FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the matter of: Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals
Mauricio Claver-Carone
Gus Machado
Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.
US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

MUR No.: 5830

COMPLAINT


Complainant

2. Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington is a non-profit organization dedicated to ensuring accountability in public officials and compliance with federal laws.

Respondents

3. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals is a citizen of Spain and a resident of the Bahamas. He established Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2000 as a 501(c)(3) organization and has been the organization's principal financial supporter ever since. Press reports indicate that since 1999 Mr. Pujals has devoted his personal fortune to seeking to topple the government of Fidel Castro so that Mr. Pujals may become the next president of Cuba. Mr. Pujals' address is:
4. Mauricio Claver-Carone is, simultaneously, the Executive Director of both Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Mr. Claver-Carone’s address is:

5. Gus Machado is, simultaneously, the President and Treasurer of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the Treasurer of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Mr. Machado’s address is:

6. Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. was founded as a 501(c)(3) organization in 2000. According to its 2004 Form 990 filed with the Internal Revenue Service, Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. has only three officers/directors: Gus Machado, Mauricio Claver-Carone and Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals. The official address of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. is Mr. Claver-Carone’s home:

   Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. actually operates, however, out of the offices of the Center for a Free Cuba, Suite 600, 1320 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.¹

7. The US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is registered as a nonconnected committee with the Commission. The Committee’s official address is 1200 West 49th Street, Hialeah, Florida, 33012. That is the address of Gus Machado’s car dealership, Gus Machado Ford. In Washington, D.C., the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is registered as a nonconnected committee with the Commission. The Committee’s official address is 1200 West 49th Street, Hialeah, Florida, 33012. That is the address of Gus Machado’s car dealership, Gus Machado Ford.

¹ The Center for a Free Cuba, like Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., is a 501(c)(3) organization. In 2004, it received one million, four hundred seventy-six thousand, nine hundred and sixteen dollars ($1,476,916) in federal funds, primarily from USAID grants issued pursuant to Section 109a of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996, popularly known as the Helms-Burton Act. Whether or not the Center for a Free Cuba violated federal laws or regulations prohibiting grant recipients from using federal funds to engage in lobbying and/or partisan political activities is a matter for the Inspector General of the U.S. Agency for International Development.
Action Committee, like Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., actually operates out of the offices of the Center for a Free Cuba, Suite 600, 1320 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.

**Factual Allegations**

8. In late 1999, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals sold his stake in the Spanish fast-food chain Telepizza for three hundred and sixty million dollars ($360,000,000). On December 18, 1999, Pujals told Deutsche Presse-Agentur that he intended to use the proceeds of the sale of Telepizza to topple the government of Fidel Castro and become the next president of Cuba. “I want Cuba to become a democracy and I am willing to invest whatever I have to make that happen.” Mr. Pujals was born in Cuba but is a naturalized citizen of Spain.²

9. On September 1, 2000, Mr. Pujals established two non-profit organizations in the United States to further his goal of toppling the government of Fidel Castro: a 501(c)(3) organization originally named CubaLibertad (FEI Number 54-2003328) and a 501(c)(4) organization originally named Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (FEI Number 54-2003332).

See, e.g., Certificate of Incorporation for Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (attached as Exhibit 3).

10. On November 17, 2000, the names of the two non-profit organizations were switched. The 501(c)(4) organization, Citizens for Liberty in Cuba, became CubaLibertad and the 501(c)(3) organization, CubaLibertad, became Citizens for Liberty

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² Sinikka Tarvainen, “Pizza King Wants to Topple Fidel Castro, Deutsche Presse-Agentur (Dec. 18, 1999) (attached as Exhibit 1).

in Cuba. See, e.g., Certificate of Amendment for Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (attached as Exhibit 4).

11. On July 17, 2001, the Internal Revenue Service issued an exemption ruling determining that Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (FEI Number 54-2003328) was exempt from federal income tax as a 501(c)(3) organization (see Exhibit 5).

12. On November 29, 2001, both the 501(c)(3) organization, Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (FEI Number 54-20003328), and the 501(c)(4) organization, CubaLibertad, applied to the Florida Secretary of State for authorization to do business in Florida (attached as Exhibits 6 and 7). Mr. Pujals was listed as President and Director of CubaLibertad and Lino J. Piedra was listed as President and Director of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (see exhibits 6 and 7).

13. On February 3, 2003, Citizens for Liberty in Cuba filed its annual report with the Florida Secretary of State (attached as Exhibit 8). The annual report indicated that Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals had replaced Lino J. Piedra as President of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba. The report also indicated that Mauricio Claver-Carone had replaced Manuel Jorge Cutillas as a director of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba. Finally, the report indicated that Gus Machado had become the Treasurer and Secretary of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba.

14. On May 28, 2003, Gus Machado – three months after becoming the treasurer of Citizens for Liberty in Cuba – filed a Statement of Organization form for the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee (attached as Exhibit 9) with the Commission listing himself as Treasurer. Mr. Machado indicated on the Statement of Organization form that the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee was not a separate
segregated fund and specifically stated that the Committee had no connected organization or affiliated committee. Mr. Machado’s signature appears on page 1 of the Statement of Organization form immediately above the warning: “NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing the Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. § 437g.”

15. On its 2003 Year-End Report, the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee reported receiving an in-kind contribution of two thousand eight hundred dollars ($2,800) in the form of “consulting services” from Mauricio Claver-Carone. See Exhibit 10.


17. During 2004, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals contributed one hundred seventy-seven thousand, four hundred dollars ($177,400) to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. – ninety-four percent (94%) of the one hundred eighty-seven thousand, eight hundred and fourteen dollars ($187,814) contributed to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2004. See 2004 Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., FEI Number 54-2003328 (attached as Exhibit 12). Mr. Pujals’ 2004 contribution to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. was used to pay the one hundred thousand and eight dollar ($100,008) salary of the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., Mauricio Claver-Carone.

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4 During 2003, Mr. Claver-Carone was an attorney in the Legislative and Regulatory Activities Division, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, U.S. Department of the Treasury. It is not apparent from the public record when Mr. Claver-Carone became the Executive Director of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, nor is it apparent when in 2003 he provided the so-called “consulting services” to the Committee. Accordingly, whether Mr. Claver-Carone’s work on behalf of the Committee during 2003 amounts to a violation of the Hatch Act, 5 U.S.C. § 7324, is an issue for the Inspector General of the U.S. Department of the Treasury.
18. During 2004, Mr. Claver-Carone, using the funds he received from Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., paid three thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine dollars and twenty-four cents ($3,759.24) in administrative expenses for the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Mr. Claver-Carone’s payment of the Committee’s administrative expenses was reported by the Committee as a series of in-kind contributions to the Committee by Mr. Claver-Carone. See excerpts from 2004 US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee FEC reports attached as Exhibit 13.

COUNT I

19. FECA defines a “connected organization” as any organization which is not a political committee but which directly or indirectly establishes, administers, or financially supports a political committee. 2 U.S.C. § 431(7). Commission regulations specify that a connected organization may be a corporation, including a corporation without capitol stock, such as a non-profit corporation. 11 C.F.R. § 100.6(a). For purposes of determining whether a corporation is the connected organization of a political committee, the term “financially supports” includes the payment of establishment, administration and solicitation costs of the political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.6(c).

20. The Commission’s regulations specify that all political committees, including separate segregated funds, established, financed, maintained or controlled by the same corporation, person, or group of persons are per se affiliated. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(2); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(2).

21. In the absence of per se affiliation, 11 C.F.R. § 114.5(g) provides for a case-by-case examination of various factors to determine whether a corporation is affiliated with (i.e., is the connected organization of) a political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(i)
and (ii)(A)-(J); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(i) and (ii)(A)-(J). The Commission examines these factors in the context of the overall relationship between the corporation and the political committee to determine whether the presence of any factor or factors is evidence that the corporation is affiliated with the political committee. 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.5(g)(4)(ii) and 110.3(a)(3)(ii) (emphasis added). The factors include: (1) whether the corporation has the ability to direct or participate in the governance of a political committee through formal or informal practices or procedures; (2) whether a corporation has common or overlapping officers, directors or employees with a political committee which indicates a formal or ongoing relationship between the corporation and the political committee; (3) whether a corporation provides funds on an ongoing basis to a political committee, such as through direct or indirect payments for administrative, fundraising, or other costs; and (4) whether a corporation or its agents had an active or significant role in the formation of the political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(B), (D), (G) and (I); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(B), (D), (G) and (I). These factors are not an exclusive list, and other factors may be considered. FEC Advisory Opinion 1995-36.

22. Internal Revenue Service regulations prohibit a 501(c)(3) organization from establishing or operating a separate segregated fund. 26 C.F.R. § 1.527-6(g).

Accordingly, if Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. were found to be the connected organization of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee it would be in violation of the Internal Revenue Code and could be penalized with the loss of its tax-exempt status.
23. Even a cursory review of the relationship between Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee demonstrates that the Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. must, under the Commission’s regulations, be considered to be the connected organization of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, either by applying the single factor or multiple factors tests.

24. The Commission’s regulations require it to review the overall relationship between the corporation and the political committee to determine whether the presence of any factor is evidence that the corporation is the connected organization of the political committee. 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.5(g)(4)(ii) and 110.3(a)(3)(ii) (emphasis added). Here, the fact that the same individuals, Gus Machado and Mauricio Claver-Carone, serve respectively and simultaneously as the Treasurer and Executive Director of both Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is sufficient for the Commission to determine that Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. is the connected organization of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. See also FEC Advisory Opinion 1988-14 (finding two corporations to be affiliated because “the governing bodies of each corporation overlap and many of the same people are vested with authority to direct both corporations.”).

25. Even if that single factor were not sufficient to demonstrate that Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee were connected, a simple review of only those facts that are on the public record demonstrates that at least four factors of the Commission’s multiple factor test support such a determination.

26. First, the Commission must consider whether the corporation has the ability to direct or participate in the governance of the political committee through formal or
informal practices or procedures. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(B); see also 11 C.F.R.
§ 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(B). The same two individuals, Gus Machado and Mauricio Claver-
crone, have day-to-day operational control of both Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and
the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. That ability to simultaneously
control both organizations demonstrates that Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. has, at the
very least, the ability to direct or participate in the governance of the US-Cuba
Democracy Political Action Committee through informal practices or procedures.

27. Second, the Commission must consider whether a corporation has common or
overlapping officers, directors or employees with a political committee which indicates a
formal or ongoing relationship between the corporation and the political committee. 11
C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(D); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(D). Here the evidence of
affiliation is overwhelming. Not only is there an extensive overlap between the officers,
directors and employees of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba
Democracy Political Action Committee, the same two individuals serve simultaneously
in the same executive positions in both organizations. Gus Machado serves
simultaneously as the Treasurer of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the Treasurer of
the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Mauricio Claver-Carone serves
simultaneously as the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and as
Executive Director of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. See Exhibits
8, 9 and 13. Clearly the public record provides compelling evidence that the common
officers, directors and employees of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba
Democracy Political Action Committee demonstrate that there is an ongoing relationship
between the corporation and the political committee.
28. Third, the Commission must consider whether a corporation provides funds on an ongoing basis to a political committee, such as through direct or indirect payments for administrative, fundraising, or other costs. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(G); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(G). Here the evidence available on the public record indicates that Mr. Claver-Carone used the funds he received from Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2004 to pay the administrative expenses of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. See Exhibits 12 and 13. Paying a salary to Mr. Claver-Carone as the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. with the knowledge that he would then use a portion of that salary to pay the administrative expenses of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee would certainly demonstrate that Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. made indirect payments for the administrative costs of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Gus Machado, as the Treasurer of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., was responsible for paying Mauricio Claver-Carone’s salary as Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006. See Exhibit 12. As Treasurer of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, Gus Machado was also responsible for reporting to the Commission that Mauricio Claver-Carone was paying the administrative expenses of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee in 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006. See Exhibit 13.

29. Finally, the Commission must consider whether a corporation or its agents had an active or significant role in the formation of the political committee. 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g)(4)(ii)(I); see also 11 C.F.R. § 110.3(a)(3)(ii)(I). Here the two principal agents of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. were entirely responsible for establishing the US-Cuba Democracy Committee. Gus Machado became the Treasurer of Cuba Democracy

30. The evidence on the public record clearly shows that, under either the single factor or multiple factor tests established by the Commission’s regulations, Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. is the connected organization of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Moreover, because Gus Machado was aware of the relationship between Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee at the time the Committee was established, the evidence demonstrates that Gus Machado knowingly made a false statement to the Commission when he filed a Statement of Organization claiming that the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee had no connected organization. Any person who signs a Statement of Organization form that contains false information is subject to civil penalties pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g. More importantly, knowingly making a false statement to the Commission is a criminal violation of 18 U.S.C. § 1001.
31. The evidence on the public record clearly shows that the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is not a nonconnected committee, but is instead a separate segregated fund of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. That distinction has enormous legal consequences. A nonconnected committee is free to raise funds from the general public, while a separate segregated fund may only raise funds from a restricted class of executive and administrative personnel employed by the fund’s connected corporation. 2 U.S.C. § 441b(b)(4)(A)(i). Since its inception in 2003, the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee has raised approximately one and one-half million dollars ($1,500,000) from the general public. Because the evidence on the public record clearly indicates that the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is the separate segregated fund of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., the vast majority of that one and one-half million dollars ($1,500,000) was raised in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b(b)(4)(A)(i).

32. Finally, because Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. is a 501(c)(3) organization, its formation and operation of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is in violation of 26 C.F.R. § 1.527-6(g).

COUNT II

33. FECA makes it unlawful for a foreign national, directly or indirectly, to make a contribution or donation of money in connection with a Federal, State, or local election. 2 U.S.C. § 441e(a)(1). The Commission’s regulations have interpreted the foreign national prohibition broadly to prohibit foreign nationals from participating in decisions involving election-related activities. Specifically, Commission regulations state that, “A foreign national shall not direct, dictate, control, or directly or indirectly participate in the decision-making process of any person, such as a corporation, labor organization,
political committee, or political organization with regard to such person's Federal or non-
Federal election-related activities, such as decisions concerning the making of
contributions, donations, expenditures, or disbursements in connection with elections for
any Federal, State, or local office or decisions concerning the administration of a political
committee." 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(i). For more than a quarter of a century, the
Commission has repeatedly and consistently sought to ensure that foreign nationals do
not make contributions in connection with an election through the direct or indirect
control of a political committee. See FEC Advisory Opinions 2006-15, 2000-17, 1999-

34. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals was born in Cuba but is a naturalized citizen of Spain.
See Exhibit 2.

35. On information and belief, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals violated both 2 U.S.C.
§ 441e and 11 C.F.R. 110.20(i) by (1) making indirect contributions to the US-Cuba
Democracy Political Action Committee through Mauricio Claver-Carone and (2) by
participating, directly or indirectly, in the decision-making process of the US-Cuba
Democracy Political Action Committee.

36. On information and belief, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals violated 2 U.S.C. § 441e
and 11 C.F.R. 110.20(i) by making indirect contributions to the US-Cuba Democracy
Political Action Committee through Mauricio Claver-Carone. In 2004, Leopoldo
Fernandez Pujals contributed one hundred seventy-seven thousand, four hundred dollars
($177,400) to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. See Exhibit 12. Mr. Pujals' 2004
contribution to Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. was used to pay the one hundred
thousand and eight dollar ($100,008) salary of the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., Mauricio Claver-Carone. Id. During 2004, Mr. Claver-Carone, using the funds he received from Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals through Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., paid three thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine dollars and twenty-four cents ($3,759.24) in administrative expenses for the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Mr. Claver-Carone’s payment of the Committee’s administrative expenses was reported by the Committee as a series of in-kind contributions to the Committee by Mr. Claver-Carone. See Exhibit 13.

37. On information and belief, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals violated 11 C.F.R § 110.20(i) by, directly or indirectly, participating in the decision-making of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals is the President of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. See Exhibit 8. The US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee is, in fact, the separate segregated fund of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. See ¶¶ 19-32. It strains credulity beyond the breaking point to believe that Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals founded Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. in 2000 and played no role whatsoever in the decision to establish the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee in 2003 and has had no role whatsoever in the contribution and administrative decisions of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee since it was established.

38. Nor is it credible to believe that Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals was limited to participating in the decisions of the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee by doing so through Gus Machado and/or Mauricio Claver-Carone. The very first contribution to the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee was given by a
Victor J. Pujals on June 23, 2003. See Exhibit 14. The Commission should determine what relationship, if any, Victor Pujals has with Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals. Victor Pujals can be contacted at one of two addresses:

39. Violations of 2 U.S.C. § 441e and 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(i) by Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals would be especially egregious because it appears that contributions by the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee may have been traded for votes on legislation pending before Congress. On July 12, 2005, the Miami Herald reported, "Mauricio Claver-Carone, a director of the U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, contacted more than 120 lawmakers, donated money to their campaigns and urged them to reject any easing of the trade and travel sanctions . . . . The lobbying seems to have worked. Reversing a five-year trend in which supporters of easing U.S. sanctions against Cuba were gaining strength in Congress, the House in late June rejected four initiatives relaxing restrictions, including one amendment lifting a ban on sending soap and toothpaste in gift parcels to the island and another letting Cuban Americans travel more to Cuba."

40. More significantly, an independent analysis of voting patterns by the Latin America Working Group found that the following thirty-two (32) members of the House of Representatives changed their vote on embargo legislation to adopt the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee position after receiving one or more contributions from the Committee:

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5 Pablo Bachelet, New Lobby Kills Threats to Embargo, Miami Herald (July 12, 2005)(attached as Exhibit 15).

WHEREFORE, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington requests that the Federal Election Commission conduct an investigation into these allegations, declare the respondents to have violated FECA and applicable Commission regulations, impose sanctions appropriate to these violations and take such further action, including, but not limited to, (1) referring any findings regarding the affiliation of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc. and the US-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee to the Internal
Revenue Service for the Service to initiate the revocation of the tax-exempt status of Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc., and (2) referring any findings regarding false statements by Gus Machado and prohibited foreign national contributions by Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals to the Justice Department for possible criminal prosecution.

Melanie Sloan
Executive Director
Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington
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(202) 408-5565

cc: The Honorable Mark W. Everson
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The Honorable Donald A. Gambetsa
Inspector General
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The Honorable Harold Damelin
Inspector General
U.S. Department of the Treasury
Room 1221
1500 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20220
Verification

Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, acting through Melanie Sloan, hereby verifies that the statements made in the attached Complaint are, upon information and belief, true.


Melanie Sloan

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 2006.

Notary Public

District of Columbia: SS
Subscribed and sworn to before me, in my presence, this __5__ day of __September__, 2006.

Notary Public, D.C.
My commission expires __June 30, 2011__
FEATURE: "Pizza king" wants to topple Fidel Castro

By Sinikka Tarvainen, dpa

Madrid (dpa) - He is the hero of one of Spain's biggest ever success stories, building a pizza empire and becoming a multi-millionnaire in just a decade, and he firmly believes that willpower can take a man anywhere he wants to go.

But now, four decades after he left his native Cuba, Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals has a goal which is ambitious even for him: to topple Cuban leader Fidel Castro and maybe even become the islands next president.

"I want Cuba to become a democracy," 52-year-old Pujals says, "and I am willing to invest whatever I have to make that happen."

Spaniards know Pujals as the "pizza king", the founder of the country's biggest fast-food chain Telepizza which has around 600 restaurants and more than 16,000 employees.

The owner of hundreds of race horses, a large yacht and property in the Bahamas, Pujals recently sold his stake in Telepizza for 60 billion pesetas (360 million dollars).

He intends to use part of the money to campaign against Cubas 73-year-old "commander-in-chief" whom, he says, he wants to defeat in a battle of "marketing".

Pujals ancestors, who came to Cuba from Spain in the 19th century, already had a knack for success. They became landowners and built a fortune which the family lost after Castro ousted dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959 and installed a Communist regime.

Pujals family went into exile in the United States when the boy was 13 years old, and "Leo" developed an unquestioning faith in American "do it yourself" ideals.

After a youth of partying and some university studies, Pujals fought in the Vietnam war, was promoted to the rank of Marine captain, and later worked as a sales manager for several U.S. companies.

In 1981, he was sent as a sales representative to Spain where he built Telepizza, an international empire whose success left Spaniards gasping.

The only security in a person's life comes from being competent, says Pujals, who shrugged when he was accused of only employing part-time workers on temporary contracts.

"No obstacle is too great when you have a valid goal," stresses the businessman whose motto is "it can be done" and who believes that unemployment could be eliminated by opening enough businesses.

Since taking leave of Telepizza, Pujals has launched a human rights foundation which he is using as a base for his crusade against the Castro regime.

A contagiously enthusiastic man known for his ability to "sell anything", Pujals might well be able to sell himself as a presidential candidate, analysts say in Spain.

He has the advantage of having connections both in Spain and in the United States and of not being associated with the strident and conservative anti-Castro lobby of Cuban exiles in Florida, commentators say.

Pujals has an uncle who spent 27 years as a political prisoner in Cuba, and he has little understanding for people who argue that the repression and economic problems in Cuba are partly offset by gains such as a free education and medical care for all.

"I shall not return to Cuba until it is a free country," he vows, "and I am sure that will happen before I die."

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----- INDEX REFERENCES -----

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YOU MIGHT think that a business devoted to biking pizzas to Spanish homes would be doubly doomed. Firstly, because of Spaniards' deep attachment to their own distinctive contribution to European fast food, the "tapa". Secondly, because a nation reputed to live in the street, returning home only for vast set-piece meals, seems hardly likely to dial up foreign food to eat from a box.

Wrong on all counts. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals, 51, who launched his TelePizza delivery chain from a single outlet in a modest suburb of Madrid 10 years ago, has transformed the eating habits of a nation and become one of the richest men in Spain.

"Anybody could have done it. It just takes common sense and a lot of hard work," says Mr Fernandez, an energetic Cuban, naturalised Spanish, with a flashing smile and a liking for Havana cigars. He is perhaps the only chairman of a Spanishquoted company to go to work in a short-sleeved polo shirt.

His timing was perfect. Not only did he awaken Spain's taste for pizzas, he launched upon the Madrid stock exchange in December 1996, at the moment thousands of Spaniards developed a ravenous appetite for shares. Telepizza shares were oversubscribed 46 times in the most heavily subscribed flotation Spain had ever seen.

The product was a winner with new Spanish investors because, in addition to being explosively profitable, it was new, easy to understand and fun. TelePizza became the starriest performer on the Madrid stock market by far, two years running. Profits, at 3.6bn pesetas (pounds 15m) were up 45 per cent last year, and new outlets open every day.

Last week Mr Fernandez flew to Edinburgh as president of Europe's 500 most enterprising companies. Next week he's off to Harvard to tell fast food's heartland how to conquer the world with takeaway pizzas. His is the first such company to outstrip McDonald's in a national market. Baked at 300 degrees centigrade for five minutes 50 seconds, his pizzas are delivered by more than 8,000 young bikers within half an hour. Prices are held low, margins tight and...
profits generated by sales volume. When a outlet sells more than 10,000 pizzas a month, another opens nearby to maintain the company's quality of service.

Mr Fernandez, who was born in Cuba of Spanish descent and brought up in the US, mounted his operation on hard-driving, hands-on American principles. His methods, so successful in retrospect, fly in the face of Spanish norms, where face-to-face customer contact is all-important and everyone expects to be kept waiting.

"The market is a battlefield: you have to gain ground and fight off others who have seen the same opportunity. I try to foster an American work ethic to get hands-on experience at all levels of the business. I don't want my executives to come straight from university and land into an office," he insists.

In the early days he took his pizzas round in his own truck, having perfected the product with some rule-of-thumb market research: he gave away pizzas to teenagers around the neighbourhood of Barrio del Pilar every day for a fortnight, experimenting with different dough mixtures until they gave him the thumbs-up.

The formula took off instantly. Spaniards loved the novelty of ordering something by phone and receiving it within minutes. Fast food was barely known here when Fernandez started out. But he spotted the same trends at work in Spain that had inspired the fast-food revolution in the US. More and more women were joining the labour market with less time to shop and cook, so families looked to fast food as an appetising alternative to traditional home cooking. The sector in Spain is only a tenth of that in Britain, but it is growing at more than 30 per cent a year.

"Leo", as even his bikers call him, fled Cuba at the age of 13 in 1960, after Fidel Castro came to power. "My father sent me to Florida to improve my English, but a year later my parents' property was expropriated and they came too."

He joined the US army in 1967, and served as a captain in the Vietnam war. He narrowly avoided being sent on a spying mission to Cambodia when a soldier he had trained in officer school at Fort Belvoir assigned him a desk job.

Speaking Spanish with a Cuban lilt and English like a Floridian, he switches effortlessly between the two. He became a soap salesman for Proctor and Gamble in 1971 and within three months broke through his annual target for selling tablets of Camay. Disgusted at the paltry $1,000 bonus he was offered, he quit and joined Johnson and Johnson, who in 1981 sent him to run sales and marketing in Spain.

"By then I was 40 and my father told me that if you hadn't founded a business by then, it would be too late. So I decided to give it a try." He was still at Johnsons when he started putting in night-shifts at his little pizza parlour, receiving funny looks from his executive colleagues. But his detractors were soon eating their words, along with his pizzas. TelePizza breezed through Spain's 1993 recession with a 60 per cent growth in sales.

In 1997, Fernandez bought out his main Spanish competitor, Pizza World, increasing his outlets by 110 at a stroke and becoming market leader, controlling 62 per cent of the country's pizza deliveries. The move gave the company a big stake in the northeast region of Catalonia, springboard for imminent expansion into France. Mr Fernandez has persuaded Poles, Mexicans, Chileans and Portuguese
to tuck into his pizzas, and he is looking out for other countries to conquer. Recent acquisitions in Spain include a transport firm and a cheese provider.

More than a year ago the company opened a chicken and ribs outlet in Madrid - TeleGrill - and plans to diversify into oriental, Mediterranean and Tex-Mex food. "It's important to offer variety, because you don't want to eat pizza every day," Fernandez explains with implacable and cheery logic.

He strives to turn traditional Spanish habits to his advantage, launching special summer promotions for men left alone in the city while their families are away enjoying beach holidays. Named after the Spanish nickname for such temporarily single men - who have a reputation as sexual predators - his tailor-made menus for them are called "TeleRodriguez".

TelePizza has even tuned into Spain's passion for football. Millions watch football on television six nights a week, and for matches between top teams, such as Barcelona and Real Madrid, Mr Fernandez hires extra staff who deliver hundreds of thousands of pizzas. He is discreet about own sporting loyalties, conscious that in the competitive world of football and fast food, he always comes out on top: "You see, sometimes Real Madrid wins, sometimes Barcelona wins. But TelePizza always wins."

Like hoover and xerox, TelePizza has become a generic word in Spain and the company's success has spawned dozens of wannabes, like TelePaella and TeleChino. As conclusive proof that the American way has vanquished the bastion of Spanish fast food, a leaflet just dropped through my letterbox offering, inevitably, TeleTapas.

Caption: TelePizza boss Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals not only awakened Spain's taste for pizzas, he satisfied the appetite for shares Gloria Rodriguez

---- INDEX REFERENCES ----
CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all applicable provisions of the District of Columbia NonProfit Corporation Act have been complied with and accordingly, this CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION is hereby issued to:

CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this office to be affixed as of the 1st day of September, 2000.

Lloyd J. Jordan
Director

Patricia E. Grays
Acting Administrator
Business Regulation Administration

Anthony A. Williams
Mayor
ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION

OF

Citizens for Liberty in Cuba

TO: Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs
    Business Regulation Administration
    Corporations Division
    941 North Capitol Street, N.E.
    Washington, D.C. 20002

We, the undersigned natural persons of the age of twenty-one years or more, acting as incorporators of a corporation under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act (D.C. code, 1981 edition, Title 29, Chapter 5), adopt the following Articles of Incorporation:

FIRST: The name of the corporation is Citizens for Liberty in Cuba (the "Corporation").

SECOND: The period of the Corporation's duration is perpetual.

THIRD: The Corporation is organized exclusively to engage in the promotion of social welfare within the meaning of Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as now in effect or as may hereafter be amended ("the Code"). The purposes for which the Corporation is formed are:

A. To promote respect for human rights, democracy, and individual freedom in Cuba; and

B. To engage in any lawful act or activity for which corporations may be organized under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

In furtherance of its corporate purposes, the Corporation shall have all the general powers enumerated in § 29-505 of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act, as now
in effect or as may hereafter be amended, together with the power to solicit grants and contributions for such purposes.

FOURTH: The Corporation shall have no members.

FIFTH: The Corporation shall have no capital stock.

SIXTH: There shall be at least three Directors who, except for the initial Directors whose names are set forth in these Articles, shall be elected or appointed as provided by the Bylaws.

SEVENTH: No part of the net earnings of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to, any director or officer of the Corporation or any other private person, except that the Corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable expenses and reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes set forth in Article THIRD hereof, and at no time shall the Corporation be operated primarily as a social club for the benefit, pleasure or recreation of its members.

No substantial part of the activities of the Corporation shall consist of participation or intervention in any political campaign (including by publication or distribution of statements) on behalf of any candidate for public office. To the extent that Code section 501 is at any time amended to permit participation or intervention to a greater extent by an organization subject to its provisions, the Corporation shall be authorized to carry on such activities to the extent permitted by Code section 501 as amended.

Notwithstanding any other provision of the Articles of Incorporation, the Corporation shall not directly or indirectly carry on any activity not permitted to be carried on by a corporation exempt from federal income tax under § 501(c)(4) of the Code or the corresponding provision of any future federal tax code.

EIGHTH: In the event of dissolution or final liquidation of the Corporation, the Board of Directors shall:

(i) pay or make provision for payment of all the Corporation's liabilities;
(ii) return, transfer, or convey (or make provision therefor) all assets held by
the Corporation upon condition requiring such return, transfer, or
conveyance in the event of dissolution of the Corporation; and

(iii) distribute the Corporation's remaining assets as the Board of Directors
shall determine.

NINTH: These Articles of Incorporation, and the Bylaws of the
Corporation, may be amended by a vote of a majority of the Directors then in office.

TENTH: The number of Directors constituting the initial Board of Directors
is three, and the names and addresses, including street and number and zip code, of the persons
who are to serve as the initial Directors until the first regular meeting of the Board of Directors,
or until their successors are appointed and qualified, are as follows:

Leopoldo Fernandez                      Carlos de la Cruz
Nidwalden, Switzerland                   Key Biscayne, FL 33149
Otto J. Reich                            
Arlington, VA 22209

ELEVENTH: The names and addresses, including street and number and zip
code, of the incorporators of the Corporation are:

Otto J. Reich                            Jennifer M. Fernandez
Arlington, VA 22209                     Alexandria, VA 22304

Connie D. Reich                         
McLean, VA 22101
TWELFTH: The address, including street and number, of the Corporation's initial registered office is 1090 Vermont Ave., NW, Washington, DC 2005, and the name of its initial registered agent at such address is Corporation Service Company.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned subscribe these Articles of Incorporation this 1st day of Sept., 2000.

Otto J. Reich
Arlington, VA 22209

Jennifer M. Fernandez
Alexandria, VA 22304

Connie D. Reich
McLean, VA 22101
Date: 9-1-2000

I, F. Mohtasheme, a notary public, hereby certify that on the 1st day of 2000, personally appeared before me, O.J. Leik, who being first duly sworn, signed the foregoing document as incorporator and averred that the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

SEAL

FARIDON MOHTASHEME
NOTARY
COMMISSION EXPIRES 12/31/03

Date: 9-1-2000

I, F. Mohtasheme, a notary public, hereby certify that on the 1st day of 2000, personally appeared before me, O.J. Leik, who being first duly sworn, signed the foregoing document as incorporator and averred that the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

SEAL

FARIDON MOHTASHEME
NOTARY
COMMISSION EXPIRES 12/31/03
Date: 9-1-2000

I, Faridon Mohtasheme, a notary public, hereby certify that on the 1st day of Sept., 2000, personally appeared before me C.D. Reich, who being first duly sworn, signed the foregoing document as incorporator, and averred that the statements therein contained are true.

Notary Public

Seal

Faridon Mohtasheme
Notary
Commission Expires 12/31/03
GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS

CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all applicable provisions of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act have been complied with and accordingly, this CERTIFICATE OF AMENDMENT is hereby issued to:

CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA

Name Changed To

CUBALIBERTAD

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this office to be affixed as of the 17th day of November, 2000.

Carlynn M. Fuller
Acting Director

Patricia E. Grays
Acting Administrator
Business Regulation Administration

Denise M. Edelin
Act. Assistant Superintendent of Corporations
Corporations Division

Anthony A. Williams
Mayor
ARTICLES OF AMENDMENT
to the
ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION
OF
CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA

To: The Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs
   District of Columbia

Pursuant to the provisions of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act, the
undersigned adopts the following Articles of Amendment to its Articles of Incorporation:

FIRST: The name of the corporation is: Citizens for Liberty in Cuba

SECOND: The following amendment of the Articles of Incorporation was adopted by the
Corporation in the manner prescribed by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act:

Article First is hereby amended in its entirety as follows:

"FIRST: The name of the corporation is CubaLibertad (the "Corporation")."

THIRD: The amendment was adopted by unanimous written consent of the Board of Directors
of the Corporation.

Date: September 2000

(CORPORATE SEAL)

Citizens for Liberty in Cuba

By: Its President

Attest: Its Secretary
Dear Applicant:

Based on the information supplied, and assuming your operations will be as stated in your application for recognition of exemption, we have determined you are exempt from federal income tax under section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code as an organization described in section 501(c)(3).

Because you are a newly created organization, we are not now making a final determination of your foundation status under section 509(a) of the Code. However, we have determined that you can reasonably be expected to be a publicly supported organization described in the section(s) indicated above. Accordingly, you will be treated as a publicly supported organization, and not as a private foundation, during an advance ruling period. This advance ruling period begins and ends on the dates indicated above.

Please notify the Ohio Tax Exempt and Government Entities (TE/GE) Customer Service office if there is any change in your name, address, sources of support,
purposes or method of operation. If you amend your organizational document or
bylaws, please send a copy of the amendment to that office. The mailing address
is: Internal Revenue Service, TE/GE Customer Service, P.O. Box 2508, Cincinnati,
OH 45201.

Prior to the end of your advance ruling period, the Ohio TE/GE office will send
you a letter requesting the information needed to determine whether you have met
the requirements of the applicable support test during the advance ruling period.
If you establish that you have been a publicly supported organization, you will be
classified as a section 509(a)(1) or 509(a)(2) organization as long as you
continue to meet the requirements of the applicable support test. If you do not
meet the public support requirements during the advance ruling period, you will be
classified as a private foundation for future periods. Also, if you are classified
as a private foundation, you will be treated as a private foundation from the date
of your inception for purposes of sections 507(d) and 4940.

Donors may deduct contributions to you as provided in section 170 of the Code.
Bequests, legacies, devises, transfers, or gifts to you or for your use are
deductible for federal estate and gift tax purposes if they meet the applicable
provisions of Code sections 2055, 2106, and 2522.

Donors (including private foundations) may rely on the advance ruling that you
are not a private foundation until 90 days after your advance ruling period ends.
If you submit the information that will be requested by the Ohio TE/GE office
within the 90 days, donors may continue to rely on the advance ruling until a
final determination of your foundation status is made. However, if notice that you
will no longer be treated as the type of organization indicated above is published
in the Internal Revenue Bulletin, donors may not rely on this advance ruling after
the date of such publication. Also, donors (other than private foundations) may
not rely on the classification indicated above if they were in part responsible
for, or were aware of, the act that resulted in your loss of that classification,
or if they acquired knowledge that the Internal Revenue Service had given notice
that you would be removed from that classification. Private foundations may rely
on the classification as long as you were not directly or indirectly controlled by
them or by disqualified persons with respect to them. However, private foundations
may not rely on the classification indicated above if they acquired knowledge that
the Internal Revenue Service had given notice that you would be removed from that
classification.

*2 You are liable for taxes under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act
(social security taxes) on remuneration of $100 or more you pay to each of your
employees during a calendar year. You are not liable for the tax imposed under the
Federal Unemployment Tax Act.

If it is determined that you are a private foundation, you will be subject to
excise taxes under Chapter 42 of the Code. You also may be subject to other
federal excise taxes. If you are involved in an excess benefit transaction, that
transaction might be subject to the excise taxes of section 4958. In this letter
we are not determining whether any of your present or proposed arrangements would
be considered an excess benefit transaction resulting in tax under section 4958.
Contribution deductions are allowable to donors only to the extent that their contributions are gifts, with no consideration received. Ticket purchases and similar payments in conjunction with fund-raising events may not necessarily qualify as fully deductible contributions, depending on the circumstances. If your organization conducts fund-raising events such as benefit dinners, shows, membership drives, etc., where something of value is received in return for payments, you are required to provide a written disclosure statement informing the donor of the fair market value of the specific items or services being provided. To do this you should, in advance of the event, determine the fair market value of the benefit received and state it in your fund-raising materials such as solicitations, tickets, and receipts in such a way that the donor can determine how much is deductible and how much is not. Your disclosure statement should be made, at the latest, at the time payment is received. Subject to certain exceptions, your disclosure responsibility applies to any fund-raising circumstance where each complete payment, including the contribution portion, exceeds $75. In addition, donors must have written substantiation from the charity for any charitable contribution of $250 or more. For further details regarding these substantiation and disclosure requirements, see the enclosed copy of Publication 1771. For additional guidance in this area, see Publication 1391, Deductibility of Payments Made to Organizations Conducting Fund-Raising Events, which is available at many IRS offices or by calling 1-800-TAX-FORM (1-800-829-3676).

In the heading of this letter we have indicated whether you must file Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax. If "Yes" is indicated, you are required to file Form 990 only if your gross receipts each year are normally more than $25,000. If your gross receipts each year are not normally more than $25,000, we ask that you establish that you are not required to file Form 990 by completing Part I of that Form for your first year. Thereafter, you will not be required to file a return until your gross receipts exceed the $25,000 minimum. For guidance in determining if your gross receipts are "normally" not more than the $25,000 limit, see the instructions for the Form 990. If a return is required, it must be filed by the 15th day of the fifth month after the end of your annual accounting period. A penalty of $20 a day is charged when a return is filed late, unless there is reasonable cause for the delay. The maximum penalty charged cannot exceed $10,000 or 5 percent of your gross receipts for the year, whichever is less. For organizations with gross receipts exceeding $1,000,000 in any year, the penalty is $100 per day per return, unless there is reasonable cause for the delay. The maximum penalty for an organization with gross receipts exceeding $1,000,000 shall not exceed $50,000. This penalty may also be charged if a return is not complete, so please be sure your return is complete before you file it. Form 990 should be filed with the Ogden Service Center, Ogden, UT 84201-0027.

*3 You are required to make your Form 990 available for public inspection for three years after the later of the due date of the return or the date the return is filed. You are also required to make available for public inspection your exemption application, any supporting documents, and this exemption letter. Copies of these documents must be provided to any individual upon written or in person request without charge other than reasonable fees for copying and postage. You may fulfill this requirement by placing these documents on the Internet. Penalties may be imposed for failure to comply with these requirements. Additional information
is available in Publication 557, Tax-Exempt Status for Your Organization, or you may call our toll free number shown above.

You are not required to file federal income tax returns unless you are subject to the tax on unrelated business income under section 511 of the Code. If you are subject to this tax, you must file an income tax return on Form 990-T, Exempt Organization Business Income Tax Return. In this letter we are not determining whether any of your present or proposed activities are unrelated trade or business as defined in section 513 of the Code.

Please use the employer identification number indicated in the heading of this letter on all returns you file and in all correspondence with the Internal Revenue Service. Because this letter could help resolve any questions about your exempt status, you should keep it in your permanent records. If you have any questions about this letter, or about filing requirements, excise, employment, or other federal taxes, please contact the Ohio TE/GE Customer Service office at 877-829-5500 (a toll free number) or correspond with that office using the address indicated above.

Sincerely,

Gerald V. Sack
Manager, Exempt Organizations
Technical Group 4

END OF DOCUMENT
Florida Department of State
Division of Corporations
Public Access System
Katherine Harris, Secretary of State

Electronic Filing Cover Sheet

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Note: DO NOT hit the REFRESH/RELOAD button on your browser from this page. Doing so will generate another cover sheet.

To: Division of Corporations
Fax Number: (850) 205-0383

From:
Account Name: MURRAI, WALDO, B坰DO, MORENO, P.A.
Account Number: 076150002103
Phone: (305) 358-5900
Fax Number: (305) 358-4842

FOREIGN NON-PROFILE QUALIFICATION

Citizens for Liberty in Cuba, Inc.

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APPLICATION BY FOREIGN NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS IN FLORIDA

IN COMPLIANCE WITH SECTION 617.1503, FLORIDA STATUTES, THE FOLLOWING IS SUBMITTED TO REGISTER A FOREIGN NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS IN THE STATE OF FLORIDA:

1. Citizens for Liberty in Cuba, Inc.
   (Name of corporation: must include the word "INCORPORATED" or "CORPORATION" or words or abbreviations of like import in language as will clearly indicate that it is a corporation instead of a natural person or partnership if not so contained in the name as present. "Company" or "Co." may not be used as a corporate suffix by a nonprofit corporation.)

2. District of Columbia
   (State or country under the law of which it is incorporated) 3. 5A-2003328
   (FEI number, if applicable)

4. September 1, 2000
   (Date of Incorporation)

5. perpetual
   (Duration: Year corp. will cease to exist or "perpetual")

6. October 1, 2001
   (Date corporation first conducted Affairs in Florida - See sections 617.1501, 617.1502, and 817.135, F.S.)

7. 5315 Lee Highway, Arlington, VA 22207
   (Principal office address)

155 SW 57 Avenue, Miami, FL 33144 (Florida Address)
   (Current mailing address)

8. Operating an office of the non for profit corporation and soliciting contributions
   (Purpose(s) of corporation authorized in home state or country to be carried out in the state of Florida)

9. Name and street address of Florida registered agent: (P.O. Box or Mail Drop Box NOT acceptable)
   Name: Murali Bando Riondo 

Office Address: 25 S.E. 2nd Avenue, Suite 900
   [Miami, Florida 33134]

10. Registered agent's acceptance:
    Having been named as registered agent and to accept service of process for the above stated corporation at the place designated in this application, I hereby accept the appointment as registered agent and agree to act in this capacity. I further agree to comply with the provisions of all statutes relative to the proper and complete performance of my duties, and I am familiar with and accept the obligations of my position as registered agent.

   (Registered agent's signature)

11. Attached is a certificate of existence duly authenticated, not more than 90 days prior to delivery of this application to the Department of State, by the Secretary of State or other official having custody of corporate records in the jurisdiction under the law of which it is incorporated.
12. Names and addresses of officers and/or directors:

A. DIRECTORS

Director: Lino J. Piedra
Address: Washington, DC 20016

Director: Orlando P. Rodriguez
Address: Tampa, FL 33624

Director: Manuel Jorge Cuillas
Address: Nassau, Bahamas

B. OFFICERS

President: Lino J. Piedra
Address: Washington, DC 20016

Vice President:

Secretary:

Treasurer: Kathryn J. Griesinger
Address: Washington D.C. 20016

NOTE: If necessary, you may attach an addendum to the application listing additional officers and/or directors.

13. (Signature of Chairman, Vice Chairman, or any officer listed in number 12 of the application)

14. Lino J. Piedra, Director and President
   (Typed or printed name and capacity of person signing application)
GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS

CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that there were received and accepted for record in the Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Division, on the 1st day of September, 2000 Articles of Incorporation of:

CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA

The above named corporation is duly incorporated and existing pursuant to and by virtue of the Nonprofit Corporation Act of the District of Columbia and authorized to conduct its affairs in the District of Columbia as of the date mentioned above.

WE FURTHER CERTIFY that the above entitled corporation is at the time of issuance of this certificate in Good Standing, according to the records of the Corporations Division, having filed all reports required by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this office to be affixed this 16th day of October, 2001.

David Clark
DIRECTOR

Elizabeth O. Kim
Administrator
Business Regulation Administration

Patricia E. Grays
Superintendent of Corporations
Corporations Division

Anthony A. Williams
Mayor
Florida Department of State
Division of Corporations
Public Access System
Katherine Harris, Secretary of State

Electronic Filing Cover Sheet

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To: Division of Corporations
Fax Number: (850) 205-0383

From:
Account Name: MURAY, WALD, BIONDO, MORENO, P.A.
Account Number: 076150002103
Phone: (305) 358-5500
Fax Number: (305) 358-4842

FOREIGN NON-PROFIT QUALIFICATION
CubaLibertad, Inc.

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APPLICATION BY FOREIGN NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO
CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS IN FLORIDA

IN COMPLIANCE WITH SECTION 617.1503, FLORIDA STATUTES, THE FOLLOWING IS SUBMITTED TO
REGISTER A FOREIGN NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION FOR AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT ITS AFFAIRS IN
THE STATE OF FLORIDA:

1. Cuhu Libertad, Inc.
   (Name of corporation: must include the word "INCORPORATED" or "CORPORATION" or words or abbreviations of like import
   in language as will clearly indicate that it is a corporation instead of a natural person or partnership if not so contained in the name at
   present. "Company" or "Co." may not be used as a corporate suffix by a nonprofit corporation.)

2. District of Columbia
   (State or country under the law of which it is incorporated)
3. 54-2003332
   (FEI number, if applicable)

4. September 1, 2000
   (Date of incorporation)
5. perpetual
   (Duration: Year corp. will cease to exist or "perpetual")

6. October 1, 2001
   (Date corporation first conducted Affairs in Florida - See sections 617.1501, 617.1502, and 617.155, P.S.)

7. 5315 Lee Highway, Arlington, VA 22207
   (Principal office address)

8. 155 SW 57 Avenue, Miami, FL 33144 (Florida address)
   (Current mailing address)

8. Operating an office of the non for profit corporation and soliciting contributions
   (Purpose(s) of corporation authorized in home state or country to be carried out in the state of Florida)

9. Name and street address of Florida registered agent: (P.O. Box or Mail Drop Box NOT acceptable)
   Name: Murai Vald Biondo & Moreno, P.A.
   Office Address: 25 S.E. 2nd Avenue, Suite 900
   Miami, Florida 33131

10. Registered agent's acceptance:
    Having been named as registered agent and to accept service of process for the above stated corporation at the place
designated in this application, I hereby accept the appointment as registered agent and agree to act in this capacity.
I further agree to comply with the provisions of all statutes relative to the proper and complete performance of my
duties, and I am familiar with and accept the obligations of my position as registered agent.

(Registered agent's signature)

11. Attached is a certificate of existence duly authenticated, not more than 90 days prior to delivery of this application to
    the Department of State, by the Secretary of State or other official having custody of corporate records in the
    jurisdiction under the law of which it is incorporated.
12. Names and addresses of officers and/or directors:

A. DIRECTORS

Director: Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals
Address: Lyford Cay, Nassau, Bahamas

Director: Orlando P. Rodrigues
Address: Tampa, FL 33624

Director: Lino J. Piedra
Address: Washington, D.C. 20016

B. OFFICERS

President: Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals
Address: Lyford Cay, Nassau, Bahamas

Vice President:
Address:

Secretary:
Address:

Treasurer: Kathryn L. Grieger
Address: Washington D.C. 20016

NOTE: If necessary, you may attach an addendum to the application listing additional officers and/or directors.

13. __________ (Signature of Chairman, Vice Chairman, or any officer listed in number 13 of the application)

14. Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals, Director and President
   (Typed or printed name and capacity of person signing application)
GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS

CERTIFICATE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that there were received and accepted for record in the
Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs, Corporations Division, on the
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CUBALIBERTAD

The above named corporation is duly incorporated and existing pursuant to and by virtue of the
Nonprofit Corporation Act of the District of Columbia and authorized to conduct its affairs
in the District of Columbia as of the date mentioned above.

WE FURTHER CERTIFY that the above entitled corporation is at the time of issuance
of this certificate in Good Standing, according to the records of the Corporations Division,
having filed all reports required by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

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David Clark
DIRECTOR

Elizabeth O. Kim
Administrator
Business Regulation Administration

Patricia E. Grays
Superintendent of Corporations
Corporations Division

Anthony A. Williams
Mayor
**2003 NOT-FOR-PROFIT CORPORATION UNIFORM BUSINESS REPORT (UBR)**

**DOCUMENT # F01000006315**

**1. Entity Name**

CITIZENS FOR LIBERTY IN CUBA, INC.

---

**2. Principal Place of Business**

S315 LEE HIGHWAY
ARLINGTON VA 22207

**3. Mailing Address**

155 SW 57 AVE.
MIAMI FL 33144

---

**6. Name and Address of Current Registered Agent**

MURAI WALD BIONDO & MORENO, P.A.
25 S.E. 2ND AVE.
SUITE 800
MIAMI FL 33131

---

**9. Election Campaign Financing Trust Fund Contribution**

$5.00 May Be Added to Fees

**Make Check Payable to Florida Department of State**

---

**10. OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>STREET ADDRESS</th>
<th>CITY-STATE-ZIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>PIEDRA, LINO J</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>RODRIGUEZ, ORLANDO P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>CUTILLAS, MANUEL JORGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>GRESINGER, KATHRYN J</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIGNATURE:**

[Signature]

**DATE:**

[Date]

---

**11. ADDITIONS/CHANGES TO OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS IN 10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>STREET ADDRESS</th>
<th>CITY-STATE-ZIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRESIDENT</td>
<td>FERDINANDO PAGUI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECTOR</td>
<td>MAURO CLAVI CARON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TREASURER/SECRETARY</td>
<td>GUS MACHADO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIGNATURE:**

[Signature]

**DATE:**

[Date]

---

**CHECK HERE IF MAKING CHANGES**

☑ $8.75 Additional Fee Required

**SIGNATURE OF PERSON AUTHORIZED TO FILE:**

[Signature]

**DATE:**

[Date]

---

**FILED**

Feb 03, 2003 8:00 am

Secretary of State

02-03-2003 90141 032 ******70.00

---
STATEMENT OF ORGANIZATION

US-CUBA DEMOCRACY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

ADDRESS (number and street)
1200 WEST 49TH STREET

CITY A
HI A
STATE A
ZIP CODE A

COMMITTEE'S E-MAIL ADDRESS
USCUBADEMOCRACY.PAC@HOTMAIL.COM

COMMITTEE'S WEB PAGE ADDRESS (URL)

COMMITTEE'S FAX NUMBER
(305) [527-1214]

FEC FORM 1

DATE

FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER
C

IS THIS STATEMENT NEW (N) OR AMENDED (A)

I CERTIFY THAT I HAVE READ THE STATEMENT AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF IT IS TRUE, CORRECT AND COMPLETE.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer
Guil Machado

Signature of Treasurer

Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Statement to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 7371.

ANY CHANGE OF INFORMATION SHOULD BE REPORTED WITHIN 10 DAYS.

FEC FORM 1
(Revised 02/2003)
FEC Form 1 (Revised 02/2002)

4. TYPE OF COMMITTEE (Check One)

   (a) [ ] This committee is a principal campaign committee. (Complete the candidate information below.)

   (b) [ ] This committee is an authorized committee, and is NOT a principal campaign committee. (Complete the candidate information below.)

   Name of Candidate

   Candidate Party Affiliation

   Office Sought: [ ] House [ ] Senate [ ] President

   State

   (c) [ ] This committee supports/opposes only one candidate, and is NOT an authorized committee.

   Name of Candidate

   (d) [ ] This committee is a (National, State or subordinate) committee of the [ ] Democratic, [ ] Republican, etc.) Party

   (e) [ ] This committee is a separate segregated fund.

   (f) [ ] This committee supports/opposes more than one federal candidate, and is NOT a separate segregated fund or party committee.

5. Name of Any Connected Organization or Affiliated Committee

   Name:

   Mailing Address

   CITY

   STATE

   ZIP CODE

   Relationship

   Type of Connected Organization:

   [ ] Corporation [ ] Corporation/Trust Capital Stock [ ] Labor Organization

   [ ] Membership Organization [ ] Trade Association [ ] Cooperative
FED Form 2 (Revised 02/2003)  Page 3

State or Type Committee Name

7. Custodian of Records: Identity by name, address (phone number – optional) and position of the person in possession of committee books and records.

Full Name  GUS MACHADO
Mailing Address  1200 WEST 49TH STREET
               MIAMI, FL 33012-1
Title or Position  CITY A  STATE A  ZIP CODE A
Telephone number  305-212-2525

A. Treasurer: List the name and address (phone number – optional) of the treasurer of the committee and the name and address of any designee agent (e.g., assistant treasurer).

Full Name of Treasurer  GUS MACHADO
Mailing Address  1200 WEST 49TH STREET
               MIAMI, FL 33012-1
Title or Position  CITY A  STATE A  ZIP CODE A
Telephone number  305-212-2525

Full Name of Designated Agent
Mailing Address
Title or Position  CITY A  STATE A  ZIP CODE A
Telephone number

[Signature]
9. Banks or Other Depositories: List all banks or other depositories in which the cumulative deposit funds, fiduciary accounts, real estate deposit accounts, or real estate deposits funds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Bank, Depository, etc.</th>
<th>Mailing Address</th>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>ZIP CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BANK OF AMERICA</td>
<td>100 S.E. 2ND STREET, 9TH FLOOR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
FEC FORM 3X

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
For Other Than An Authorized Committee

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In full)  
U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

USE FEC MAILING LABEL OR TYPE OR PRINT (Example: If typing, type over the lines)

ADDRESS (number and street)  
1200 West 4th Street

City: Miami  
State: FL  
ZIP Code: 33132

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER  
C00397729

STATE A  
NEW (N) OR AMENDED (A)

3. IS THIS REPORT  
X

4. TYPE OF REPORT  
(Choose One)

(a) Identity Report  
Due On:  
Feb 20 (M2)  
May 20 (M5)  
Aug 20 (M8)  
Nov 20 (M11)  
(Non-Filing Year Only)

(b) Quarterly Reports:  
Due On:  
Mar 20 (M3)  
Jun 20 (M6)  
Sep 20 (M9)  
Dec 20 (M12)  
(Non-Filing Year Only)

(x) Mid-Year Report (MY)  
Due On:  
Apr 20 (MY)  
Jul 20 (MY)  
Oct 20 (MY)  
Jan 31 (YE)

Election on in the State of

(x) 30-Day Pre-Election Report for:  
May 30 (MY)  
Jun 30 (MY)  
Jul 30 (MY)  
Aug 30 (MY)

Election on in the State of

(x) 12-Day Pre-Election Report for:  
Oct 30 (MY)  
Nov 30 (MY)  
Dec 30 (MY)  
Jan 30 (MY)

Election on in the State of

(x) Primary (12P)  
General (12G)  
Runoff (12R)

(x) Convention (12C)  
Special (12S)

(x) Special (12S)

5. Covering Period  
07 01 2003 through 12 31 2003

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer  
Mr. Gus Machado

Signature of Treasurer  
Electronically Filed by Mr. Gus Machado  
Date 05 24 2004

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C 437g.

Office Use Only

FEC FORM 3X
(Rev. 02/2003)
# Schedule B (FEC Form 3X)

## Itemized Disbursements

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<thead>
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<th>Line</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Transaction ID</th>
<th>Date of Disbursement</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ABB19.4319</td>
<td>11/10/03</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BBB19.4508</td>
<td>12/31/03</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CBB19.4541</td>
<td>12/04/03</td>
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**Subtotal of Disbursements This Page (optional):** 8090.00

**Total This Period (last page this line number only):**
**Corporation Detail**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>File No</th>
<th>Inc Date</th>
<th>Type Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Fee Paid</th>
<th>Bundle No</th>
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<td>11/17/2000</td>
<td>NCHD</td>
<td>NAME CHANGE AMENDMENT</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>A0133</td>
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**Reports:**

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Rcvd Date</th>
<th>Filed Date</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Status Date</th>
<th>Bundle</th>
<th>Fee Paid</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>203246</td>
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<td>01/20/2005</td>
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<td>A0602</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>05/22/2003</td>
<td>05/22/2003</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A0424</td>
<td>115.00</td>
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<td>203246</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>08/13/2001</td>
<td>08/13/2001</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td></td>
<td>A0238</td>
<td>80.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXHIBIT 12
THIS EXHIBIT HAS BEEN DELETED
REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
For Other Than An Authorized Committee

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)

U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

ADDRESS (Number and street)

1200 West 46th Street

City

Hialeah

State

FL

ZIP Code

33012

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

C00987720

3. IS THIS REPORT NEW (N) OR AMENDED (A)

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)

(a) Monthly Report

Feb 20 (M2) May 20 (M5) Aug 20 (M8) Nov 20 (M11)

(b) Quarterly Reports:

Mar 20 (Q2) Jun 20 (Q4) Sep 20 (Q9) Dec 20 (Q12)

(c) 12-Day

Prim ery (12P) General (12G) Runoff (12R)

(d) 30-Day

Post-Election General (30G) Runoff (3SR) Special (30B)

5. Covering Period

01 01 2004 through 03 31 2004

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer

Mr. Gus Machado

Signature of Treasurer

Electronically Filled by Mr. Gus Machado Date 04 14 2004

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437g.
**SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)**

**ITEMIZED RECEIPTS**

Use separate schedule(s) for each category of the Detailed Summary Page

<table>
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<tr>
<th>FOR LINE NUMBER:</th>
<th>PAGE 12/82</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Check only one</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

**NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)**

U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)</th>
<th>Mailing Address 380 Heather Lane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Andreo Chapei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>State Zip Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key biscayne</td>
<td>FL 3348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC ID number of contributing</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>federal political committee.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Employer:</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed</td>
<td>Investor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipt For:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary General</td>
<td>Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
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<td>Date of Receipt</td>
<td>M / D / Y 2004</td>
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<td>Transaction ID</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amount Of Each Receipt This Period</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)</th>
<th>Mailing Address 2501 M Street, N.W. #308</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Mauricio Cisneros, Esq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>State Zip Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>DC 20037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee.</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Employer:</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipt For:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary General</td>
<td>Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
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<td>Date of Receipt</td>
<td>M / D / Y 2004</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In-kind - Consulting</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C. Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)</th>
<th>Mailing Address 2501 M Street, N.W. #308</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Mauricio Cisneros, Esq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>State Zip Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>DC 20037</td>
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<tr>
<td>FEC ID number of contributing</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>federal political committee.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Employer:</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receipt For:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary General</td>
<td>Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
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<td>In-kind - Administrative Costs</td>
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| SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional) | 2424.97 |
| TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only) | 2424.97 |

FEC Schedule A (Form 3X) Rev. 02/2005
**FEC FORM 3X**

**REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS**
For Other Than An Authorized Committee

1. **NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full)**
   
   U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

2. **ADDRESS (number and street)**
   
   1220 West 66th Street

3. **City**
   
   Miami

4. **STATE**
   
   FL

5. **ZIPCODE**
   
   33145

6. **FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER**
   
   C00387720

7. **DATE**
   
   07/09/2004

---

3. **IS THIS REPORT X NEW [N] OR AMENDED [A]**
   
   A

---

4. **TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)**
   
   (a) Monthly Report
   
   (i) Due On:
   
   (i) Feb 20 (20)
   
   (ii) May 20 (20)
   
   (iii) Aug 20 (20)
   
   (iv) Nov 20 (20)
   
   (b) Quarterly Report
   
   (i) Due On:
   
   (i) Apr 20 (40)
   
   (ii) Jul 20 (70)
   
   (iii) Oct 20 (10)
   
   (iv) Jan 31 (Y)

---

5. **Covering Period**
   
   04/01/2004 through 06/30/2004

---

**Signature of Treasurer**

Mr. Gus Macleod

Electronically Filed by Mr. Gus Macleod

Date 07/06/2004

**NOTE:** Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437g.
## SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)
### ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Committee</th>
<th>Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)</th>
<th>Mailing Address</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Zip Code</th>
<th>Date of Receipt</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Amount or Description</th>
<th>Transaction ID</th>
<th>Amount of Each Receipt for Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee</td>
<td>Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.</td>
<td>2501 M Street, N.W. #506</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>05/18/2004</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Aggregate Year-to-Date</td>
<td>SA11A1.5140</td>
<td>159.03</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>In-kind - Printing Expenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.</td>
<td>2501 M Street, N.W. #506</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>06/30/2004</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Aggregate Year-to-Date</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In-kind - Consulting Fees</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Maria Castellanos</td>
<td>2225 Granada Blvd. #24</td>
<td>Coral Gables</td>
<td>Fl</td>
<td>05/11/2004</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Aggregate Year-to-Date</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interior Designer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional):** 1959.03

**TOTAL This Period (last line this line number only):**
**FEC FORM 3X**

**REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS**

For Other Than An Authorized Committee

1. **NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full)**
   - U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADDRESS</th>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>ZIPCODE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1200 West 6th Street</td>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>FL</td>
<td>33112</td>
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2. **FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER**
   - C00397720

3. **IS THIS REPORT**
   - NEW [N] OR AMENDED [A]
   - X

4. **TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)**
   - (b) Monthly Report
     - Due On: Feb 20 (M2) May 20 (M5) Aug 20 (M8)
     - Nov 20 (M11)
   - (c) Quarterly Reports:
     - April 15 Quarterly Report(Q1)
     - July 15 Quarterly Report(Q2)
     - October 15 Quarterly Report(Q3)
     - January 31 Quarterly Report(Q YE)
     - July 31 Mid-Year Report(Non-election Year Only) (MY)
   - (d) 30-Day Pre-Election Report for the:
     - Convent (12C)
     - Special (12E)
   - Election in the State of
   - Special (12B)

5. **Covering Period**
   - 07 01 2004 through 09 30 2004

**I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.**

Type or Print Name of Treasurer: Mr. Gus Machado

Signature of Treasurer: Electronically Filed by Mr. Gus Machado

Date: 10/14/2004 17:45

**NOTE:** Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437p.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)</th>
<th>ITEMIZED RECEIPTS</th>
<th>FOR LINE NUMBER:</th>
<th>PAGE 11/47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)</td>
<td>U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.**
- Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial): Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.
- Mailing Address: 2501 M Street, N.W. #506
- City: Washington
- State: DC
- Zip Code: 20036
- FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee: C
- Date of Receipt: 08/23/2004
- Transaction ID: SA11A1.5482
- Amount of Each Receipt This Period: $585.50
- Occupation: Executive Director
- In-kind - Travel Expenses

**B.**
- Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial): Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.
- Mailing Address: 2501 M Street, N.W. #506
- City: Washington
- State: DC
- Zip Code: 20036
- FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee: C
- Date of Receipt: 08/11/2004
- Transaction ID: SA11A1.5344
- Amount of Each Receipt This Period: $210.00
- Occupation: Executive Director
- In-kind - Telephone Services

**C.**
- Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial): Mr.Claudia Cobb
- Mailing Address: 255 Auapgon Avenue Suite 333
- City: Coral Gables
- State: FL
- Zip Code: 33134
- FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee: C
- Date of Receipt: 08/11/2004
- Transaction ID: SA11A1.5282
- Amount of Each Receipt This Period: $3000.00
- Occupation: Senior Partner
- Aggregate Year-to-Date: $3000.00

**SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional):** $3735.50

**TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only):** $3735.50

FEC Schedule A (Form 3X) Rev. 02/2005
REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
For Other Than An Authorized Committee

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full)
   U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER
   C00357720

3. IS THIS REPORT NEW (N) OR AMENDED (A)
   X

4. TYPE OF REPORT
   (Choose One)
   (a) Quarterly Reports:
       April 15
       Quarterly Report (Q1)
       July 15
       Quarterly Report (Q2)
       October 15
       Quarterly Report (Q3)
       January 31
       Quarterly Report (Y/E)
       July 31 Mid-Year Report (Non-election Year Only) (MY)
   (b) 12-Day Report
       Feb 20 (M2)
       Mar 20 (M3)
       Apr 20 (M4)
       Primary (12P)
       Primary Election
   (c) 30-Day Report
       Jul 20 (M7)
       Jul 31 Post-Election Report
       General (30G)
       Special (30B)
       Runoff (30R)

5. Covering Period
   10 14 2004 through 11 22 2004

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer
Mr. Gas Machado

Signature of Treasurer
Mr. Gas Machado

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C 407.

12/01/2004 15:13
**SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)**

**ITEMIZED RECEIPTS**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMIZED RECEIPT</th>
<th>FOR LINE NUMBER: PAGE</th>
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<td>Use separate schedule(s) or each category of the Detailed Summary Page</td>
<td>19/41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committees.

**NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)**

U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

### A

**Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)**
Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.

**Mailing Address**
2501 M Street, N.W.
#508

**City**
Washington

**State**
DC

**Zip Code**
20037

**FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee.**
C

**Name of Employer**
Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.

**Occupation**
Executive Director

**Receipt For**
Primary

**General**

**Other (specify)**

**Generation Year-to-Date ▼**
4197.70

**Date of Receipt**
11/16/2004

**Transaction Id:**
SA11A1.5753

**Amount of Each Receipt this Period:**
78.74

**In-kind - Printing Expenses**

### B

**Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)**
Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.

**Mailing Address**
2501 M Street, N.W.
#508

**City**
Washington

**State**
DC

**Zip Code**
20037

**FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee.**
C

**Name of Employer**
Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.

**Occupation**
Executive Director

**Receipt For**
Primary

**General**

**Other (specify)**

**Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼**
4214.85

**Date of Receipt**
11/18/2004

**Transaction Id:**
SA11A1.5758

**Amount of Each Receipt this Period:**
17.16

**In-kind - FedEx**

### C

**Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)**
Mr. Mauricio Claver-Carone, Esq.

**Mailing Address**
2501 M Street, N.W.
#508

**City**
Washington

**State**
DC

**Zip Code**
20037

**FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee.**
C

**Name of Employer**
Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.

**Occupation**
Executive Director

**Receipt For**
Primary

**General**

**Other (specify)**

**Aggregate Year-to-Date ▼**
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**Date of Receipt**
11/18/2004

**Transaction Id:**
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**Amount of Each Receipt this Period:**
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**In-kind - Travel Expenses**

**SUSTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional):**
313.89

**TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only):**

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FEC Schedule A (Form 3X) Rev. 02/2005
REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
For Other Than An Authorized Committee

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In ital.)
   U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

   USE FEC MAILING LABEL OR TYPE OR PRINT
   Example: If typing, type over the lines

   ADDRESS(Number and word)
   1200 West 30th Street

   Check if different than previously reported (AOC)
   Havana
   FL
   33012

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER
   C20087720

   CITY A
   STATE A
   ZIPCODE A

3. IS THIS REPORT NEW (N) OR AMENDED (A)
   IS THIS REPORT NEW (N) OR AMENDED (A)

4. TYPE OF REPORT
   (Choose One)

   (a) Monthly Report
   Due On:
   Feb 20 (M1)
   Mar 20 (M2)
   Apr 20 (M3)
   May 20 (M4)
   Jun 20 (M5)
   Jul 20 (M6)
   Aug 20 (M7)
   Sep 20 (M8)
   Oct 20 (M9)
   Nov 20 (M10)
   Dec 20 (M11)
   Non-Election Year Only

   (b) Quarterly Reports:
   Apr 15 Quarterly Report (Q1)
   May 15 Quarterly Report (Q2)
   Jun 15 Quarterly Report (Q3)
   Jul 15 Quarterly Report (Q4)
   Oct 15 Quarterly Report (Q5)
   Nov 15 Quarterly Report (Q6)
   Dec 15 Quarterly Report (Q7)

   (c) 12-Day Election Report for the:
   Primary (13P)
   Runoff (12R)
   General (12G)
   Convention (12C)
   Special (12S)

   Election on
   in the State of

   (d) 30-Day Report (Non-election Year Only) (30N)
   Post-Election Report for the:
   General (30G)
   Runoff (30R)
   Special (30S)

   Election on
   in the State of

5. Covering Period
   11 25 2004 through 12 31 2004

   I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

   Type or Print Name of Treasurer
   Mr. Gus Machado

   Signature of Treasurer
   Electronically Filed by Mr. Gus Machado

   Date 02 21 2005

   NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437a.
## SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)
### ITEMIZED RECEIPTS

Use separate schedule(s) or each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

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<th>FOR LINE NUMBER:</th>
<th>PAGE 7/16</th>
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</table>

Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

### NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)
U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)</th>
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<td>Mr. Mauricio Closa-Cruz, Esq.</td>
<td>11/23/2004</td>
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**A.**

#### Mailing Address
2501 M Street, N.W. #905

<table>
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<th>City</th>
<th>State</th>
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<tr>
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<td>20037</td>
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#### FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee.
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#### Name of Employer
Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.

#### Receipt For: General

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**In-kind - FedEx**

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**B.**

#### Mailing Address
2501 M Street, N.W. #905

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#### FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee.
C

#### Name of Employer
Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.

#### Receipt For: General

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<th>Occupation</th>
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**In-kind - Printing Expenses**

Amount of Each Receipt this Period
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**C.**

#### Mailing Address
2501 M Street, N.W. #905

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#### FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee.
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Cuba Democracy Advocates, Inc.

#### Receipt For: General

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**In-kind - Telephone Expenses**

Amount of Each Receipt this Period
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**SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional) ..........................................................**

195.85

**TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only) ..................................................**

FEC Schedule A (Form 3X) Rev 09/2003
**SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)**

**ITEMIZED RECEIPTS**

Use separate schedule(s) of each category of the
Detailed Summary Page

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<th>PAGE 8/16</th>
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Any information copied from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, other than using the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

**NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full)**
U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Mailing Address: 2501 M Street, N.W.</td>
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<td>Mr. Oscar Cueto</td>
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<td>Mailing Address: 6070 Fountainblue Blvd. Apt. #13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miami, FL 33177</td>
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<td>FEC ID number of contributing political committee:</td>
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<td>Receipt For: Aggregate Year-to-Date □</td>
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<td>Mr.([L]uis([L]uis([L]i[[L][[e]]][[a]]][[n]]))((D)el((D)i(([D][i][e]))))</td>
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<td>Mailing Address: P.O. Box 352703</td>
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<td>San Juan, PR 09306</td>
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| SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional) | 1220.00 |
| TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only) |          |
REPORT OF RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS
For Other Than An Authorized Committee

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (In 166)
   [We-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee]

   ADDRESS (number and street)
   [1200 West 49th Street]

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER
   [C00387777]

3. IS THIS REPORT [ ] NEW (N) OR [ ] AMENDED (A)

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)
   (a) Quarterly Reports:
      [ ] Apr 15 Quarterly Report (Q1)
      [ ] July 15 Quarterly Report (Q2)
      [ ] October 15 Quarterly Report (Q3)
      [ ] January 16 Quarterly Report (Q4)
      [ ] July 31 Mid-Year Report (April-September Year Only) (MY)
      [ ] Taxation Report (TFR)
   (b) Monthly Reports Due On:
      [ ] Feb 20 (Q1)
      [ ] Mar 20 (Q2)
      [ ] Apr 20 (Q3)
      [ ] May 20 (Q4)
      [ ] Jun 20 (Q5)
      [ ] Jul 20 (Q6)
      [ ] Aug 20 (Q7)
      [ ] Sep 20 (Q8)
      [ ] Oct 20 (Q9)
      [ ] Nov 20 (Q10)
      [ ] Dec 20 (Q11)
   (c) 12-Day Pre-Election Report for:
      [ ] Primary (12P)
      [ ] General (12C)
      [ ] Special (12S)
      [ ] Convention (12C)
      [ ] Runoff (12R)
      [ ] Election on [ ] In the State of [ ]
      [ ] Election on [ ] In the State of [ ]
   (d) 30-Day Post-Election Report for:
      [ ] General (30G)
      [ ] Runoff (30R)
      [ ] Special (30S)
      [ ] In the State of [ ]

5. Covering Period
   [DEC 13 2002] through [DEC 30 2003]

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer
[NAME]

Signature of Treasurer
[Signature]

Date
[Date]

NOTE: Excessive, unsuccessful, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 3101.

Office Use Only

FEC Form 3X
(Rev. 02/2003)
**SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3X)
ITEMIZED RECEIPTS**

**NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full)**
U.S.-CUBA Democratic Political Action Committee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Name</th>
<th>Date of Receipt</th>
<th>Amount of Each Receipt This Period</th>
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<td>Pujale, Victor</td>
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<td>30,000.00</td>
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<td>Cerga, Fery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Almarin Antonio C.</td>
<td>06/27/2003</td>
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**SUBTOTAL of Receipts This Page (optional)**: 31,000.00

**TOTAL This Period (last page this line number only)**: 51,000.00
New lobby kills threats to embargo

A young Cuban-American lobbyist and a first-term Florida congresswoman were credited with defeating efforts to ease U.S. sanctions against Havana.

BY PABLO BACHELET

WASHINGTON - As efforts to weaken U.S. sanctions on Cuba seemed to gain strength on Capitol Hill last year, a young Cuban-American lobbyist and a first-term congresswoman from Florida swung into action to quash the initiatives.

Mauricio Claver-Carone, a director of the U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee, contacted more than 120 lawmakers, donated money to their campaigns and urged them to reject any easing of the trade and travel sanctions.

With first-term Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz, a Pembroke Pines Democrat, urging her brethren to vote against the initiatives, Congress rejected five of the initiatives two weeks ago.

Together, Claver-Carone and Wasserman Schultz represent a reorganization of the Cuban-American lobby in Washington that seems to be recovering the clout it had when the late Jorge Mas Canosa ran the Cuban American National Foundation.

"The [pro] embargo side worked the issue very hard, and there's no doubt that the campaign contributions played a part in it," said Philip Peters, a critic of the sanctions and member of the Lexington Institute think tank in Arlington, Va.

The lobbying seems to have worked. Reversing a five-year trend in which supporters of easing U.S. sanctions against Cuba were gaining strength in Congress, the House in late June rejected four initiatives relaxing restrictions, including one amendment lifting a ban on sending soap and toothpaste in gift parcels to the island and another letting Cuban Americans travel more to Cuba. The Senate rejected a measure allowing more humanitarian visits to Cuba.

"Our community decided to get involved in those races from the get-go, form relations with candidates from both parties and explain to them the Cuban tragedy," said Claver-Carone, 29, a former U.S. Treasury Department lawyer.

CANF LOST MUSCLE

CANF, once considered one of the most effective lobbies in Washington, began losing some of its muscle after Mas Canosa died in 1997. Some of its hard-line members split and created the Cuban Liberty Council, while CANF Executive Director Joe Garcia resigned to support a Democratic Party campaign during President Bush's reelection effort in 2004.

Claver-Carone's U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee -- a PAC is a special interest group registered to contribute to election campaigns -- was created in August of 2003. Wasserman Schultz helped found the Cuba Democracy Caucus, a bipartisan group of pro-embargo legislators, in April.
CAW is officially neutral on the Cuba Democracy PAC, but some of its members support it. "The idea was to find a point where everybody could rally," said Dennis Hays, a former CAW vice president and U.S. diplomat. "If you've been to South Florida at all, you know there's a tendency to splinter off into different groups."

The Cuba Democracy PAC has raised about $750,000 from 1,500 contributors since its birth. Fundraising is done out of Miami while Claver-Carone, whose father is Spanish and whose mother is Cuban American, focuses on the Washington lobbying.

According to PAC filings with the Federal Election Commission, its contributors range from retirees who chipped in with with $200 to high-profile Cuban Americans like Commerce Secretary Carlos Gutierrez, who gave $4,000 before he joined the Bush administration.

Claver-Carone says he gets paid nothing for his PAC efforts. His full-time job is running a research and advocacy organization, the Cuba Democracy Advocates, created early last year by Miami car dealer Gus Machado and Leopoldo Fernandez Pujals, a Cuban exile who built a pizza empire in Spain.

Machado is the PAC's treasurer, but Claver-Carone says the PAC is not linked to the Advocates group.

The PAC's eight-person executive committee and 17-person board of directors include Remedios Diaz and Ricardo Mayo from the Cuban Liberty Council, Alicia Ortiz and Anolan Ponce from Mothers Against Repression and business leaders Raul Masvidal, Juan Delgado and Mario Ferro, according to Claver-Carone.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, a watchdog group, says the Cuba Democracy PAC has given $214,000 to 113 House candidates and $54,000 to 12 Senate candidates. About 70 percent of the money went to Republicans.

But the Latin America Working Group, an anti-sanctions advocacy organization, says 33 House members that until last year were considered solid supporters of easing the restrictions, voted against many similar initiatives this year after receiving money from the Cuba Democracy PAC. The donations ranged from $1,000 to $5,000.

AGAINST INITIATIVES

Among those voting against the initiatives was Rep. Donald Manzullo R-Ill., a member of the Cuba Working Group, a congressional caucus that favors more trade with the island. The PAC donated $1,000 to his campaign.

For Wasserman Schultz, a 12-year veteran of the Florida Legislature, Cuba was an early test of her Washington political skills. As a whip for the Cuba Democracy Caucus, she lobbied all 42 fellow freshmen and some senior members from both parties to vote against the amendments. Her spokesman, Jonathan Beeton, claimed that she persuaded "several" to vote with her.

Claver-Carone described Wasserman Schultz' role as "particularly impacting," in the same way Miami Republican Mario Diaz-Balart was able to bring in votes from the 2002 freshman class. He added that as a Jewish American, Wasserman Schultz also shares a bond with the Cuban diaspora.

Claver-Carone says the Cuba Democracy PAC's work will continue its work even after Cuban leader Fidel Castro dies, helping the island with trade and assistance issues much like the Jewish community
extends a hand to Israel.

"That's the goal of the PAC," he said.
The following members of the House of Representatives accepted campaign contributions from the U.S.-Cuba Democracy PAC, a pro-embargo, anti-Castro organization. Listed veteran representatives voted incongruously with either one or all of their prior votes through the 2003 legislative year, or beyond, for similar amendments (charts 1-3). Some of these representatives had earlier voted in support of easing travel and trade restrictions (chart 1) while other representatives had been inconsistent in previous votes but had supported some aspects of easing the embargo (chart 2). New members listed accepted money and voted against all of the amendments (chart 4).

Although it is hard to demonstrate a direct causal relationship between accepting money and voting a certain way, we feel that PAC money contributed to this year's defeat of amendments on Cuba policy in the House of Representatives. For five years prior to this most recent vote, the House consistently voted to loosen restrictions on travel and trade with Cuba. With the establishment in 2003 of the U.S.-Cuba Democracy PAC, many House members have received the PAC's contributions and retracted their previous support for certain or all amendments. It is important to recognize, however, that each representative is distinct in his or her voting record. If you wish to know more specific information about your representative's past voting record, please contact us by phone (202) 546-7010 or by email lawg@lawg.org.

1. Previously consistent supporters who changed votes, voting against all 2005 amendments:
   - Alexander, Rodney (R-LA) $3,000
   - Brady, Kevin (R-TX) $1,000
   - Gallegly, Elton (R-CA) $1,000
   - Hall, Ralph (R-TX) $2,000
   - Hefley, Joel (R-CO) $1,000
   - Issa, Darrell (R-CA) $1,000
   - Latham, Tom (R-IA) $1,000
   - LaTourette, Steven (R-OH) $2,000
   - McIntyre, Mike (D-NC) $3,000
   - Simmons, Robert (R-CT) $1,000
   - Terry, Lee (R-NE) $3,000
   - Whitfield, Edward (R-KY) $4,000

2. Previously inconsistent supporters who voted against all 2005 amendments:
   - Bartlett, Roscoe (R-MD) $1,000
   - Case, Ed (D-HI) $1,000
   - Chandler, Ben (D-KY) $2,000
   - Pickering, Charles (R-MS) $2,000
   - Wilson, Heather (R-NM) $1,000
   - Wu, David (D-OR) $3,000
3. Accepted $$$ and reversed support for at least one 2005 amendment
See below for a more detailed description of the individual member's voting record.

- Boyd, Allen (D-FL) $1,000
- Cardoza, Dennis (D-CA) $1,000
- Cubin, Barbara (R-WY) $1,000
- Gilchrest, Wayne (R-MD) $1,000
- Graves, Sam (R-MO) $1,000
- Green, Gene (D-TX) $2,000
- Kennedy, Patrick (D-RI) $1,000
- Manzullo, Donald (R-IL) $1,000
- Miller, Brad (D-NC) $1,000
- Murtha, John (D-PA) $1,000
- Ney, Bob (R-OH) $1,000
- Ortiz, Solomon (D-TX) $1,000
- Schiff, Adam (D-CA) $1,000
- Sherman, Brad (D-CA) $1,000

Rep. Allen Boyd, D-FL-2nd, recently voted against allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake's gift parcel amendment). In addition, Boyd reversed his prior support of educational exchange by voting against the Lee education amendment. Rep. Boyd did vote for the Davis Cuban-American family travel amendment.

Rep. Dennis Cardoza, D-CA-18th, recently voted against allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake's gift parcel amendment). In addition, he reversed his previous support for Cuban-American family travel by voting against the Davis amendment. Rep. Cardoza did vote for the amendment on educational travel.

Rep. Barbara Cubin, R-WY-At Large, had moved increasingly toward supporting easing travel restrictions to Cuba. This year she supported the Davis Cuban-American family travel amendment and the Flake gift parcels amendment. She reversed, however, her previous support for educational exchange by voting against the Lee educational exchange amendment.

Rep. Wayne Gilchrest, R-MD-1st, recently voted against allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake's gift parcel amendment). Although he received contributions from the pro-embargo U.S-Cuba Democracy PAC, he claims to have returned these donations. He most recently voted for the amendments on Cuban-American family travel and educational exchange.

Rep. Sam Graves, R-MO-6th, is a member of the House Cuba Working Group and has consistently supported easing restrictions on trade and travel with Cuba. He has even supported the full termination of the trade embargo by voting for an amendment Rep. Rangel (D-NY) has twice proposed on the House floor. This year, however, after accepting PAC contributions, Rep. Graves reversed his support for Rangel's 'end-the-embargo' amendment.

Rep. Gene Greene, D-TX-29th, recently voted in favor of allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island; he also voted for lifting restrictions on Cuban-American family travel. He has, however, wavered on his commitment to end all travel restrictions. He most recently voted against the Lee amendment on educational exchange after supporting a similar amendment in the past.

Rep. Patrick Kennedy, D-RI-1st, has been a wavering supporter of ending some aspects of the travel restrictions. Most recently he reversed his support for educational exchange by voting against the Lee educational exchange amendment. Rep. Kennedy did vote for the Davis Cuban-American family amendment and Flake's gift parcels amendment.

Rep. Donald Manzullo, R-IL-16th, was a staunch supporter of ending travel restrictions; he is a
member of the House Cuba Working Group. But recently, his voting patterns have switched and he voted against loosening the most inhumane portions of the embargo. He reversed his support for educational exchange and loosening restrictions on gift parcels and Cuban-American family travel.


Rep. John Murtha, D-PA-12th, has been a wavering supporter of ending the travel restrictions. He recently reversed his past support of allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake’s gift parcel amendment). Rep. Murtha did vote for Cuban-American family travel and educational exchange.


Rep. Adam Schiff, D-CA-29th, recently voted against allowing people to send toothpaste and toilet paper to relatives on the island (Flake’s gift parcel amendment). He did not cast a vote on Cuba policy issues he has previously supported: Davis’ amendment on Cuban-American travel and Lee’s amendment on educational exchange.


4. New members who accepted $$ and voted against all amendments:

- Boustany, Charles (R-LA) $4,000
- Conaway, Mike (R-TX) $1,000
- Davis, Geoff (R-KY) $2,000
- Dent, Charles (R-PA) $2,000
- Drake, Thelma (R-VA) $1,000
- Fitzpatrick, Mike (R-PA) $2,000
- Fortenberry, Jeff (R-NE) $2,000
- Foxx, Virginia (R-NC) $1,000
- Gohmert, Louie (R-TX) $1,000
- Kuhl, Randy (R-NY) $1,000
- McMorris, Cathy (R-WA) $2,000
- Poe, Ted (R-TX) $1,000
- Price, Tom (R-GA) $1,000
- Reichert, Dave (R-WA) $2,000
- Salazar, John (D-CO) $5,000
- Schwarz*, Joe (R-MI) $1,000
- Sodrel, Mike (R-IN) $1,000
- Wasserman Schultz, Debbie (D-FL) $3,000
- Westmoreland**, Lynn (R-GA) $2,000

* Schwarz voted yes on Flake’s gift parcels amendment
** Westmoreland did not vote on amendments on Cuban-American travel, educational travel, and ending the full embargo