that accusing any of his four comrades.
- Her only reason for requesting a US entrance visa is to visit her husband, Gerardo Hernández Nordelo who is serving two life sentences plus 15 years in Victorville prison in California.
- On 29 March 2002 the United States government granted her a visa after a process of interagency consultation, which is what usually happens when a Cuban citizens applies for a visa. In July 2002, she went to the US to visit her husband but when she landed at the airport in Houston, Texas she was arrested and interrogated in a humiliating manner for 11 hours, finally was not allowed to enter the United States and had to return to Cuba.
- If there was any concrete evidence against her, US authorities could have arrested her when she was refused entry to the United States.
- In April 2003, the United States government once again denied her a visa, invoking section 212-3 (A) of the US Immigration and Nationality Act which denied entry to the country to those it considers wish to do so in order to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage.
- In June 2003 she once again applied to the United States government for a visa which she was once again denied.

Olga Salanueva's Case

The last time she saw her husband was on the evening before his trial began in November 2000. In this case the situation is even more inhumane because Olga has a little daughter who is the victim in this tragedy

- When her husband René González was arrested, Olga had legal residence status in the United States and had been living there for two years and two months.
- During this time — until she was deported to Cuba in November 2000— she was present when the warrant to arrest René was carried out and when he was charged. She was in contact with FBI officers and with his defense lawyer. At no time was there any suggestion that she was involved in any of the offences her husband was later charged with.
- If the United States government had thought she was an infiltrated agent, two years and two months was more than enough time to lay charges against her. Nevertheless she was neither accused of any federal offence nor were any federal charges laid against her.
- In August 2000, she was arrested by immigration authorities and deportation proceedings against her were begun. One month earlier, July 2000, the prosecution had offered her husband a deal, to wit, if he would

admit to the two counts on which he was accused, (conspiracy and unregistered foreign agent) they would not deport his wife, Olga Salanueva.

- René González refused the deal with dignity; Olga was deported to Cuba.
- On 29 March 2002, the United States government granted her a US entry visa so she could visit her husband.
- On 23 April 2002 the United States government revoked her visa claiming to have discovered information according to which Olga Salanueva might be inadmissible under the provisions of Section 212 (a) (3) (B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act which denied entry to US territory to those with connections to terrorist activities. In fact, her husband, René González was not accused of having any ties whatsoever to terrorism but quite the opposite of having acted specifically against terrorist groups. It is, therefore absurd to try to slander Olga in such a way.
- On two later occasions, October 2002 and April 2003, the US government once again denied Olga a visa.
- On the latest of these occasions, the State Department alleged that she was denied a visa as per Section 212-3 (A) of the Immigration and Nationality Act which denied entry to the United States to those it thinks wish to do so in order to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage. This is yet another absurd argument, all the more so since her husband was not accused of espionage but of being an unregistered foreign agent and of conspiracy.
- In June 2003, she once again applied to the United States government for an entry visa which she did not receive.
- In October 2003 and April 2004 the United States government once again denied Olga a visa and both times changed the reasons for not giving her a visa.

Ivette González' Case

- The refusal to issue a visa to Olga Salanueva means that one of her daughters, Ivette González, a little child who is only 6 years old is prevented from seeing her father.
- Ivette González Salanueva was born on 24 April 1998 in Miami, Florida. In the first four months of her life when she lived with her parents and sister Irma González, she did not face too much difficulty.
- On 12 September 1998, Ivette's life and that of her family changed cruelly and dramatically. That was the day when the FBI arrested René González Schwerert without giving him a chance to say goodbye to his family.
- On 3 August 2000, René received a letter from the prosecution offering to reduce his sentence if he collaborated by informing on the other people charged in the same case. In the letter he was warned that since Olga was not an American citizen, her immigration status could be affected if he refused to collaborate. René turned his back on this attempted blackmail and shortly thereafter the INS arrested Olga.
- Olga should have been sent to an internment centre when she was accused of having broken the Immigration Law, but on 16 August 2000 she was put in Fort Lauderdale jail for three months, a prison for inmates with a record of misconduct. Ivette was cared for by her paternal great-grandmother. Olga was not allowed to have visits with her daughters where she could make physical contact with them; she was only allowed to see them once through glass. Therefore she preferred that Ivette not be brought to see her. On 22 November 2000 she was deported and Ivette traveled with her paternal grandmother, Irma Schwerert, Olga has lived in Cuba since then with her two daughters. Ivette has not seen her father for more than four years.
- If Ivette is an American citizen what has prevented her from seeing her father during the last four years?
- The US Supreme Court has recognized intimate family ties and given them protection under the First Amendment to the US Constitution and under the right of association recognized by that constitution. As early as 1923 in the famous case of Pierce vs. Society of Sisters, the court referred to family relations as something central to Civil Law and deserving of greater protection from state interference. What is involved

here is one aspect of the right of association, not so much indicative of this right but an intrinsic part of it and one which plays a fundamental role in the emotional and psychological development of children as the Supreme Court confirmed in *Roberts vs. United States Jaycees*, 1984.

- On 16 June 2003, the Court once again ruled on this subject saying in *Overton vs. Bazzetta* that the Constitution, if it protects anything, protects the intimate personal relations that develop inside the family unit. In the ruling on the *Overton vs. Bazzetta* case the court said: “It is reasonable to ensure that a visiting child is accompanied and supervised by those adults charged with protecting and serving the child’s best interests.”

- In her short life, Ivette González has gone through countless abrupt changes, major separations and emotionally traumatic situations caused by none other than the United States government. Olga Salanueva had managed to provide Ivette with a stable home and an affectionate family environment in Cuba. The most important factor has been the permanent presence of the mother as the main person providing affection. To expose this child once again to change, to a journey to another country and to a visit to a federal jail without her mother’s company would be to play irresponsibly with factors that could have a permanent, negative affect on her psyche.

- According to the recommendations of experienced child psychology experts, Ivette should be accompanied by her mother when she goes to see her father since she cannot be separated from her main care giver because this could cause her to suffer anxiety and have other negative psychological effects.

- The refusal to issue a visa so that Olga Salanueva and Ivette can go to visit René together is not only arbitrary and capricious but it also violates Ivette’s right, as per the First Amendment of the US Constitution, to maintain a relationship with her father. An arbitrary, unconstitutional hurdle is being placed in the way of René’s, his wife’s and his daughter’s right to free association.

- The Convention on the Rights of the Child is directly relevant to Ivette’s case. According to Article 10 of the Convention: “A child whose parents reside in different States shall have the right to maintain on a regular basis, save in exceptional circumstances personal relations and direct contacts with both parents”

- The only exceptional circumstance which is coming between Ivette and her father is the arbitrariness and arrogance of the Bush administration and its contempt for the cries of a 6 year old girl.

- This six year old has just learnt to read and write and the first word she learned to read was solidarity, rightly so.

The conditions of imprisonment recently instituted for Gerardo Hernández Nordelo

- The Victorville penitentiary in California where Gerardo Hernández Nordelo, one of the Cuban anti-terrorist fighters unjustly held in US jails, has been incarcerated since 1 November 2004 to date in lock down because of riots among the prison population.

- When a prison is in lock down, prisoners cannot receive visits nor phone calls, are given cold meals and are only given brief access to washing facilities.

- As far as is known, Gerardo’s health is good, his moral and fighting spirit is also in good form.

- “We cannot talk because I am still in lock down. I don’t know how long it will go on, but however long it is, don’t worry”, he wrote recently in a letter to Adriana Pérez, his wife. By applying such an unfair regime, all ways of contact are cut off, thus increasing the suffering and psychological torture to which this couple are subject.

Contacts between some of the relatives of The Five and the Commission on Human Rights

Several of the relatives of the Five have been interviewed regarding several of the agenda items of the Commission on Human Rights and have met with officials from the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights during the Commissions 59th and 60th period of sessions in order to denounce the flagrant violations of the human rights of the Five and their families.

Olga Salnueva, Ivette González and Adriana Pérez were present at the Commission's 59th period of sessions. Adriana, Olga and little Ivette were once again present at the 60th period of session as were Magalys Llort, Fernando González' mother.

Below is a list of the representative of the agenda mechanisms and the OUNHCHR officials who were contacted by relatives of the Five.

59th session

- Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. Bertrand Ramcharan
- The chairperson of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, Louis Joinet
- The Special Rapporteur on Torture Theo C. Van Boven.
- The Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers. Ms Param Coomaraswamy
- The Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Radhika Coomaraswamy.

All of these people were given a report denouncing the violations of the human rights of the Five Cuban human rights defenders. Similarly, on behalf of Cuban NGOs that have consultative status with ECOSOC, the relatives delivered a document denouncing the violations committed by US authorities of the human rights of the Five Heroes and their families.

No reply came from any of these mechanisms during the whole of 2003.

60th session (2004)

- The OUNHCHR's coordinator for Latin America and the Caribbean, Mr. Dougan-Beaca.
- The Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers, Mr. Leandro Despouy.
- Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Ms Yakin Erturk.
- The Special Rapporteur on Torture Theo C. Van Boven.
- The President of the Group on Arbitrary Detentions, Ms Leila Zerrougui

The relatives of the Five delivered documents denouncing the violations of the human rights of their husbands and sons.

In June 2003, Olga Salanueva and Adriana Pérez sent letters to the following officials in the OUNHCHR, to other departments of the United Nations Secretariat, to chairpersons of intergovernmental bodies and special rapporteurs, to independent experts and chairpersons of the CHR's working groups denouncing the cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment to which they were being subject by US authorities and asking for assistance under the respective mandates:

NAME	FUNCTION
Bertrand Ramcharan	Deputy High Assistant High Commissioner for Human Rights
Raadi Azarakheki	Division of Special Procedures, Commission on Human Rights
Luis Joinet	Rapporteur Chairperson of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions, Commission on Human Rights
Param Cumaraswamy	The Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers, Commission on Human Rights.
Theo Van Boven	The Special Rapporteur on the Question of Torture, Commission on Human Rights
Enrique Bernales	Special Rapporteur on the Use of Mercenaries, Commission on Human Rights.

NAME	FUNCTION
Ballesteros	
Radhika Coomaraswamy	The Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Commission on Human Rights
Carola Hannah	Director Department of Social and Economic Affairs , Division for the Advancement of Women, DAW
Angela King	UN Undersecretary or Gender Affairs and the Advancement of Women, DAW.
Gert Rosenthal	Chairperson of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
Feride Acar	Chairperson of the Division for the Advancement of Women. (CEDAW)
Paula Sergio Pinheiro	Independent Expert for studying violence against children, Commission on Human Rights.
Renate Bloem	Chairperson of the Conference of Non-governmental Organizations (CONGO)
Carol Bellamy	General Secretary of UNICEF

The correspondence between relatives of the Five and several of the thematic procedures of the Commission on Human Rights continued in 2004

DATE	NOTE OR DOCUMENT	ADDRESSED TO	REGARDING	REPLY MECHA- NISM
16/07/04	Verbal note from the Cuban Permanent Mission in Geneva, No.309	The Deputy High Commissioner, OUNHCHR Coordinator for North America, OUNHCHR Coordinator for Latin America, Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Special Rapporteur on Torture	Enclosed: a letter from Adriana Pérez and one from Olga Salanueva about the visa refusal on 27 April 2004	
23/08/04	Verbal note from the Cuban Permanent Mission in Geneva, No.379	Ms Leila Zerrougui, Chairperson of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention	Enclosed: comments and observations sent by relatives of the Five Heroes who are still political prisoner in US jails about the reply given by the United States government in a letter; reference G/SO 218/2, dated 8 June, 2004. See enclosed personal letter to the Rapporteur from Adriana Pérez and Olga Salanueva and other documents	Letter from the rapporteur, G/SO 218/2 dated 11/10/04 requesting more information
23/08/04	Verbal note from the Cuban Permanent	Mr. Leandro Despouy, CHR Special Rapporteur	Enclosed: letter from Mr. Roberto González Schwerert, lawyer and	Replies asking for more information

	Mission in Geneva, No.381	on the Independence of Judges and lawyers.	brother of René González in which he expresses his willingness to exchange correspondence with the Rapporteur on the human rights violation that took place in the case of the Five political prisoners	
23/08/04	Verbal note from the Cuban Permanent Mission in Geneva, No.382	Mr. Theo Van Boven, CHR Special Rapporteur on Torture	Enclosed: letter to the rapporteur from lawyer Nuris Piñero Sierra, to which she attaches several documents presented as motions in the Five's case	
09/04	Verbal note from the Cuban Permanent Mission in Geneva, No.403	Mr. Theo Van Boven, CHR Special Rapporteur on Torture	Enclosed: Letter from Fernando's wife, Rosa Aurora	
28/10/04	Verbal note from the Cuban Permanent Mission in Geneva, No.475	Ms Leila Zerrougui, Chairperson of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention	Enclosed: reply to her request for additional information. A copy of a memorandum from lawyer Leonard Weinglass and a copy of the appeal presented to the 11 th Circuit Court in Atlanta by defense lawyer Joaquín Mendez who touched on this matter on pages 18 to 42 were attached	

As has been demonstrated, the Bush administration has slaked its thirst for vengeance and hatred on our Five heroes using various kinds of arbitrariness, abuses and new violations of their most fundamental human rights.

They have shown Bush and his protégés in the Miami terrorist mob an unmistakable way that none of these measures can scare them, nor weaken the resolve with which they have thus far defended the right of all to enjoy, first and foremost, the right to their own existence.

Just like the relatives, the Cuban people will not rest until justice is done and the Five Heroes can return home to their Motherland with dignity. And to do this, we need the support of honest men and women all over the world. They deserve understanding and help, they deserve justice and demand that the truth about them becomes known and triumphs.

APPENDIX:

1.- Information on the Five Cubans unjustly imprisoned in the United States for fighting terrorism and defending human rights

Gerardo Hernández Nordelo



He was 33 years old at the time of his arrest in 1998. He is a graduate of the Raúl Roa García Institute of International Relations.

SENTENCE: Two life sentences plus 15 years in prison

PRISON: VICTORVILLE, CALIFORNIA

NO.58739-004

Postal address: USP VICTORVILLE

P.O. BOX 5500

13777 Air Expressway Road

Adelanto, CA 92301

Phone #: 760-530-5000

Ramón Labañino Salazar



He was 35 years old at the time of his arrest in 1998. He has a degree in Economics from the University of Havana.

SENTENCE: One life sentence plus a sentence of 18 years

PRISON: BEAUMONT, TEXAS

No. 58734-004

Postal address: USP BEAUMONT

PO BOX 26035 Beaumont, TX 77720

Phone #: 409 -727 - 8188 Fax #: 409 - 626 - 3700

Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez



He was 40 years old at the time of his arrest in 1998. He is a graduate in Engineering from the Kiev Institute in Ukraine. He is also a poet.

SENTENCE: One life sentence plus 2 sentences of 5 years

PRISON: FLORENCE, COLORADO

No. 58741 - 004
Postal address: USP FLORENCE
5880 State HWY 67
South Florence, CO. 81226
Phone #: 719 - 784 - 9454 Fax #: 719 - 784 - 5157

Fernando González Llort



He was 35 years old at the time of his arrest. He is a graduate of the Raúl Roa García Institute of International Relations.

SENTENCE: 19 years in prison
PRISON: OXFORD, WISCONSIN
No. 58733 - 004
Postal address: FCI Oxford
PO BOX 500 Oxford, WI 53952 — 0500
Phone #: 608 - 585- 5411 Fax #: 608 -585 - 6371

René González Schwerert



He was 42 years old at the time of his arrest.
SENTENCE: 15 years in prison
PRISON: EDGEFIELD, SOUTH CAROLINA

No. 58738 - 004
Postal address: FCI Edgefield
PO BOX 725 Edgefield,
501 Gary Hill Road, S C 29824
Phone #: 803-637-1500 Fax #:803-637-9840

2.- Some Of The Relatives Of The Five Cuban Anti-Terrorist Fighters, Whose Most Elementary Of Human Rights Are Being Violated By The Government Of The United States Of America.

Ivette González Salanueva (little girl) and Olga Salanueva



Ivette González, 6 years old. She has never known her father, René González Schwerert. The government of the United States prevents this.

With her, Olga Salanueva, wife of René and mother of Ivette. She has not been able to visit her husband. The government of the United States prevents this from happening.

Adriana Pérez O'Connor



Wife of Gerardo Hernández Nordelo. She has not been able to visit her husband. The government of the United States does not let her.

3.- Related web sites:

<http://www.freethefive.org/>

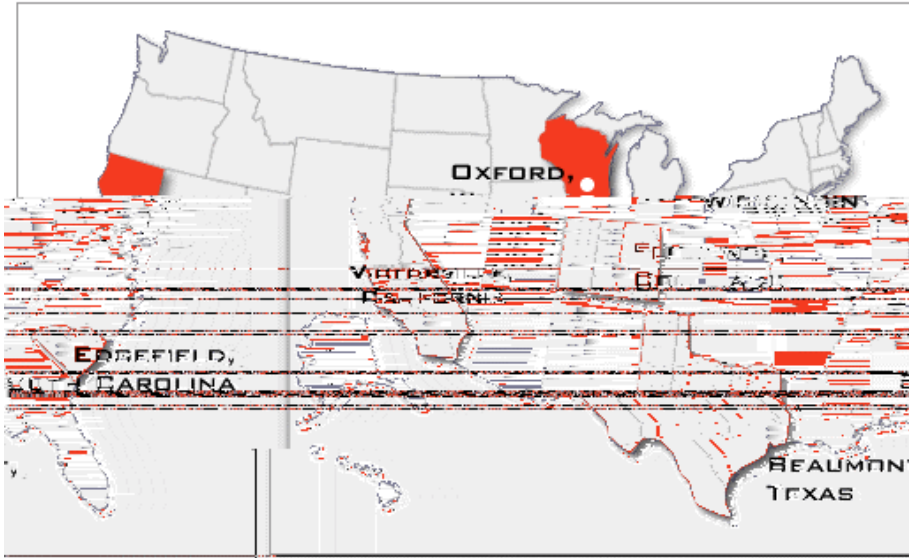
<http://www.radiohc.cu/heroes/heroesing.htm>

<http://www.jrebeldc.cubaweb.cu/inocentes/index.html>

<http://www.antiterroristas.cu/>

<http://www.escambray.islagrande.cu/Patriotas1/html>

4.- Map showing where the states where the Five Heroes are unjustly imprisoned.



5.- Statement by the relatives of the Five Heroes. April 2004

We, the relatives of the Five Cubans who are in prison in US jails wish to put on record the countless hurdles that the United States government has placed in the way of our visiting them. These can be summarized as follows:

- Not allowing **Olga Salanueva** and **Adriana Pérez** enter the United States, the wives of **René Gonzalez** and **Gerardo Hernández** respectively, a consequence of which is that little **Ivette** cannot see her father **René**;
- Repeatedly and unjustifiably delaying visas for the rest of the relatives for periods of up to 7 months;
- Placing difficulties in the way of joint visits by other teenaged children.
- Preventing Cuban diplomats from giving their support to the visiting relatives.

The US government's refusal to allow **Olga Salanueva** and **Adriana Pérez** to enter US territory has been based on arbitrary, groundless decisions.

On 29 March, **Olga** was issued a US entry visa so she could visit René

On 23 April 2002 the United States government revoked her visa and said she was inadmissible as per Section 212 (a) (3) (B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, thus alleging that Olga was a terrorist.

In October 2002 the United States government once again denied her a visa without giving any explanation whatsoever. In April 2003 her visa application was once again turned down, this time those refusing quoted Section 212(f) which gives the president the power to refuse admission to US territory to any foreigner if he or she thinks that it would be against the national interest to do so.

In October 2003 and April 2004, the US government denied **Olga** a visa yet again and on both of these occasions gave different reasons for doing so.

Olga ceased to be inadmissible because she was a "terrorist" only to become so because she was supposedly an "intelligence agent, saboteur or someone who could bring about the overthrow of the United States government by force, violence or other illegal methods" as is implied in the wording of **Section 212(a)(3) (A)** used to justify the visa denial.

Olga lived in the United States as a legal resident for two years and two months after **René's** arrest — he was arrested in her house when she was present. During that time no mention was made of her being connected in any way to the charges later laid against **René** nor was she accused of nor brought to trial for any federal charge.

If the United States government had thought it necessary, two years and two months gave them plenty of time to bring charges against her and take her to trial.

Besides, denying her the visa because she was allegedly involved in intelligence activities is an absurd argument, all the more so when one remembers that **René** was not accused of espionage.

Ivette González, Olga and **René's** little daughter is six years old and has been prevented from seeing her father ever since she was a baby. It is well known that specialists in child psychology recommend that when a small child has suffered from traumatic paternal deprivation, as she has, that such a child not be separated from the main care-giver since this can cause anxiety reactions and other negative psychological effects.

Arguments supporting the need **Ivette has** to travel accompanied by her mother is not only found in these scientific criteria but also in the US Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Overton vs. Bazzetta* handed down on 16 June 2003. This ruling states: "It is reasonable to ensure that a visiting child is accompanied and supervised by those adults charged with protecting and serving the child's best interests."

Adriana Pérez. On 25 July 2002, the United States government refused to allow her to enter the United States after having given her the necessary visa. When she landed at the airport in Houston, Texas she was isolated, put under arbitrary arrest and her passport was taken away. She was photographed, a file on her was opened and she was illegally interrogated by the FBI for 11 hours until finally she had to return to Cuba without accomplishing her goal of visiting Gerardo in prison.

The FBI gave **Adriana** no explication to support its decision not to allow her to enter US territory.

In April 2003, the United States government once again denied her a visa, invoking section 212 (f) which allows the president to refuse entry to US territory to any foreigner if he or she thinks that it would be against the national interest to do so.

In October 2003 and April 2004, the United States government turned down **Adriana's** visa application yet again invoking **Section 212 (a) (3) (A)** of the 1996 Immigration and Nationality Act. Perhaps the United States government presumes Adriana Pérez to be an “intelligence agent, saboteur or someone who could bring about the overthrow of the United States government by force, violence or other illegal methods” which is implied in the wording of the Section used to justify this decision?

US authorities cannot claim that **Adriana has** acted against the United States nor in any way jeopardized its national security.

The United States government does not have nor could have any evidence or any indication whatsoever to back its contention that **Adriana's** presence in the United States could jeopardize the interests or security of that nation. Her name does not appear on the indictment listing the charges that were falsely laid against **Gerardo** or on that accusing any of his four comrades.

If there was any concrete evidence against her, US authorities could have arrested Adriana when she was refused entry to the United States.

It seems inconceivable that they try to justify their refusal to issue visas to **Olga** and **Adriana** when there are a plethora of precepts and principles of International Law and even of US legislation which oblige the United States government to make it easier for them to visit their husbands held in US jails.

To continue to refuse to give **Olga** and **Adriana** visas, besides being a violation of their human rights, — of their human rights and those of **Gerardo** and **René** and of all their relatives — is to continue to ignore the manifold international instruments which very clearly set forth the rights of prisoners to be visited by their families and the obligation of governments to make this possible.

As for visas granted to the other relatives all we can report is that in the last three years we have only been able to go to the United States to visit them twice a year on average even when, according to the number of visits allowed in the Five's respective prisons, we could have gone more frequently, were it not for the visa problems.

To give an example: three of us mothers were forced by the United States government to wait from August 2003 until March 2004, 7 long months, until we were given visas to visit our sons.

And then there are **Ramón's** children, **Ailí, Laura and Lisbeth**, especially the two latter who, in spite of being only 11 and 7 years old, have been able to see their father only four times in the last 6 years. This is also true for **Tonito, Antonio's** son, in both cases because of delays in issuing visas.

Another difficulty has been added to this long list of recent problems. In February 2004, the United States government informed us of its decision to no longer allow us to apply officially for humanitarian visas, something which obviously makes the process much easier. From that date forward we are obliged to make visas applications like any other common citizen who want to go to the United States. This has meant delays of up to 4 months just to hand in an application form.

Bearing in mind the humanitarian nature of these visas and its moral and legal obligation to make the process of obtaining them as easy as possible, the United States government should grant the visas which it has repeatedly denied up until now and guarantee that visits can be made more often.

CHAPTER 5: THE UNITED STATES INTENSIFIES THE RECRUITMENT, FUNDING AND USE OF MERCENARIES IN ITS ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE THE FREE DETERMINATION OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE

Many different forms of aggression have been used in the undeclared war waged by United States power circles on the Cuban people —which has become official state policy.

An extremely important role in the design and implementation of anti-Cuban strategy has been played by recruiting, controlling and providing financial and logistical support to mercenaries who work for it inside Cuba. Washington has always tried to fabricate —by manipulating the traitors and annexationist on its payroll— the false idea that what is going on in Cuba is a so-called struggle “between Cubans”.

The mercenaries who work for imperialist policy and against the Cuban people — always following express orders from US special services— have changed their “methods of struggle” to meet the requirements of each stage in the strategy of aggression towards the Island. They have gone from being invaders to terrorists and from terrorists to *soi-disant* human rights “defenders”.

The US special services’ covert operations against Cuba began as early as 1959. This has been revealed in reports declassified by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Irrefutable proof of this appears in a document drawn up in October 1961 by the Agency’s inspector general, Lyman Kirkpatrick in order to look into the reasons for the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion.

In a 17 March 1960 meeting attended by the then vice-president (Richard Nixon), the secretary of state (Christian Herter), CIA director (Allen Dulles) and others, President Eisenhower gave his approval to what they called the “A Program of Covert Operations Against the Castro Regime” which the CIA had proposed. This plan authorized the creation of a secret intelligence and action organization inside Cuba and allocated the funds needed to do this.

In a declassified memorandum on the way this meeting unfolded, General Goodpaster wrote: “The President said that he couldn’t think of a better plan to handle this situation. The main problem is leaks and a security error. Everybody must be prepared to swear that he (Eisenhower) knows nothing about this. [...] He said that our hand mustn’t be seen in anything that’s done”.⁸⁴

The truth is that Eisenhower, when he realized that the United States’ grip on Cuba was becoming looser day by day, ordered that support for counterrevolutionary groups inside Cuba be increased and gave the green light to preparation for the Bay of Pigs invasion, a large scale military attack which was ratified by his successor, John F. Kennedy.

On 17 April 1961, Washington hurled around 1, 500 mercenaries at the Cuban people. The majority of those leading these troops were former military men from Fulgencio Batista’s pro-American tyranny which had been ousted two years earlier by the Rebel Army.

Recruiting Cuban born mercenaries was an easy task in the United States where, after the triumph of the Revolution, asylum and guarantees of impunity were given to: politicians from the anti-patriotic local bourgeoisie, which had been the client of and had benefited from neo-colonial patterns of domination in Cuba; murderers and torturers who had been the backbone of the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista which Washington had installed and backed against the popular uprising; corrupt, crooked politicians who profited from the people’s blood and sweat; members of the lumped proletariat and anti-social individuals who found their illegal sources of income drained by revolutionary measures aimed at enhancing civil safety, equality and social justice; and other people who quite simply were not willing to make the tiniest personal effort to harmonize their individual interests and aspirations with the aims of general welfare for the society.

⁸⁴ See The Cuban People Sues the United States for Human Damages

The Bay of Pigs invasion was defeated in less than 72 hours by the Cuban people and army. The United States government's mistake was to underestimate the determination to fight and the bravery in combat of a people who were defending their right to a dignified and independent life.

More than 90% of the invading troops were taken prisoner. In spite of the seriousness of what they had done — more than a hundred Cuban patriots were murdered by the mercenaries— all invaders arrested were treated in an exemplary manner by our people. Not one of the invading troops was mistreated. The physical integrity and personal dignity of each one was strictly respected. Any wounded mercenary was given excellent medical attention. Once again the Cuban revolutionaries displayed their decorum, goodness, generosity and humanism, principles that had bestowed glory on the way the Rebel Army conducted itself during the hard years of the war of liberation.

The court that tried the prisoners was extraordinarily magnanimous. It did not hand down harsh sentences, there was no revenge. They were asked to pay reparations which the United States government never paid in full. In December 1962, Cuba agreed to exchange 1,113 mercenaries for \$53,000,000 worth of medicines and baby food.

After the resounding failure of the mercenary forces at the Bay of Pigs, president Kennedy set up a special committee in National Security Council which later approved several operations — such as Operation Mongoose— aimed at using all means available to help the Cuban people to overthrow the communist regime from inside the country and install a new government with which the United States can live in peace.⁸⁵

From that day forward, the United States gave covert operations undertaken by its special services pride of place in its anti-Cuban policy. The purpose of these operations was to create the false idea that there was an active counterrevolutionary opposition inside Cuba. Since they had no social support base among the Cuban people which could work for their annexationist plans, successive US administrations have continued to recruit and pay mercenaries.

Over the years, Washington's motivations for using mercenaries in its anti-Cuban policy have remained constant as have the way they are paid and given direction for the tasks they undertake. The only changes have been in the apparel and tools issued to anti-Cuban mercenaries.

When the Reagan administration took office in the United States in the 1980s, it introduced significant tactical changes to US strategies aimed at overthrowing Cuba's revolutionary government.

Overnight, notorious terrorists and CIA agents of Cuban descent came on the scene dressed up as human rights defenders and "peaceful anti-Castro opponents" and well-supplied with offices, "organizations" and contacts in international NGOs,

Several groups of Cuban-Americans who were under the orders of and financed by the CIA and who, up to that point, had been involved mostly in acts of sabotage and terrorism launched from US territory against Cuba or its representatives and property abroad were ordered to change their cover and working methods so they could carry out task of influencing and "sensitizing" US public opinion.

This was the period when the Cuban American National Foundation was founded; its declared aim is to "promote a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba". Experience has shown that the Cuban American National Foundation never abandoned the use of terrorist methods against the Cuban Revolution, as is evidenced by the direct responsibility of several of its head honchos for plans to assassinate the Cuban Head of State and for organizing and funding terrorist attacks on hotels and resorts in Cuba at the end of the 1990s.

⁸⁵ President John F. Kennedy said this on 30 November 1961. Quoted in the book *Dissidents or Mercenaries?* By Hernando Calvo Ospina and Katlijn Declercq

Small groups of allegedly “peaceful dissidents” and “human rights defenders” were created inside Cuba; with the direct involvement of diplomats from the US Interests Section. Those recruited for these groups had previously been implicated in violent activities; some were even former officials, policemen, former campaigners and other lowlifes who were closely linked to Fulgencio Batista’s dictatorial regime.

A shining light of these so-called “human rights defenders” is Armando Valladares, former member of Batista’s police force who was sent to jail for terrorist acts in the Revolution’s early years. He pretends to be handicapped and is a professional dissimulator who has been reborn as a “poet” thanks to the US government’s powerful propaganda apparatus. The example of Mr. Valladares makes more than obvious the low moral stature and the lack of credibility of the people who have been used down the years to orchestrate the anti-Cuban circus at the Commission on Human Rights. Anti-Cuban hysteria reached such levels that a terrorist like Valladares was somehow appointed US ambassador to the Geneva Commission.

So, as if by magic, so-called activists and human rights groups funded and run by the United States government popped up in Cuba. These individuals, recruited and financed in the same way any other mercenary, carry out missions at the behest of the United States. The aim of these is to destroy the constitutional order chosen by Cubans and to enforce the provisions of the Helms-Burton Act.

These groups’ aggressiveness and the seriousness of their activities as a fifth column working against the Cuban people’s freely and willingly chosen social project increased with the decisive influence of ultra-conservative militaristic groups from the US extreme right in the Reagan, Bush (senior) and George W. Bush administrations.

Under current President George W. Bush’s administration, the imperialist appetites of the circles making up his government have been intensified by the amount of power given to the most aggressive, reactionary sectors of the Cuban born terrorist mob.

In recent years, the government imposed on the United States by George W. Bush has increased the blockade and other hostile policies towards Cuba to an unprecedented degree and stepped up its overt and covert interventionist actions. Top-ranking government officials’ sabre-rattling is on the rise as is, and most especially, the direct involvement of US diplomatic personnel in Havana in attempts to subvert Cuba’s constitutional order. Official funds allocated for these operations have also grown exponentially.

Cuba recognizes that the mercenaries the United States recruits on the island to implement its policy to dominate the Cuban people do not have the potential —since they are rejected by society, lack an autonomous social base and a self-generated plan— to become, in and of themselves, a challenge to Cuba’s revolutionary process. Nevertheless, the danger they present stems from the possibility that their activities could be used by the US government, aided and abetted by its proven ability to manipulate the mass media, as a pretext to carry out or support eventual military action in Cuba, a possibility which has become very real and threatening in the present circumstances.

The seriousness of the threat to the Cuban nation’s very existence is corroborated by the astounding increase in the money and materials the United States has allotted to recruiting and paying its anti-Cuban mercenaries and by the decision to escalate to an unheard level US agencies involvement in destabilizing and wearing Cuba down and in tightening the stranglehold on her (see the analysis of this given in Chapter 2 part 1 of this document about the report from what is called the “Commission for the Assistance to a Free Cuba”)

The magnitude and aggressive nature of the US government’s recent campaign of disinformation and lies against Cuba, because of the legal sentences given to a group of mercenaries recruited, paid, trained and commanded by the superpower’s government is, therefore hardly, surprising.

These mercenaries were carrying out actions aimed at overthrowing the political, economic and social order constitutionally adopted by an overwhelming majority of Cuban people in a 1976 universal referendum, two centuries after the US Constitution was adopted. By the way, the superpower’s constitution is still in force

today even though a significant sector of that nation, particularly African Americans, women and people of low income were never consulted about its contents.

This disinformation campaign —still going on today with the cynical, complicit and active help of several of the Empire's client governments — has made use of sophisticated disinformation techniques developed by Nazi-Fascism, unjustifiably and repeatedly using false epithets to describe the justly convicted mercenaries, epithets such as “dissidents”, “peaceful political opponents”, “human rights defenders”, “independent journalists, librarians or unionists”. The idea is to make people believe that the mercenaries were “arbitrarily and unjustly” convicted simply for “peacefully exercising the right to freedom of speech, opinion and association”.

Both the Charter of the United Nations and the two international agreements on human rights recognize that “All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development” and that all States shall promote and respect this right in compliance with the Charter of the United Nations. In conformity with and by virtue of the exercise of this right, the Cuban people has established its Constitution and its laws.

No one has the right to question the constitutional order adopted by a people in the exercise of its sovereignty. Neither does anyone have the right to judge the actions of the Cuban people without taking into account the permanent and serious threat posed to its existence as an independent nation by the United State's hostility

In such circumstances, the Cuban people, like any other nation has the right to defend itself against the political, diplomatic, economic, commercial, financial, radio and television hostility inflicted on it for over four decades by the United States.

Were not special legislative provisions and decrees adopted and implemented by European nations to confront the threat posed by fascism to the region in the 1930s and 1940s? Why did no one question the demented, arch-repressive legal provisions and measures adopted by the United States and some Western European countries during the so-called “Cold War” against the alleged “communist” peril, many of which are still in effect?

Why does no one condemn the provisions of the Logan Law, included in chapter 45, title 18, part 1 of the US Code of Crimes and Criminal Procedure? This provision states that any US citizen anywhere who, without the authorization of the US government, directly or indirectly takes up or maintains any kind of correspondence with any foreign government, official or agent, in connection with any dispute or disagreement with the United States, shall be fined as per this provision, jailed for a period of up to three years or both.

The United States bans its citizens from having any form of correspondence with any foreign government in connection with any dispute or simple disagreement that affects them. At the same time, it expects Cuba to tolerate the recruitment of mercenaries and their activities, mercenaries who not only maintain correspondence with an imperialist power but also follow instructions from and carry out missions for it. The purpose of these missions is to implement the imperial power's hostile aggressive foreign policy to the detriment of the Cuban people and with the intention of overthrowing Cuba's legitimately elected authorities and destroying the constitutional order freely chosen by its people in a referendum.

The rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as set forth in article 29, cannot, in any case, be exercised in opposition to the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including sovereign equality, independence and the territorial integrity of all nations.

Asking Cuba to release from jail or reduce the severity of the sentences of those who were judged and convicted by competent and independent courts, in strict compliance with laws adopted by its Parliament, is tantamount to asking it to interfere with the way its judicial system works and would open the door to

impunity. This would violate not only Cuba's constitution and laws but also all existing principles and norms concerning the international law.

The case of the mercenaries tried and sanctioned for actions against the independence and integrity of the Cuban state.

The actions of mercenaries working for US anti-Cuban policies multiplied in 2003 after the superpower's government took decisions and issued orders pointing in that direction.

From the minute he arrived in Cuba in September 2002, the current head of the US Interests Section in Havana increased the frequency of the meetings with his mercenary agents recruited here. His meddling, provocative statements and actions which violate the elemental rules of diplomatic conduct also increased.

In an attempt to persuade them to cease their goading, illegal behavior, the US Interests Section and its head were advised, through diplomatic channels, that they were violating Cuban and international law. Nevertheless, the head of the US Interests Sections persisted in his activities, promoting new and more serious subversive acts.

Cuba was patient and tolerant, but the matter had reached a point which proved unacceptable to the nation's security, given the deliberate intention of continuing to encourage confrontational and subversive actions. Cuba could not permit the open disrespect for Cuban and international law to go on without punishment. Cuba had to protect the constitutional order established by its people and ensure that the authority of its legitimately elected government was respected. There was no alternative. We had to act in a sovereign, firm and lawful manner, as any other country in the world would have done.

Because of increasing frequency and the seriousness of the crimes committed by these individuals who were attacking the independence, territorial integrity and economy of the Cuban state, 75 of them were arrested on 18 and 19 March 2003 and tried on 4, 5 and 7 April of the same year.

Twenty-nine trials were held in Cuba, in several provinces, and every single one of the mercenaries was tried and sentenced in open court. The courts handed down jail sentences of 6 to 28 years. In spite of the serious nature of the crimes that were committed and the dangers to Cuba's national security these entail, no death penalty, nor life sentence was handed down, although anti-Cuba propaganda has falsely claimed this was so.

The police officers who detained the mercenaries did not use even a minimal amount of violence or force. The mercenaries did not resist arrest, since they were fully aware of the nature of the crimes they had committed and they no moral justification for nor legal principle to appeal to that would encourage them to resist arrest.

Today, most of these mercenaries are still in prison serving their sentences, although 14 of them were allowed to serve their sentences outside of a penal institution for purely humanitarian reasons.

All of those given jail sentences were involved in activities designed to overthrow the political, economic and social order chosen by the Cuban people and enshrined in the Republic's constitution. All of them were proven to be guilty of crimes directly aimed at damaging the nation's sovereignty. All did what they did on the orders of an imperialist power and paid by that power.

Not one of them was tried and sentenced for exercising or defending freedom of opinion or expression. The only common denominator they have is unbridled greed for money and contempt for their motherland and their people. All were guilty of serious crimes at the behest of the superpower which is trying to drive their people to its knees through hunger and disease. All were working for the imperial dreams of an administration that has brutally reinforced the over 40- year-long genocidal blockade and raised hostility and aggression towards Cuba, to unprecedented levels.

All acted to the detriment of the Cuban people's human rights, especially its right to self-determination, to peace and development and this crime was aggravated by the fact that they did so on the orders of and paid by those in the United States of America who want to fabricate an artificial crisis which will serve as a pretext for a military invasion of the island.

All were involved in cooking up false pretexts for making the US blockade on and hostile aggressive policy towards the Cuban people much harsher.

What, concretely, brought the 75 mercenaries before a judge?

- Systematic participation in meetings with US congress people and businessmen visiting the island, arranged by the US Interests Section in Havana, the aim of which was to obstruct the efforts of those in the United States who are working to have the genocidal blockade on Cuba relaxed or lifted. The mercenaries who were convicted have worked arduously in favor of the blockade on their people and against the implementation of successive resolutions of the UN General Assembly which have demanded —the last was backed by 179 Member States— that an end be put to this unilateral and illegal policy. That is to say, they have violated not only Cuba's legislation, but also the norms of customary International Law.

- Fabricating statistics, rumors or distorted information about Cuban economy and society, with the aim of encouraging the massive withdrawal of foreign investment in Cuba and of scaring off potential investors, thus reinforcing the deleterious impact of the US blockade on the human rights of the Cuban people. These mercenaries have gone as far as threatening foreign investors, warning them that, following the destruction of Cuba's current constitutional order, their investments would not be respected.

- Conspiring to destabilize the country and dismantle the constitutional order sovereignly chosen by the Cuban people, following the instructions of and using money and resources supplied by the U.S. Government and the anti-Cuban terrorist Miami mob. They have encouraged, organized and carried out plans aimed at fomenting upheaval, chaos and discontent in the population in the hopes of provoking a massive uprising that will do away with the nation's institutions or, at the very least, produce an image of nationwide anarchy that will provide the pretext for foreign intervention.

- Having accepted money and gifts from the government of the United States of America and the anti-Cuban terrorist Miami mob as payment for their criminal anti-Cuban services.

- Periodically supplying information to and having meetings with officials and agents of US intelligence services and well-known honchos and messengers of the anti-Cuban terrorist Miami mob. Obeying detailed instructions to find and deliver to the US Interests Section in Havana information of strategic and operational value relating to Cuba's economy and national security.

- Fabricating allegations to damage the country's image. These fabrications, sent to US agencies in exchange for money, were extensively used in the aggressive anti-Cuba media campaigns orchestrated by US governmental agencies. These campaigns have had a negative impact on the development of sectors vital to the country, such as tourism.

- Distorting Cuba's role in international cooperation in areas such as the fight against terrorism, against drugs, against traffic in persons or to promote and protect human rights. Repeating false allegations invented by US special services in order to keep Cuba on any list Washington puts out of states which behave badly.

- Inventing false news and rumors which prejudice the dignity of millions of Cubans and that of their elected representatives.

- Having perpetrated acts which place the physical and moral integrity of millions of Cubans at risk, as well as the independence that was won at the cost of the blood, pain and sacrifice of millions of Cuba's best citizens.

Several of the mercenaries sent to jail held "Free Access" passes to the US Interests Section in Havana, something embassies and others around the world reserve for their officials and employees.

Receipts and payrolls for cash remittances and payment in kind sent by the US government to its mercenaries were produced at the trials. These had been delivered in a variety of ways; some were sent through commercial companies; through anti-Cuban terrorist mob organizations based in Miami; using the services of messengers or "mules" who came to Cuba as "tourists", or money and goods were simply delivered directly by the officials of the US Interests Section in Havana.

For example, according to the receipts and bills confiscated, Oscar Espinosa Chepe received, between January 2002 and January 2003, at least \$7,154 from the US government and its agents. A total of \$13, 660, hidden in his home, were confiscated and he was unable to give any legal explanation for having this money.

Nearly \$5,000 dollars were confiscated from the home of another mercenary, Héctor Palacios; this money was given him as reward for his anti-Cuban actions in the service of the US government.

All the mercenaries were tried under the provisions of Article 91 of Cuba's Penal Code, Law 62 of 1987, and of Law No. 88 "Protection of Cuba's National Independence and Economy", the latter a law passed as a kind of antidote to the US policy of hostility towards Cuba and the Helms-Burton Act in particular.

It is worth reminding readers that Cuba is not the only country that criminalized collaboration with the extra-territorial enforcement of Helms-Burton Act. The European Union, for example, adopted regulations to this effect and another group of countries like Canada, Mexico and Argentina adopted laws that make any collaboration or compliance with the Helms-Burton Act a punishable offence.

The offence for which the mercenaries were condemned, *Acts against the independence or territorial integrity of the State*, is described in Article 91 of the Cuban Penal Code⁸⁶ and reads:

Article 91 : "*He or she who, in the service of a foreign state, acts with the objective of undermining the independence or territorial integrity of the Cuban State, shall receive a jail sentence of between 10 to 20 years, or the death penalty*".

The behavior and serious offences committed by the mercenaries who were condemned should have earned them far heavier sentences than those they received, as is legislated in many countries of the world.

The criminal trials were carried out summarily, by virtue of Law No. 5 of 1977, Law of Penal Proceedings. Summary trials were held in these cases in strict compliance with the law and because of the serious natures of the crimes committed.

A summary trial is held when the President of the Supreme Court uses his/her power to reduce the time allowed for trial; in no case does it curtail the due process of law. This type of proceedings exists in the legislations of more than 100 countries in the world, including the United States. In Cuba, its existence dates back to the 1888 Law of Criminal Procedure, which as the procedural law in force in Cuba until 1973, when new provisions were established which borrowed much from the previous law.

The mercenaries were not sentenced by the government; they were tried and sentenced by independent, competent courts in compliance with a due process of law.

The defendants exercised of their right to a defense counsel who, according to Cuban legislation, can be appointed by the defendant or, failing this, designated ex officio by the court. More than 80 % of the counsels for the defense were chosen by the accused. All of the defense lawyers had prior access to all records of the charges.

The seizure and confiscation of goods were all authorized by a court warrant and always carried out following proof of the illegal origin of these goods.

⁸⁶ This offence was not created by the Cuban Revolution. This article has been part of the Cuban penal law since the Social Defense Code of 1936, drafted during the time when the country was under the United States' neo-colonial control. This code had itself borrowed important provisions and definition of crimes from the Penal Code that was in effect in Cuba when the latter was a Spanish colony.

There isn't a shred of evidence suggesting that any form of coercion, pressure, threat or blackmail was used to obtain the accused' statements and confessions.

The accused exercised of their right to be heard in a trial before existing courts. To judge them, no special, ad hoc court was created. As per Cuban law, their trials were held in the relevant Provincial courts.

The accused were brought before judges who had been appointed before any charges were laid, judges who already held office and were working in the relevant courts. No judge was appointed summarily and no court was specifically set up to judge a case.

Each of the mercenaries who were sentenced was given an oral hearing in which they were heard by competent courts and judges, and were able to exercise their rights to have a legal defense and to present witnesses and expert testimony that could be examined by defense attorneys.

The hearings were not only oral but also public. On average, about there were about 100 people present at each trial, that is to say, nearly 3,000 people in total, most of whom were relatives, as well as witnesses, experts and other interested Cuban citizens.

The accused and their defense attorneys exercise of the right to adduce any evidence and call any defense witness they deemed necessary, in addition to those presented by the investigative officers and the prosecution. The defense attorneys called 28 witnesses who had not been called by the prosecution; of these, 22, a clear majority, were authorized by the courts to take the stand. All of the defense attorneys had prior access to the prosecution's records.

As established in Cuba's legislation and as the accused were told at their trials, all of the accused had the right —exercised by most of them— to appeal to a court higher than that which sentenced them, in this case, the Supreme Court.

No one was tried for the enjoyment of any of the rights recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. No one was condemned for exercising or defending freedom of opinion, expression or association.

The mercenaries who were convicted were neither independent unionists nor journalists, far less librarians, as the enemies of the Cuban Revolution have repeated ad nauseam.

Not one of them was even a journalist, much less independent. Not one reported was really happened; they made things up or simply distorted the facts, with malice aforethought, on the orders of and paid by Washington. More than one of the "independent journalists" can scarcely write more than a line without making grammar or spelling mistakes. They were not independent because they were hired hands following the orders of a foreign government which acted as censor, editor and monopoly owner both of the media that published their work and of their minds.

Not one of them was a union leader nor could have been, because the overwhelming majority of those convicted had not, of their own free will, been employed for several years. They lived off the money that they received for carrying out mercenary missions for the US government and the Cuban American terrorist mob in Miami. Not one of them had any contact whatsoever with a worker's collective or group within Cuba; ergo, they could not have held any union-related office. No group of workers ever elected them as the representatives of its interests.

The supposed existence of "independent librarians" in Cuba is a joke, utter nonsense. Few countries in the world have created as many public libraries as has Cuba, with their full catalogues of books to be utilized free of charge by anyone who's interested. Few countries have published as many volumes by authors from the most diverse regions of the world and sold them at prices as low as Cuba does.

Not counting the libraries that operate today in practically all schools and universities, nearly 400 public libraries provide free services throughout Cuba. In the 2004 International Book Fair alone, 5,000,000 copies were sold in 34 of the nation's cities at prices far lower than in any other place in the world, including over 1,000 volumes of the world's best literature.

Following in situ studies on alleged “independent librarians” in Cuba, professional international and American organizations have corroborated the absence of truth in allegations circulated by anti-Cuba campaigns. Not one of the convicted mercenaries is a librarian, let alone an independent one.

At the General Assembly of the International Federation of Library Associations held in Boston, U.S.A. in 2001, a resolution passed with over 86 % of votes and at the proposal of American and Cuban librarians contained the decision that we should “urge the US government to share information materials widely in Cuba, especially with Cuba’s libraries, and not just with ‘*individuals and independent non-governmental organizations*’ that represent US political interests” (See: Web page of Cuba's Jose Martí National Library, http://www.bnjm.cu/bnjm/espanol/index_e.asp and web page of *Librinsula* , digital publication of the Jose Martí National Library relating to this topic, <http://www.bnjm.cu/librinsula/2004/febrero/08/ndex.htm>.)

The aforementioned resolution clearly described the supposed “independent librarians” as representatives of US political interests in Cuba. Furthermore, it urged the Government of the United States to put an end to the harmful practice of denying the vast majority of Cuban citizens access to the US literature they were interested in, and, in particular, of denying a sector as sensitive as healthcare access to scientific and academic publications.

This resolution was backed by the special reports that the IFLA’s Committee on Free Access to Information and Freedom of Expression (FAIFE) submitted in 1999 and 2001, as well as by reports on FAIFE’s and ALA’s (American Librarian Association) visit to Cuba, when they toured freely round the country and its libraries.

The paper “US Fund for Dissidence and the ‘Independent Libraries Project’ in Cuba” presented by Rhonda L. Neugebauer, a University of California, Riverside bibliographer at the Cuba Today Panel of the Pacific Coast Council for Latin American Studies held at Los Angeles’ East University from 8 to 9 November 2002, detailed the experiences she and Larry Orberg, librarian at the Willamette University had when they visited over a dozen of the so-called “independent libraries” and many public libraries in Cuba in 2000.

What follows is an excerpt from this talk:

“(…) By interviewing the owners of these ‘libraries’, we discovered that these ‘libraries’ were carefully chosen drop-off and contact points for staff from the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba and others who visited them on a regular basis to deliver money and materials. We also discovered that by accepting anti-government materials and by increasing the number of ‘libraries’, the ‘librarians’ qualified for a monthly stipend —‘for services rendered’— as one of them put it”.

“Our interviews with these ‘librarians’ contradicted a good deal of the campaign that their U.S. financiers had orchestrated, and established the fact that the communiqués circulated in the U.S. about these ‘libraries’ were intentionally misleading and politically motivated (…)”.

Some of the common features that the author described to identify the mercenaries who called themselves “independent librarians” are:

“(…) They have served no jail time for their activities as librarians; rather any jail time has resulted from illegal activities and from their work organizing political operations run from abroad”.

“They are aware of the political, financial and diplomatic connections of their work has with the U.S. Government (…)”.

Freedom of opinion and expression are fully realized in Cuba. There are no illiterate people. The access to the widest variety of information is made easy for all citizens, so that each person may decide what is true by her or himself. Private national or transnational monopolies of information and communications, such as those that in other countries push the ideas and points of view of the ruling elites, are banned by law.

Cuba is working very hard on a program to bring general, all-round education to the people, so that they will be able to successfully prevent the penetration of the ideological and cultural imperialism which relies on US information and entertainment transnationals.

In Cuba everyone has access to the means of information and communications all of which are used to serve society's most crucial needs and the education of children and young people in a spirit of social justice, liberty, equality and human solidarity.

Medical care given to the mercenaries in prison. The truth about some of the cases used to in anti-Cuba media campaigns.

The human dignity and physical and psychological integrity of the convicted mercenaries has been strictly respected. While in prison, they have enjoyed the same extensive benefits as all of Cuba's prison population (See Chapter 17, Part III of this document.)

The allegation of violations of the human rights of any of the mercenaries is absolutely untrue.

No convicted mercenary has suffered corporal punishment, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, humiliation or mistreatment of any kind. Not one of them has had his or her food or drinking water reduced nor have they been deprived of or given only limited access to the excellent medical services which are provided completely free of charge to all Cubans in jail.

There is no discrimination whatsoever in the way that the mercenaries are treated in comparison with the rest of the prison population because of the crimes for which they were justly brought to trial or the sentences that the court handed down. When there has been a need, all of them have been given the appropriate medical care and treatment and enjoy those benefits and rights established by the laws and regulations that govern the penitentiary system.

The right to be visited by their families, to be able to make phone calls and to exchange letters is also respected. Every one of them has enough time everyday to do physical exercises in the open air.

Their right to be visited by a minister of the religion they profess has been respected and this right has been exercised effectively by those who have requested to do so.

The mercenaries' right to the use of conjugal blocks for marital visits has been respected. They are also allowed to have access to the mass media, particularly television and can watch it until the stations go off the air at night.

All of the convicted mercenaries enjoy good quality medical care and treatment, including emergency medical services on a permanent basis, dental treatment and consultations with specialists.

Highly qualified doctors and nurses have cared for the mercenaries whenever they have complained of pains or symptoms of illness, or whenever their relatives, guards or officials from various areas of the prison or even other inmates have asked for or suggested that a mercenary requires medical care and attention.

If it has been necessary mercenaries have been admitted to the penal wards in ordinary public hospitals, where they have been provided with access to all the most up to date technologies and medicines developed by Cuba.

If a doctor has prescribed a special diet for any mercenary in jail, he or she has been provided with that diet. Most of the ailments from which the mercenaries suffer had developed prior to their arrest.

Whenever an imprisoned mercenary has fallen ill, his or her relatives have received regular information from medical personnel on the way the illness is progressing, the treatment the patient is receiving and what medicines are being prescribed. Each and every concern expressed by relatives and friends has been responded and attended to.

The nature of the Cuban penitentiary system, its health care sub-system and the benefits and rights inmates enjoy were seen by some members of the diplomatic corps serving in Cuba during the visits that were made to several prisons in October 2004. A wide-spectrum of information was provided on these visits and diplomats had face to face meetings with male and female prisoners.

It becomes more and more difficult for Washington politicians to keep their lies and disinformation campaign about their mercenaries in Cuba going.

The recent release from prison of 14 of the mercenaries who were given leave to serve non-penal sentences for health reasons dealt a heavy blow to anti-Cuban media campaigns. Not one of the 14 has been able to show any credible evidence of having been mistreated, humiliated or degraded in any way whatsoever. The health of none of them suffered as result of prison conditions or the treatment they were given in jail. Not one of them has been able to cite a single occasion when they were denied or restricted in their access to medical care.

It should be pointed out that the decision to grant the 14 leave to serve non-penal sentences was based only on strictly humanitarian grounds. All of the mercenaries were given the opportunity to voluntarily undergo the medical examinations necessary to determine which of them should be allowed to serve non-penal sentences.

A case that appeared most often in anti-Cuban campaigns was that of **Martha Beatriz Roque Cabello**. It was alleged that there were deficiencies in the medical treatment she was given.

Just like all the other mercenaries, she was tried for her mercenary activities on behalf of the United States and its policies of hostility and aggression towards Cuba. She had close conspiratorial ties to officials in the US Interests Section in Havana. She performed acts intended to destroy the constitutional order chosen by the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people in a referendum. It was proved in a public trial that she had received money and orders for the United States government and from Miami anti-Cuban terrorist mob organizations.

She was one of the people chosen by the USINT to attend meetings with US officials, congresspeople and businesspeople who were visiting Cuba. The aim of these meeting was to discourage any change in the US government's anti-Cuban policies. Her file contains documents, — receipts— concerning the money delivered to Roque Cabello from the US government.

She was frequently present at conspiratorial meetings with two successive heads of the USINT, Vicky Huddlestone and James Cason. These include those that took place on the following dates:

- 04/07/2002 and 30/08/2002 at the home of the then USINT head, Vicky Huddlestone; on 16/09/2002 and 30/10/2002 at the same place, only now James Cason was the USINT head.
- On 19/12/2002 with James Cason at the USINT.
- On 22/01/2003 at the house of USINT official, Gonzalo Gallegos.

She was often visited at home by USINT officials including:

- On 24/09/2002 by Ricardo Zúñiga, the second secretary, economic/political.
- On 21/11/2002 by the USINT head James Cason and the second secretary, economic/political, Ricardo Zúñiga.
- On 10/12/2002 by Gonzalo Gallegos, an official.
- On 24/02/2003 by James Cason, Ricardo Zúñiga and Gonzalo Gallegos.

When Roque Cabello was imprisoned, the US government orchestrated a huge media farce around the state of her health and denounced the Cuban authorities for not providing her with the medical attention she needed.

Every one of the allegations invented about this case are completely untrue. The minute she was imprisoned, she was given an initial medical examination, a dental check-up, additional tests including a haemogram, VDRL and HIV-AIDS serology, all of which came back negative. Nutritional monitoring was begun and her vaccination status was brought up to date.

As a result of these tests it was determined that even before she was jailed, Roque Cabello had been suffering from arterial hypertension, compensated diabetes mellitus type II, hypertensive cardiopathy with a complete blockage of the right branch and osteoarthritis in the spine and right knee

Based on these diagnoses and while she was in prison, Roque Cabello was examined by a specialist in internal medicine every fortnight and by the prison doctor every week. She was seen by specialists in surgery, orthopedics, urology, gynecology, physiotherapy, cardiology, endocrinology and others.

Roque Cabello had periodic contact with her relatives, who received precise and detailed information from the prison doctor about her medical condition and the treatment that she was receiving.

Readers must be reminded that according to information provided by Cuban prison authorities, in July of 2003, Roque Cabello began refusing the medical care, the medicines and diet that she was being provided with in prison, accepting only those that were delivered or sent by her relatives.

On 22 July 2003, she was transferred to the penal ward in the Carlos J. Finlay Military Hospital, where she was visited once a week by her relatives. On 8 and 10 July 2003 she once again refused her food, and objected to having a black prisoner put in the same cell.

On 27 July she was given a computerized axial tomography of the thorax and an electrocardiogram when she complained of chest pains. Both came back with negative results that is to say neither revealed any life-threatening complications, although this is what anti-Cuban propaganda campaigns have claimed. The doctors prescribed her the appropriate diet and medication.

That same day, 27 July, when her niece, Maria de los Ángeles Falcón Cabello visited, the ward sister explained her aunt's condition to her, the treatment prescribed, the test results, the analyses already completed and the new tests that were to be carried out.

On 28 July, a new medical check-up determined that her vital signs were stable but that her blood sugar levels remained high, in view of which the doctors decided that she should remain under intermediate care and begin a diet for diabetics.

In the following months and until she was granted leave to serve a non-penal sentence, Roque Cabello was given additional tests, including those for glycaemia, an ultrasound, vaginal examinations and urine tests.

While she was in prison she enjoyed the same extensive rights and benefits as the rest of the prison population. She had 30 family visits, numerous telephone calls and visits from a minister of religion. Her family was allowed to supply her with food products once a week, and there were no limitations placed on either weight or kind. From 15 March 2004 on she was given permission to have a television set in her cell in the penal ward in the Carlos J. Finlay Military Hospital.

When she was granted leave to serve a non-penal sentence Roque Cabello was diagnosed as having non severe arterial hypertension with cardiovascular repercussions, compensated hypertensive cardiopathy, non cardiovascular pain in the thorax, diabetes mellitus type II, fibromialgia and mammary dysplasia.

The medical treatment indicated for her condition is a 1800 calorie diabetic diet plus a basal formula of meat, atenolol, ranitidine, glyburide, vitamins A, C and E, frenal, voltaren and benadryl.

Roque Cabello was granted leave to serve a non-penal sentence on 23 July 2004. Before being discharged from hospital she was examined by doctors who told her what treatment she should follow from a clinical point of view in order to keep her ailments under control. When she was granted leave, her condition was stable, her vital signs were within the range of normal and her general health was good.

Another case that has been much bandied about is that of **Raul Ramón Rivero Castañeda**.

He was also tried for his mercenary activities on behalf of the United States and its policies of hostility and aggression towards Cuba. He performed acts intended to destroy the Cuban constitutional order. It was proved in a public trial that he had received money and orders from the United States Government and from

anti-Cuban terrorist mob organizations in Miami. He had close conspiratorial ties to officials in the US Interests Section in Havana.

Among Raul Ramón Rivero Castañeda's **most** outstanding journalistic and intellectual merits is that of having been one of those who signed and promoted a letter supporting the Helms-Burton Act which strengthened the blockade on Cuba and increased the plans, ways and means of destroying the Cuban constitutional order.

His file contains proof of money received from abroad, mostly from the US government and evidence of his links with the USINT and with former CIA agent, Frank Calzón.

Examples of his conspiratorial meetings with USINT diplomats include:

- Meeting at Vicky Huddleston's — the then head of USINT— house with David Mustelier who is the man in charge of Cuban affairs at USAID.
- Meeting at Gonzalo Gallegos' house on 15 May 2002. Gallegos is a USINT official.
- Working lunch at Vicky Huddleston's house.
- Meeting called by James Cason —current head of USINT— at his home on 16 September 2002. Five other USINT officials were present.
- Meeting called by James Cason on 19 December 2002 at the USINT. 12 other USINT diplomats were in attendance.

The minute he was imprisoned, Rivero Castañeda was given an initial medical examination, a dental check-up, additional tests including a haemogram, VDRL and HIV-AIDS serology, all of which came back negative. Nutritional monitoring was begun and his vaccination status was brought up to date.

As a result of these tests, medical authorities at the penal institution determined that Rivero Castañeda had already been suffering from peripheral arterial insufficiency, exogenous obesity, a multi-cystic right kidney and lymphangitis in his lower limbs before he was jailed.

Based on these diagnoses, Rivero Castañeda was examined by a doctor every week, as programmed, and when he demanded to be looked at. He was examined by specialists in internal medicine, general surgery, angiology, and nephrology.

Between 22 February and 1 March 2004 he was taken to the penal ward at the Ciego de Avila Provincial Hospital and later moved to the Canaleta prison in that province.

When in the Ciego de Avila Provincial Hospital other medical tests were done. He was once again examined by angiology and nephrology specialists who confirmed that his ailments were stable and recommended that he be monitored every six months with ultrasounds and kidney function tests and a consultation in the National Prisoners Hospital in November 2004 in order to bring everything up to date. When he was in the latter hospital, he was visited by his wife.

Additional tests carried out while he was in prison include haemoglobin, creatine, AC uric, leukogram, TGP, Chest X-ray, EKG, abdominal ultrasounds, BAAR sputum, erythro, haematocrit, TGO, Phosphate ALC, cholesterol, triglyceride, P urine and other tests.

He was also given an electrocardiogram and an echocardiogram the results of both of which were normal.

While he was in prison she enjoyed the same extensive rights and benefits as the rest of the prison population. These included 8 family visits, use of the conjugal pavilions on five occasions, numerous telephone calls (100 minutes a month and three extra calls) and 3 visits from a minister of religion. Every time his family visited him, he was allowed to eat with them and they were allowed to bring him a food basket weighing 40 pounds every time they came.

When he was granted leave to serve a non-penal sentence Rivero was diagnosed as having exogenous obesity, chronic uncomplicated bronchitis and a multi-cystic right kidney. The treatment he was prescribed was a 1800 calorie diet, physical exercises three times a week, such as walking for 30 or 40 minutes and measured doses of daflon, aspirin and multivitamins.

Rivero was granted leave to serve a non-penal sentence on 1 December 2004 on health grounds. When this leave was granted his condition was stable, he had normal vital signs and his general health was good.

All leave to serve a non-penal sentence was based on rigorous medical criteria.

Granting leave to serve non-penal sentences to those individuals once again demonstrates the Cuban Revolution's magnanimous nature, its profound humanism and the lack of resentment or hatred that inspires its behavior. As we have said earlier, the Cuban Revolution has given irrefutable proof of this over the course of history. In the Sierra Maestra, the Rebel Army shared the little medicine and food it had to give equal care to wounded or ill revolutionaries and captured soldiers from Batista's army. Is there any clearer example of this humane kind of treatment than that given to the mercenaries captured after the Bay of Pigs invasion was defeated?

Leave to serve a non-penal sentence is a permit which is issued on justifiable grounds and can last as long as is deemed necessary. Article 31 of the Cuban Penal Code refers to how the leave is granted. Section 3 paragraph b) and section 4 of that article read as follows:

(...) 3. *In those cases sentenced to non-life sentences:*

(...)b) the court which handed down the sentence can, on justifiable grounds and on prior request grant leave to serve a non-penal sentence for as long as is deemed necessary. The Ministry of the Interior can also issue such leave, on extraordinary grounds, and must communicate this to the President of the People's Supreme Court.

4. The duration of the leaves to serve non-penal sentences and of the passes for leaving a penitentiary establishment to which the previous section refers, are subtracted from the duration of the prison term, provided that the conduct of the inmate while on leave or a pass has been good. Similarly, the sentence reductions that have been granted to the inmate while he or she is serving his or her sentence are also subtracted from the sentence.

The fact that this kind of leave is regulated by Cuban penal law and since it has been effectively used in cases where it is required, is yet more proof of the profoundly humane nature of the Cuban penitentiary system. Respect for the law is part of the culture and informs the conduct of Cuban authorities.

How different the Cuban penitentiary system is from US jails or the veritable concentration camps that are situated in the US Naval Base in Guantánamo!

How different the human and respectful treatment afforded to inmates in Cuban prisons is from the torture and systematic humiliation afforded to prisoners in Iraq by US troops!

What huge differences there are between the treatment these mercenaries have been given in jail and that given to the five Cubans unjustly incarcerated in US prisons for fighting against terrorism!

Abiding strictly by reason and law, and rigorously respecting the dignity and physical and psychological integrity of all human beings, Cuba will continue to adopt any measures necessary to defend its people from the US government's policy of hostility, blockade and aggression.

The mercenaries working for the policies of a foreign power that want to destroy the constitutional order established by the Cuban people will never be granted impunity in Cuba as they would be given no impunity in any other sovereign state which protects and respects the will of its people.

Cuban laws establish the framework of punishment for those who transgress the law. The Cuban government will enforce provisions set forth in the laws passed by the National Assembly of People's Power in

representation and after consultation with the people. The Cuban constitution and laws embody the sovereign will of the entire Cuban population and nobody can place him or herself above them.

Cuba knows that right and justice are on its side.

CHAPTER 6: RADIO-ELECTRONIC AGGRESSION PERPETRATED BY THE UNITED STATES AGAINST CUBA

Background to a silent war

At the beginning of the 20th century, then-infant American imperialism began using state-of-the-art transmission equipment in support of its policies of propaganda, interference and intervention. In this first stage of imperial penetration and domination, radio played a role of first importance. The process began with the first US transmissions to Cuba, under the auspices of the Pan American Union, on May 25, 1924.

Incompatible interference in medium-wave transmission between Cuba and the United States dates back long before 1959. In the 1930s, Cuban radio stations with their inefficient, low power aerials were affected by interference in their territories by US stations with more powerful transmitters and highly efficient aerial systems.

In 1937, Havana was host to the Regional Conference on Radio Communications, at which the 16 nations represented there set up the Inter-American Radio Communications Office (OIR) and assigned frequencies across three different zones of the American continent. US interests were behind the holding of the conference and negotiated from positions of strength to impose a technological infrastructure designed to perpetuate the privileges enjoyed by the American stations, both within and beyond their territories.

The documents signed in Havana on December 13, 1937 included the Inter-American Convention on Radiocommunication, the Inter-American Radiocommunication Arrangement and the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement (NARBA).

The last-mentioned document regulated medium-wave broadcasting in the region defined as North America, comprising Canada, Cuba, the United States, Haiti, Mexico, Newfoundland and the Dominican Republic.

The agreement defined 105 broadcasting channels, divided into clear channels, regional channels and local channels. These were shared out as follows: Canada 14, Cuba 9, United States 63, Haiti 1, Mexico 15, Newfoundland 2 and the Dominican Republic 1.

Thanks to its more developed broadcasting media, the United States obtained control over 50% of the entire waveband under this agreement, mostly represented by stations in the 'clear channels', which meant an interference-free service over wide areas of both the broadcasting country and its nearest neighbors.

This distribution obliged the signatory countries to provide protection for large service zones defined by the US Trade Secretary's technical personnel.

In Cuba's case, further development of its national broadcasting network was hamstrung by the financial burden implied by the need to install complex, expensive networks of directional antennae to comply with the protection terms in the regional agreement, by curtailing signals transmitted towards the United States. Only very small, low-power local stations with a consequently much-reduced service area could be installed, with simple, low-cost antennae.

Following several postponements, on September 13, 1949, the third regional conference was held in Montreal, Canada. It continued without a break until 8th December of that year, on which date it was suspended because an agreement could not be reached between Cuba and the United States.

The conference re-convened in August of the following year to review the allocation of frequencies, power levels and station locations, and was attended by the United States, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, Bahamas and the Dominican Republic. The event concluded with the adoption of the NARBA, involving the allocation of a total of 3,085 stations.

The United States received 80% of these (2,402). Cuba obtained 116, representing just 3%. Allocations within the US were distributed among the 106 available channels. Cuba had access to 81 channels.

The key aspect of the new agreement was the grossly unequal distribution of precedence (the protection rights relating to the broadcasters' service areas).

Under the 1950 NARBA agreement, the United States secured virtual dominance of the medium wave in the area, and hence the ability to launch radio-wave assaults on Cuba and other nations in the region.

The case of Voice of America and Radio Swan

As the Cuban government has revealed in a wide variety of international fora, successive US administrations have deployed their vast economic and technological resources in attacking Cuba by radio and electronic means, ever since the victory of the Cuban Revolution on January 1, 1959. First by means of illegal radio transmission and later by television broadcasts as well, America has constantly invaded Cuba's airwaves with programs specifically designed to overturn the constitutional order established by the Cuban people. No other country in the world has been subjected for so long by a foreign power to such a barrage of lies and incitement to destruction and hatred.

Planned, equipped and financed by US power centers that never gave up hope of reestablishing their neocolonial domination of Cuba, in conspiracy and collusion with the terrorist mob of Cuban origin based on the superpower's territory, aggressions by radio and electronic means is a key element of Washington's policy towards the Cuban people of hostility, blockade and aggressions.

These illegal radio and television broadcasts use false accusation, distortion and scurrilous propaganda in attempts to sow doubt and discontent with their Revolution among the Cuban people, inciting disobedience to the nation's constitutional order and confrontation with their authorities, as well as illegal emigration by Cubans, putting their lives at risk. In short, they are trying to promote an artificial crisis to serve as a pretext for launching military intervention and a war of conquest on Cuba.

The use of radio as a weapon of war and subversion has been a routine practice of the US State Department since the end of the 1950s, when Leonard Marks and Frank Shakespeare, noted anticommunist ideologists, were put in charge of the US Information Agency (USIA).

The aggression by radio on revolutionary Cuba began officially on March 21, 1960, with a new, Spanish-language broadcast by the Voice of America (VOA). The VOA is one of the USIA's key agencies for propaganda, manipulation and psychological and ideological warfare.

The new programming was aimed at Cuba, although it was cynically described as for 'the whole continent'. Its content reflected the growing hostility of the US administrations of the day towards the revolutionary transformations that were taking place in Cuba.

As an official US station, *the Voice of America* suffered from certain limitations as a vehicle for the propaganda needs and expectations of applying the policy of undeclared war on the Cuban Revolution. It was undesirable - since it would provide evidence for charges against the US authorities - that the VOA should broadcast a certain type of material about Cuba, such as direct incitement to rebellion or instructions for carrying out terrorist operations.

So on May 17, 1960, a commercial, subversive radio station - *Radio Swan* - was launched, to broadcast material designed to encourage and guide the terrorists then operating on Cuban soil.

Radio Swan was launched on a frequency carefully chosen to penetrate all parts of Cuba and interfere as little as possible with the other US stations. It was a clandestine operation and, as such, was never recorded on the register of frequencies maintained by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU)⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ The International Telegraphic Union was founded in Paris in 1865. Its current name, International Telecommunications Union (ITU) was adopted at the Plenipotentiary Conference held in Madrid in 1932. The ITU is an international organization headquartered in Geneva, created to promote efficiently functioning telecommunications around the world.

According to documents made public in 1980, *Radio Swan* cost the CIA between \$400,000 and \$500,000 a month, putting out programming in three sessions: morning, evening and night-time, with an average total daily airtime of 8-12 hours.

Shortly before the mercenary invasion of the Bay of Pigs, *Radio Swan* was equipped with an additional transmitter in the international 49-meter shortwave band, which operated at 6,000 kHz and was also directed towards Cuba.

The content of *Radio Swan*'s broadcasts became more and more openly aggressive, involving incitement to various forms of terrorism, including economic sabotage, destruction of administrative and services facilities, assassination of the key revolutionary leaders, etc.

On April 17, 1961, at the start of the mercenary invasion of the Bay of Pigs organized, funded and directed by the US government, *Radio Sed* by the US government, Radio Sdirect support and guidance to the counterrevolution and the aggressors.

Following the resounding victory of the Cuban people over the mercenary invaders at the Bay of Pigs, the CIA decided to change the name - '*Radio Swan*' having been totally discredited - to Radio America, "the Voice of Truth for the whole Continent". It continued to broadcast anti-Cuba propaganda until cuts in the Agency's large budget for operations against Cuba caused its demise in the mid 1960s.

During the Cuban Missile Crisis, the United States stepped up the use of radio as a weapon of psychological warfare against Cuba, via the "Jacobs Plan". This entailed the urgent installation of two new medium-wave transmitters - respectively using the frequencies 1,180 and 1,040 kHz - in the southern Florida Keys.

These installations marked a new stage in the assault on Cuba by radio, by attacking directly from US territory in the medium waveband, in the expectation of considerably enlarging its Cuban audience.

The ill-named *Radio Martí*

The rise of the Reagan administration and the upturn in hostility and aggression towards the Cuban people were accompanied by a renewal of official broadcasts specifically aimed at Cuba.

A serious affront to the dignity and historic and patriotic heritage of the Cuban nation, the station responsible for these broadcasts designed to further the perennial aim of annexing Cuba, was given the name of none other than Cuba's national hero, José Martí, by the representatives of the imperialist government.

The broadcasts of the *Special Programs Service of the Voice of America: Radio Martí* have remained, from their beginnings, a key component of the psychological, ideological and propaganda war waged by successive US administrations on the Cuban people.

The hegemonic superpower's victory in the Cold War - which some dubbed 'World War III' - in particular the collapse of so called 'real socialism' in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, misled the triumphant Empire's strategists into believing that the methods of ideological warfare used against socialism in that part of the world would be equally effective for destroying the Cuban Revolution.

Of the 20 stations that put out subversive programs targeting the Cuban Revolution, 14 are directed specifically at Cuba. Two of the latter are owned by the US government: the ill-named *Radio* and *Television Martí*, which under the 2005 Consolidated Appropriations Act received funding of \$26.7 million.

Several of the stations are owned by or serve organizations backed by or otherwise directly linked to terrorist elements residing in, operating and acting with total impunity against Cuba from US territory, whose activities have been denounced in various UN fora concerned with combating terrorism, and officially to US government.

The document known as 'Santa Fe I', which became the Republican Party's program platform, clearly states the motives for setting up the ill-named *Radio Martí* (originally planned to be called '*Radio Cuba Libre*'):

“(...) Havana must be held accountable for its policy of aggression against sister nations in America. Among other measures, the United States will be openly responsible for setting up Cuba Libre radio, which will broadcast objective information for the Cuban people...if propaganda fails, a war of liberation against Castro must be waged (...)”.

What impartial observer with an elementary knowledge of the events of the last hundred years would believe that the United States - master of disinformation and lies - would spend a single dollar on broadcasting "objective information" to the Cuban people? What chance is there that they would do so, these political mouthpieces of an empire that with its genocidal blockade denies the Cuban people the opportunity of exchanging information and ideas, which visits to Cuba by American tourists would bring? Isn't this incredibly cynical and hypocritical, given that these same political forces, now riding high in the Bush administration, have increased the obstacles and prohibitions affecting educational, cultural and scientific exchanges between Cubans and Americans?

The ill-named *Radio* and *Television Martí* do not broadcast information, on the contrary, they falsify and distort it. They have no interest in values such as objectivity or adherence to the truth. They broadcast deliberate, premeditated falsehoods with the aim of inciting hatred and destruction.

Article 30, Section 1, No.2666 of the 1990 edition of the ITU rules, as amended in 1994, stipulates that AM broadcasting should be envisaged as a national, high-quality service within the borders of the country concerned. This means that even from the technical and operational point of view, the ill-named *Radio Martí's* broadcasts infringe the relevant internationally-accepted standards. Its transmissions at 1,180 kHz are illegal, crudely and damagingly invading Cuba's broadcast territory.

Radio Martí's short-wave broadcasts - on 13 frequencies - are also illegal, in that their content contravenes principles enshrined in the ITU Constitution and Convention, which include the statement in its Preamble that "the short-wave broadcasts should facilitate peaceful relations and international cooperation among peoples".

While trying to convince the unsuspecting of a bogus purpose for their ideologies - by attempting to 'universalize' the patterns and dogmas of a doctrine designed to serve the interests of hegemonic domination by imperial circles of political, economic and military power -, the US government squanders millions of taxpayers' dollars in order to impose a permanent climate of hostility and the threat of war on the Cuban people.

One could not say, based on the experience of the Cuban people over the last ten years that the Cold War has ended, it has merely been 'tropicalized'. With the aggravating factor of the emboldening and arrogance of the superpower, the hostility and aggression of the Bush administration towards Cuba have exceeded the limits of "Lukewarm War", with its repeated and escalating threats of reaching boiling point.

Invisible television

Shortly after the revolutionary triumph in Cuba, the United States began to lay plans for using television to support its assault on the Cuban Revolution, based on the progress made in introducing television in the country and their complete technical knowledge of the equipment installed here (made in the US).

In 1962, the USIA drew up an anti-Cuba propaganda plan involving the use of two DC6 aircraft flying at 18,000 feet, very close to Cuban airspace. The project was shelved, but was revived during the Carter administration, when Prof. George Chester of the University of Maryland, proposed the variant of transmission from Key West via an unused Cuban channel.

Under the Reagan administration, the US Congress considered for the first time a plan for feasibility studies on TV broadcasting to Cuba for the purposes of political, ideological and propaganda-based aggression. The Miami-based Cuban-American terrorist mob actively participated in the lobbying for and support of this enterprise.

In 1989, the House and the Senate each passed important resolutions giving the go-ahead for the TV station once transmission testing had been satisfactorily concluded.

The variant chosen was a captive balloon carrying a transmitter of some 10,000 watts, to be maintained at 10-14,000 feet in the Cudjoe Key area.

The TV signal would be generated in Miami and transmitted to a ground station on Cudjoe Key and relayed to Cuba via the transmitter in the balloon's gondola.

Well in advance and by every available channel, Cuba did everything in its power politically and diplomatically to dissuade the US government from this new escalation in aggression of this type, including writing a letter to the President of the UN Security Council. Cuba indicated its willingness to negotiate an agreement covering the exchange of television programs and broadcasts.

On March 27, 1990, the assault by television began. The signal was neutralized within 10 minutes of reaching Cuban television sets. The attack has been repelled every day since then, although the time during which the signal is observed has declined from ten minutes to sixty seconds.

On July 27, 1990, the Bush (Sr.) administration submitted a report to Congress on *Tele Martí's* 'trial period'. It included the fact that Cuba was succeeding in systematically jamming the broadcasts, that the international authority for frequency registration had certified the illegality of the measure and that international reaction had been unfavorable to the United States. President Bush (Sr) ordered that the broadcasts continue nevertheless.

The United States tries to disguise its shameless aggression towards the sovereignty and dignity of the Cuban people by claiming that its TV broadcasts do not result in interference in Cuba because they go out at a time when the Cuban television is off the air. They cynically conceal the fact that our transmitters are licensed to provide service round the clock.

It is not only that America targets Cuba with television programming full of lies, distortions of history and of the current situation, deeply offensive to the Cuban nation's aspirations for independence and justice, but it also tries to curtail the exercise of the people's right to self-determination by preventing it from freely administering its radio frequencies - like any other country - and deciding the basis and schedule for radio and television services within its borders.

Radio- and television-based aggression towards Cuba demonstrates not just the insanity of their policy of hostility and aggression towards the Cuban people, but also the US government's utter contempt for the rules and principles of international law which regulate relations between states.

The US war on the Cuban people by radio and electronic means directly contravenes the letter and spirit of the following international accords:

- The precepts and principles enshrined in the UN charter and in numerous international treaties, notably those relating to equality of sovereignty among all states and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations.
- The declaration of the principles of international law regarding relations of friendship and cooperation between states, under Resolution 2625 (XXV) adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1970.
- The International Telecommunications Treaty and the ITU rules on radiocommunications, specifically number 23.3 restricting TV broadcasting beyond national boundaries.
- Article 1 of both the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, passed by the UN General Assembly in December 1966.
- The declaration of the basic principles for contribution by the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, promoting human rights and the campaign against racist, apartheid and incitement to war, proclaimed at the 20th meeting of the UNESCO General Conference on November 28, 1978.
- Resolution 37/92 of December 10, 1982 of the UN General Assembly, which defined the principles governing nations' use of artificial satellites for direct international TV transmission.

A qualitatively new stage in TV-based aggression began on November 20, 1997, with the start of broadcasts by the ill-named *Tele Martí* in the UHF waveband. The Cuban people again responded effectively, neutralizing the subversive signal within a matter of minutes.

Repeated attempts to use the surprise factor by changing channel or transmission times have not been of the least benefit to the aggressor.

The escalation of US aggression towards Cuba by radio and electronic means promoted by President Bush

On May 6, 2004, President Bush took new steps to escalate US aggression towards Cuba by radio and electronic means and the campaigns of disinformation and incitement to subversion in Cuba, announcing the allocation of an additional \$18 million to the ill-named *Radio-* and *Tele-Martí's* broadcasts targeting the Cuban people, from a C-130 military plane, to be assigned exclusively for the purpose.

The sum mentioned complements the funding under the 2005 Consolidated Appropriations Act and brings the total governmental financing of the two stations to \$44.7 million.

The US' technological might and all of the experience of numerous highly qualified specialists in this type of dirty war were used to redouble the anti-Cuban radio and television campaign; by October 2004, the propaganda being transmitted over 30 different radio and television frequencies reached the amazing figure of 2 258 weekly hours.

With this aggressive, provocative measure, the US compounds not only its systematic contravention of the ITU rules, but also that of UN General Assembly Resolutions 110 (II) and 127 (II), both adopted in 1947 (just two years after the end of World War II).

General Assembly Resolution 110(II) condemns "all forms of propaganda, in whatsoever country conducted, which is either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression", while No. 127(II) calls on all nations to combat " the diffusion of false or distorted reports likely to injure friendly relations between States"
