

The Cuban Museum Crisis, or Fear and Loathing in Miami

Florida's Cuban émigré community, united in its opposition to Castro, is divided on the matter of artists associated with his regime—a controversy that has brought the Cuban Museum threats, bombings and a First Amendment lawsuit.

BY ELIZABETH HANLY

The Cuban Museum of Arts and Culture in Miami, tiny and unassuming, hardly seems an appropriate setting for a First Amendment battle. But it was there that a few individuals committed to artistic freedom set themselves against Miami's Cuban power elite, and in opening the way for contemporary art from Cuba to be shown in Miami, they opened the way for political plurality in a community plagued by violent intolerance. The Cuban community in Miami was established by the politically conservative group of émigrés—mostly upper- and middle-class or educated professionals—who fled Cuba soon after Fidel Castro's radical left revolution, and who, each year since 1959, have vowed: "Next year in Havana."

The museum owes its inception to a radio news story. Mignon Medrano of Miami, now a retired businesswoman devoting full time to Cuban causes, was driving her car when she heard the report: some of the tableware from Cuba's presidential palace was for sale in New York. "I was so upset I had to pull off the road," Medrano told me.¹ "Our patrimony was being scattered to the four winds. I knew then that we needed to gather as much of it together as we could and hang onto it until we could return to Cuba."

Medrano brought together a group of businessmen and other interested expatriates. In 1974 the museum officially came into being as a privately funded nonprofit cultural center for the Cuban community. Its purpose, according to its articles of incorporation, was to retrieve, from private and public markets, works of art, historic documents, articles and relics, and to encourage and stimulate an interest in Cuban culture. At first the museum was without walls—art exhibitions, music recitals, poetry readings and dramatic presentations were held in libraries and community centers—but since 1982 it has made its home in a former firehouse leased from the city.

Contradictions were built into the museum from the start. It was conceived as a museum of Cuban art, but at the same time it was to be a museum in exile. Medrano dreamed of it as a treasury of artifacts and memorabilia, but contemporary art has been shown there as well, and it is this work that has presented a peculiar philosophical difficulty. Should "Cuban art" include only the paintings of prerevolutionary Cuba and the work of Cubans in exile and Cuban-Americans, as distinguished from works by Cubans still on the island? How should a



Ramón Cernuda, member of the board of directors and former vice president of the Cuban Museum, surveys the damage caused by a bomb in June 1990. Photo C.M. Guerrero/Miami Herald.

museum born out of the loss and rage of the exile experience deal with the continuation of culture in Cuba?

In the early days there were lectures, concerts and shows featuring the works of exiled Cuban painters such as Julio Larraz, Guido Llinas and Juan González. A large exhibition in 1980 titled "The Romance of an Era" focused on the 19th century and featured furniture as well as engravings and paintings. But occasionally dilemmas arose. In the process of organizing a 1985 retrospective on Cuban magazines from the 1930s and '40s, the question of whether important leftist magazines should be included was debated. Carlos Luis, the museum's executive director from 1984 to '89, chose to include magazine illustrations by the painters René Portocarrero and Mariano Rodríguez, both of whom had supported the revolution. Old-guard members of the museum's board of directors were dismayed. Luis Botifoll, a bank chairman and a member of the influential right-wing Cuban American National Foundation, a largely Republican association of businessmen and political lobbyists, expressed the feelings of many of the board's founding members on this issue when he stated, "The artist who compromises his art ceases to be an artist,"

i.e., the artist who supports Castro is seen as compromised. In a 1986 show documenting the achievements of Cuban women, the problem of ballerina Alicia Alonso, the former Balanchine soloist and avowed Marxist who heads Cuba's national ballet, was skirted by using a pre-1959 photograph.

The inherent contradictions of the museum became especially acute after it acquired a home and was in a position to receive major bequests and gifts. Before that time, the museum's collection, which was not often displayed, consisted of about 200 items, mostly historical documents—the letters of early 20th-century Cuban patriot and poet José Martí, for instance—and photographs, many dating from the Spanish-American War. In 1985, exiled Nicaraguan journalist Aviles Ramírez gave the museum about 15 Cuban drawings from the 1930s and '40s, including some by Cuban masters, most notably the tropical Surrealist Carlos Enríquez and Victor Manuel, the Gauguinesque painter who is credited with initiating the Cuban avant-garde. Neither provoked debate because they had died before or soon after the revolution.

But in 1987 the estate of *Miami Herald* art critic Raphael Casalins presented the museum

with his collection of 38 important art works, including a painting by Wifredo Lam, an artist whose Surrealist works are in the collections of museums around the world, including New York's Museum of Modern Art. But Lam had supported the revolution. Carlos Luis remembers perhaps a dozen heated discussions with Mignon Medrano in which "she spoke about Lam as somebody else might speak about Mapplethorpe."

Over the protest of Medrano and others, the Lam was hung. Soon afterwards, at the behest of several board members, including then-museum vice president Ramón Cernuda—owner of a profitable publishing company, Editorial Cernuda, and an enthusiastic collector of Cuban art—the board voted 38 to 3 to establish as its policy that "the museum considers artistic and cultural liberty fundamental to its existence." Nevertheless, within the year the museum would be torn apart by disagreement on that very issue.

In that same year, 1987, Cernuda proposed auctioning some Cuban art works to raise funds for the museum: collectors from all over the U.S., and a few from other countries as well, would offer works for sale, and the museum would take approximately 30 percent of the selling price. This income would be applied to maintenance, exhibition expenses, etc. The auction took place, and it raised about \$30,000 for the museum; because of its success, Cernuda decided to organize a 1988 auction as well. Many of the same painters were included in both auctions, including a few so-called "compromised artists" who supported Communist Cuba.

At the time of the second auction "the gods of Olympus became angry," Cernuda says, referring to the power brokers of Miami's exile community, those close to the networks of the Cuban American National Foundation, "and they decided to

fry me." The old guard, those who share Medrano's views, point to this 1988 auction as the start of years of legal action and hostilities that shattered the museum's fragile equilibrium, but Carlos Luis believes the cracks were present in the foundation.

According to some reports, the controversy began when an influential Cuban exile, who was previewing the paintings to be auctioned, recognized one of them—a work by Cundo Bermúdez from Cernuda's collection—as the former property of her family; the work had been left behind in Cuba when they fled. How Cernuda acquired the art work was a critical issue: buying art from Cuba is seen by the exiles as traitorous, since a percentage of the sale of any art in Cuba goes to the state and thus supports the Communist regime. Any action which might foster a market in the U.S. for art from the island is objectionable to the exiles for political reasons. Moreover, purchasing from Cuba was presumed to violate the Trading with the Enemy Act, a 1917 U.S. statute authorizing the President to embargo trade with enemy nations. Cuba was added to the list in 1963—a move ferociously endorsed by the lobby of the Cuban American National Foundation.

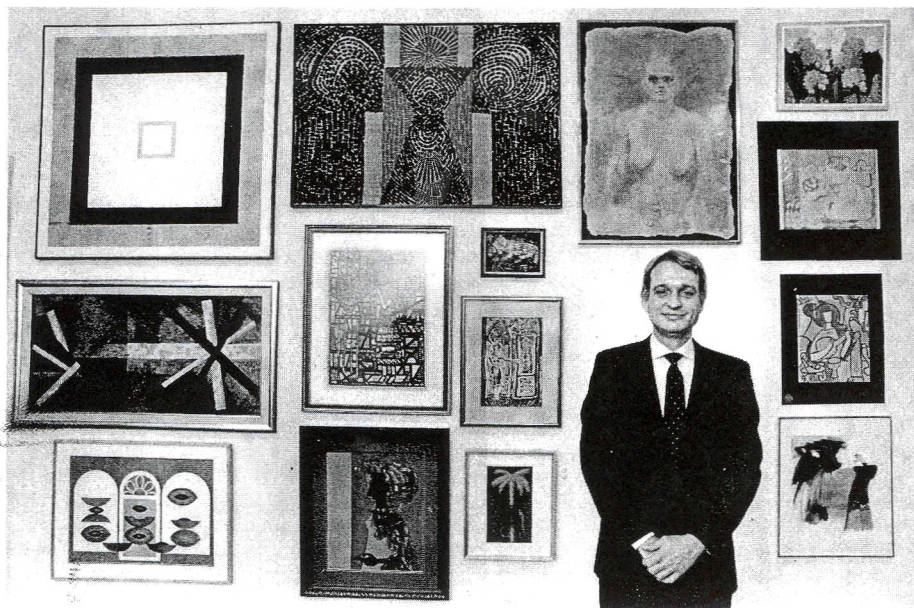
Just before the 1988 auction, held on April 22, an unknown party—some of the board members conjecture that it was the enraged former owner of the Bermúdez—sent press packages to various exile-community spokespersons, including Spanish-language radio personalities. These packages provided biographies of the "compromised artists" whose works were to be auctioned, including Manuel Mendive, Mariano Rodríguez, Raul Martínez and "Carmelo." Using this information, several of the radio personalities, on their popular call-in programs, accused the museum of harboring Communist sympathizers. (They were later to accuse Cernuda of everything from being Fidel's Miami man to spreading AIDS.²)

Cernuda called a special session of the museum's board to determine whether the works in question should remain in the auction, and five or six hours of heated discussion followed. In the end, the board voted 19 to 18 to include the "compromised" work in the auction. María Elena Prio spoke for many of the board members who voted in favor of inclusion when she said, "Living a very different reality, knowing what little I do of survival under one-man rule, I was sure of one thing. I was in no position to judge these painters."

But the vote didn't close the matter. Those attending the auction had to make their way through crowds of people shouting "Communists," and there were cries of "Repatriate the board members!" The radio shows had brought out their listeners in full force. Bay of Pigs veteran José Juara purchased a work by one of the "compromised artists," Manuel Mendive, for \$500, took it outside and burned it. Mendive's work is nonpolitical; it is almost exclusively about the Afro-Cuban gods, but it was sacrificed to different gods. According to Cernuda, a group danced around Juara as the Mendive burned. "What's so worrisome," Cernuda says, "is that these were educated people, physicians and engineers." Juara defended his inflammatory action by saying, "I'm a civilized man, but since 1959 we Cubans have been in a state of war. This was an act of war."³

A few days later, on May 3, the museum was bombed.⁴ Damage was limited to a board member's car and to the door and front wall of the museum. (A second, more powerful, bomb would explode in June 1990, again damaging the front of the building and several art works inside the museum as well. The second attack occurred during another period of strain in the community, over the question of opening dialogue with the Castro government.) Around the same time, Cuban-American legislators in Tallahassee canceled their requests for state funding for the museum. Private donations shrank precipitously. Leaflets advocating retaliation against the museum's "Red Junta" and giving the names, addresses and telephone numbers of "offending" board members were distributed. The Spanish-language radio stations continued to pound the drum. Death threats against board members were coming in so fast, Cernuda says, that "we needed to alphabetize them."

A number of board members, displeased that Cernuda and some others had chosen not to resign, themselves walked out. "Why is it always so impossible for Cubans to talk out their differences?" Carlos Luis asks. He adds, bitterly, "They walked out like 17 little rats following a Pied Piper." Several weeks later, spurning an invitation to return, the dissidents named themselves the "Cuban Museum Rescue Committee" and urged Miami's City Commission either to evict the museum from its city-owned building or to throw out its current board of directors. "A new museum will rise to represent the democratic will of the exile community," Mignon Medrano vowed. The remaining board compiled a list of potential new members, but when that list was leaked to the media, several individuals removed



Cernuda stands in front of some of the Cuban art works that were auctioned off in March 1987 to raise funds for the museum. Photo Brian Smith/Miami Herald.

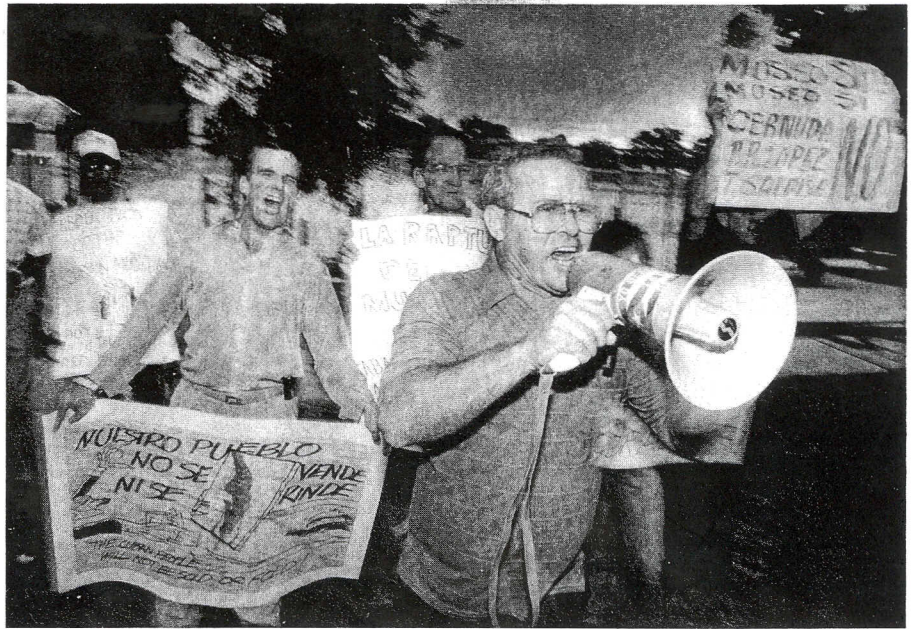
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their names from consideration, citing fear of economic or social reprisals.

As the Rescue Committee exhorted the City Commission to intercede, museum board members suddenly seemed to find themselves in various sorts of trouble. In November 1989 U.S. attorney Dexter Lehtinen brought charges of irregularities against the private law practice of one of the museum's key board members, Alfredo Durán, the former head of Miami's Democratic Party organization, but a federal judge threw out the case in April 1990.⁵ Cernuda, too, came under attack for a time and was also ultimately vindicated. His case was especially important, however, for the effect it would have on the importing of Cuban art into the U.S.

On May 5, 1989, at Lehtinen's instigation, customs agents arrived at Cernuda's office and broke into his home.⁶ They confiscated the bulk of his art collection as evidence for a grand jury investigation into violations of the Trading with the Enemy Act as applied to art.⁷ Many observers have called these actions questionable for several reasons. First, a request for an investigation of Cernuda had been turned down the year before by the previous U.S. attorney. (Richard Gregorie, who had been chief of criminal investigators at the time of the earlier request, told the *Washington Post*, "With all the things going on here—all the corruption and dope dealing—the U.S. attorney's office should be involved in this because a communist painted them? Please!"⁸) Lehtinen moved ahead with the investigation even though he declined, around the same time, to investigate several drug cases, citing lack of manpower.⁹ Further, Lehtinen's Cuban-born wife, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, who was the Republican candidate for a seat in the U.S. Congress during this period (which she subsequently won), was aided by substantial campaign monies and support from the Cuban American National Foundation. Cernuda's attorney, Charles Senatore, told the *Post*, "We don't have any evidence of a direct link [between Lehtinen's actions and his wife's campaign treasury], but we find that to be a strange coincidence."¹⁰

During the almost 30 years in which the Trading with the Enemy statute has applied to Cuba, Lehtinen's investigation of Cernuda was the only instance in which the sale or purchase of art was at issue, Senatore determined. On June 19, 1989, Cernuda filed a petition with the federal court, suing the regional customs commissioner for the recovery of his property.¹¹ He asserted that his First Amendment rights had been violated, and



Demonstrators outside the 1988 opening of the Amelia Pelaez retrospective, the new board's first exhibition. Photo Brian Smith/Miami Herald.

he challenged the constitutionality of applying the Trading with the Enemy Act to art. His attorney argued that Cernuda was being singled out, and as evidence identified 900 paintings from post-revolutionary Cuba that had been auctioned by Christie's in New York over the previous eight years.

Cernuda sees the hand of Jorge Mas Canosa in the investigation.¹² Mas Canosa, a Cuban-born millionaire and major Republican fund-raiser who is chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, often acts as a spokesperson for the exile community and has been widely quoted as saying he wants to be the next president of Cuba. Cernuda and some of his fellow board members represent a challenge to the pervasive influence of conservative Cuban-Americans on Miami power and opinion. According to the *Post*, Mas Canosa said on Spanish-language radio: "In effect we are responsible for this and other investigations that I hope will materialize."¹³ Mas Canosa was also quoted as saying that the investigation of Cernuda was "a step in the right direction," and to a *Miami Herald* reporter he described Cernuda's collecting as "a case of delinquency—a case of a man getting rich off illegal Cuban art."¹⁴ Cernuda has, possibly as a result of such accusations, sometimes been identified in press accounts as a dealer, which he specifically denies: "I am a collector, not a dealer," he told the *Post*. "The first time I sold a painting was 16 months ago and I've been collecting for 20 years."¹⁵

On Sept. 18, 1989, a U.S. District Court judge for the southern district of Florida, Kenneth Ryskamp, ordered the release of Cernuda's paintings. Cernuda had kept meticulous records on his purchases; much of his collection had come from Sotheby's and Christie's, and he had never bought directly from the island. But Ryskamp ruled that even if the paintings had come direct-

ly from Cuba, they would be protected under a 1988 congressional amendment to the Trading with the Enemy statute; this legislation, known as the Berman Amendment, exempts "informational materials," which enjoy First Amendment protection, from the statute's restraints. Cernuda was vindicated, but it cost him \$150,000 in legal expenses to defend his art collection. (When Cernuda's "arrested paintings" were exhibited in 1990, they proved to be one of the museum's most popular shows, with double the normal attendance.)

The 1989 Ryskamp ruling was the opening wedge for Cuban paintings to enter U.S. markets. According to Senatore, the ruling set a precedent with "persuasive authority" in any subsequent court case. However, the Treasury Department refused to accept that Ryskamp's interpretation of the Berman Amendment would apply to other possible cases of art importation from Cuba. In 1990, a lawsuit seeking to expand the applicability of the Ryskamp decision was filed in New York by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and 17 artists, collectors, dealers and scholars as a test case.¹⁶ To settle this suit, the Treasury Department in March 1991 finally agreed to issue new regulations exempting Cuban art from the general trade embargo. The changes went into effect on April 1, 1991. Now, for the first time in nearly 30 years, Cuban art can be brought freely into the U.S. [see "Art World," May '91].

There are those in the exile community who feel that if the museum controversy resulted in nothing more than the establishment of this legal right to bring in art from Cuba, it was worth the fight. And perhaps the decision is especially useful now, because the visual arts have flourished in Cuba in recent years. Institutions, offices and homes there are filled with works by contemporary Cuban artists, many of whom have won a

multitude of international awards. Some, such as Manuel Mendive, have become stars in Europe and in Africa. Painting is the premier art in Cuba today. Much of the best work in painting as well as other mediums falls into two categories: first, there are those artists who use Afro-Cuban religious themes (e.g., Mendive, José Bedia, Minerva López, Marta María Pérez Bravo); the second group deals with political or social themes and is far more iconoclastic (e.g., Rubén Torres Lorca, Ciro Quintana, Flavio Garcandía, Carlos Rodríguez Cárdenas). It is now possible for works by these artists and others to make their way directly to the States.

Meanwhile, the Rescue Committee's continuing efforts to exert pressure on the museum's management through Miami's City Commission were bearing fruit. The commissioners (a five-person group, three of whom are Cuban-Americans) turned a receptive ear to a succession of charges.¹⁷ Members of the Rescue Committee accused museum board members of mismanagement; they asserted that some of the paintings from the museum's collection had dis-

commissioners discussed the feasibility of evicting the museum and its administration. On at least one occasion the city offered to find the Rescue Committee a location for a second Cuban museum, but the committee would settle for nothing less than "rescuing" the old one.

Finally, in February 1990, the commissioners passed a motion stipulating their intention not to renew the city's lease agreement (due to expire on March 31, 1991) with the present administration of the museum unless there was a reconciliation with the Rescue Committee. A few contentious meetings were held between the two factions, but, predictably, no reconciliation was achieved. On March 28, 1991, three days before the expiration of the lease, the commissioners reasserted their intention not to renew it, and on that same day the museum's board of directors voted to bring suit against the City of Miami.

The lawsuit, *The Cuban Museum of Arts and Culture, Inc., Ramón Cernuda, Alfredo Durán and Santiago Morales, Plaintiffs, v. The City of Miami*, Defendant, was filed in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida, on April 2, 1991. It charged the city with violations of rights

ment rights, decided for the museum and canceled the city's eviction order.¹⁸ In a stinging 25-page decision, King stated that "the city appears to have fallen victim to the local community's intolerance for those who choose to provide a forum for controversial artists." He called the multiple audits "unprecedented in their scope and proximity to one another" and concluded that "the City of Miami's actions are an improper exercise of governmental power" because "the reasons [for eviction] asserted were either minor concerns or a pretextual basis upon which to remove the Cuban Museum and its present directors. The reason behind the City's decision was the controversial and highly unpopular views that the plaintiffs had advanced." The museum and its directors, he noted, had decided "that art should be exhibited and made available to the public regardless of the political beliefs and ideology of the artist. This decision and its expression are constitutionally protected."

The judge later stipulated that the City of Miami pay the museum's legal fees of \$38,000. The city is appealing both that decree and the decision allowing the museum to stay in its present quarters. A judgment on the appeal is expected later this year.

Mignon Medrano, from her office at the Cuban American National Foundation, insists, "Our fight will never stop until there is justice. The impostors may have won the right to stay, but they and everybody else know that they don't belong." Margarita Ruíz of the Rescue Committee suggests that some fund-raisers may be imminent to finance further legal action against the museum board.

Did the community have to be torn apart this way? More than one Cuban-American in Miami has noted that before Cernuda and the current members joined the board, there were other individuals who had worked far more quietly and effectively to widen the vision of the museum. After all, there had been that 38-to-3 vote for artistic freedom before any of the legal suits began.

Yet the explosion was probably inevitable: how far could the museum go in presenting contemporary Cuban culture before somebody interpreted their actions as supportive of the Castro regime? How many Cuban artists could the museum display before its exhibitions began to encourage a U.S. market for Cuban-made art? For all the Rescue Committee's elaborate accusations, the controversy at the Cuban Museum is simply a miniature version of the community's wider dilemma: how to deal with Cuba itself. This issue has become increasingly problematic in recent years, with Cuba in economic turmoil and isolated by changes in the Communist world. How should the exiles respond—with dialogue, with cold war or even with real war? There was a time when the community was uniformly opposed to nonbelligerent contact with Cuba. Now, opinion is not so monolithic. That's what has torn the community apart.

When young Arturo Cuenca, a "compromised artist," successfully petitioned for political asylum a few months ago in Miami, he did so at the



The original founders and trustees, gathered in 1982 at the firehouse that was to become the Cuban Museum.

appeared; in addition, they claimed that by holding a sale of donated paintings to establish a fund to aid dissident Cuban painters, the museum had violated its lease. Margarita Ruíz, the Rescue Committee's president and a local radio personality, kept the issues alive on her program, and several stations followed suit.

Within an 18-month period, the city audited the museum's financial records three times but found no irregularities. There was a state audit as well (which, Margarita Ruíz told me, got nowhere only "because Democrats still control Tallahassee"). For more than two years the city

established by the First and Fourteenth Amendments (free speech and due process, respectively). Bruce Rogow, the museum's attorney and a law professor at Nova University in Ft. Lauderdale, has mulled over the basic question of the city's involvement in the museum dispute. "It was as though two small countries were quarreling and one of them called in the U.S. Cavalry," he says. "Was the city opining on art? If so, by what right? Why else were they involved?"

Rogow's rhetorical question was answered on May 21, 1991, when federal judge James Lawrence King, citing the protection of First Amend-



Carlos Luis, the museum's director from 1984 to '89, fought to exhibit contemporary art from Cuba.

Cuban Museum. One could argue, cynically perhaps, that Cuenca knew which side his bread was buttered on—where he would find a congenial place to show his avant-garde work. But he rightly claims he would have had as much to gain by holding his press conference at the Cuban American National Foundation. He says that he preferred, however, “to bring attention to the individuals who are trying, finally, to cement our culture.”

The Rescue Committee has accused Cernuda and the other museum board members of opportunism, and certainly some of Cernuda's actions have left him open to attack. One could argue that there are ethical questions when a collector acts as auctioneer at the same time that he buys and sells, both of which Cernuda did in the 1987 and '88 auctions. But, it would seem, in the view of the Rescue Committee his real offense was complicating what was once simple. “You can never understand because you're not a Cuban,” Margarita Ruiz told me. “A Cuban must either be for or against Fidel.”

Yet not a few people on both sides of the dispute told me that the Rescue Committee's efforts went to such extremes that they boomeranged, inviting doubts about the committee's position on the museum and on Cuban politics in general, and in effect drawing a certain amount of sympathetic attention to the broader ramifications of the museum's activities. A recent Miami WLTU Channel 23 poll indicated that the exile community was divided 45 to 45 percent over the museum. “When all this began, probably less than 10 percent understood what we were trying to do, or why,” says Alfredo Durán of the museum board.

The museum is a different place now. The results of three years of dispute and uncertainty are both positive and negative. While state and local support, as well as that of certain private individuals, have disappeared, the Ford Foundation came through with \$54,500 in 1990, and

several board members have reached deep into their own pockets. The post of executive director has been vacant since Osvaldo Monzon resigned last year—no one has yet accepted the paltry salary being offered—but the programs continue. Acting executive director Cristina Nosti, a screenwriter who is one of the youngest board members, intends to restructure the museum to improve its professionalism; she is also developing plans for a seminar on censorship. She notes that as terms expire, some of the most controversial figures are leaving the board; she hopes that a gesture of welcome to members of the Rescue Committee might someday be offered and accepted.

There are more young people at the museum nowadays. Despite the founders' interest in perpetuating Cuban heritage, young people didn't congregate at the museum in the early years. But Nosti has organized a program called “Articulate,” in which young artists of every discipline come together on Wednesdays at the museum to talk late into the night about their culture. Far more Afro-Cuban artists are being shown now. During a 1990 exhibition, Juan Boza, who was a key player in the “altars as art” movement before his recent death, turned a gallery into a Santería tabernacle. At the crowded opening, musicians played polyrhythms on the sacred drums said to “call down the gods.” The museum is also weighing the possibility of bringing the work of several artists from the island to the museum, now that there is no longer any question of illegality.

“Throughout our fight, the museum has made its home on the edge,” says Nosti. “We can't allow ourselves to lose that edge.” She is committed to the idea that the museum will always show “more controversial art. When a museum is as close to the community as this one, it has a singular ability to educate.” □

1. This article is based on interviews conducted in Miami between June 20 and 27, 1991, with Bruce Rogow, Charles Senatore, Carlos Luis, Margarita Ruiz, Mignon Medrano, Alfredo Triff, Cristina Nosti, Ramón Cernuda, Arturo Cuenca, María Elena Prío, Maurice Rosen, Alfredo Durán, Santiago Morales, Osvaldo Monzon, Ana Rosa de Velasco, Margarita Cano and *Miami Herald* art critic Helen Cohn. No city commissioners were available to discuss the Cuban Museum issue. Indeed, none would return my phone calls. All unattributed quotes are from interviews with the author.

2. Cernuda as well as several other interviewees told me about the accusations made by various right-wing radio personalities.

3. *Miami Herald*, April 23, 1988.

4. *Miami Herald*, May 4, 1988, and following.

5. Durán and other interviewees told me about these charges.

6. For a lengthy account of the Cernuda confiscation case, see the *Washington Post*, Aug. 24, 1989. The *Post* reported that “the heavy front door of the apartment had been smashed off the frame” and required \$1,000 in repairs.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. Among the critics of this action was U.S. District Court judge Kenneth Ryskamp, who was quoted in the *Post* as saying, “I find it somewhat unusual that the U.S. attorney has announced publicly he's not going to prosecute less than five kilograms of cocaine ... and

The museum's directors, the judge noted, decided that art should be shown regardless of the artist's politics or ideology; both that decision and its expression, he ruled, are constitutionally protected.

then expends his resources going after paintings. ... I don't understand the priorities.” *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.* Senator made the same point to me in a personal interview in June '91.

11. *Cernuda v. Heavey*, case 89-1265-CIV-Ryskamp, filed in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida.

12. *Washington Post*, op. cit. He repeated these assertions to me in a personal interview in Miami in June '91.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Miami Herald*, July 23, 1989.

15. *Washington Post*, op. cit.

16. Dore Ashton, et al. v. R. Richard Newcomb, et ano., filed June 5, 1990, before Judge Louis L. Stanton in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York.

17. Details of the involvement of the City Commission in the Cuban Museum dispute were set forth in documents relating to a suit brought in 1991 by the Cuban Museum against the City of Miami. “The City launched investigations of virtually every allegation that was made concerning the Cuban Museum,” a court document noted. (See footnote 17.)

18. Judge King's Final Order Granting Injunctive Relief in Florida Case No. 91-0656-CIV-King summarizes the harassment of the Cuban Museum by the Rescue Committee and various Miami agencies.

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Margarita F. Ruiz, president of the Cuban Museum Rescue Committee, which opposes “compromised” art.