



BULLETIN
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REBUILDING CUBA: A NATION ON HOLD A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

Cuba is not merely a nation in crisis. It is a nation interrupted—a country whose history was suspended at a point where time ceased to move forward normally and began instead to repeat itself under the same structures, the same silences, and the same absences. To speak today of rebuilding Cuba is neither a rhetorical exercise nor a nostalgic longing; it is a historical urgency that calls upon all of us, both on the Island and in exile.

Rebuilding Cuba entails far more than repairing its economy or modernizing its infrastructure. It requires, above all, restoring the human condition of the Cuban citizen—returning to them the right to choose, to speak, to dissent without fear. It means rebuilding trust—trust eroded by decades of surveillance, control, and half-truths—and restoring the very notion of a future, which today, for millions of Cubans, feels distant or even unattainable.

The vision of Jorge Mas Canosa grasped with uncommon clarity that Cuba's freedom could not depend on fortuitous events or gradual concessions from those in power. He understood that any transition must be the result of firm, verifiable, and irreversible conditions. His thinking was not anchored in nostalgia for a lost Cuba, but in the rigorous construction of a possible one.

Today, that vision remains alive under the leadership of Jorge Mas Santos and the Cuban American National Foundation—not as a symbolic evocation, but as a strategic guide. If recent history has demonstrated anything, it is that attempts to engage with Cuba while ignoring the nature of its political system have ultimately strengthened what they sought to transform.

Rebuilding Cuba therefore demands a non-negotiable premise: there can be no legitimacy without freedom. There can be no normalization without rights. There can be no development without institutions. These are not slogans—they are the foundational principles upon which any democratic society is built.

The full and unconditional release of political prisoners is not a humanitarian gesture; it is a moral imperative; they are the starting point of any legitimate process.

The legalization of political parties and an independent civil society is not a concession; it is the basis of pluralism. Free elections are not a distant objective; they are the starting point of any legitimate process.

Yet there is an even deeper dimension: the human dimension of reconstruction.

There is today a Cuba that resists within the Island—marked by exhaustion, scarcity, and daily uncertainty. And there is another Cuba in exile—marked by memory, distance, and the enduring wound of displacement. For too long, these two realities have coexisted in parallel, separated by historical circumstances neither chose.

To rebuild Cuba is also to reconcile these two dimensions—not through forgetting, but through truth; not through imposition, but through mutual recognition. It is to construct a national project that does not exclude, that does not replicate the failures of the past.

Because the Cuba to come cannot be the restoration of a historical moment, nor the continuation of an exhausted model. It must be a new stage—grounded in solid democratic principles, functional institutions, and a civic culture that values freedom as a non-negotiable good.

The challenge is formidable. It requires dismantling deeply entrenched systems of control, rebuilding the institutional fabric, and redefining the nation on foundations that should never have been lost.

Cuba does not need to be administered. It needs to be refounded.

And that refounding will not be the work of a single actor. It will be the result of a shared will: that of a people on the Island who are increasingly expressing their exhaustion and their desire for change; that of an exile community that has upheld, with dignity and persistence, the defense of democratic principles; and that of an international community that must understand that stability without freedom is not stability—it is merely the postponement of conflict.

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CUBA'S FREEDOM: LEGAL CONDITIONS FOR A DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

To speak of a democratic transition in Cuba is not to engage in hypothetical scenarios or aspirational rhetoric. It is to refer to a concrete legal framework that clearly defines the conditions under which political legitimacy can exist. Chapter II of the Helms-Burton Act leaves no room for ambiguity: without structural transformations, normalization cannot take place.

This law codifies a fundamental principle—freedom is not negotiable. The existence of a transitional government, the release of political prisoners, the guarantee of fundamental rights, and the call for free elections are not concessions; they are minimum requirements for any credible process. In this sense, Helms-Burton is not merely a foreign policy tool, but a normative statement on what constitutes a legitimate state.

Beyond its legal dimension, the law reflects a profound understanding of the Cuban problem: this is not an economic crisis that can be resolved through partial openings, but a political system that has systematically denied the basic conditions of democratic coexistence. To attempt normalization without addressing this root cause would, in essence, legitimize the continuation of the problem.

For the Cuban people—both on the Island and in exile—this carries a direct implication: freedom will not be the result of gradual concessions, but of a transformation that meets clear and verifiable standards. The law establishes the framework, but it is collective will that must bring it to life.

Ultimately, Helms-Burton is not only about policy. It is about dignity.



CUBA TODAY: THE COLLAPSE OF A MODEL

Cuba is currently going through one of the most critical periods in its contemporary history. But reducing this reality to economic figures alone would be a misdiagnosis. What the Island is experiencing is the exhaustion of a model that has lost even its ability to sustain the minimum conditions for functioning.

The deterioration of the energy sector, chronic shortages, the contraction of tourism, and the mass migratory exodus are not isolated phenomena. They are manifestations of a systemic crisis that cuts across every structure of the country. Every prolonged blackout, every hospital without supplies, every family that decides to leave is a concrete expression of that collapse.

For years, the official narrative has sought to externalize the causes of this crisis. Yet reality is becoming increasingly difficult to conceal: the root of the problem is not external—it is structural. The absence of independent institutions, oversight mechanisms, and fundamental freedoms has produced a closed system, incapable of correcting itself.

What is most alarming is not only the scale of the crisis, but its prolonged nature. This is not an exceptional moment; it is a persistent condition. And in that context, the human cost becomes increasingly evident: frustration, emotional exhaustion, and the loss of hope.

Cuba is not facing a temporary crisis. It is confronting the historical limit of a model that can no longer sustain itself.



FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN CUBA: STRUCTURAL RISKS AND STRATEGIC WARNINGS

Amid one of the deepest economic crises in its recent history, the Cuban regime has intensified its rhetoric of openness toward foreign investment, projecting an image of flexibility and willingness to change. In recent interviews with international media, including high-visibility platforms in the United States, senior government officials have insisted on presenting Cuba as a viable—even necessary—destination for foreign capital willing to engage in strategic sectors such as energy, tourism, agriculture, and telecommunications.

The message is clear: Cuba needs investment. But what is essential to examine is not only what is being said, but also what is being left unsaid.

The official narrative constructs an image of opportunity in a country supposedly in transformation, while avoiding any real discussion of the structural conditions that have historically defined Cuba's economic environment: the absence of an independent rule of law, the subordination of all economic activity to state control, and the lack of effective mechanisms to protect private property.

In this context, investment does not enter a free market. It enters a system in which the State is, simultaneously, regulator, partner, and arbiter.

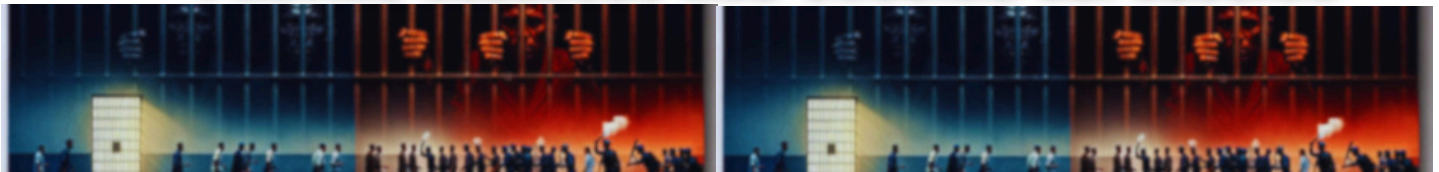
Recent statements by Cuban officials to international media reveal an effort to reposition the country's relationship with foreign investors without altering the foundations of the model itself. There is talk of incentives, flexibility, and opportunities in specific sectors. Yet there is no mention of structural reforms in the area of rights, nor of the institutional guarantees needed to support those promises.

This raises a fundamental issue: the difference between economic opening and political transformation.

Historical experience shows that the Cuban regime has used foreign investment as a survival mechanism in times of crisis, without this leading to any real liberalization of the system. On the contrary, in many cases it has served to prolong the regime's capacity for control, channeling resources without altering the underlying power structures.

For that reason, any serious discussion of investment in Cuba must begin with a fundamental principle: without guarantees of rights, without independent institutions, and without an open political framework, investment is not a solution. At best, it is a palliative. At worst, it is a carefully constructed illusion.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CUBA: BETWEEN PARTIAL RELEASES AND ONGOING REPRESSION



Recent releases from prison have, in some circles, been presented as signs of easing tensions. A more rigorous reading, however, reveals a different logic: this is not an opening, but a selective management of pressure.

Each release, however human and necessary, takes place in a context where repression has not stopped. New arrests, particularly following recent protests, make clear that the coercive apparatus remains fully intact. Arbitrariness continues to be the norm, and imprisonment is still used as a tool of political control.

The lack of transparency only deepens this reality. The criteria for these releases remain unclear, and there has been no acknowledgment of the unjust nature of the sentences.

This makes it impossible to interpret such actions as part of any structural reform. The implicit message is troubling: freedom is administered, not guaranteed.

And as long as that remains the case, the very notion of justice for Cuba's political prisoners remains profoundly compromised.

For the families of these prisoners, both inside and outside Cuba, this reality is not abstract.

It is daily life. It is uncertainty, waiting, and accumulated pain. As long as even one political prisoner remains behind bars, the system's moral debt remains intact.



THE HISTORY THAT REMAINS ALIVE

Jorge Mas Canosa | Harvard & Boston College, May 3, 1995

When the present confirms the warning, some speeches belong to their moment, while others, with time, cease to be mere words and become a lasting warning.

On May 3, 1995, at Harvard and Boston College, Jorge Mas Canosa did not simply describe Cuba's crisis. He laid bare its structure. He explained, with precision, the logic of a system that would not change, even as everything around it began to collapse.

Thirty years later, that analysis is not only still relevant. It has been fulfilled.

A NATION STRIPPED BARE

Mas Canosa spoke of a Cuba transformed into something more than an economic crisis. He spoke of a nation emptied out:

"An island without soul, without spirit, without a sense of community, without material well-being, without life."

It was not a metaphor. It was a diagnosis.

Today, that description resonates with unsettling force.

The endless blackouts. Scarcity turned into the norm. The constant exodus. Hopelessness settled in as a collective emotional state.

Cuba is not only facing a crisis.

It is confronting the profound erosion of its human fabric.

THE SYSTEM THAT CANNOT CORRECT ITSELF

One of the most lucid elements of that speech was his understanding of power in Cuba.

Mas Canosa did not speak of management failures.

He spoke of a system incapable of reforming itself.

"Fidel Castro did not respond to the Cuban people's discontent... he repressed it."

That logic remains fully intact.

Every protest today—from the streets to the universities—continues to meet the same response: surveillance, detention, criminalization.

There is no adaptation. There is no opening. There is only control.

The regime does not change in the face of crisis.

It hardens.

THE ILLUSION OF DIALOGUE WITHOUT CONDITIONS

Perhaps one of the most relevant—and most ignored—warnings was his rejection of the idea of unilateral concessions.

Mas Canosa dismantled, with clarity, a narrative that is now resurfacing once again:

"Castro wants to obtain concessions without giving any: something for nothing."

Thirty years later, history confirms that pattern.

Every time the regime speaks of dialogue, it does so out of necessity, not out of any genuine will to transform.

Every gesture made without conditions has been absorbed as political oxygen, not as a turning point.

This is not a matter of missed opportunities.

It is a matter of the nature of the system.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ERROR

Mas Canosa also identified a problem that extends beyond Cuba:

"They find fault... not in Castro's actions, but in our reluctance to negotiate with him as if nothing were happening."

There lies one of the most uncomfortable truths.

The problem has never been the absence of dialogue.

It has been the willingness to ignore reality in order to justify it.

Today, amid renewed narratives about investment, cooperation, and openness, that warning takes on renewed and critical relevance.

Because the risk is not only economic.

It is moral.

A TRUTH THAT HAS NOT CHANGED

Mas Canosa was unequivocal about what mattered most:

"Our position is crystal clear: respect human rights... and then you may enjoy the benefits."

That principle remains the point of departure.

Not at the end of the process.

Not as a concession.

As a condition.

TODAY: THE CONFIRMATION

The Cuba of today does not contradict that speech.

It confirms it.

A country where the credibility of the system is eroding faster than its own economy.

Where control has replaced solutions.

Where the crisis is no longer circumstantial, but structural.

A COMPASS, NOT A MEMORY

This is not historical remembrance.

It is a compass.

To understand Jorge Mas Canosa today is not merely to quote him.

It is to assume, with clarity, that there are no shortcuts to freedom.

That there can be no transition without conditions.

That there is no legitimacy without rights.

And that one truth, three decades later, remains intact:

The rights of the Cuban people are not negotiable.

Nor should Cuba's future be.



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