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**Third Quarter Report to U.S. Agency for International Development
National Policy Association
April 1st -- June 30th 2000
Working Group on Best Business Practices in Cuba
Grant No. LAG-G-00-00-00002-00**

The third quarter of the USAID grant to promote worker rights in Cuba was one of accelerating activity. In addition to discussions with European investors and the publication of the first *Cuba Today* newsletter, NPA gathered more than 50 business and labor leaders in Mexico City to examine best business practices and worker rights in Cuba.

Europe Trip - April 2nd - 8th 2000

The Project Director, Kaylin Bailey, traveled to Europe in early April to discuss the NPA Cuba project with business and labor leaders in Madrid, Rome and the Netherlands. Ms. Bailey met with nine organizations listed below. Attached is a detailed trip report, which contains notes on NPA's conversations with the European organizations.

Madrid Chamber of Commerce and Industry Madrid, Spain
Representatives: José María Servet, Chief of International Relations
Elsa Salvadores Janssen, Consultant

Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras (CCOO) Madrid, Spain
Representative: Laureano Cuerdo, Secretary of International Relations

IRELA (Institute for European-Latin American Relations) Madrid, Spain
Representatives: Wolf Grabendorff, Director
Andrew Crawley, Sub-Director
Francisco León, Senior Visiting Fellow (from Cuba)

CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) - Progetto Sviluppo Rome, Italy
Representative: Sergio Bassoli, General Manager

Italian Cooperative League Rome, Italy
Representative: Stefania Marcone, Official, International Relations

ING Group Amsterdam, Holland
Representative: Pieter M. Kroon, Head of Public Affairs

CNV (Dutch Federation of Christian Trade Unions) The Hague, Holland
Representatives: Gerrit Pruijm, Secretary for Latin America
Kees van Kortenbof, President, Foundation Glasnost in Cuba

Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs The Hague, Holland
Representative: Rinke Zonneveld, Policy Advisor for Latin America

Also present was Andre Driessen of the Confederation of Netherlands of Industry and Employers (VNO-NCW).

Fondel International B.V

Rotterdam, Holland

Representative: Willem C. van 't Wout, President and CEO

Principles for Private Sector Investment in Cuba

Upon the request of members of the International Working Group, NPA presented the Principles for Private Sector Investment in Cuba to the NPA Board of Trustees on April 12. The Board expressed its general support for the principles.

***Cuba Today: Best Business Practices and Labor Rights* newsletter**

The first newsletter of the NPA Cuba project was produced during the third quarter. This first edition included a letter of introduction from the NPA President and CEO, a list of members of the International Working Group, and articles by two of the Working Group members (Liduiné Zumpolle of Pax Christi Netherlands and Guillermo Grenier of Florida International University). *Cuba Today* was distributed to over 800 individuals, corporations and NGOs in sixteen countries. Attached is a copy of the newsletter. The second edition will be disseminated at the end of the summer, and it will include articles by Pedro Pérez Castro (Solidaridad de Trabajadores Cubanos) and Gare Smith (Foley Hoag & Eliot).

Conference on Worker Rights and Best Business Practices in Cuba

The international conference, "Worker Rights and Best Business Practices in Cuba," was held in Mexico City at the Club de Industriales on June 16, 2000. The staff of the Consejo Mexicano de Comercio Exterior (COMCE), a member of the International Working Group, was enormously helpful in arranging for the logistics of the conference. With conference registration available in both the US and Mexico, NPA ultimately registered 67 participants for the event (participant list attached). The conference featured high-level speakers in the areas of corporate codes of conduct, the Cuban economy, and the current labor situation in Cuba. Selected presentations made at the conference will be published in the fall issue of *Looking Ahead*, NPA's quarterly journal.

CONFERENCE AGENDA:

8:15 a.m. **Registration**

9:00 a.m. **Welcoming Remarks**

Dr. Charles Barrett, Chair, NPA Cuba Working Group
Amb. Anthony C.E. Quainton, President and CEO, NPA

- 9:15 a.m. **International Corporate Codes of Conduct**
Howard Sullivan, Global Sullivan Principles
Gare Smith, Foley Hoag & Eliot LLP
- 10:30 a.m. **Coffee Break**
- 10:45 a.m. **The Current State of Foreign Investment and Worker Rights in Cuba**
Ambassador Otto Reich, US Cuba Business Council
Benjamin Davis, American Center for International Labor Solidarity, AFL-CIO
- 12:00 p.m. **Next Steps for the Promotion of Worker Rights in Cuba**
Francisco León, Senior Fellow, Instituto de Relaciones Europeo-Latinoamericanas (Madrid)
- 1:30 p.m. **Luncheon: The ILO in Latin America/Cuba**
Pedro Pérez Castro, Solidaridad de Trabajadores Cubanos (Venezuela)
- 2:45 p.m. **Closing Remarks**
Dr. Charles Barrett, Chair, NPA Cuba Working Group
Amb. Anthony C.E. Quainton, President and CEO, NPA

Upcoming Events

Ambassador Anthony C.E. Quainton, President and CEO of NPA, will present a paper on the NPA Cuba project to the Tenth Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy on August 4, 2000.

A delegation from the NPA Cuba Working Group is planning a visit to Cuba in August to talk with foreign investors and labor leaders (including representatives of the independent labor movement).

**2000 Cuba Conference
Mexico City, Mexico
June 16, 2000
REGISTERED PARTICIPANTS**

Attendees

Mr. Javier Amtmann

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Laboratorios Sanfer, SA de CV
Mexico, D.F.

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Partner in Charge--Agribusiness, Food and Automotive
KPMG Cárdenas Dosal, S.C.
Mexico, D.F.

Mr. Adolfo Autrey

Chairman
Casa Autrey, S.A. de C.V.
Mexico, D.F.

Mr. Rafael Ayala

Director del Trabajo
Direccion del Trabajo y Prevision Social del Estado
Mexico, Baja California

Dr. Charles A. Barrett

Vice-President, Business Research
The Conference Board of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario

Mr. Juan Gonzalo Botello Aranda

Gerente de Administracion y Finanzas para Centroamerica y el Caribe Departamento de Comercio Exterior
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Mexico, D.F.

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Director de Relaciones Industriales
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Toluca Mexico,

C.P. Jose Cadena Camacho

Gerente General
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President and General Manager
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Gary Drimmer

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President
U.S.-Cuba Business Council
Arlington, VA

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Counselor, Labor Affairs
Embajada de E.U. en Mexico
Mexico City, D.F.

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Hotelera Qualton
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CUBA TODAY

Best Business Practices and Labor Rights

Summer 2000

Vol. I, No. 1

Introducing *CUBA TODAY*

The Elian Gonzalez case has revived a long-standing debate in the United States about the nature of Cuban society and its institutions. Much of the argument has been presented through the perspective of Elian's father, one of Cuba's privileged few who earns dollars through work in the tourism sector, largely dominated by foreign private investment.

What has received less attention is the system of state management under which Cubans work: restrictions on the right to organize; inability to bargain collectively; and strict state control over pay

and benefits. This newsletter, *CUBA TODAY*, is designed to promote debate on these topics and to act as a forum for discussion of worker rights.

Under a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development, the National Policy Association has formed a broad-based international Working Group (listed on page 3) to develop strategies that foster democracy and enhance human and labor rights in Cuba. The Working Group seeks to promote best business practices among multinational companies in Cuba, especially in the foreign investment sector. Many of these firms have well-established commitments to basic

worker rights in their overseas operations, but have been less aggressive in advocating worker rights in Cuba's very particular political system.

The Working Group is calling on multinational firms to be more active in persuading Cuban authorities to provide workers with internationally recognized benefits and rights. Clearly this is no easy task. It is, however, an area where international business and labor must work together to uphold high standards in the interest of justice and freedom in an ever more integrated global economy.

Anthony C.E. Quainton
NPA President and CEO

Labor Relations and Labor Rights in Cuba:

*Todo Tiempo Futuro es Mejor**

by Guillermo J. Grenier

Director, Center for Labor Research and Studies,
Florida International University

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Cuban workers are living in an era characterized by extreme hardship and increasing exposure to global market forces. Workers on the island are entangled in a deep economic crisis. Basic consumer items are difficult to find and are most accessible to citizens who have U.S. dollars. Rationing no longer protects all Cuban families from hunger and need. Religion has become a more important, though not a major, force for social change. The 1994 tragedy of the *balseros* (raft people) serves as a reminder that living and working in Cuba has become an overwhelming challenge for many.

Low productivity, underemployment, and inefficient use of capital resources are ever-present problems, affecting labor relations. The devaluation of the peso in 1990 has dramatically reduced the salaries of typical state workers. The opening of the economy to international investment has created a two-tiered structure in which those who work for joint ventures in the foreign sector are better shielded from the misfortunes facing most Cuban workers. Although their salaries are still remarkably low and they do not have an easy life, workers in the mixed enterprises at least have access to foreign

* "The Future Will Be Better."

(Grenier continued)

currency and often receive unofficial rewards and gifts from their foreign employers.

THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF WORKER RIGHTS

At the broadest level of institutional protection of worker rights are the International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions. Cuba has ratified 87 of these, including 7 considered to be basic for the protection of worker rights. However, ILO Conventions have never greatly influenced the development of labor relations practices in most countries, and Cuba is no exception. The nature of labor rights in Cuba is defined by its Constitution and Labor Code.

CTC leadership is unable officially to object to or veto government policies that it is instructed to follow.

WORKING IN THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT SECTOR

There are 135,000 Cuban workers in foreign investment companies, or about 3 percent of the labor force. Jobs in this sector are determined by the State Employment Agencies, authorized by the government to sign contracts with foreign partners to hire Cuban workers. The agencies screen workers not only for their skills, but also for their political attitudes, and the agencies' applicants must be approved by the Ministry of Labor. Worker affiliation with the CTC is considered nec-

essary for access to preferred jobs, particularly in the foreign investment sector.

Because the signing of any contract between a Cuban worker and a foreign company is prohibited by law, Cuban workers are officially state workers. Their relation with the foreign firm is indirect and dependent on the State Employment Agencies, which can relocate them at any time.

The top salary in the foreign investment sector can be no more than 700 Cuban pesos a month, only 250 pesos more than the top salary in the state sector. A high ranking Cuban manager at a nickel extraction site, for example, earns about 625 pesos/month in wages. The manager also receives benefits from the foreign firm's "stimulation fund," including a car for private use, a house near his workplace, and a certain amount of convertible pesos monthly. Cuban law requires foreign partners to establish incentive funds to stimulate efficiency and productivity. The funds must be financed by the surplus production of the joint venture and are not part of the official wage formula.

In essence, the foreign partner pays to the state, in U.S. dollars, 2.3 times the

scale salary for each worker—in the case of the manager, US\$1,440/month. In turn, the worker receives the scale salary from the state in pesos—the manager is paid 625 Cuban pesos/month (about US\$27). According to some analysts, this arrangement violates ILO Convention 95 (which Cuba has ratified). This states that wages must be paid directly to the worker except as otherwise stipulated by law, regulation, or collective agreement and that employers cannot limit in any way a worker's freedom to dispose of wages.

The issue of work hours is another area of contention. Workers in some hotel chains and at some shipyards, citrus plantations, and tobacco factories reportedly work 10-hour shifts daily without receiving overtime pay. Indeed, Cuban labor practices seem to ignore the overtime policy in the Labor Code of 1.5 times the rate of pay for more than a regular 8-hour work day. When a worker puts in extra hours, he or she is encouraged to "volunteer" that time. The best a worker can hope for is that the extra hours will be paid at the regular rate.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND THE FUTURE OF WORKER RIGHTS

These labor relations policies, the grave economic crisis, and the more visible opposition in Cuba have been the catalysts since 1995 for the proliferation of independent union organizations claiming to be alternatives to the official CTC. These groups are small, each with only a few hundred members, but they are seeking to diversify the voice of the workers.

The most active groups are the Consejo Unitario de Trabajadores Cubanos (CUTC); the Unión General de Trabajadores Cubanos (UGTC); the Federación Sindical de Caballeros del Trabajo (FSCT); the Unión Sindical de Trabajadores de Cuba (USTC); and the Central de Trabajadores Democráticos de Cuba (CTDC). All have applied for legalization as independent unions, allowed by the Constitution, but none has yet been approved.

(Continued on page 4)



Attending the first meeting of the Cuba Working Group were (L to R): Ambassador Otto Reich, U.S. Cuba Business Council; Phoebe Lansdale, AmCham Cuba; and Craig Johnstone, U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The Constitution guarantees freedom of assembly, demonstration, and association to all workers. However, it states that "None of those liberties can be exercised against . . . the objectives of the socialist state. . . . Any disrespect of this principle is punishable." The Labor Code contains similar language.

International observers have criticized the code because it specifically refers to the Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC) as the only legitimate labor organization in Cuba. The CTC itself is criticized as serving merely as a transmission belt to communicate government policy decisions to its members. This is by design. The Cuban Communist Party has a dominant voice in selecting CTC leadership and in establishing labor policy. The

Europe and Cuba: The Dilemma of Economic Interests Versus Human Rights

by *Lidwine Zumpolle*

*Coordinator, Latin American Department, Pax Christi Netherlands and Jan Dagen**

It is not easy to encompass European-Cuban relations in a single, clear policy. In 1996, after long debates throughout Europe, the European Council of Ministers, in conjunction with the European Parliament and the European Commission, agreed on a Common Position for Relations with Cuba. The document spelled out the European Union's goal of promoting human rights and democracy in Cuba and reaffirmed the EU's position to do nothing to worsen the situation for the Cuban people.

This affirmation was an indirect rejection of the U.S. embargo against Cuba. Indeed, EU policy is often a reaction to what the United States says and does. European institutions tend to reject U.S. proposals as attempts to promote American hegemony. In terms of Cuba, this EU stance translates into minimal action on the issue of human rights and an over-eagerness to invest in Cuba before U.S. firms return to the island, regardless of the human rights situation.

Also affecting European-Cuban relations is the lack of information about Cuba in the EU. The media tend to describe Cuba as a small island that has not lost its spirit or will as it copes with the effects of a 40-year embargo. European discussions about human rights in Cuba are thus often limited by the belief that life there is no worse than in many countries. Because the media and the EU governments have not made efforts to educate the public on the real human rights situation in Cuba, some Europeans understandably want to invest, visit, and even defend Cuba.

Privately, European institutions welcome Cuba's desire to join the Lomé Convention (an agreement between the EU and former colonies in Africa, the Carib-

bean, and the Pacific). If accepted, Cuba would be eligible for financial assistance, a move consistent with the Common Position's goal to increase constructive engagement. In addition, the convention's human rights clause officially gave EU institutions more political and economic power. If Cuba joined Lomé, Cuban officials would have to engage in deeper dialogue or face the possibility of losing EU assistance. However, Cuba withdrew its candidacy after being condemned on human rights at the United Nations April 2000 meeting in Geneva.

MAKING HUMAN RIGHTS A PRIORITY

There is vigorous debate in European capitals about Cuba policy, but human rights is not yet a priority in these discussions. All member states encourage further investment in Cuba as a way of promoting the transition to democracy through the spillover effects of the economic "miracle." But European governments are unwilling to unite to demand that Castro respect internationally recognized human rights such as the International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, particularly when these policies affect European companies doing business with Cuba.

It is not that constructive engagement cannot work; on the contrary, the effects can be seen in Cuba. However, constructive engagement and interdependence affect only a small, tightly controlled Cuban elite. European firms, along with Canadian enterprises, have the potential to exert pressure on Cuba precisely because they are Castro's lifeline. If they would agree to demand more justice for their employees—such as direct hiring and fir-

ing practices, direct payment of salaries, freedom to keep a majority of their salaries in U.S. dollars, and freedom to form associations in the workplace—they would greatly help to redistribute economic gains from the elite to the working poor.

European governments have come a long way in defining their economic policy for Cuba; it is time for them to decide on their human rights policy. A start would be an active dialogue with the *internal dissidence movement in Cuba*, whose members are preparing intellectually for the transition to democracy.

Some Cuban dissidents are advocating reintegration with the international community and a lifting of the U.S. embargo. First, however, they want the core labor rights as expressed in the ILO Conventions to be observed and promoted in Cuba. They are also appealing to foreign investors in Cuba to conduct business in accordance with international law.

If European policy toward Cuba is to succeed, it must move beyond reacting to the U.S.'s Cuba policy. European institutions have the tools and the necessary knowledge to undertake a policy of constructive engagement that respects human rights and supports the Cuban people. They now need the political will. ■

Members of the Cuba Working Group

AFL-CIO Solidarity Center
 American Chamber of Commerce of Cuba in the United States (AmCham Cuba)
 Consejo Mexicano de Comercio Exterior (COMCE)
 The Conference Board of Canada
 Florida International University
 Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM)
 National Policy Association
 Pax Christi Netherlands
 Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum
 United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW)
 U.S. Chamber of Commerce
 U.S. Cuba Business Council
 VNO-NCW (Confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers)

* Contributor to the article.

(Grenier continued)

Department leaders and training professionals within the CTC are likewise demanding a change in the CTC's acceptance of government policies. They want more linkages to the international labor movement and greater CTC response to workers' changing needs. These internal discussions will, it is to be hoped, develop into full-fledged debates, which will be healthy for the CTC and the workers it claims to represent.

While the government has been quite flexible in bending the rules of the revolution to attract foreign investors, it has been much less flexible in its treatment of workers. Nevertheless, Cuban workers, perhaps through new labor organizations, may begin to influence the government's attitude toward labor rights. Change may also be promoted by the individuals working within the CTC to adjust the system to current global realities. In one shape or another, the long tradition of the Cuban labor movement will continue in the 21st century. ■

National Policy Association Conference on Worker Rights and Best Business Practices in Cuba

June 16, 2000
Mexico City, Mexico

Agenda

Corporate Codes of Conduct

The Current State of Foreign Investment and Worker Rights in Cuba

Case Studies: Private Sector Investment in Cuba

Next Steps for the Promotion of Worker Rights in Cuba

Representatives at the Conference will include:

FirstKey Project Technologies Inc. (Canada)

Instituto de Relaciones Europeo-Latinoamericanas (Spain)

Solidaridad de Trabajadores Cubanos (Venezuela)

U.S. Cuba Business Council (United States)

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CUBA TODAY

Summer 2000

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NPA GRUPO DE TRABAJO SOBRE CUBA

Principios Para la Inversión del Sector Privado en Cuba

El sector privado internacional juega un papel vital en la promoción de instituciones abiertas y de libre mercado y adhesión a estándares universales de derechos humanos. En virtud de que los integrantes del Grupo Internacional de Trabajo sobre Mejores Prácticas de Negocios en Cuba, creemos que la responsabilidad social en las prácticas de negocios puede ayudar a promover los derechos humanos y una fuerza de trabajo más productiva, solicitamos a los inversionistas en Cuba adoptar prácticas de negocios con responsabilidad social en sus actividades en Cuba. También reconocemos que la situación en Cuba es dinámica y que los retos que enfrenta el sector privado en Cuba son muchos. Sin importar que los inversionistas operan de manera consistente bajo leyes y reglamentos aplicables en Cuba, las empresas deben respetar los principios fundamentales de los derechos de los trabajadores y abogar por el cambio en cuanto sea posible en aquéllas leyes y reglamentos que no se adhieran a dichos principios.

Basado en los Principios Arcos (1994) y los Principios del Comité de América del Norte (1997), así como los principios de responsabilidad social de Sullivan y McBride, entre otros que han servido como un catalizador en el progreso de las sociedades no democráticas, nosotros alentamos al sector privado para que voluntariamente adopte los siguientes principios básicos:

- 1) Respetar el derecho de los trabajadores a organizarse libremente en los lugares de trabajo y escoger al sindicato que se encargue de representarlos en negociaciones colectivas de acuerdo con las Convenciones 87 y 98 de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT);
- 2) Mantener una cultura corporativa que respete la libre expresión consistente con intereses de negocios legítimos y que no condone la coerción política en el lugar de trabajo;
- 3) Buscar el derecho a reclutar, contratar, pagar y promover a los trabajadores directamente, y no mediante intermediarios gubernamentales;
- 4) Emplear prácticas sociales responsables en el empleo, incluyendo la eliminación de trabajo infantil forzado y discriminación basada en raza, género, origen nacional, creencias religiosas o creencias políticas o afiliaciones, de conformidad con la Convención 111 de la OIT;
- 5) Proveer un lugar de trabajo seguro y saludable consistente con principios de desarrollo sostenible;
- 6) Apoyar el fortalecimiento de los procedimientos legales, alentando el respeto a ser oído en juicio, a los derechos humanos y las convenciones internacionales de las cuales Cuba es signataria.

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With financial support from the U.S. Agency for International Development, the National Policy Association (NPA) began its Best Business Practices in Cuba project in October 1999 to promote worker rights in Cuba. NPA has formed a broad-based international Working Group (listed on page 3 of the Summer 2000 CUBA TODAY newsletter) of business and labor leaders, human rights groups, and private sector policymakers to develop a single strategy to foster democracy and human and labor rights in Cuba. These "Principles for Private Sector Investment in Cuba" are a product of the NPA Working Group, which recommends that they be widely promoted.

**National Policy Association
CUBA WORKING GROUP**

Principles for Private Sector Investment in Cuba

The international private sector has a vital role to play in promoting open, free market institutions and adherence to universal standards of human rights. Because we, the International Working Group on Best Business Practices in Cuba, believe that socially responsible business practices can help foster human rights and, ultimately, a more productive workforce, we urge businesses investing in Cuba to adopt socially responsible business practices in their activities in Cuba. We also recognize that the situation in Cuba is dynamic and that the challenges facing private sector involvement in Cuba are many. While operating in a manner consistent with current laws and regulations in force in Cuba, companies should endeavor to respect fundamental worker rights principles and advocate changes in laws and regulations where adherence to these principles is not currently possible.

Based upon the Arcos Principles (1994) and the North American Committee Principles (1997), as well as the Sullivan, McBride, and other socially responsible principles that have served as a catalyst for progress in nondemocratic societies, we encourage the private sector to voluntarily adopt the following basic principles:

- 1) Respect workers right to organize freely in the workplace and to choose a union to represent them in negotiations with management, in accordance with International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions 87 and 98;
- 2) Maintain a corporate culture that respects free expression consistent with legitimate business concerns and does not condone political coercion in the workplace;
- 3) Work to gain the right to recruit, contract, pay, and promote workers directly, not through government intermediaries;
- 4) Employ socially responsible employment practices, including the avoidance of child and forced labor and discrimination based on race, gender, national origin, religious beliefs, or political beliefs or affiliation, in accordance with ILO Convention 111;
- 5) Provide a safe and healthy workplace, consistent with the principles of sustainable development;
- 6) Support the strengthening of legal procedures, encouraging respect for due process, human rights, and the international conventions of which Cuba is a signatory.

Worker Rights and Best Business Practices in Cuba

16 June 2000

Club de Industriales, México, D.F.



National Policy Association

Speaker Biographies

CHARLES A. BARRETT

**Vice President, Business Research, The Conference Board of Canada
Chair and President, The Niagara Institute for International Studies**

The Conference Board of Canada is the country's largest independent, not for profit research institution, operating in the areas of economics, public affairs and management. As Vice President of Business Research of the Conference Board of Canada, Dr. Barrett is responsible for the research programs in the areas of: Corporate Finance, Financial Services, Corporate Taxation, Corporate Governance, Logistics, Strategic Risk Management and International Business.

The Niagara Institute for International Studies, is the Conference Board's leadership development arm. As Chair and President, Dr. Barrett is responsible for strategy and operations.

Dr. Barrett is an experienced research professional. During the course of his twenty plus years at the Conference Board of Canada, he has directed numerous projects and has written extensively for Canadian and international periodicals.

Dr. Barrett was born in Toronto, Canada. After graduating from the University of Toronto with an Honour B.A. in Economics he studied at The London School of Economics and Political Science where he obtained his M. Sc. and Ph. D. degrees in international trade and economic development. Prior to joining The Conference Board of Canada, Dr. Barrett was with the Department of Political Economy at the University of Toronto.

BENJAMIN DAVIS
Coordinator, Americas Office
American Center for International Labor Solidarity, AFL-CIO

Benjamin Davis is the Coordinator of the Americas Office in the Solidarity Center of the AFL-CIO. Based in Washington, D.C., he is responsible for the AFL-CIO's international cooperation programs in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Davis holds a J.D. from American University, an M.A. from the University of Michigan, and a B.A. from the University of Chicago. He worked as a union organizer and business representative and practiced labor and employee benefits law before coming to the Solidarity Center.

FRANCISCO LEON

Senior Fellow, Instituto de Relaciones Europeo-LatinoAmericanas

Mr. Francisco León received his BA and Doctorate in Economic Sociology from the Universidad Católica de Lovaina in Belgium.

From 1969-1971, Mr. León served as the Director of the Instituto de Sociología Católica in Chile. In 1971, Mr. León began his job as a Social Affairs Officer at the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL). His tenure at CEPAL ran through the year 2000, when he began his work as a Senior Visiting Fellow at the Institute for European-Latinamerican Relations (Instituto de Relaciones Europeo-LatinoAmericanas – IRELA). From 1998 to 2000 Mr. León has served as the President of the Instituto de Estudios Cubanos located in Miami, Florida.

PEDRO PÉREZ CASTRO

Secretary, International Relations, Solidarity of Cuban Workers (STC)

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STUDIES

- Industrial and Naval Constructor
- Locution
- Organization of Union Members (three years)

COURSES

- Formation of Union Members.
- International Relations.
- Member of the Institute of Cuban Studies (IEC) in the U.S.A.
- Union Christian Formation. Christian Workers Union (UTC)
- Militancy in the Town Revolutionary Movement (MRP) in Cuba 1960-1980

LABOR AND UNION EXPERIENCE

- *In Cuba* : Until to 1980 (year of departure from Cuba) Naval Constructor.
 - 1978-79 Active participant in the Dialogues of the Former Political Prisoners as their representative.
 - 1959 Union leader in the Building Sector of the Central of Workers from Cuba (CTC)
 - 1956-58 Participation in the Insurreccional Process of the Union Area.
- *In Venezuela*
 - 1980-81 Administrator in the University of Workers from Latin America (UTAL)
 - 1981-84 Adviser Coca Cola Company.
 - 1984-92 Production Manager Litográfica for Technical Forms Company (FORMATECA)
 - 1990-1996 Executive Secretary of Solidarity of Cuban Workers (STC)
 - 1996-2000 Sec. International Relations of Solidarity of Cuban Workers (STC)

PARTICIPATION IN EVENTS

- Participation in Regional and World Congresses for Workers in: Caracas, Mar del Plata, Stgo. de Chile, Sao Paulo, Mauricio Islands, San José de Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Curaçao, Aruba, Mexico, Holland and Belgium.
- Permanent pursuit and relationships Independent Unions.

OBSERVATIONS

- Prisoner of 10 years for confrontation to the Marxist Totalitarist ideology (1961-1971).
- General Secretary of Cuban Workers Solidarity (STC) abroad (1982-1990)
- Recognition, achievement and extraordinary affiliation of the Unitary Council of Cuban Workers (CUTC), in the Latin American Central of Workers (CLAT) and in the World Confederation Labor (WCL)

PEDRO PÉREZ CASTRO
Secretario, Relaciones Internacionales,
Solidaridad de Trabajadores Cubanos (STC)

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ESTUDIOS

- Constructor Industrial y Naval.
- Locución
- Organización de Cuadros Sindicales (tres años)

CURSOS

- Formación de Cuadros Sindicales.
- Relaciones Internacionales.
- Miembro del Instituto de Estudios Cubanos (IEC) en los EE.UU
- Formación Sindical Cristiana. Unión de Trabajadores Cristianos (UTC)
- Militancia en el Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (MRP) en Cuba 1960-1980

EXPERIENCIA LABORAL Y SINDICAL

- *En Cuba:* Hasta 1980 (año en que salí del país) Constructor Naval
 - 1978-79 Participante activo en los Diálogos de los Ex presos Políticos como su representante.
 - 1959 Dirigente Sindical en el Sector de la Construcción de la Central de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC).
 - 1956-58 Participación en el Proceso Insurreccional en el Área Sindical.
- *En Venezuela:*
 - 1980-81 Administrador en la Universidad de Trabajadores de América Latina (UTAL)
 - 1981-84 Asesor. Empresa Coca-Cola.
 - 1984-92 Gerente de Producción. Empresa Litográfica Formas Técnicas (FORMATECA)
 - 1990-1996 Secretario Ejecutivo de Solidaridad de Trabajadores Cubanos (STC)
 - 1996-2000 Sec. Relaciones de Internacionales de Solidaridad de Trabajadores Cubanos (STC)

PARTICIPACIÓN EN EVENTOS

- Participación en Congresos de Trabajadores Regionales y Mundiales en: Caracas, Mar del Plata, Stgo. De Chile, Sao Paulo, Islas Mauricio, San José de Costa Rica, Rep. Dominicana, Curazao, Aruba, México, Holanda y Bélgica.
- Permanente seguimiento y relaciones con sindicalistas independientes de Cuba.

OBSERVACIONES

- Cumplimiento de 10 años de condena por enfrentamiento al Totalitarismo Marxista (1961-1971).
- Secretario General de Solidaridad de Trabajadores Cubanos (STC) en el exterior, (1982-1990)
- Logro de reconocimiento y afiliación extraordinaria del Consejo Unitario de Trabajadores Cubanos (CUTC), en la Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores (CLAT) y en la Confederación Mundial del Trabajo (CMT)

ANTHONY C. E. QUAINTON
President and CEO of the National Policy Association

Anthony C. E. Quainton assumed his position as President and CEO of the National Policy Association on February 1, 1999 after a 38 year career in the United States Foreign Service. During his last two years in the Foreign Service, from December 1995 until August 1997 he served as Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Personnel. After his retirement from the Foreign Service and prior to his assumption of his present position, he was the Executive Director of the Una Chapman Cox Foundation.

From September 1992 to December 1995, Mr. Quainton was Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security. From November 1989 to September 1992, he was U.S. Ambassador to Peru. He served as the Department's Deputy Inspector General from September 1987 to November 1989.

Mr. Quainton was the U.S. Ambassador to Kuwait from September 1984 to August 1987, to Nicaragua from March 1982 to May 1984, and to the Central African Empire from February 1976 to August 1978. Prior to his assignment in Managua, he headed the U.S. government's counter-terrorism program as the Director of the Office for Combatting Terrorism from 1978 to 1981. Mr. Quainton also had earlier overseas assignments in Kathmandu, Paris, New Delhi, Rawalpindi, Karachi and Sydney.

Mr. Quainton's awards include the William R. Rivkin Award in 1972 and the Christian A. Herter Award in 1984. Both awards were presented by the American Foreign Service Association for "outstanding intellectual originality, courage, forthrightness, and constructive dissent." He has also received Presidential Meritorious Service Awards in 1984 and 1989 and the Department's Distinguished Honor Award in 1997.

Mr. Quainton was born in Seattle on April 4, 1934. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree, magna cum laude, from Princeton University in 1955. He attended Oxford University as a Marshall Scholar from 1955-58, and received a Bachelor of Letters degree in 1958. He spent an additional year at Oxford as a research fellow at St. Antony's College before joining the Foreign Service in 1959. From September 1998 until February 1999 Mr. Quainton was a visiting lecturer at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School.

Mr. Quainton is married to Susan Long, a 1957 graduate of Mt. Holyoke College. Mrs. Quainton was also a Marshall Scholar at St. Hilda's College, Oxford. The Quaintons have two daughters and one son and five grandchildren.

OTTO J. REICH
President, US-Cuba Business Council
President, RMA International, Inc.

Ambassador Otto Reich is President of the US-Cuba Business Council (USCBC). He serves as Senior Advisor to the joint USCBC-US Agency for International Development (USAID) *Cuba Transition* project. Since 1997, Otto J. Reich also has been President of RMA International, Inc., a firm which advises U.S. and multinational clients on government relations, market access and strategic planning. From 1990 until co-founding RMA, he headed the Latin American practice at The Brock Group, also a Washington-based international business consulting firm.

From 1986 to 1989, Reich was U.S. Ambassador to Venezuela. For this assignment, he received the State Department's Exemplary Service Award and the Superior Honor Award, as well as the Order of the Liberator, the Republic of Venezuela's highest decoration. Previously, as Special Adviser to the U.S. Secretary of State from 1983 to 1986, he established and managed the interagency Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean, which received the Department's Meritorious Honor Award.

From 1981 to 1983, Reich was Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, in charge of U.S. economic assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean. His experience includes service as Washington Director of the Council of the Americas from 1976 to 1981 and Staff Assistant in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1970 to 1971. From 1973 to 1976, he worked as the International Representative of the State of Florida Department of Commerce and Community Development Coordinator for the City of Miami.

In 1991 and 1992, Ambassador Reich served as the Deputy U.S. Representative to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Reich is a Director of the Center for a Free Cuba; a Trustee of Freedom House; and Vice Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Americas Program and Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He is also a member of the Council of American Ambassadors; active in the International Republican Institute; and is a director of several private corporate and other boards.

Ambassador Reich's military service included duty as a Lieutenant in the U.S. Army (Airborne) in Panama. He received a Bachelor's degree in International Studies from the University of North Carolina (1966) and a Master's degree in Latin American studies from Georgetown University (1973). He appears regularly on U.S. and Latin America news media and is co-host of CNN International's "Choque de Opiniones," a Spanish-language version of CNN's "Crossfire."

GARE A. SMITH
Counsel, Foley, Hoag & Eliot LLP

Mr. Smith is Counsel at Foley, Hoag & Eliot LLP in the Washington, D.C. office. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Johns Hopkins University, he received his law degree from the University of Michigan Law School where he was editor-in-chief of the Journal of Law Reform. He has extensive experience in business regulatory issues, international trade matters, and working with Congress and the federal government. His practice encompasses counseling companies on international business issues, including risk management and corporate social responsibility, and representing clients on government relations matters.

Prior to joining the firm, Mr. Smith was a Vice President at Levi Strauss & Co. where he supervised global implementation of the company's code of conduct regarding labor, human rights, and environmental practices; managed international trade strategies; and directed government relations. Mr. Smith served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights & Labor from 1995-1999. In that role, he helped launch President Clinton's Model Business Principles and advised the White House Apparel Industry Partnership in creating a code of conduct and independent monitoring system. He was a representative to the U.N. International Labor Organization, the U.N. Human Rights Commission, and the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Peoples. In 1998, he received the State Department's Superior Honor Award for his leadership.

Mr. Smith served for six years as Senior Foreign Policy Advisor and Counsel to Senator Edward M. Kennedy in which capacity he advised the senator on trade, human rights, and national security issues and spearheaded a variety of legislative initiatives, including the first code of conduct for U.S. multinationals. From 1985-1989, Mr. Smith represented companies in the Americas, Asia, and Europe in trade litigation; business transactions; and regulatory, economic, and trade policy matters including GATT, intellectual property rights, and sanctions compliance issues at the law firm Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld. Previously, he was Special Counsel to the State Department's Bureau of Near East Asia Affairs and a law clerk to Judge Kenneth K. Hall of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit.

Mr. Smith has authored numerous articles on cutting edge international legal issues and frequently testifies before Congress. He is an advisor to the University of Michigan Law School's Center for International and Comparative Law.

HOWARD H. SULLIVAN
Senior Project Officer, Global Sullivan Principles

- AGE: 41, BORN 1958 IN PHILADELPHIA, PA
- OLDEST OF THREE CHILDREN AND ONLY SON OF REV. LEON HOWARD SULLIVAN AND MRS. GRACE BANKS SULLIVAN

EDUCATION:

- 1976, **ABINGTON FRIENDS SCHOOL**, JENKINTOWN, PA
- 1980, COMPLETED UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES, **BOSTON UNIVERSITY**, BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
- 1983, COMPLETED GRADUATE STUDIES, **BOSTON UNIVERSITY**, ENGINEERING

WORK:

- 1983-1989, WORKED AT **MOTOROLA**, PHOENIX, AZ – MANUFACTURING AND SOFTWARE ENGINEER FOR COMPUTER DIVISION AND SEMICONDUCTOR SECTOR
 - **MOTOROLA IS ONE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST MANUFACTURERS OF ELECTRONICS, INCLUDING CELL PHONES, PAGERS, WALKIE TALKIES AND SEMICONDUCTORS.**
 - **DEVELOPED AND MANAGED FACTORY MONITORING SYSTEMS; NETWORK AND COMPUTER MANAGEMENT AND PROGRAMMING; STAFF TRAINING.**
- WORKED FOR OVER 10 YEARS (1/90) FOR ORGANIZATIONS FOUNDED AND RUN BY REV. LEON SULLIVAN
 - **THESE ORGANIZATIONS ARE OIC INTERNATIONAL (OICI), (PHILADELPHIA, PA) AND INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR EDUCATION AND SELF-HELP (IFESH), (PHOENIX, AZ)**
 - **OIC INTERNATIONAL IS A U.S.-BASED PVO DEVELOPING TRAINING SERVICE INSTITUTIONS INTERNATIONALLY IN 18 COUNTRIES, IN AFRICA, EUROPE, AND ASIA. FOUNDED 1970.**
 - **IFESH IS A U.S.-BASED PUBLIC CHARITY AND PVO WHICH SUPPORTS, DEVELOPS AND OPERATES GRASS-ROOTS SELF-HELP AND EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS IN 35 COUNTRIES, MOSTLY AFRICA. FOUNDED 1982.**
 - **IFESH'S MANY PROGRAMS INCLUDE "SCHOOLS FOR AFRICA", "SUPPORT OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA" (SCHOOL AND RELIEF SUPPLIES), "PEOPLES' INVESTMENT FUND FOR AFRICA", "SELF-HELP INVESTMENT PROGRAM", AFRICAN BANKERS TRAINING, FELLOWS PROGRAM, "AFRICAN-AFRICAN AMERICAN SUMMIT", "GLOBAL SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES", RECONCILIATION AND PEACE-BUILDING; JOB TRAINING. 12 FIELD OFFICES INTERNATIONALLY.**
 - **IN CEO'S OFFICES OF OICI AND IFESH, HOWARD HAS DONE MANY THINGS INCLUDING**

- CONSTRUCTED OVER 120 SCHOOLS MANAGING SCHOOLS FOR AFICA PROGRAM IN ZIMBABWE, SOUTH AFRICA, SWAZILAND, ETHIOPIA, LIBERIA- 200 SCHOOLS TO BE COMPLETE BY DEC. 2001;
- MANAGED RELIEF SUPPLY AND EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL SHIPMENTS OF OVER 50 CONTAINERS TO AFRICA;
- DEVELOPED NEW PROGRAMS; IFESH FIELD OFFICE MANAGEMENT; EXTERNAL / PUBLIC / GOVERNMENT RELATIONS; PROGRAM MONITORING AND REPORTING; SUPPLY AND FUND DEVELOPMENT; DEVELOPED AND MANAGED CORPORATE INFORAMTION SYSTEMS, COMPUTER AND NETWORK RESOURCES;
- EXTENSIVE TRAVEL OVERSEAS, ESPECIALLY AFRICA, 6-8 MONTHS PER YEAR
- OTHER
 - MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, PROGRESS INVESTMENT ASSOCIATES, PHILADELPHIA
 - TWO SONS—CHARLES- AGE 15, AND MATHIEU- AGE 6
 - LANGUAGES: ENGLISH, FRENCH, PORTUGUESE

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