

property to us giving them the property," says Buster Freedman, who manages Fiesta's real estate. He not only calls Mr. Caldwell a "visionary" for persuading Fiesta to make the \$4.4 million donation, but a "wheeler-dealer" as well.

Attracting tenants to the Power Center hasn't always been easy. For example, Texas Commerce Bank, a unit of New York's Chemical Banking Corp., determined that the neighborhood's traffic pattern didn't make it "the right place to put a branch," Chairman Marc Shapiro says. But in the end, he adds, he was persuaded by Mr. Caldwell's ability "to attract people and energy to that spot."

Most of the Power Center's occupants and customers are black. But the area is diverse, and Mr. Caldwell is careful to reach out, making sure that fliers promoting a recent health fair, for instance, were in Spanish as well as English. "It would be insensitive, not to mention economically dumb, to fail to recognize the multicultural nature of Houston and market accordingly," he says.

Like most CEOs, Mr. Caldwell likes to tout numbers. The Power Center, he says, will generate some \$26.7 million in cash flow over the next three years—"and that's real conservative"—plus more than 220 new jobs.

Before anybody could move in, the site had to be renovated, of course, at a cost of more than \$4 million. Some of that money came from donations, some from federal and private grants. But most of it—\$2.3 million—came from refinancing a bond offering the church had made years earlier and from issuing new debt.

Mr. Caldwell delights in recounting how the church put the deal together with American Investors Group Inc., a Minneapolis securities firm specializing in working with nonprofit groups. "They offered us the lowest NIC," he says, quickly explaining: "That means net investment cost. It's investment-banker talk."

He didn't always talk like that. A product of Kashmere Gardens, a low-income neighborhood here, he grew up around his father's clothing store, and he credits that entrepreneurial environment with helping point him toward a business career. But he says he also recognized that others from the neighborhood—"pigeon droppers, hustlers, pimps and prostitutes"—were entrepreneurs in their own way, and he learned lessons from them, too. "They lived what, materially speaking, was a good life," Mr. Caldwell remembers. He vowed to do the same, "only legally and morally."

Throughout his life, Mr. Caldwell was active in the church. And while on Wall Street, he even called his godfather, a Sunday-school teacher back in Houston to ask, "How do you know when you've been called to be a minister?"

"You'll know when you stop asking and start telling," came the reply.

In October 1978, Mr. Caldwell did just that. He had recently returned to Houston from New York and was working at Hibbard, O'Conner & Weeks, a regional investment bank, when he decided on his bold career change. He says he simply had reached a point where "my heart and my mind were in synch."

Now, at a Sunday service, more than 1,000 are packed into Windsor Village. "Welcome to Kingdom-building, Satan-busting territory," Mr. Caldwell declares. For the next 90 minutes, he is a whirlwind—kneeling down, springing up, raising his arms heavenward, mopping his brow with a blue towel—as he prays and sermonizes and laughs and sings. Behind him, a giant sign reads, "The Power Center, It's In Your Hands."

As the collection plate is passed, Mr. Caldwell invites to the altar all those with "financial celebrations and concerns." He

implores them to "thank God for blessing your contracts, your business plans, your marketing decisions." As scores come forward, he shouts, "Amen."

CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY ACT

HON. DAN BURTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1996

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert into the RECORD a number of items pertaining to our Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, which was signed into law by the President on Thursday. We are convinced that this legislation will contribute to the struggle for freedom in Cuba, and we are gratified that it is now the law of the land.

I wish to include my official statement from last week's floor debate as well as a number of news stories regarding the effects of our bill and an op-ed from a Canadian newspaper.

CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY ACT

Mr. Speaker, it is with a great sense of history and responsibility that I rise in support of H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. This legislation has travelled a very long way and many colleagues on both sides of the aisle have worked very hard to get us to this point.

What we have before us today is nothing less than a strong, bipartisan message from the American people for Fidel Castro. That message is a very clear one: to paraphrase what Moses said to pharaoh, like Castro, the major tyrant of his day: Let your people go! Stop oppressing the people of Cuba who have suffered for 37 years under your corrupt, vicious, cruel dictatorship.

You have run the Cuban economy into the ground, you have murdered hundreds, tortured and imprisoned thousands, and you have denied freedom to the people of Cuba for far too long. You are the last dictator in this hemisphere, and one of the very last communist thugs left in the World.

Get lost!

The libertad bill, Mr. Speaker, will help to deny hard currency to the Castro regime—the very hard currency that cruel dictatorship needs to survive.

It tightens the embargo, and through codification, ensures that the embargo will remain in force until there is a democratic transition in Cuba.

It sets up a plan to assist such a democratic transition government in the future. And it protects the rights of American citizens by allowing them to sue those foreigners who traffic in their stolen property. It also denies visas to those traffickers.

Mr. Speaker, we have been working on this bill for over a year. I want to thank my colleagues, Congressman Gilman, Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen, Congressman Diaz-Balart, Congressman Menendez, Congressman Torricelli, Senator Helms, Senator Coverdell, and Senator Dole. I also want to thank the committee staff and legislative counsel who worked so long and hard on this bill.

Finally, to our friends, in the Cuban-American community, to Jorge Mas-Canosa and the Cuban American National Foundation, to the Valladares Foundation, to Unidad Cubana and other friends—thanks a million.

I also want to particularly thank Ambassador Otto Reich, Robin Freer, Tom Cox and the U.S.-Cuba Business Council for their in-

dispensable help over the past months in support of our bill. We are very appreciative and we are certain that the council will continue to play a constructive role on these issues.

The four Cuban-American martyrs who gave their lives last week, Armando Alejandro, Jr., Pablo Morales, Mario de la Pena, Carlos Costa, made this possible. We dedicate this bill to their blessed memory. We will see to it that they did not die in vain.

[From Reuters, Mar. 9, 1996]

CUBA SAYS NEW U.S. LEGISLATION HAS ALREADY HURT

HAVANA.—Cuba's foreign minister, Roberto Robaina, says pending U.S. legislation to tighten Washington's embargo against the island has already hurt because potential investors have been worried that it is in the pipeline.

Given this, business people would have to be "daring" to invest now in Cuba, Robaina told Cuban state television late on Friday, reiterating his stance that the legislation was a "law against humanity."

He did not give any details of foreign companies that have been scared away by the prospect of the Helms-Burton bill, named after its Republican sponsors.

The legislation, approved this week in Congress and now awaiting President Clinton's signature, includes provisions to punish third country firms doing business in Cuba. These have been criticized by European Union countries, Canada and Mexico, which do business with the communist-ruled island.

The legislation had been in the U.S. Congress for a year but was given added momentum after Cuba downed two small exile-operated planes on February 24. The United States has led international condemnation of the incident.

Cuba argues it acted in legitimate defense of its airspace, after issuing warnings and tolerating repeated violations of its airspace over the past 20 months.

Cuban authorities are presenting Havana as a victim of unfair legislation while at the same time trying to reassure current and potential investors and traders by saying the law will have no effect.

Cuba and the United States have had no diplomatic relations and have been at odds since the 1959 revolution that brought Castro to power.

Robaina reiterated Cuba's willingness to talk with the United States on any issue as long as it was on a basis of mutual respect.

"What this cannot be is a relationship of subordination," he said.

[From the Toronto Sun, Feb. 28, 1996]

OTTAWA STILL LOVES TYRANT

Once more, Canada continues to support Cuban communist dictator Fidel Castro—despite his shooting down of two unarmed U.S. civilian planes in international air space.

The best that Jean Chretien's foreign affairs minister, Lloyd Axworthy, could do was describe as "deplorable" the shooting down of the planes by Soviet-made MiG-29 fighter jets and the killing of the four Cuban exiles.

Instead of ripping at Castro who ordered the planes shot down without even issuing any warnings first, Axworthy yesterday warned the U.S. Congress not to pass legislation that would penalize companies—including foreign ones—that do business with Cuba.

"That would be contravening international law," whined Axworthy.

Of course, it would be a real surprise if Axworthy and his boss Chretien did the right thing and really condemned Castro with some meaningful tough action. After all,

they were both cabinet ministers for Pierre Trudeau, the strongly leftist Canadian prime minister who was a close buddy and supporter of Castro throughout the Cold War.

It was no accident that Trudeau shouted "Long live Commander President Fidel Castro!" to a huge, cheering crowd in Havana back in the 1970s. And it was no accident that the Trudeau regime encouraged Canadian trade to help prop up Cuba against a U.S. trade embargo. And it was certainly no accident that he encouraged Canadians to vacation in Cuba so that Castro could pick up their badly needed western dollars.

I remember reporting on some of those early Canadian tourists who were sucked into visiting there and had to put up with an endless supply of greasy chicken and bad plumbing.

Throughout that period, another big booster of Castro was the Soviet Union, which turned the island nation into an armed fortress and jump-off base for spreading communist revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

However, after the Soviet Union collapsed, Castro and his police state were left to flounder as a totally inefficient economic basket case.

Except for the continuing, never-ending support of Canada and much of the European Community. For instance, Canada has an \$84-million annual trade deficit with Cuba. Our exports to it are \$215 million and imports are \$299 million.

For 33 years, the U.S. backed strongly by a large community of Cuban exiles, has tried to force the overthrow of Castro to give the people freedom and democracy. And with the Soviet collapse, the opportunity was at hand.

But nations such as Canada keep propping up Castro, allowing him to survive and keep the Cuban people under his heel.

Also, Castro has long been the master of creating an outside threat in order to declare an emergency and put his still formidable armed forces on alert. When his critics are becoming a bit bold, such actions help pressure the Cuban people to back him against foreign threats—one more time.

In the U.S., President Bill Clinton had been suckered into a policy of trying to appease Castro by improving trade links.

But now, with the shooting down of the two unarmed planes, he toughened the U.S. trade embargo, calling the attack "an appalling reminder of the Cuban regime: repressive, violent, scornful of international law."

Republican Sen. Jesse Helms, co-sponsor of a Congressional bill to punish those who have bought confiscated U.S. property in Cuba, declared:

"This act of terror is a searing indictment of European and Canadian policies of engagement with Fidel Castro's brutal regime."

"What we are trying to do is send a very strong signal to business communities throughout the world that we don't want them buying property of Americans taken away from them by Fidel Castro so he can get hard currency to survive as the last communist dictator," contended co-sponsor Congressman Dan Burton.

Will the Chretien government support the Americans? Of course not. Canada still backs Castro.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 10, 1996]

CASTRO'S BLUNDER

(By Ernesto F. Betancourt)

On Feb. 24 the Cuban situation took a turn for the worse for Fidel Castro. There is a

mythical notion that Castro always ends up on top. But this time it's evident he has made a mistake that will aggravate the long-run disaster he has brought upon the Cuban people and undermine the goals he was pursuing. Why did he do it?

Last year Castro launched a public relations offensive whose external objectives were to (1) prevent passage of the Helms-Burton legislation, (2) promote the image of Cuba as a safe and worthy investment location and (3) get access to the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank, over U.S. objections. But the most important objective was internal: to ensure consolidation of his Stalinist hold on power.

The offensive went well from the public relations point of view but was unable to bring about a solution of his economic predicament. And the meager economic and political opening wave he was forced to accept to win support from groups such as the European Community and the Inter-American Dialogue, not to mention pro-Castro advocates in the United States, was creating a threat to his political control.

In October 1995, dissident groups within Cuba agreed to come together in a loose association called Concilio Cubano, with a minimal program aimed at peacefully getting the government to grant citizens the rights guaranteed not only by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but by the Cuban Constitution.

The Castro regime's response was the usual: unleashing against Concilio bands of police-protected hoodlums, planting false information to justify arresting the promoters and infiltrating people to generate internal conflicts within the groups.

But it wasn't working. The vision of an end to the nightmare of Castro's rule seems to have given strength to an increasing number of courageous Cubans to endure the beatings and hardships of prison and deprivation that the regime uses to discourage them. Moreover, Castro's making his appeal for support against the United States an international one is causing even more decent people worldwide to come forward to demand that, in exchange for their support, the regime make concessions to democratize Cuba and respect human rights.

The surge in internal opposition in Cuba was made financially possible by the privatization of certain service and agricultural production activities, emigrant remittances and tourism. In other words, the modest economic reforms have had a most threatening impact on Castro's rule while at the same time failing to generate enough economic improvement to allow him to tighten his hold.

For contrary to the image of being conveyed by Castro and his propagandists, the Cuban economy is not growing. The 2.5 percent growth in GDP claimed for 1995 is highly questionable in the presence of a meager 3.3 million-ton sugar crop. The sugar crop for 1996 is in serious trouble and may not increase significantly despite the borrowing of \$300 million to buy fertilizer, spare parts, etc.

Meanwhile, dollarization, another basic Castro political mistake made in 1993, continues to destroy the previous egalitarian basis of Cuban society. The "winners," the 10 to 15 percent with access to dollars, are sucking food and other consumer items for the rationing markets, on which 85 to 90 percent of the population, the "losers," depend for survival. To appear to be siding with the losers, Castro lashes out at capitalists, particularly of the local variety, and takes

measures against them such as the confiscatory taxes on profits and private income enacted this January.

As to foreign investment, the picture is equally cloudy. The sacking in December of Ernesto Melendez, the minister in charge of foreign investment, and the imprisonment without trial of Robert Vesco reflect Castro's displeasure with the situation. The flagship of the deals, the \$1.3 billion Mexican Domos Group investment in the Cuban telephone system, has turned out to be a mirage.

Faced with Concilio's rapidly escalating internal political challenge, Castro needed an external crisis to justify the measures he intended to take. For that, he selected his favorite enemies: American imperialism and the Cuban exile community. As in the past, he expected to paint himself as the victim of their aggression. As to the embargo, it was to be tightened anyway with the likely approval of the Helms-Burton law. But Castro probably thought he could extort from President Clinton the concession of entry to the IMF, World Bank and the IDB by threatening a wave of immigration during the presidential campaign.

The crisis resulting from Castro's action has backfired on him. The story the Cuban government tried to convey was not credible. You just don't down civilian airplanes, period. The infiltrated defector's premature return to Cuba provided proof of the premeditation behind Castro's actions. The truth has prevailed, and Brothers to the Rescue is clearly perceived as the humanitarian organization it is one that helped save the lives of more than 7,000 rafters and is now supporting the peaceful efforts of Concilio Cubano. The Cuban foreign minister was not able to get any significant support at the United Nations.

Castro misread President Clinton, who did not cave in to Cuban hints about massive migration, and instead announced a set of moderate but adequate measures. Among the most important; a stronger Helms-Burton has become law. It not only will dry up the speculative hopes that were feeding the investment frenzy promoted by Castro's friends and agents but will make mandatory Cuba's exclusion from international financial institutions. Radio Marti broadcasts will be able to reach more Cubans. The hopes of an economic assistance agreement with the European Community have been dashed. Castro has been disinclined to join the Rio Group of Latin American presidents as an observer.

There are two additional measures to be expected. At a later date, once the International Civil Aviation Organization investigation is completed, aviation sanctions may be applied to Cuba and the MiG pilots may be named as war criminals. As for Concilio Cubano, its predicament is likely to be brought to the attention of the U.N. Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva later this month by our delegation. Those being persecuted by Castro for trying to exert their legitimate rights to speak, associate and meet will get the encouragement that comes from knowing that the world has not forgotten them.

Finally, it is to be hoped that the Justice Department will revise its policies toward the Cuban American community. These are Americans who should be protected from the activities of Cuban intelligence. Instead, present policies have led to the embarrassing situation of the FBI paying a Castro agent, Maj. Juan Roque, to spy on a peaceful and humanitarian American organization, Brothers to the Rescue.