

# **ALAMAR**

*Consultants on Trade and Business with Cuba Since 1974*

8305 Whitman Drive \* Bethesda, Maryland 20817

Tel: 301/ 520-4297 \* Fax: 202/ 478-0839

Email: [alacuba@aol.com](mailto:alacuba@aol.com) \* [www.alamarcuba.com](http://www.alamarcuba.com)

## **TESTIMONY**

**PRESENTED  
BY**

**KIRBY JONES**

**PRESIDENT, U.S.-CUBA TRADE ASSOCIATION  
PRESIDENT, ALAMAR ASSOCIATES**

**before**

**U.S. House of Representatives**

**Subcommittee on Commerce, Trade, and Consumer Protection**

**April 27, 2009**

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I very much appreciate the opportunity to appear before you this morning to present testimony concerning the U.S. embargo on Cuba.

On February 3, 1962, President John Kennedy announced an embargo on Cuba. For the following 47+ years, this policy of embargo has been the cornerstone of U.S. policy toward Cuba. If one looks at the original and subsequent reasons for this policy, it is hard – if not impossible – to point to a signal success that this policy has had in achieving any objectives.

Despite its design to bring down the Cuban government, a Castro has been and remains the Head of State of Cuba for 50 years; designed to isolate Cuba, the United Nations last year voted 86-3 to condemn U.S. policy and Cuba now has diplomatic relations with 183 countries including all of Latin America and trades with 160 of those; in Cuba today there are 500 companies from around the world with offices or representatives in Havana; and many of those have invested several billion dollars in the Cuban economy.

It could be argued that this policy of embargo has achieved, in fact, the exact opposite of what was originally intended. Now the United States finds itself on the outside looking in and finds itself at odds with the rest of the world.

For the first time since 1962, a President of the United States has publicly recognized this reality. In his press conference in Trinidad held on Sunday, April 19, President Obama stated that, "...the policy that we've had in place for 50 years hasn't worked..." He backed this up with his announcement to remove restrictions on travel to Cuba by Cuban-Americans, by removing restrictions on family remittances, and by opening up business with Cuba in the telecom sector.

The U.S. Congress has moved farther. It was Congress which passed in 2000 the Trade Sanctions Reform Act to allow the sale of agricultural products to Cuba and this year there has been the introduction of bills in both the Senate and the House to open up travel to Cuba for all Americans. HR 874 with 127 cosponsors and S 428 with 22 cosponsors including many Senate committee chairpersons demonstrate Congressional recognition that it is time for a new policy. This legislation is supported by a wide range of companies, organizations, and institutions (see appendix at end of testimony).

The American people and even the Cuban-American community has moved still even farther. Last October, 2008, a Zogby poll revealed that 68% believe all Americans should be able to travel to Cuba and 62% believe U.S. companies should be able to trade with Cuba. In December, 2008, Florida International University and in April, 2009, Sergio Bendixen released almost identical polls among just Cuban Americans which

showed that 67% support lifting all restrictions for all Americans to travel to Cuba, 65% support full diplomatic relations, and a majority in both polls showed Cuban-Americans support for lifting the trade embargo itself.

It is ever more evident that there is a greater recognition that a policy designed to meet the conditions of the 1960s has no place and is irrelevant to the conditions faced in 2009 and has not and is not serving the interests of the United States government nor of the United States citizens.

As we look ahead and decide what new policy would best serve the interests of the people and government of the United States, it is helpful to look back and analyze the reality of Cuba. The Cuba of the 1960s bears no comparison to the Cuba of 2009.

I have been traveling back and forth to Cuba for 35 years. My first trip was in 1974 as a Special Correspondent for CBS News to participate in an interview with President Fidel Castro. Since that time I have worked as a consultant to U.S. firms interested in doing business in this market. In total, I have taken to Cuba representatives of more than 500 US companies.

I have seen a lot of changes in Cuba in these years and I believe these changes to be profound and deep.

Those who maintain that Cuba is but an out-of-date left over country which fanatically is clinging to a rigid and static state controlled economy are either simply misinformed, are wrong, or are purposely misrepresenting the economic reality in Cuba to promote and to achieve their own political agenda.

This does not mean that Cuba is without its economic and financial problems. It has plenty. But Cuba has instead proven itself --more than once--to be willing to implement radical changes in the manner in which it manages its economy in order to adapt to a new world economic order.

## **HISTORY: 1960-1990**

The first example of these changes occurred in the early 1960s when the US severed relations with Cuba. Up to that time, the Cuban economy had been captured by, and was largely controlled by U.S. interests and the Mafia which owned its utilities and telecommunications, much of its land, its main sources of sugar production, its mines and natural resources, and its tourism facilities. In other words, the U.S. largely controlled and owned the Cuban economy.

When the U.S. pulled out, Cuba was left high and dry. As is well known, Cuba turned to another patron and for the next thirty plus years was tied closely with the Soviet Union and COMECON.

In the mid to late 1970s, I took to Cuba several hundred U.S. business executives to meet with those Cuban officials who were then responsible for particular products and services. President Carter had lifted the ban on travel and had allowed foreign subsidiaries of US firms to do business with Cuba. At that time in Cuba, everything was centrally controlled by the government with a system of state enterprises with annual quotas of production. There was little if any flexibility. While these state officials were well informed about their products, they were unable to undertake purchases outside of the state mandated quantities.

It was frustrating for Americans. Even if the Cuban officials wanted to do something different or new, they were unable to do so because they were boxed in by their state plans or bi-lateral trade agreements with COMECON.

From the 1960s to the early 1990s there was a Cuba with no private sector at all, the holding of U.S. dollars and other hard currencies was illegal, subsidies supported every aspect of economic life, 85% of all trade was carried out within a closed economic community, no foreign businesses were present, no advertising was allowed, no street vendors or markets existed, no foreign tourism of any significance existed, no U.S. products were to be seen, and the skyline of Havana barely changed from year to year because there was no real construction.

But then in the early 90s the Soviet Union collapsed and yet once again Cuba faced an economic crisis. But this time there was no patron waiting in the wings to enter the vacuum; in fact quite the reverse.

Cuba's economy fell by 35% and it was all alone to cope with what was nothing short of an economic disaster. But it was worse than even that. Unlike the Republics of the former Soviet Union, Cuba had no access to emergency financial support from international financial institutions and the most powerful economic and political power in the world was using every measure to undermine the Cuban economic system.

## **A NEW ECONOMY**

But now short of 20 years later, there is essentially still another Cuban economy – a third economic version, different from the previous two. But this time it is one that is not dominated by one single country as it was by the United States until 1959 nor dependent on one economic system as it was on the Soviet Union until the early 90s.

Rather it is a mix of capitalism and socialism – and not just a little dose of capitalism.

Influences from the U.S. are evident throughout Cuba. More than 150,000 Americans had been visiting Cuba each year until the severe travel restrictions were enacted in summer, 2004 – and many more will visit once again under new regulations. Since the end of 2001 Cuba has purchased or signed contracts for more than \$ 3 billion of agricultural and food products from the United States.

Hard currencies (in the form of Cuban convertible pesos) have been spent by Cubans in shopping malls to buy food, cell phones, television sets, VCRs, and other appliances - and they get much of the dollars and other hard currencies from United States in the form of more than \$800 million a year sent by Cuban-Americans to their families. One now sees billboards advertising commercial products; beach resorts; cell phones; e-mail connections to almost all businesses and Government offices; DHL delivery service; CNN, the Disney Channel, and ESPN on hotel television; *Prison Break*, *The Sopranos*, and *Grey's Anatomy* on TV in homes; hotel construction by Sol Melia, Barcelo, Iberostar, and Novotel; car dealerships selling Peugeot and Saab cars; Benneton stores; condominiums; business centers and new offices; open air markets; private bed and breakfasts; small private restaurants; American Eagle and Gulfstream International charters; Western Union; and Miami radio can be heard on Cuban taxis.

Cuba has over the last 15 years undertaken what could be called a substantial program of privatization. Cuban officials and others are loathe to use that term, but if one defines privatization as the selling of state assets to private investors, then Cuba is a highly privatized economy. Foreign private investors are involved in virtually every sector except education and medical services. And some foreign investors have enjoyed 100% ownership of their investment under a BOT agreement.

The following table lists the country source for some of the foreign investment partners.

Telecommunications	Italy
Mining	Canada, Russia
Oil Exploration	India, China, Canada, Norway, Spain, Malaysia, Vietnam, Brazil
Oil Refining	Venezuela
Hotels	Spain, U.K., Netherlands, Germany, France
Beer	Canada
Bottled Water	Switzerland
Port Management	Spain
Freight Forwarding	Germany
Accounting Services	U.K.
Financial Services	Netherlands, Spain, France, Canada
Insurance	U.K.
Cigars	Spain
Rum	France
Cosmetics	France
Biotechnology	Brazil, Iran, China, India
Construction	Spain
Real Estate	Israel
Agribusiness	Israel
Car Dealerships	Korea, France
Airports	Canada

Cuba has removed subsidies from almost all its former state enterprises which now must succeed on their own or go out of business and merged or eliminated ministries. Sugar, which had been the backbone of the Cuban economy for centuries, has been cut way back with hundreds of sugar mills closed because of inefficiency. At the same time, Cuba is spending millions of dollars to develop a software industry and assume a greater role in the rapidly emerging service-oriented business world.

Cuba has created dozens of free-standing holding companies. CIMEX is the largest and most powerful with annual revenues of about \$1 billion and operates dozens of companies and joint ventures. Others include Cubalse, Cubanacan, Habaguanex, Gaviota, ITH, TRD Caribe, and Caracol. Many of these compete against each other for business.

These entities operate free from day-to-day Government control and oversight and resemble any private sector firm in any country in the world. Some borrow on the international financial markets for their own account, many are audited by leading Western accounting firms, and they are flexible to undertake any business deal they want.

But they only have one shareholder: the Government of Cuba. If they make their profit targets and operate with acceptable margins, they keep going. If they do not, people are fired, new management is inserted, and changes are made. What could be more capitalistic than this?

This is what the U.S business community will find as it conducts business in Cuba, what some U.S. firms now are learning, and what hundreds more non-U.S. firms already know.

## **FIDEL AND (NOW) RAUL CASTRO**

No discussion about Cuba can be complete without addressing one additional aspect of Cuba: its leader (until February 24, 2008), President Fidel Castro. I first met Fidel Castro in 1974: I have known him now for 35 years.

Make no mistake: all the changes that I have outlined above were accomplished under the guidance of Fidel Castro. Far from being dogmatic and inflexible about the economy, he has rather shown a remarkable flexibility and adaptability.

But it is not just the changes in economic policy and management of the economy that are important. While the new government under Raul Castro is still led by several long-time officials, it is also true that throughout the government, there has been an influx of a new generation of Ministers, Vice Ministers, and middle level officials and managers.

Sixty percent of the members of the new National Assembly, for example, are under 50 and the specialists from Alimport who sit across the table to negotiate with U.S. company executives form a team of mostly young men and women in their 20s.

This is the new generation and these individuals will last for many years to come.

These changes in Cuba are profound and deep. The role of the foreign investor is established and its tentacles reach into virtually every aspect of Cuban economic and social life; the use of the hard currency based convertible peso as every-day currency is established; the growth of the Cuban holding companies is well founded; and there are procedures and policies which are also well established and codified.

All of this -- initiated under Fidel Castro -- is now not dependent on Fidel or Raul Castro. We have seen the so-called post Fidel era developing before our eyes for the last 2 ½ years and now can better view the future business environment.

To wait for some so-called post-Castro era, as if all will change and be somehow different, is not at all a productive business plan. Nor quite frankly is it a productive political strategy either. For Fidel and Raul Castro have already implemented much of the very transition that some still say would come only after he no longer leads Cuba.

### **U.S.-CUBA BUSINESS**

In no way has there been greater change than in the trade that has developed between the United States and Cuba since the end of 2001 and today. After 40 years of no trade and in just a bit over seven years, the U.S. now supplies more food to Cuba than any other. Until recently Cuba has ranked in the top ten of the largest export markets for U.S. rice and for U.S. poultry and has been the top export market, for example, for North Dakota's export of beans.

Since this trade began, contracts for more than 11 million MT worth over \$3.6 billion (including shipping and services) have been signed comprising 300 different items including wheat, rice, corn, soybeans, tomato sauce, eggs, chicken, apples, ground turkey, chewing gum, utility poles, live cattle, wine, organic fertilizer, and rice. These have been bought from 157 different companies from 37 states.

While approximately 90% of total dollar sales have involved grains and commodities sold by a relatively few number of companies, most of the exporters have been small to medium sized firms to which the Cuba business has become very significant.

Twenty-three different U.S. ports have been used for 1163 ship journeys of which over 73.5 % have been with U.S. owned or chartered vessels.

The rulings in early 2005 by the previous Administration that payments by Cuba must be made to U.S. firms before shipping has, however, complicated an already cumbersome process and has caused Cuba to cut back on some imports from the US. Until these restrictions are lifted and corrected, there will likely be a leveling off of trade and perhaps a decrease in the amount of products exported to Cuba. Even while the value of U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba may have increased over the years, such an increase has been due, unfortunately, not to an increase in tonnage but by rising commodity costs and shipping costs.

Cuban officials have repeatedly stated that they have been impressed by the professionalism and efficiency of the U.S. companies with which they have dealt. But they also have come to realize that these companies operate within a business regulatory environment which is unpredictable and subject to change at the whim of any one of many U.S. officials, especially within the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) of the Department of Treasury. These officials under the previous administration have changed the rules and stopped several deals for what appear to be capricious and unilateral rulings and decisions. This has resulted in a situation of distrust in the U.S. system among Cuban officials who have cut back on products bought from U.S. firms in order to protect themselves against such unpredictable procedures.

Because of these restrictions, U.S. companies are forced to operate under a serious disadvantage in comparison to companies from other countries. Most important in preventing U.S. companies from realizing their full trade potential has been and is the inability to offer private credits.

There are some who argue that this restriction should be maintained because they feel Cuba is a bad credit risk. But this should be a decision for each individual company. The U.S. Government should not interfere in the business of any American company in this way. Whether to extend private credit to Cuba or not should be left to each company's own risk analysis.

But this one-way trade will continue and there is no end in sight: thus far, over 1400 companies from 45 states have been in contact with Cuban officials. If these restrictions – unique in international commerce – were lifted Pedro Alvarez, Chairman and CEO of Alimport, which imports all U.S. agricultural products for Cuba, has stated that U.S. firms could provide over 50% of Cuba's agricultural needs which annually reach almost \$ 2 billion which would be an increase of several hundred million dollars a year over current levels.

## **COST TO, AND OPPORTUNITY FOR, THE UNITED STATES**

If the embargo were to be lifted and there be normalized commercial relations between the United States and Cuba, what would this mean for U.S. companies and what benefits would accrue to Americans? What sort of marketplace is and will Cuba be?

We all have often heard Cuba described as an “economic basket place” or as “one step from disaster.” I am not an economist, but even I can understand that such descriptions are hardly terms of art or science.

Having said that, it has to be remembered that Cuba is a developing country. It is still relatively new to capitalistic practices, it still is in a learning process, and the mechanisms of doing business within the private sector (so familiar to U.S. executives) do not have years of development in Cuba.

Just like any other country, Cuba has its own – sometimes frustrating – bureaucracy: it can be slow, can change its mind, seem unwilling at times to do what seems to an outsider to make good business sense, and can still be slow in accepting new ideas.

Like all developing countries, Cuba has major foreign debt obligations; foreign currency exchange regulations are shifting; domestic pricing policies for imported consumer food products have inhibited market growth; transparency regarding foreign investment is a long-standing concern; while legalization of the use of hard currencies has solved some problems, it also has created other serious long-term financial and social concerns; adequate housing is still lacking; and limits are placed on entrepreneurial expansion.

But having said all of that, one can not argue with statistics and facts: Cuba is the largest country in the Caribbean, has a population of 11.4 million people, a land mass of 110,860 sq km – making it approximately the size of Pennsylvania, and a growth rate in 2008 of 4.4% according to both the CIA and the Economist Intelligence Unit. Largely unknown is that Cuba has the third largest deposits of nickel in the world and is the 9<sup>th</sup> largest tourism destination in the Americas – and this is without any U.S. visitors.

Once totally dependent on sugar for foreign currency, Cuba has greatly diversified its source of revenues now to include export of nickel, personal services, tourism, foreign remittances, worldwide sales of rum and cigars, and exports of biotechnology products.

Whatever adjectives serve those who continue to want us to believe that Cuba is on the brink of economic collapse, the reality is otherwise. Cuba represents not a large market when compared to many other countries, but at the same time does represent a largely untapped good market for American business.

This is and will be particularly true for small to medium sized U.S. firms. While Cuba does significant agriculture trade now with a few large U.S. firms, Cuban trade officials have told me repeatedly that they understand that Cuba is a relatively small market and because of that its potential business for a large U.S. company may not be all that important. But at the same time, they realize that it is a far more important and significant market to smaller and medium sized firms and because of that, in certain cases, they receive better servicing and attention from such smaller companies.

Over the years, every sector of the U.S. business community has lost money by virtue of not being able to trade with Cuba. And today with the U.S. economy so desperate to create jobs through any means possible, one clear opportunity would be to open up a new export market for American business and thereby create new jobs.

There have been several studies that indicate that U.S. firms have lost billions of dollars because of the embargo. The numbers of lost business range from \$2-4 billion per year.

In addition, the embargo has deprived U.S. citizens of some of Cuba's medical breakthroughs such as vaccines for meningitis B; cures for retinitis pigmentosa; a preservative for un-refrigerated milk; and PPG, a cholesterol reducing drug.

In my opinion, the key to starting this process will be for Congress to pass and for the President to sign HR 874 and S 428 which will allow all Americans to travel to Cuba. Apart from the civil libertarian argument that the U.S. Government should not limit the right and freedom of any American citizen to travel anywhere he or she wants, there also is the reality that changing such a policy would be of great benefit to a U.S. travel industry which is hurting under the current economic crisis.

The American Association of Travel Agents (ASTA) has estimated that in the first two years of open travel to Cuba, 2 million Americans could visit Cuba. This, in turn, would result in an injection of \$1.6 billion into the U.S. travel and support service industry – and most of that helping the small to medium sized travel agents, airlines and cruise ships, additional food exports to feed the U.S. visitors, and advertising and promotional programs.

As I have already described, in the business vacuum created by the U.S. deciding to cut itself off from the Cuban market for 47 years, hundreds of other firms have moved in. While U.S. companies are already late to the business party in Cuba, this does not mean there are not many opportunities for U.S. firms. The U.S. will always enjoy the benefits of geographical proximity – closer than virtually every other supplier to Cuba.

U.S. firms will be able to offer what companies from Europe, Canada, Latin America, and Asia can never provide to Cuba: ready and convenient servicing of equipment and spare parts just a few hours away. Given competitive pricing, U.S. firms will be in a very advantageous position.

Virtually anything that Cuba now purchases might very well be purchased from U.S. firms. In this list of potential products I am including such intermediate and manufactured goods as fertilizers and pesticides, pharmaceutical products, textiles and apparel, steel, machinery and construction equipment, power generation machinery, electronics, plastics, tires, and sporting goods; such services as air transportation, maritime transportation, construction services, telecommunications, and travel and tourism; and of course, a growth in the importation of U.S. agricultural products - especially branded U.S. food products for the American traveler to Cuba.

In addition to sales to Cuba, there would be several opportunities for investment in such areas as agribusiness; hotels, marinas, golf resorts, and transportation to serve the travel industry; biotechnology; housing and building renovation; telecommunications; and overall infrastructure.

Then there are the two 800 pound gorillas knocking at the door: energy and mining. The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that in the North Cuban Basin of Cuba's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) in the Gulf of Mexico there are up to 9 billion barrels of oil and 10 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Of the 59 blocks in this EEZ, 21 have been taken up by international firms from Canada, India, Norway, Spain, Venezuela, Vietnam, and Brazil.

There are indications that a consortium of companies from Russia may soon sign agreements for several more.

In mining, Cuba has the third largest deposits of nickel in the world and is the world's sixth largest producer. Cuba also produces 10% of the global cobalt supply.

Cuba has made clear that they are open to U.S. company involvement in both of these sectors.

While it may be true that in these two areas particularly, this new business will benefit some large U.S. firms, it also will mean new exports for equipment firms and all other companies which could provide the support services and products.

Taking all of this into account and under normalized trading relations, benefits will accrue to an increase in jobs and business for many medium and smaller companies. At no time in recent U.S. history has such a new opportunity been of more importance than it is today.

It will up to Congress to lift the embargo. The issue is complicated by the maze of conditions placed on such actions by the 1996 Helms-Burton Act. But we are reminded in an excellent recent report written by Anya Landau French of the Lexington Institute that "...the President still retains the authority to license certain import and export transactions." It was under this authority that the Administration announced this month that U. S. telecom firms would now be allowed to do business in Cuba. So too could the President license U.S. companies in the energy sector so that the U.S. might share in the exploration of oil in Cuban waters just 53 miles off the coast of Florida or issue licenses for U.S. imports from Cuba such as the nickel and medical products previously mentioned.

For too long the embargo has been framed by a small number in mostly southern Florida who look at this issue totally through the narrow prism of their obsession with Fidel and now Raul Castro.

It simply is time now to look at Cuba from the point of view of what is in the interest of the United States. Cuba policy and the lifting of the embargo should be framed for what it could mean to the United States. In so doing it then properly becomes not only a foreign policy issue but also an opportunity to increase jobs and help the U.S. economy when such help is so badly needed.

From my own experience in talking to Cuba representatives of over 500 U.S. companies, there is no question that American firms have been and are today ready to do business with Cuba. Similarly from my own experiences talking with Cuban officials at every level for the past 35 years, they also have been and are ready to do business with American companies.

## **APPENDIX:**

### **Partial list of support for HR 874 and S 428 to remove restrictions on travel to Cuba.**

#### **TRAVEL INDUSTRY**

ABC Charters – *Florida*  
Alabama Association of Convention and Visitors Bureaus  
Alabama House Tourism and Travel Committee  
Alabama Travel Council  
Gulfstream Air Charters - *Florida*  
Interplanner Cuba Travel – *Washington, D.C.*  
Marazul Charters – *New Jersey*  
National Tour Association - NTA  
PWN Exhibicon International - *Connecticut*  
STATS Tours - *Georgia*  
United Motorcoach Association  
U.S. Tour Operators Association - USTOA

#### **BUSINESS AND AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT**

A.R. Savage & Son, Inc. - *Florida*  
Alabama Department of Agriculture and Industries  
American Farm Bureau  
Business Roundtable  
Cargill, Incorporated - *Minnesota*  
Caterpillar - *Illinois*  
Coalition for Employment through Exports  
Elof Hansson Company – *New York*  
Grocery Manufacturers Association  
Maybank Industries – *South Carolina*  
National Association of State Departments of  
Agriculture  
National Foreign Trade Council  
National Milk Producers Federation  
National Retail Federation  
North Dakota Agriculture Commissioner –Roger Johnson  
Organization for international Investment  
Perfected Foods - *Texas*  
Port of Corpus Christi - *Texas*  
Tait Communications, LLC - *Nevada*  
United Americas Shipping - *Florida*  
U.S. Chamber of Commerce  
U.S. Council for International Business  
U.S.- Cuba Trade Association  
U.S. Dairy Export Council  
U.S. Rice Producers Association  
U.S. Wheat Associates  
USA\*Engage  
USA Rice Federation

## **RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS:**

Alliance of Baptists...American Baptist Churches (USA)...American Friends Service Committee, Latin America and Caribbean Programs ... Catholic Relief Services ...Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).. Christian Reformed Church ... Church of the Brethren, Washington Office ... Church Women United, Executive Council ... Church World Service ... Episcopal Church, Office of Government Relations ... Evangelical Lutheran Church in America ... Friends Committee on National Legislation ... Maryknoll Missioners ... Mennonite Central Committee ... National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA ... Presbyterian Church (USA ) ...Progressive Nat'l. Baptist Conv...Presbyterian Church (USA)...Reformed Church in America... United Church of Christ ... United Methodist Church... General Board of Church in Society ... United Methodist Church, General Board of Global Ministries ... United States Conference of Catholic Bishops ... Unitarian Universalist Service Committee

## **CUBAN AMERICAN GROUPS which have called for an end to all travel restrictions or a lifting of the embargo:**

Cuba Study Group  
Cuban American Alliance Education Fund - CAAEF  
Cuban American Commission for Family Rights  
Cuban Committee for Democracy – CCD  
Emergency Network of Cuban American Scholars and Artists for Change in US-Cuba Policy – ENCASA  
Foundation for Normalization of Relations – FORNORM  
Puentes Cubanos

## **NEWSPAPERS (partial list) which have called for end of travel restrictions and/or change in Cuba policy:**

**Boston Globe** – Oct. 29, 2007...**Chicago Tribune** – July 16, 2005...**Christian Science Monitor** – Oct. 9, 2008...**Dallas Morning News** – Oct. 30, 2007; Feb. 20, 2008...**Eugene, OR Register-General** – Nov. 5, 2007...**Florida Today**, Jan.24, 2008...**Houston Chronicle** – Aug. 17, 2007...**LA Times** – Feb. 20, 2008; Oct. 29, 2008...**Miami Herald** – Nov. 7, 2007...**New York Times** – Oct. 27, 2007; Feb. 20, 2008; Sept.12, 2008; Nov. 28, 2008...**Orlando Sentinel** – Aug. 15, 2008; Nov. 1, 2007...**The Palm Beach Post** – March 2, 2008; Oct. 29, 2008...**USA TODAY** – Sept. 29, 2008...**Washington Times** – October 10, 2008

## **EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS which have called for repeal of travel restrictions, especially for academic travel:**

American Association of State Colleges and Universities  
Association of International Educators – NAFSA  
Latin America Studies Association  
Social Science Research Council