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17 September 1996

*File -
Cuba issues*

MEMORANDUM TO SANDY BERGER

CC: Alexis Herman
David Wofford
Tom Shea

From: Harold Ickes *HI*

Re: Orestes Lorenzo - bringing his mother and father to
Florida to pay their respects to his uncle who died
this past summer

Attached is a self explanatory 17 September letter to me from Pamela S. Falk concerning Orestes Lorenzo, the pilot who rescued his wife and children on a Cuban highway in 1992 after defecting from Cuba 2 years earlier, who is trying to bring his mother and father to Florida to visit in order to pay their respects to his uncle, who apparently died this past summer. According to Ms. Falk, their request is "logjammed" at the State Department.

Let's discuss how to respond.

CARIBBEAN CULTURAL CENTER

Pamela S. Falk
Senior Fellow

[REDACTED]

September 17, 1996

To: Harold Ickes, Esq.
The White House
1st floor West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20502

PERSONAL
&
CONFIDENTIAL

By telecopier: 202-456-2464

DETERMINED TO BE AN
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INITIALS: JM DATE: 6/12/18

2016-0920-F

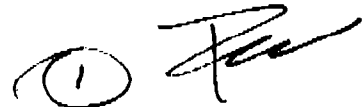
Dear Harold:

I am writing to you as someone who I know is concerned about basic human issues. As you know, I am a strong supporter of the President and have agreed to speak during the campaign as a surrogate speaker on issues related to Latin America. For this reason, I wanted to bring an issue to your attention.

Orestes Lorenzo -- the pilot who rescued his wife and children with a small Cessna on a Cuban highway in 1992, after defecting from the Cuban military two years earlier, and brought them to America -- is trying to bring his mother and father to Florida as *visitors only* so they can pay their last respects to his uncle, who died this past summer.

I thought you would want to know that his parents have been frustrated in their effort as a result of a logjam at the State Department. Quite apart from this being a potentially explosive political issue, Orestes seems to have made a persuasive case that his parents will return to Cuba, since they visited him once before and returned to Cuba. I think there are compelling reasons to approve their trip and renew Orestes' faith in our commitment to human rights.

Please let me know if you need any additional information on this. On the White House front, keep up the good work. November is looking better than good.

Number of pages 1 

phone: (212) 662-2422; fax: (212) 662-1940; D.C. (202) 357-2925; e-mail: drpfalk@aol.com

Exodus Program

• Menendez → Jorge Mas Canosa

file - Cuba

private initiation program

2-3k visas set aside for

- private orgs for special projects
used by Jewish groups to bring refugees
(Russian Jews)

- Jorge found out about it + got
someone in Cong. to give him 1,000
visa

- pol. successful → devised application

"Cuban Amer. Nat'l Fdn. Exodus program"

for third country Cubans to get to U.S.

allows circumvention of reg. pol. refugee rules

grew to 4,000 p/yr.

hired 15 employees w/ ofc. in Madrid + So. America

raised \$\$ in community

ran it like a Cuban Amer. Nat'l Congress program

as opposed to USC program

when you applied, you had to become mbr. of C.A.N.F. &
he started to use it as a FR & tool

- INS opposed - INS forced to send investigators to all
countries where Cuban immigrants were
coming from

INS later program

- 50% didn't meet req'ts. for program

- Jorge would call Cong & WH & pressure them to
pressure INS to issue waivers

- Bush allowed it

JMC got bill fr. State of FL in (Kurtz Chile) JMC didn't support

Peter Deutch

Torch

Menendez

~~Amato~~

Jorge contacts

① Exodus

② Radio / TV Marti

③ BBG / Cuba Broadcasting

④ Immigration Accord

- scandal over receiving state funds (FL)
- Miami Herald investigate → those who came in under program + were now on ^{food stamps} welfare etc.
- ⇒ Immig. were req'd to get insurance (to prevent Medicaid overload) + Bd. mbr. of C.A.N.C. was the insurance salesman for all

INS didn't give JMC any visas in 92 (per under Bush)

- When we were elected $\rightarrow$ JMC requested program to begin again
- INS $\rightarrow$ Congress backing off on private initiative visas now ('92)
- Kula $\rightarrow$ while @ DoJ rec'd 1500-2000 pa. up. (good politics for POTUS)
 - $\rightarrow$ then she & Webb both left + idea dropped
 - $\rightarrow$ (now) no longer advantageous for Pres.
- ① anti-immigration sentiment
 - (we have already put end to unlimited Cuban imm.)
 - this would be counter to our own policies
- ② our overall policy is taking control of our borders
 - (to assist Exodus would run counter to this)
- $\rightarrow$ If Cuba sees us acting in concert w/ J.M.C. w/ Exodus, it may undermine our new imm. agreement w/ Cuba:
 - "Cuba does not allow people to leave in rafts"

Under status quo in 92 → Cubans coming in raft → it was a good idea

Potus moved status gins $\rightarrow$ no longer makes sense

INS will go out

He now brings 20,000 per yr. legally fr. Cuba per yr.

Medison Park, N.Y.
will go into → if Cuba
either not see



CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION CUBAN EXODUS RELIEF FUND

The Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) began the Cuban Exodus Relief Fund (CERF) in an effort to provide assistance to Cuban political refugees stranded in third countries after their escape from Castro's dictatorship in Cuba. The Cubans had been languishing for years in third countries throughout the world without legal status and with no capability of soliciting entry into the United States. For several years, the Exodus program raised over \$4 million in private donations to provide humanitarian assistance to these refugees in the form of food, shelter, education and medical assistance until a solution could be provided to allow them entry into the United States to be reunited with their families. This aid included the following:

- Monthly checks to refugee families in third countries, support for the special needs of the elderly, the disabled, children and unwed mothers;
- School tuition and books for the children where government did not allow refugees to attend public facilities;
- Shelter, clothing, medical attention, and Christmas care packages. The assistance was administered by CANF delegations throughout various countries and visits by CANF officials and staff from Miami;

On June 13, 1988, the CANF, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Department of State signed a historic agreement at a White House ceremony which paved the way for these Cubans to be brought to America at no cost to U.S. taxpayers. This private refugee resettlement program allowed up to 1,500 Cubans stranded abroad to immediately emigrate to the U.S., with an additional 1,500 every year thereafter. The agreement was based on a 1986 Administration decision to establish a program whereby the private sector could sponsor as many as 4,000 refugees annually. Under this unique program, called the Private Sector Initiative (PSI), individual sponsors, in coordination with the Foundation, would guarantee shelter, employment and medical insurance, as well as other basic necessities, to ensure that local, state and federal government funds were not used for resettlement.

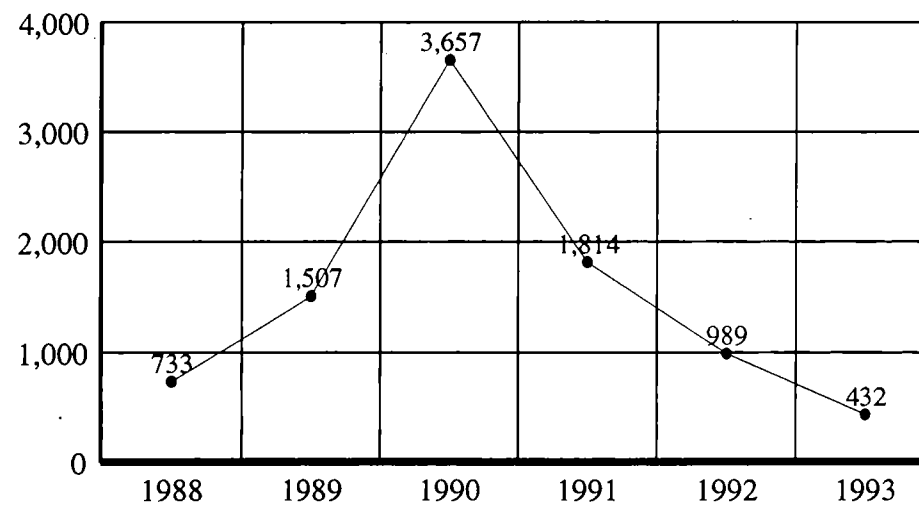
By September, 1988, the first group of Exodus Cubans arrived from Panama and Costa Rica. Since the program's inception, nearly 10,000 Cubans have been successfully reunited with their families in the U.S. The program has also served as a model for other private sector efforts. It is estimated the Exodus program has provided a savings of well over \$40 million to the U.S. taxpayers in refugee resettlement.

Although each year the CANF and the Exodus have worked with the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Department of State in order to successfully re-negotiate the terms of the program and help address the new realities and circumstances of third country Cubans, this year's negotiations remain unresolved. This has become a great concern for the Cuban American community and for the families of these individuals whose only hope of reunification is through the Exodus program. Many of these third country Cubans include former Cuban political prisoners who remain in precarious circumstances abroad and who are the victims of reprisals by Castro sympathizers in these third countries.

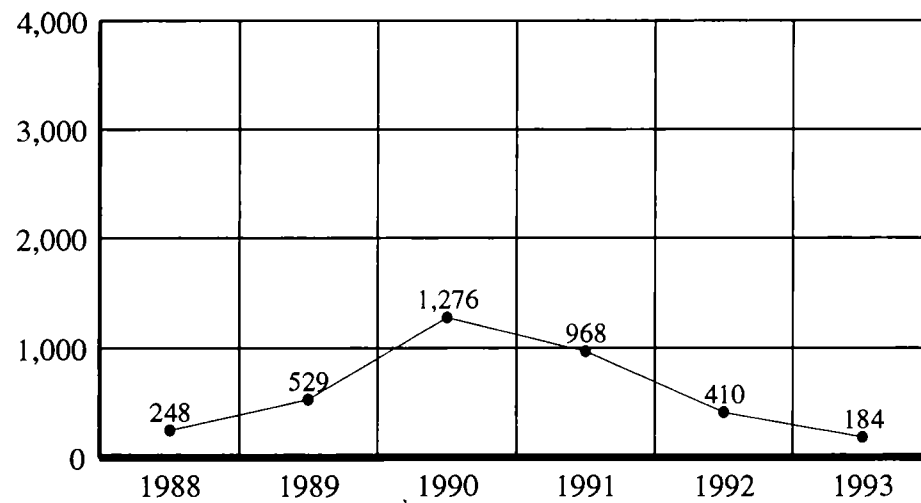
The CANF and the Exodus program believe that an orderly resolution to this crisis situation can be provided and remains prepared to work with the Department of State, the Immigration Naturalization Service and the Administration in order to find a satisfactory answer to this dilemma. The Exodus has proposed that a new Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) be signed which would allow Cubans arrived to a third country through the date of signing of the new agreement to be eligible for the program. This is the primary issue which needs to be resolved with Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Department of State in order for the Exodus to fulfill its goals and objectives in providing the Administration and the Cuban American community a responsible and successful solution to this important issue for our community.

CERF ARRIVALS

INDIVIDUALS



CERF ARRIVALS *FAMILIES*



EXODUS PROJECT ARRIVALS
(09/27/93)¹

Country	Fiscal '88	Fiscal '89	Fiscal '90	Fiscal '91	Fiscal '92	Fiscal '93	Total
Argentina	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bahamas	0	0	14	6	0	0	20
Bolivia	0	0	14	0	0	0	14
Costa Rica	468	99	7	10	51	0	635
Cuba	0	0	0	0	139	150	289
Dominican Rep.	0	0	33	283	36	0	352
Ecuador	0	0	0	75	2	0	77
El Salvador	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
France	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Gran Cayman	0	0	0	0	0	15	15
Guatemala	0	18	2	4	1	0	25
Haiti	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
México	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
Panama	265	333	893	1,404	4	82	2,981
Peru	0	0	0	0	161	0	161
Portugal	0	6	5	0	0	0	11
Russia	0	0	0	0	1	102	103
Spain	0	1,049	59	0	333	60	1,501
Venezuela	0	0	2,630	28	260	11	2,929
Total Individuals	733	1,507	3,657	1,814	989	432	9,132
Total Families	248	529	1,276	968	410	184	3,615

¹ **Date of last arrival**

Fiscal Year begins October 1st previous calendar year.



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AGUSTIN VAZQUEZ-LEYVA, M.D.
OSVALDO VENTO

September 23, 1993

The Honorable Webster Hubbell
Associate Attorney General
Department of Justice
Tenth Street & Constitution Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Judge Hubbell:

The Cuban American National Foundation is greatly alarmed with the current emergency situation created by increased political repression in Cuba over the last few months. This persecution has resulted in a marked increase in defections and arrivals of Cuban refugees to third countries around the world, and has forced Cubans to seek evermore desperate means of entry into the United States.

We are particularly concerned that in their efforts to reach liberty in the U.S., these refugees may fall prey to illegal schemes, visa fraud, and other false promises. Such violations of U.S. laws cannot be condoned by the Cuban American community and will only lead to greater suffering of the refugees and their families.

We would like to request an opportunity to meet with you at your earliest convenience to discuss this issue and make a proposal in order to make possible the continued processing of third country Cuban refugees in an orderly and responsible manner through our Cuban Exodus Relief Fund (CERF) over the next few years. For over thirty-three years, the Cuban American community has worked with the U.S. government to bring Cuban political refugees in a programmed fashion and we would like to work with you in order to address this new crisis situation.

The Cuban Exodus Relief Fund, our private refugee resettlement program, has to date successfully reunified nearly 10,000 Cuban political refugees with their families in the United States. This humanitarian program was established

Judge Webster Hubbell
Page - 2 -

in 1984 to address the needs of thousands of Cuban refugees stranded in third countries throughout Latin American and Europe. Initially, the program provided scholarships, provisions and economic assistance to the refugees. In 1988, however, the focus was changed in an effort to find a solution to the continuing problem of third country Cuban refugees.

On June 12, 1988, the Cuban American National Foundation, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and the U.S. Department of State signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) providing a means for these Cuban refugees in third countries to enter the U.S. through private sponsorship at no cost to the U.S. taxpayers. Since its inception, the Foundation and its Exodus program, through this private sector initiative (PSI) has travelled to over seventeen countries and reunited thousands of Cuban families separated by the Castro dictatorship in Cuba.

The Exodus program is prepared to again be of assistance in whatever manner possible to address this new reality and provide a controlled framework for Cuban political refugees to come to the U.S. from third countries.

I greatly look forward to meeting with you and to continued cooperation with the U.S. government in this humanitarian endeavor.

Sincerely,

Francisco J. Hernandez
President

cc: Ms. Lula Rodriguez

March 3, 1994

Ambassador Michael Skol
Principle Assistant Secretary of State
for Interamerican Affairs
Department of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Ambassador:

I wanted to thank you for taking the time to visit with us last week.

As you and I discussed, the Exodus program marks one of the greatest achievements of the entire Cuban Community and of the Cuban American National Foundation. It has been an ideal combination of public and private cooperation which has helped reunite almost 10,000 Cuban refugees stranded in third countries with their families living in the United States.

As I explained last week, we have been involved in a prolonged negotiations with both the Department of State and Immigration and Naturalization Service for over a year and a half in the hopes of bringing the program to closure. The main issue of contention is the setting a prospective cut-off date for those to be interviewed by the government. Unfortunately the government has unwilling to reach an accommodation with us during this entire time and as a result, numbers of Cubans in third countries has drastically increased during the interim.

Our hope is that with your assistance we can fix a cut-off date that addresses the needs of all those which are presently in third countries so that we can end this program as successfully as it began. It would indeed be unfortunatenate if such victory in the cause of freedom would end in defeat due to the lack of foresight of those associated with the program.

Attached, please find a brief history of the program and our objectives, hopefully your initiative will allow the program to conclude this important work.

Once again, thank you for your cooperation and interest in this matter.

Sincerely,

Francisco J. Hernandez
President

BACKGROUND

The Cuban Exodus Relief Fund (CERF) was founded in 1984 by the Cuban American National Foundation in an effort to assist Cuban refugees stranded in third countries. Most of these refugees had arrived in cities throughout Latin America and Europe as a result of events in Cuba following the Peruvian Embassy incident and the Mariel boatlift in 1980.

Although the refugees were finally free from persecution, their livelihood in third countries was precarious at best. Without work permits, many survived on the edge of the law. Their children were usually not allowed to attend public schools, and families were forced to live on whatever their relatives and friends in the U.S. could send. These difficult conditions, combined with little or no opportunity for reunification with loved ones, forced many to take desperate actions to enter the U.S.

Initially, the CERF was created with the limited objective of providing humanitarian assistance to Cuban refugees in third countries. Throughout the years, the program provided more than 1,000,000 hot meals, hundreds of scholarships, financial assistance to the needy, medical care and Christmas gifts to refugee families. Over seven million dollars were contributed in these efforts as a result of private donations from the exile community. Although effective in relieving some of the great need, this did not solve the true problem of family reunification. Something else had to be done.

In 1986 a program called the Private Sector Initiative 4000 (PSI-4000) was created by the federal government in an effort to promote private sector immigration and resettlement. It provided additional refugee numbers for entry into the United States as long as the sponsor organization assured the Government that minimal public funds would be used during the arrival and initial resettlement in the U.S. of the refugee.

In 1987 the Cuban American National Foundation approached the U.S. Government in an effort to find a solution to the Cuban third country problem. On July 13, 1988, in a White House signing ceremony, the Department of State, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Cuban American National Foundation signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) which provided for the processing in third countries of Cubans under the first ever Private Sector Initiative program. On September 11, 1987, the first group of nearly 700 refugees arrived from Panama and Costa Rica.

This marked the beginning of over 9,000 PSI refugees from 16 different countries at minimal cost to the U.S. taxpayer and resulted in tremendous savings to the U.S. Government of between \$54,000,000 and \$72,000,000. The program's greatest success, however, was the opening of an orderly legal channel for family reunification, which almost brought to a halt the illegal immigration of Cubans.

PROBLEM

Due to an increase in political persecution against the Cuban population in the last year, a sharp increase in the number of arrivals of Cuban refugees to third countries has taken place. As a result of the rapidly increasing numbers, many refugees are falling victim to illegal schemes, visa fraud and other false promises in their desperate search for liberty. This situation is complicated by the fact that many of the new arrivals do not fall within the original scope of the Cuban Exodus Relief Fund's Memorandum of Understanding.

OBJECTIVE

In order to meet this new reality, the Cuban Exodus Relief Fund, Inc., is proposing to change the PSI program to address the current situation. First, CERF should be allowed to pre-screen for interviews all Cuban refugees living in third countries which may qualify for entry into the United States. Second, the government should create the proper procedure for orderly family reunification and controlled entry of Cuban refugees based on the general guidelines of CERF's MOU. Finally, it must allow CERF to secure private resettlement services, such as refugee screening, health insurance, housing and employment for these new refugee arrivals.

PROPOSAL

The new proposal must be part of a Private Sector Initiative that will consist of the orderly processing and resettlement of all Cuban refugees which qualify for entry under private sponsorship which are currently in third countries. The essential criteria for all previous MOUs will also apply here.

PARAMETERS

The program will work within the existing structure of the CERF PSI program, in cooperation with the Department of Justice and the Department of State. The Government will set up a date which will be publicized as an official cut-off date both in Cuba and in exile community. The cut-off date will be determined by the date of signing of the MOU.

The program will last two fiscal years: 1994-95 and 1995-96. CERF will provide a complete list of all refugees found in third countries within 45 days after the signing of the new MOU. The listing will include name, sex, date of birth, date of arrival, and address of the refugee family and their relation to the head of household.

All countries where qualified Cuban refugees are presently found will be accepted for processing, including Mexico, Canada, Western and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, CERF will reserve the right to present any additional refugees which may appear before interviews in a given country, as long as they arrived before the cut-off date. This cut-off date will serve as a formal notice of the end of the CERF PSI program.



Cuban Exodus Relief Fund, Inc.

Since 1959, more than 925,000 Cuban refugees have been admitted to the United States, including the 125,000 Cubans who arrived during the Mariel boatlift in 1980. In 1984, the Cuban American National Foundation began providing humanitarian aid in the form of food, shelter, education and medical assistance to Cuban refugees stranded in third countries without legal status and awaiting approval for entry into the United States. Through its Cuban Exodus Relief Fund project, CANF distributed to these exiles over \$4 million raised through direct mailings and various radio and telethons held across the country.

On June 13, 1988, CANF signed an historic agreement with the U.S. Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service that allowed up to 1,500 Cubans stranded in third countries to immediately emigrate to the U.S., with an additional 1,500 every year thereafter. The agreement was based on a 1986 Administration decision to permit the private sector to sponsor as many as 4,000 refugees annually -- the Private Sector Initiative (PSI). The PSI Program was unique in that individual sponsors, in coordination with the Foundation, guarantee shelter, employment and medical insurance, as well as other basic necessities in order to ensure that local, state and federal government funds are not used for resettlement.

As of the end of 1991, the Cuban American National Foundation had privately resettled more than 8,600 Cuban refugees at no cost to the Federal Government. These refugees were stranded in third countries such as Panama, Costa Rica and Spain, among many others, after fleeing the totalitarian government of Fidel Castro. In just under three years,

CANF's model Private Sector Initiative Program has provided an impressive net savings of over \$35 million to U.S. taxpayers.

In March 1991, the Cuban Exodus Relief Fund was incorporated as an independent, non-profit organization dedicated to processing and assisting in the private resettlement and family reunification of Cuban refugees directly from Cuba and from third countries into the United States. The Cuban Exodus Relief Fund's development of a nationwide placement and resettlement services program has its basis in the years of outreach work done by the CANF organization and its individual Directors throughout the United States. Individual Directors of the Foundation have had a long-standing humanitarian tradition of assisting Cuban refugees in many Cuban-American communities in the United States. The success of the CANF Private Sector Initiative Program has also been due in large part to the goodwill generated and cash in-kind services support provided by these Cuban-American communities. An indicative measure of support has been the active participation by these communities in annual fundraising radio and telethons in Miami, Orlando, Tampa, Newark, New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston and Houston, among other cities.



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
July 6, 1994

FOR INFORMATION CONTACT
Fernando Rojas (305) 592-7768
(305) 276-4552

**CANF JOINS CONGRESSWOMAN MEEK IN EFFORT TO REUNITE HAITIAN
REFUGEE CHILDREN WITH FAMILIES IN U.S./FLIGHT TO ARRIVE THURSDAY**

The Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) has joined efforts with Congresswoman Carrie Meek (D-FL) to resettle 30 Haitian political refugee children, as young as age 4, with their families in the United States.

The children, who have been granted humanitarian parole through efforts by Congresswoman Meek, had been stranded in Haiti for a number of years after being separated from their families in the U.S. They are expected to depart Port-au-Prince at 8:25 p.m. this evening and land at Point a Pitre Airport in the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe at 10:15 p.m. They will be greeted there by CANF representative, Ms. Lourdes Quirch, and Ms. Pamela Ventura of Congresswoman Meek's office.

The group will be immediately flown to San Juan, Puerto Rico aboard a Foundation chartered flight. They are expected to arrive to San Juan at approximately 1:30 a.m. and taken by charter bus to rest for the remainder of the evening at a hotel before they proceed to Miami Thursday afternoon. They will be cared for by the Foundation's Puerto Rico Chapter, headed by Mr. Domingo Sadurni. Security will be provided to assure the children's safety, and a medical doctor will also be on hand in case of emergencies. The children will awaken at approximately 10:00 a.m. and, after breakfast, proceed to San Juan International Airport for departure to Miami. The CANF will pay for the all costs involved.

They are expected to arrive at Miami International Airport (MIA) at approximately 5:45 p.m. A ceremony will take place upon arrival. Details regarding location at MIA will be released by Congresswoman Meek's office on Thursday.

Jorge Mas Canosa, Chairman of the CANF, said today: "We are happy to work with Congresswoman Meek who has selflessly worked on behalf of all persons fleeing persecution, Cubans and Haitians alike, with the same dedication and commitment. The tragedy of these children and our joint efforts show that tyranny knows no borders. It is indifferent to nationality, race, creed or age. We are pleased to share our experience and resources to make this dream of family reunification a reality for these children and for the Haitian community."

Diario Las Américas Domingo 5 de Diciembre de 1993

FNCA busca solución legal para 2,138 cubanos en terceros países

Preparan envío de ayuda humanitaria a cubanos que se encuentran en Nassau, Bahamas

Por FLORIDANO FERIA

Durante una conferencia de prensa en su sede del 7300 N.W. 35 Terrace el viernes 3, la Fundación Nacional Cubano-Americana (FNCA) expuso un programa de ayuda humanitaria para cubanos que se encuentran varados en terceros países. Francisco J. Hernández, presidente de la FNCA, señaló que enviarán a los 75 cubanos que se encuentran en Nassau, Bahamas, un contenedor con 10 toneladas de alimentos, medicinas y otras provisiones. A este envío seguirá otro de 10 toneladas también. Explicó, además, que la FNCA está haciendo gestiones para traer a los cubanos de una manera ordenada a Estados Unidos.

Alberto J. Mariño, director y miembro del Comité Ejecutivo de la FNCA dijo que el cargamento será transportado en el barco Pioneer Sun, que atracará en el puerto de Nassau, en la noche del este domingo o en la madrugada del lunes 6. Afirmó Mariño que la firma naviera Pioneer Shipping "ha hecho una donación de la mitad del flete". Varias industrias y empresas de Miami, como la firma Goya, han hecho donaciones de todo tipo de productos.

Hernández dijo que el Fondo de Ayuda al Exodo Cubano está haciendo gestiones para traer a los cubanos de las Bahamas y otros países. También mostró



FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ

una lista de los 36 países en que se encuentran 2.138 cubanos. Los países que tienen más cubanos son República Dominicana, con 457; España 395; Venezuela, 337; Rusia, 181; Panamá 147; Gran Caimán 102; Costa Rica 98.

"En total —prosiguió Hernández— el Fondo de Ayuda al Exodo Cubano ha traído 9.151 personas a Estados Unidos. Queremos no solamente traerlos, sino buscar una solución definitiva a esta situación".

Hace una semana Hernández se reunió en Washington con el juez Hubbel y con Lula Rodríguez, Asistente de la Procuradora General. Janet Reno, para buscar una salida ordenada a los cubanos que están en terceros países.

El pasado jueves 2 fueron a las Bahamas Clara María del Valle, Directora de la FNCA, y Mario

Miranda, Jefe de Seguridad, para estudiar la situación de los cubanos, y averiguar si el gobierno de las Bahamas deportaría a los cubanos.

"Asimismo, estuvimos en contacto con el ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de las Bahamas que nos aseguró que los cubanos están alojados en un edificio viejo de una escuela, que el gobierno de las Bahamas cedió a la Cruz Roja. "Estamos enviándoles también colchonetas, porque están durmiendo en el suelo", dijo Hernández, para agregar que "la firma Bacardí y sus empleados en las Bahamas han accedido a trabajar con nosotros para mejorar la calidad de vida de los cubanos".

"Además, ayer hicimos una proposición al Departamento de Justicia de Washington para que el Servicio de Inmigración entrevistara a los cubanos en terceros países, incluyendo a los que están en las Bahamas, y para que puedan viajar a Estados Unidos bajo el programa del Fondo de Ayuda al Exodo Cubano".

Luego indicó Hernández que es muy positiva la posición del gobierno del presidente Bill Clinton, y que la FNCA espera pronto una solución favorable al caso de los cubanos. "Me siento optimista de tener una decisión al respecto en las próximas semanas", subrayó.

Seguidamente aclaró Hernández que "la fecha límite para procesar a los cubanos bajo el programa del Fondo de Ayuda al Exodo Cubano venció en enero primero de 1992 pero espero que entre nuevamente en vigencia".



Llegan niños haitianos

El niño haitiano de cuatro años de edad, Giovanni, busca entre el público reunido en el Aeropuerto Internacional de Miami a su padre, Claude Nicolas, con quien se encuentra después de una penosa separación. El niño es sostenido en los brazos de Jorge Mas Canosa, Presidente de la Junta de Directores de la Fundación Nacio-

nal Cubano-Americana, organización que pagó el transporte aéreo para traer desde Haití a Miami a niños de ese país, que tenían sus papeles en regla pero que carecían de transporte para viajar. También en la foto aparece la representante estatal Carrie Meek, que lucha por otorgarles asilo a los haitianos. (Telefoto AFP).

(Viene de la pág. 1-A)

junta directiva de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, Jorge Mas Canosa.

Entre lágrimas, abrazos y la letra de una canción que daba la bienvenida a América, la congresista Meek, visiblemente emocionada presentó a Jorge Mas Canosa como el hombre que lo había hecho todo posible. "Es un buen amigo en quien busqué ayuda y la encontré".

La Fundación costó el viaje y la estancia de los niños y jóvenes, a petición de la congresista Carrie Meek, para quien la suerte de los niños haitianos se había convertido

en una cruzada personal.

En el Aeropuerto Internacional de Miami, rodeado de caras felices, Jorge Mas Canosa declaró: "Ambos somos víctimas de una dictadura. A diario, haitianos y cubanos mueren ahogados en busca de libertad. Sentimos una profunda compasión por la tragedia que atraviesa el pueblo haitiano. Por eso nos complace el poder contribuir en alguna medida a aliviar el sufrimiento de estos niños y sus familiares. Los cubanos conocemos bien el dolor de la separación familiar".

Mientras tanto Giovanni Nicolas quien

Rescate de niños haitianos por la Fundación Nacional Cubano-Americana

Por NINOSKA PEREZ CASTELLON

La Fundación Nacional Cubano-Americana unió fuerzas con la congresista Carrie Meek para lograr la reunificación de 28 hijos de refugiados haitianos, varados en Haití.

"Nos complace poder trabajar con la congresista Carrie Meek, quien ha luchado tanto por todos los que huyen de la persecución, con la misma dedicación, ya sea haitianos o cubanos", declaró Jorge Mas Canosa. "La tragedia de estos niños demuestra una vez más que las tiranías no tienen límites y afectan a todos por igual independientemente de raza, credo o edad. Nos complace compartir nuestra experiencia para poder convertir en realidad el sueño de reunificación familiar entre la comunidad haitiana".

Los niños y jóvenes cuyas edades fluctúan entre los 4 años y los 21 forman parte de un grupo

de 98 haitianos que recibieron permisos de última hora de la Secretaría de Justicia, Janet Reno para unirse con sus padres en la Florida.

Víctimas de la violencia y la burocracia, arribaron a Miami tras un complicado itinerario que los llevó desde Port-au-Prince a la isla de Guadalupe donde fueron recibidos por Lourdes Quirch, fideicomisaria de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana y Pamela Ventura de la oficina de la congresista Meek. En un avión fletado por la Fundación el grupo se trasladó a San Juan, donde fue recibido por el capítulo de Puerto Rico de la FNCA, encabezado por Domingo Sadurni.

Tras pasar la noche en San Juan, finalmente arribaron a Miami donde les aguardaba una ceremonia en el aeropuerto encabezada por la congresista Carrie Meek y el presidente de la

(Pasa a la Pág. 13-A Col. 3)

a los cuatro años presenció en una autopista en Haití como cinco hombres armados mataron a su madre y dejaron por muerto a su padre disfrutaba el calor del abrazo protector de su padre, con quien finalmente se reunía después de dos largos años de separación. Claude Nicolas, quien sobrevivió el disparo y el asesinato de su esposa, no se resignaba a perder a su pequeño hijo. "Gracias, estoy muy, muy feliz no se puede perder la fe, porque siempre habrá una mano amiga", declaró Nicolas mientras colmaba de besos al pequeño Giovanni.

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ORGANIZATION HELPS SCREEN IMMIGRANTS

Miami Herald (MH) - SUN October 11, 1992

By: Herald Staff PETER SLEVIN Herald Staff Writer

Edition: FINAL Section: FRONT Page: 21A

Word Count: 280

MEMO:

JORGE MAS CANOSA: THE ROAD TO HAVANA

TEXT:

One of the Cuban American National Foundation's greatest successes is Operation Exodus, a private immigration service that has brought more than 8,700 Cubans into the United States from third countries.

The foundation has collected \$1.7 million from the U.S. government, including up to \$255,000 to pay staff salaries. The remainder goes for health insurance for 2,000 Cuban immigrants -- 1,000 under the Exodus program and 1,000 in a conventional immigration plan.

Exodus has saved the U.S. government tens of millions in insurance and support costs. More recently, the project -- run by Jose Garcia, a foundation director and candidate for Metro commission -- has offered to usher 300 Haitians into the country.

Although the INS makes the final decision on whom to admit and whom to turn away, the agency does not typically interview Cubans who have not been put forward by the foundation.

"They get to choose the people we will consider," said an official who helps supervise the program for the INS. "The foundation does the casework."

From time to time, a Cuban exile whose case is not presented will complain to the INS.

"Our response is we have no control over the selection process," the INS official said. "Any problem they have with the selection process, they should take it up with the foundation or the refugee coordinator."

It is a special arrangement that wins the gratitude of thousands of families.

"What they can do, which no one else can do, is influence the system

for specific cases," a second INS official said. "Well, most of them have to fit the preconditions, but we'll let you bring in some of your favorite sons."

DESCRIPTORS: biography; mas; profile; immigration; image; influence0

LEVEL 2 - 47 OF 58 STORIES

Times Publishing Company
St. Petersburg Times

February 13, 1993, Saturday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1230 words

HEADLINE: Cubans find way to U.S. through Russia

BYLINE: SUSAN BENESCH

DATELINE: MIAMI

BODY:

When word reached Rene Alvarez that he had been accepted as a Cuban emigre to the United States, he was delighted. But he missed the plane because war in Tajikistan had cut the railroad line to Moscow.

Alvarez finally arrived last week with three Cuban relatives, his Tajik wife and daughter. Although many Cubans go to great lengths to travel the 225 miles from Havana to Miami, Rene Alvarez and his relatives may be the only people who have taken the 16,660-mile route via Tajikistan, a former Soviet republic that borders China.

They are among the first Cubans to migrate to the United States from the former Soviet Union, where they were students. When the Soviet Union was still Cuba's Communist rich uncle, thousands of Cuban youths received Soviet scholarships in the name of socialist solidarity.

As the openness movement called glasnost developed in the 1980s, Cuban students soaked it up along with physics and agronomy courses, to the disgust of the hard-line Cuban government. Many Cuban students were sent home but others refused to go, staying on illegally after their student visas expired.

About 70 Cubans from the former Soviet Union have arrived in Miami under the auspices of the Cuban-American National Foundation's Exodus Project, which brings Cubans from countries other than Cuba to the United States.

Alvarez, 25, went to Tajikistan to become an engineering assistant when he was 16 because he wanted to get out of Cuba. When he finished his studies in 1987 he ignored several orders to return, he said, until the Cuban consul from Tashkent, in neighboring Uzbekistan, came to see him in person. "If you don't take the plane next Friday," he said the consul told him, "we will come with the militia to get you."

Alvarez went back to Cuba, and later his wife, Malia, also 25, joined him. Because of Malia's Soviet citizenship the couple got permission to return to Tajikistan for two years. They left in 1990. The next year Alvarez invited his



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mother, brother and sister to visit from Cuba, and they never went back.

After about three months in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, war broke out between Muslims and old-line Communists. "It was quite a year," Alvarez said. His family "had three months of winter and then nine months of war."

Alvarez's job - overseeing vehicle maintenance for a company in Dushanbe - occasionally took him to Moscow. On one of the trips another Cuban student asked him about his political views. "One hundred percent anti-Castro," he responded.

With that he became a member of the Cuban Union, an organization of anti-Castro Cuban students in Russia and the former Soviet republics. The union was formed in the fall of 1991, just after the failed coup against Mikhail Gorbachev, by students worried that they might be deported to Cuba who wanted to secure legal status in the former Soviet Union.

They soon were approached by visitors from the Cuban-American National Foundation, who offered to help them migrate to the United States.

Sitting in an easy chair in a spacious Hialeah living room Thursday night, unconsciously dropping a few Russian words into his Spanish conversation, Alvarez said he filled out an application to come to the United States during a trip to Moscow but didn't think he would ever make it here.

Three days after arriving in Miami, still slightly dazed from the jet lag, he found a job in a machine shop where he and his 22-year-old brother Carlos are now working 11-hour days. The family is living in the house of a distant relative until they can find their own apartment.

Rene Alvarez said his first American goal is to get a driver's license.

That brought laughter from his wife, Malia. "They went to the supermarket the other day," Alvarez said, translating his wife's Russian, "and bought about 40 pounds of food. When they were leaving the man there said, 'Okay, where's your car?' "

No car, they explained, to the man's amazement. Malia, Alvarez's mother, and his 13-year-old sister carried the groceries home on foot.

The couple's daughter, Susana, 7, speaks fluent Russian and Spanish but, like the rest of the family, no English.

Alvarez's second goal, he said, is to learn English.

"How do I find a job'

Daniel Aguirre, 3 1/2, speaks only Russian although his parents are both Cuban. "He went to Russian day-care centers," said his mother, Natalia Goderich.

Goderich and her husband, Oscar Aguirre, both 26, have an unusual marriage: Nearly all the Cuban students who arrived with them are Cuban men married to Russian or ex-Soviet women. That is because most of the Cuban students who went to the Soviet Union to study were men, Aguirre said, and also because



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Cuban women are less eager than Cuban men to marry Soviets.

Goderich, the child of a Russian mother and Cuban father, and Aguirre went to study in Moscow in the early 1980s. They chafed at the Cuban student regulations that forbade them from marrying until the second year of their studies, kept them from traveling outside Moscow without permission from Cuban authorities, and allowed them only one visit to Cuba every two years even if they paid for it.

But it wasn't until 1989, when Cubans were asked to speak out in public meetings, that they became dissidents. The Cuban government said it wanted to gather candid criticism in preparation for the Fourth Congress of the Cuban Communist Party.

Meetings were held even for Cubans abroad, including Cuban students in the Soviet Union. Aguirre spoke candidly and was quickly kicked out of the school where he was studying metallurgy. Goderich said the Cuban authorities expelled her from her physics courses, but she appealed to the school's Russian directors and they agreed to let her continue.

Aguirre became one of the leaders of the Cuban Union. To make a living he became a black-market trader, buying and selling prized items like computers and facsimile machines.

Now living with relatives and working at a construction company in Hialeah, Aguirre said he would like to go into business of any kind, although he studied to be an engineer. Goderich hopes to be able to use her physics degree. "Now my big problem is how do I make my degree valid here, how do I find a job, what is the future that awaits me," she said.

Musing on the difference between life in Moscow and in Miami, she added: "There, it's how to survive: where can you buy food, where are you going to find milk you can give to the child. . . ."

"Here it's all about working because otherwise you can't guarantee your life."

The Exodus Project provides subsidies for emigres who cannot immediately support themselves, using U.S. government grants and foundation money.

Joe Garcia, the project's executive director, said it has brought 9,500 Cubans to the United States since 1988, from countries as diverse as Russia and the Cayman Islands. Only Cubans who do not have legal status in those countries and who can convince American immigration officials that they have a "well-founded fear" of political persecution if they go back to Cuba are admitted.

Of about 280 Cubans who have applied to come to the United States from the former Soviet Union, fewer than half have been accepted.

GRAPHIC: BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO, SUSAN BENESCH; Natalia Goderich, Oscar Aguirre and Daniel, their son, live with relatives in Miami.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE DISPATCH
VOLUME 6, NUMBER 19, May 8, 1995
PUBLISHED BY THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
ARTICLE 5: Page 397

U.S.-Cuba Joint Statement on Migration

Released by the White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Washington, DC,
May 2, 1995

[TEXT]

The United States of America and the Republic of Cuba have reached agreement on steps to normalize further their migration relationship. These steps build upon the September 9, 1994, agreement and seek to address safety and humanitarian concerns and to ensure that migration between the countries is safe, legal, and orderly.

Humanitarian Parole

The United States and the Republic of Cuba recognize the special circumstances of Cuban migrants currently at Guantanamo Bay. Accordingly, the two governments have agreed that the process of humanitarian parole into the United States should continue beyond those eligible for parole under existing criteria. The two governments agree that if the United States carries out such paroles, it may count them toward meeting the minimum number of Cubans it is committed to admit every year pursuant to the September 9, 1994, agreement. Up to 5,000 such paroles may be counted toward meeting the minimum number in any one-year period beginning September 9, 1995, regardless of when the migrants are paroled into the United States.

Safety of Life at Sea

The United States and the Republic of Cuba reaffirm their common interest in preventing unsafe departures from Cuba. Effective immediately, Cuban migrants intercepted at sea by the United States and attempting to enter the United States will be taken to Cuba. Similarly, migrants found to have entered Guantanamo illegally also will be returned to Cuba. The United States and the Republic of Cuba will cooperate jointly in this effort. All actions taken will be consistent with the parties' international obligations. Migrants taken to Cuba will be informed by United States officials about procedures to apply for legal admission to the United States at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana.

The United States and the Republic of Cuba will ensure that no action is taken against those migrants returned to Cuba as a consequence of their attempt to immigrate illegally. Both parties will work together to facilitate the procedures necessary to implement these measures. The United States and the Republic of Cuba agree to the return to Cuba of Cuban nationals currently at Guantanamo who are ineligible for admission to the United States.

September 9, 1994 Agreement

The United States and the Republic of Cuba agree that the provisions of the September 9, 1994, agreement remain in effect, except as modified by the present joint statement. In particular, both sides reaffirm their joint commitment to take steps to prevent unsafe departures from Cuba which risk loss of human life and to oppose acts of violence associated with illegal immigration. (###)

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Magazine: Time, September 5, 1994
Section: COVER STORIES

SPLITS IN THE FAMILY

Cuban Americans disagree on the wisdom of Clinton's new refugee policy

In somber progression, the names floated over the air and across the ocean. Pola Alvarez, Jaime Diaz, Orlando Garcia, Ernesto Molina Sosa. For 95 minutes, until he became too hoarse to continue, Miami radio personality Tomas Garcia Fuste broadcast a list of 1,793 Cubans who fled their country last week only to wind up at Guantanamo Bay Naval Station. For listeners on Castro's island, the roll call provided welcome assurance that their loved ones had at least not perished in the treacherous Florida Straits.

For residents of Miami, it sharpened a passionate debate over Washington's response to the wave of U.S.-bound refugees. Long a solid bastion of conservative influence, the more than 1 million Cuban Americans in South Florida are torn over the wisdom of denying entry to the rafters, over President Clinton's refusal to negotiate with Castro, over the best approach to pry the Cuban leader from power.

The determination of the current refugees to leave the island works against a basic tenet in the strategy of Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, a leading voice of the exiles. Accused of being every bit as autocratic as the dictator he despises, Mas Canosa threw his support behind Clinton's decision to bottle up the refugees to keep the pressure on Castro. Mas Canosa insists that the Administration's economic crackdown and its refusal to deal with Castro will eventually embolden Cubans to drive him from power. "We all want a peaceful solution in Cuba, but that's not what Castro wants," he says. "He is leading the country toward a violent period of change, which I think is inevitable."

Increasingly, Mas Canosa's right to speak on behalf of Cuban Americans is being challenged. Francisco Aruca, who ran shuttle flights to Havana, says the exiles used to have the appearance of homogeneity, always backing the conservative right. Now, he believes, "a lot of Cuban Americans are questioning not only Clinton's policy but are getting mad at the leadership of the community that is linked with that policy."

Many share the desire of Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo, founder of a more moderate and less monied organization called Cambio Cubano (Cubans for Change), to see a more measured policy toward the Havana regime, including direct negotiations with Castro to encourage a phased-in democracy. Says Menoyo: "We want the people to emerge from this with their lives, liberty and their rights. The measures that Clinton is taking serve only to make 11 million Cubans -- everyone except Castro -- suffer." He complains that his organization cannot get Washington's ear because it has less money and political influence than Mas Canosa. "He

is promoting the destruction of Cuba," says Menoyo, "so he can go in after Castro, buy everything in sight and declare himself President."

Immigration lawyer Magda Monteil-Davis, who arrived from Cuba in 1961 at the age of eight and lost a race for Congress two years ago, thinks that punishing poor Cubans and those who leave will not bring down Castro. She vents much of her anger at Clinton's crackdown on fellow exiles, who she charges are out of touch with the situation in Cuba. "Most of the Cubans in Miami came out during the 1960s. And the younger ones have never even been there. They sit here with their stomachs full, talking to each other on their portable phones. What's that have to do with Cuban reality?" But Davis lost credibility in her efforts to sway policy toward Cuba after she kissed Castro during a visit to Havana last April. The gesture, which she dismisses as a spontaneous social courtesy still haunts her. Last week, when she stepped onto her office balcony, neighbors shook their fists and shouted "Communist!"

Not everyone involved in the fractious debate has political ambitions. Jorge Albertini, 26, an architect who emigrated in 1980, believes his countrymen have lost the will to help themselves. "The majority of people there are used to the system taking care of them. Now that it's not, they're so concerned with the lack of food, electricity and gas that they've forgotten about the greater goal of getting rid of Castro." Albertini wants the U.N. to impose a total blockade on Cuba, even if such a move causes heightened hardship for residents, including his grandmother and aunt. "A blockade would force the people there to realize that the Americans are not going to invade Cuba and solve the problem for them," he says. "The change has to come from within. And if that means greater suffering for a while, it's worth it."

Only one principle still unites Miami's largest ethnic community: the need for Castro to go, and even that bedrock article of faith provokes disputes. "I've been hearing rumors that Castro was about to leave since I was a little girl," scoffs Monteil-Davis, "and every one of them was based on absolutely reliable information. It's a myth that is self-perpetuating." Garcia Fuste, on the other hand, senses the beginning of the end. "People are waking up with nothing to eat, nothing to do but blame Castro," he says. "I'm sure that this is the finish of him." Until that wishful prophecy comes true, Garcia has more long nights ahead, announcing the names of Cubans trapped between two shores.

PHOTO: CUBA SI, CASTRO NO: Protesters outside Krone Detention Center in Miami call for Fidel's ouster and release of compatriots (LEE CELANO -- SABA)

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BY JOHN MOODY/MIAMI

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Magazine: Time, July 17, 1995

MIAMI

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### LONG-DISTANCE CALLING

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#### MORE CUBAN EXILES ARE SAYING IT'S TIME TO TALK TO CASTRO. MANY OTHERS WISH THEY WOULD HANG UP

For Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo, "opponent" is something of a career description. As part of Fidel Castro's rebel army in the 1950s, he led 3 000 men against the Batista dictatorship. When the victorious Castro moved politically into the Soviet camp, Menoyo launched a quixotic raid against his former comrades. That landed him in a Cuban jail for 22 years. Released in 1987, he flew to Miami, where he was greeted by cheering crowds of fellow exiles.

Today Menoyo is back in the opposition, this time against the leadership of the Cuban-American community that cheered his arrival. In 1993 he formed Cambio Cubano, Cuban Change, a group dedicated to a peaceful transition to postcommunist rule in Cuba. For Menoyo that requires dialogue with Castro-or as exile hard-liners would put it, fraternizing with the enemy.

Three weeks ago, Menoyo enraged them further by meeting with Castro in Havana. It was one small move in the flirtation between Fidel and the U.S., testing the Cuban leader's willingness to make real changes at home in return for a relaxation of the 33-year-old U.S. trade and travel embargo. Menoyo is convinced that more and more Cuban Americans are accepting, reluctantly, the idea of negotiation with Castro. The largest segment of exile opinion is still represented by Jorge Mas Canosa and his Cuban-American National Foundation, a ferociously anti-Castro organization that claims 200,000 members. But the hard line is no longer imposed as it was in the 1980s, when more than a dozen terrorist bombs were aimed at exiles who dissented from its position. Lately other dialogistas have come forward, including even Antonio Veciana, a co-founder of Alpha 66, an anti-Castro paramilitary group, who now supports some compromise. "Those who had been silent have begun to lose their fear," says Menoyo. "They have started to speak up."

But how many do they speak for? Among the roughly 600,000 Cuban Americans in the Miami area, this is a time of psychological flux. Despite the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the end of Moscow's subsidies, Castro has hung on to power. So, asks Menoyo, what have the exiles gained from 35 years of confrontation? "Imagine a person who diets for that long without losing a pound," he says. "Anyone with common sense would change diets."

Enter Castro, holding a carrot. Desperate for foreign currency, he has opened up large sectors of his economy to foreign investment, an opportunity that American companies-and Cuban-American entrepreneurs-

can't take advantage of because of the embargo. Meanwhile, the children of older refugees, now grown, have little memory of Cuba and less attachment to the dream of returning.

Which is why some shifts in opinion are detectable. The exile community was shocked in May when the White House announced that in the future the U.S. would turn back Cuban boat people. However, polls indicated that 45% of Cuban Americans supported the change. And an April survey conducted by Florida International University showed that 63% of Miami-area Cuban Americans favor negotiations with Castro.

Most still oppose lifting the embargo, though, which means the White House must play a delicate game if it still hopes to attract Cuban-American voters in the crucial state of Florida. While Clinton has promised not to lift the embargo unless Cuba institutes free elections and other democratic changes, his Administration is open to easing some restrictions in return for partial measures from Castro. For now, the White House is thinking of making travel to Cuba easier for academics and religious figures, as well as lifting obstacles to the posting of Cuban journalists in the U.S. and American journalists in Cuba.

Teo Babun, 47, is one of those who thought Fidel would be gone by now. Just 13 when he fled Cuba with his family, he now advises American clients like Royal Caribbean Cruises and Baskin-Robbins on ways to prepare themselves for the post-Fidel market. But he formed his company five years ago in hopes of doing joint ventures in Cuba of the kind the embargo still forbids. Today he must study each shift from Havana and Washington for nuances affecting his clients, an obsession he admits is not shared by the younger generation of entrepreneurs. "It's not true that all Cuban Americans live and die by what's happening in Cuba," he says.

Other exiles, alarmed by what they see as a creeping erosion in the embargo, have got behind a bill sponsored by North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms. It would allow Cuban Americans whose homes or business holdings were confiscated by Castro to file suit in U.S. courts against foreign firms or individuals who do business in Cuba that involves their former properties. "Even if Cuban exiles cannot win back their property in the near future, we want to make sure no foreign investors get it either," says Nick Gutierrez, a Miami attorney who represents a group of former Cuban sugar-mill owners.

To counter the softening of sentiment among his fellow exiles, Gutierrez has also co-founded Puente, Spanish for "bridge," a group of Cuban professionals who aim to explain the older generation's anti-Castro fervor to younger Cuban Americans. He doesn't buy the claims by Menoyo and other dialogistas that they offer a centrist alternative to anti-Castro extremism. "What's a moderate?" asks Gutierrez. "To say someone's a moderate because he'll talk to a brutal tyrant is a perversion of the label."

PHOTOS (COLOR): SMOKE DREAMS? Babun, left, can't wait to move into the post-Fidel market; ex-rebel Menoyo, above, hopes Castro will respond to



his overtures

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By RICHARD LACAYO

REPORTED BY CATHY BOOTH/MIAMI

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Source: Time, 7/17/95, Vol. 146 Issue 3, p22, 2p, 2c.
Item Number: 9507177613

sortment of younger people. Just before her death she finished an article for the Gray Panther newsletter. Its final words: "We are Age and Youth in Action."

BRUCE SHAPIRO

Cuba No Mas

In the aftermath of the Clinton Administration's decision to repatriate Cuban raft people, a major political drama is unfolding in Washington: a serious rift between the White House and the previously omnipotent anti-Castro Cuban-American lobby. If the President can withstand the right-wing counterattack—including protests and strikes in Miami, and threats by Republicans on the House National Security Committee to subpoena State Department negotiator Peter Tarnoff on May 18 to answer questions on his secret talks with the Cubans—the door may open for a more normal bilateral U.S. policy toward the Castro government.

The Administration's move to have the Coast Guard return Cuban refugees to the island has left Jorge Mas Canosa, head of the powerful Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), seething. Not only was Mas not consulted—Secretary of State Warren Christopher called him the morning the agreement was announced—the White House made sure to cut his government allies out of the loop by negotiating the agreement secretly. Since then, Mas and other CANF officials have taken to the radio and TV airwaves to "condemn President Clinton, who has now become Fidel Castro's accomplice."

Mas's wrath toward the President stands in stark contrast to the smiles and hugs recorded by White House photographers just nine months ago. On August 19, one day after Attorney General Janet Reno announced an end to the longstanding policy of accepting Cuban refugees with open arms, Mas winged into Washington on his private Lear jet for an audience with the President. Clinton interrupted his forty-eighth birthday party to spend more than an hour with him, Florida Governor Lawton Chiles and several other Miami officials.

At this meeting Mas hypocritically agreed to support the Administration's plan to intern at Guantánamo thousands of Cuban refugees he now refers to as "politically persecuted compatriots." In return, he demanded—banging his fist on the table, as one participant reported—that Clinton tighten the embargo by cutting off cash remittances and shutting down family and academic travel to Cuba. The next day, Clinton dutifully announced these new sanctions. "Bill Clinton deserves our gratitude and recognition," declared Mas, a faithful Republican who started CANF at the behest of the Reagan Administration. "I stand with the President of the United States."

How Mas could get past the White House Secret Service, let alone merit a meeting with the President, is a troubling question. Mas is known as a friend and benefactor of some of the world's most renowned terrorists, including the anti-Castro Cubans who had been involved in the 1976 Letelier-Moffitt assassination and the subsequent bombing of an Air Cubana airliner that killed seventy-three people. He and CANF have been the subject of an Americas Watch report on violence and suppression of free speech in Miami. And he is

currently under investigation by the U.S. Information Agency for abusing his power as the chairman of the President's Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting, which oversees Radio and TV Marti.

But Mas and "The Foundation," as CANF is known, have enough political leverage to offset the dark side of his operations. Through his Free Cuba Political Action Committee, Mas has given more than \$1 million to Republican and Democratic lawmakers in little more than a decade. Since April 1992, when Mas organized a lunchtime fundraiser that yielded candidate Clinton almost \$300,000, he has held the Administration's Cuba policy hostage to his influence in Florida politics for the 1996 election. As one Cuba policy-maker conceded privately, "Mas has his hooks in a number of strategically placed White House officials."

His influence will wane considerably if Clinton's rupture with the right on Cuba becomes permanent. White House officials are anxiously awaiting polling data on the reaction to the new immigration initiative among other Florida constituents—the Jewish vote in Dade County, for example—in hopes of picking up support they may lose in the Cuban-American community. The Administration has announced that it opposes key provisions of the CANF-backed Helms-Burton bill, which would tighten the U.S. trade embargo. And policy-makers are saying privately that if political and public support is forthcoming, the accord with Cuba will extend beyond immigration into other areas.

This, of course, is what Mas and his hard-liners fear most—that the immigration agreement is only the first step toward normalization of U.S.-Cuba ties. "We express our concern that this secret agreement with the Cuban government will lead to other negotiations harmful to the legitimate interests of the Cuban people," CANF officials stated. Or at least harmful to the chief interest of Jorge Mas Canosa—to be installed as the next president of Cuba.

PETER KORNBLOH

Peter Kornbluh is director of the Cuba Documentation Project at the National Security Archive in Washington.

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Darkwater



A sleazy lawmaker is chasing you, brandishing the power of subpoena. Your best friend faces indictment by a zealous independent counsel on a pissant charge. And your political foes won't stop hinting that you had a hand in the mysterious death of a loyal deputy. It's almost enough to prompt sympathy for President Clinton.

For months, the Whitewater rats of the G.O.P. have been content to watch independent counsel (and former Bush Administration official) Kenneth Starr pursue his ever-expanding investigation. The more the affair drags on, the better for them. But now Alfonse D'Amato is gunning up his own inquiry in the Senate—and he'll have \$950,000 to spend on it. D'Amato, who's helped his contributors cash in on federal contracts and assisted mob figures charged with crimes, will

LEVEL 2 - 57 OF 58 STORIES

Copyright 1989 Chicago Tribune Company
Chicago Tribune

September 14, 1989, Thursday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 10; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 455 words

HEADLINE: Testimony on refugees criticized

BYLINE: Knight-Ridder Newspapers

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

The State Department's new refugee coordinator told Congress on Wednesday that Jewish refugees might want to consider returning to the Soviet Union in view of political reforms there.

If the United States can't take them, "of course they can always return to Russia," refugee coordinator Jewel Lafontant told the House Immigration Subcommittee at a hearing on the administration's 1990 refugee plan. "In these days of glasnost, I don't know that that's an impossible situation."

That was "not a good answer," said subcommittee Chairman Bruce Morrison (D., Conn.). "There's no evidence that anti-Semitism has been abolished in the Soviet Union."

After years of urging the Soviet Union to let Jews emigrate, the U.S. has been caught unprepared by President Mikhail Gorbachev's loosening of restrictions. While saying the U.S. remains open to Soviet Jews, the government acknowledges that it cannot accommodate all those who would like to come this country.

Lafontant said Soviet Jews are the only refugees in the world who leave their homeland with a visa to another country, Israel. But most want to come to the U.S. About 17,000 Jews are stuck in Rome and Vienna hoping to come to the U.S.

"All these people went out on an Israeli visa," she said. "They have been offered the country of Israel. . . . No one else has that choice. They can select the United States, or another country can receive them."

Alternatively, she said, they can return to the Soviet Union.

Morrison said the U.S. has an obligation to Soviet Jews, especially those who now find themselves stuck in Europe. "The President has urged them to come," Morrison said.

In other developments:

- State Department officials said the 1990 refugee plan does not expect an



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Chicago Tribune September 14, 1989

exodus of contra fighters from Central America. Princeton Lyman, director of the bureau for refugee programs at the State Department, said the government is hoping a negotiated settlement of the war in Nicaragua will let the contras go home in safety. "Obviously, if that agreement doesn't work, we have a difficult situation," Lyman said.

- The department expects the Cuban American community to pay the costs of resettling the estimated 3,000 new refugees from Cuba. Lafontant praised a program under which the Cuban American National Foundation has resettled 733 refugees as a model of "private sector initiative" that the government is trying to encourage.

- Philip Holman, health and human services refugee resettlement director, testified that the federal government has reduced from three years to two the time it will cover refugee welfare and medical costs. Rep. Howard Berman (D., Calif.) said this would lead to an increase in antirefugee sentiment.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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Copyright 1992 The Current Digest of the Soviet Press
Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press

September 16, 1992

SECTION: THE NEWS OF THE WEEK; International News; Western Hemisphere; VOLUME XLIV, NO. 33; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 663 words

HEADLINE: CUBA

SOURCE: School for Emigrants: CUBAN DISSIDENTS LEAVE RUSSIA. -- From One Emigration to Another.

By Leonid Velekhov. Nezavisimaya gazeta, Aug. 18, p. 4. 850 words. Condensed text

BODY:

The Miami-based Cuban-American National Foundation, an organization of the Cuban opposition in exile that is well known to NG readers, is successfully expanding its efforts to unite compatriots scattered throughout the world. The foundation's president, Jorge Mas Canosa, an American magnate of Cuban descent, has obtained 300 US entry visas for Cubans currently living in the republics of the former USSR, mainly Russia. . . .

And so hundreds of Cubans -- and with many of them their Russian wives and "half-blood" children -- will soon leave our cheerless land. The paths that led them here were varied. Some studied and lived in our country for several years, settled into this life and started families, and at the appointed time were reluctant to return home, where, among its other present charms people look askance at graduates of our higher schools and deny them employment, out of suspicion that they are freethinkers and unreliable. Others came recently, in a totally adventuristic way, which I once briefly wrote about. Late last year, Cubans began coming to Moscow on the basis of fake personal invitations produced in Havana, in hopes that they would have an easier time getting to Miami from here than from Cuba. In this way, in my opinion, the most fantastic emigration route of all times has been established: From Havana to Moscow to Miami. . . .

Needless to say, these people also have various reasons for leaving our country for cherished Miami. Some, like Pinocchio, are leaving in search of a country of eternal holidays and prosperity, while others are going with serious hopes that in Miami they will be able to do more with their lives than is possible in our reality, which still isn't very hospitable to foreigners. Generally speaking, of course, this exodus is logical and to be expected.

Still, as the old novels say, I can't get over the feeling of a certain disappointment. Along with those lighthearted Pinocchios, of whom there are a good many, energetic and serious people are leaving, people who formed the first organization of Cuban dissidents in exile in this country -- the Cuban Union -- about which NG was the first to report. Our newspaper also played a considerable role in shaping the organization's fate and in covering its activities. It was these fellows from the Cuban Union who organized Russia's



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first anti-Castro demonstration opposite the Cuban Embassy, and it was they who helped the energetic and democratic-minded Russian Deputy Aleksei Surkov hold the unprecedented hearings in the Supreme Soviet on human rights violations in Cuba. In general, they made a contribution to the shaping in Russia of new public attitudes toward the Castro regime, and they could do even more in the future. And this is needed. But now they are leaving, I still view this step with mixed feelings. When I spoke about this recently with Joe Garcia, an emissary of Mas Canosa who had come here to take care of the last visa formalities, I asked him: Doesn't it seem to you -- that is, to the foundation -- that in taking these fellows away, you are greatly weakening a segment of the Cuban opposition in exile that exists and operates in an area of extreme importance to Cuba's present and future fate -- namely Russia? Garcia, whose job in the foundation is to help Cuban emigrants leave third countries and to "assemble" them in Miami, gave the absolutely logical answer that this was what the fellows themselves wanted; after all, don't have it easy here, where they lack permanent passports, political refugee status, full-fledged civil rights and so on, and the foundation's job is to help Cubans in need. . . .

Let's hope that the Cuban Union will not cease to exist when its activists leave: Many Cubans remain here, and they will continue the work. Let's also hope that the foundation will help the dissidents of the "new call-up," realizing the importance of the anti-Castro movement within Russia.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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January 1, 1993, Friday, SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: LOCAL, Pg. 3B

LENGTH: 431 words

HEADLINE: CUBANS TRY TO CHEER NEW YEAR IN MOSCOW

BYLINE: LYDA LONGA,; Staff Writer

BODY:

Late Thursday, Natalia Perez dreamed of greeting the new year in a warm, friendly house in South Florida.

Instead, the Cuban student, 24, huddled by a fireplace with her daughter, Maylen, 4, and tried to celebrate New Year's Eve in a dingy Moscow flat.

'We are so desperate,' Perez said on Thursday by telephone from Moscow. 'We're celebrating the new year because what else are we going to do?'

Perez -- with her sister, Tatiana, 20; mother and daughter -- was among 35 Cuban university students who were stopped from boarding a Miami-bound jet at the Moscow airport on Wednesday. The young men and women, seeking political asylum, planned to live with relatives and friends in Florida and eventually apply for U.S. citizenship.

Russian airport officials had demanded to see the students' Cuban passports and visas, but they had nothing to show. The Cuban embassy in Moscow had confiscated their documents in retaliation for their protests against Cuban President Fidel Castro.

The students are among Cuba's best and brightest, sent to Moscow during the past six years by Castro's regime to be educated in the Soviet Union.

Perez and her family were supposed to go to a cousin's house in Hollywood. But now she and the others do not know when they will be able to leave.

Joe Garcia, vice president of the Cuban American National Foundation, said he will meet with Russian Cabinet member Alexis Zurkov on Monday to determine whether the students can depart next week.

The foundation, a Miami-based, nonprofit group that lobbies for the democratization of Cuba, arranged the students' exodus from Moscow.

Garcia, who is in Moscow, said it is not yet clear whether Russian relatives of the students will be able to leave the country. That poses a problem for Perez, whose mother and daughter are Russian.

'I am just praying to God that things will work out for us on Monday,'



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Sun-Sentinel (Fort Lauderdale), January 1, 1993

Perez said. "I want to leave this country with my entire family, not just half of it."

Perez said she and the others sold their belongings so they could travel light.

Juan Carlos Bencomo and his wife, Josefina, are staying at the foundation's Moscow office because they gave up their apartment.

"We have no home and no warm clothes to wear," said Bencomo, 35. "Many of us are staying in cheap hotels or in houses that belong to people who are nice enough to let us stay with them until we leave this place.

"You can't imagine how horrible it is to anticipate going on a trip to your freedom, and then be stopped and told you are going nowhere," she said.

LOAD-DATE: May 30, 1996



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January 5, 1993, Tuesday, SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: LOCAL, Pg. 4B

LENGTH: 400 words

HEADLINE: 35 CUBANS IN MOSCOW IN LIMBO

BYLINE: LYDA LONGA,; Staff Writer

BODY:

The fate of 35 Cuban students trying to leave Moscow is shaky until immigration authorities there decide whether the students' Russian relatives can leave the country with them.

The students will plead with Russian immigration officials today to let their Russian family members leave the country as early as Wednesday. But that effort is unlikely to succeed, said Lourdes Quirch, director of the Cuban American National Foundation's Cuban Exodus Relief Program.

Quirch said she also doubts that many of the students will want to leave Moscow if their Russian husbands, wives and children are forced to remain behind.

'It's very hard to break up a family,' Quirch said. 'Many of the students are very anxious to get here, but now that this obstacle has been put in their way, it's doubtful whether all of them will want to leave.'

The students' attempts to defect from Moscow last week were thwarted after Russian officials stopped them from boarding a Miami-bound jet at the Moscow airport.

Although the students had been granted temporary U.S. visas by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Russians contended the group needed Russian and Cuban passports to leave the country.

The students had nothing to show because their documents had been confiscated by the Cuban embassy in Moscow in retaliation for the students' protests against Cuban President Fidel Castro.

None of the students' Russian relatives had passports, either. Quirch said obtaining Russian passports could take as long as six months.

Natalia Perez, 24, a language student in Moscow, does not know whether she can hold out that long. Perez and her mother, sister and daughter are supposed to live at a cousin's house in Hollywood when they arrive in the United States.

'This is all so uncertain here,' Perez said on Monday from Moscow. 'Now we have to go back on Tuesday and see what (the Russians) can do for us again. They



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Sun-Sentinel (Fort Lauderdale), January 5, 1993

keep making up reasons for us to stay here.''

Perez and other students said they think Cuban officials are responsible for the roadblocks.

Jose Luis Ponce, a spokesman at the Cuban Interest Section in Washington, D.C., could not be reached for comment on Monday.

In a separate immigration case, INS officials may decide today whether a Russian woman who defected on an Aeroflot jet last week will be able to stay in Miami with her Cuban husband.

LOAD-DATE: May 30, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 8 OF 30 STORIES

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Sacramento Bee

July 17, 1996, METRO FINAL

SECTION: EDITORIALS; Pg. B7

LENGTH: 1440 words

HEADLINE: IS PEACE SUNDERED IN NORTHERN IRELAND?

BYLINE: The Economist

BODY:

A MARCH by the Orange Order in Londonderry in 1969 provoked the sectarian rioting that first brought the deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland. Last week, a disputed Orange Order march sparked disturbances that could yet destroy ongoing efforts to find a political solution to Northern Ireland's troubles.

To most people outside the province, the initial confrontation between police and marchers of the exclusively Protestant Orange Order at Drumcree church, near Portadown, seems incomprehensible. How could the police decision to reroute a march to avoid a Catholic housing estate justify such fury?

Of course the fury was unjustified -- but hardly unpredictable. Protestant unionist leaders, who want to remain a part of the United Kingdom, have condemned the Protestant rioting that this year's "Siege of Drumcree" has provoked, but that is disingenuous. Disputes about the "traditional" routes of Orange Order marches, in which Protestants play martial airs to celebrate their victory over the native Irish 306 years ago, in 1690, have resulted in violence for more than a century.

Last Thursday, police capitulated to Protestant unionist demands. Using force and provoking riots among local residents, they cleared Catholic protesters from Portadown's streets in order to let the Orangemen march through the Catholic enclave 25 miles southwest of Belfast. On Friday, the Orangemen staged 19 marches throughout Northern Ireland.

DURING THE five-day standoff leading up to the marches, a Catholic taxi driver was murdered, apparently by British loyalist terrorists; Catholic families were burned out of their homes in Belfast; and riots broke out in scores of neighborhoods. Then on Saturday, a Catholic protester died after being run over by a British army vehicle in Derry during one of many demonstrations in the aftermath of the marches.

A full-scale resumption of violence in Northern Ireland by both Protestant British loyalists and the Irish Republican Army now seems closer than ever, even though talks on the province's future resumed Tuesday in Belfast.

The behavior of senior British unionist leaders at Drumcree was shameful. Perhaps it was to be expected that the Rev. Ian Paisley, the Protestant head of



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the hard-line Democratic Unionist Party, would try to inflame, rather than restrain, passions. For 30 years Paisley has offered nothing but denunciation and demagoguery. But David Trimble, leader of the main Protestant political group, the Ulster Unionist Party, supposedly speaks for moderate unionist opinion. If his defiance of the police and his ranting about the supposed machinations of the IRA in Portadown now pass for moderation, then Northern Ireland is doomed to more bloodshed.

The most ominous thing of all about Drumcree is that it has confirmed the political bankruptcy of the unionists. If the current crop of unionist leaders cannot achieve, or even propose, a compromise about a short stretch of road in Portadown, what chance is there that they can bring themselves, or their followers, to accept a broad political compromise that would also be acceptable to moderate nationalists?

Almost as ominous as this is the unionist leaders' sheer boneheadedness. Before Drumcree, the advantage had shifted firmly in their direction. The IRA's return to violence had, rightly, excluded its political wing, Sinn Fein, from the multiparty talks, which are backed by Britain, Ireland and America. Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams' carefully nurtured reputation as a peacemaker had been shredded by the IRA's bombs in England and the killing of a policeman in the Irish Republic. Support for Sinn Fein in Dublin and Washington was evaporating. The unionists seemed in control not only of the talks, but also of the political agenda.

THEN CAME Drumcree. Sinn Fein propagandists could not have devised a better scenario. Trimble and other unionist leaders abandoned the multiparty talks to participate in the protest. As if to confirm nationalist accusations of unionist bigotry and brutality, Orange Order leaders bellowed about the plots of "Jesuit priests" and declared that they could bring Northern Ireland to a "standstill."

Across the razor wire at Drumcree, Protestant churchgoers, those supposed champions of law and order, stood taunting the overwhelmingly Protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary and defied the forces of the crown to which they claim loyalty.

To protest against any restriction of their right "to walk the queen's highway," unionists chose the bizarre tactic of establishing dozens of roadblocks of their own. In an eerie echo of Adams, unionist leaders gave warnings of further violence, which sounded more like threats than warnings.

To the rest of Britain, such behavior is not only alien, but alienating. Ironically, scenes of unionists flinging gasoline bombs at police and overturning cars do far more damage to Northern Ireland's union with Britain than any number of IRA bombs.

The vast majority of people elsewhere in Britain, as in the Irish Republic, are thoroughly fed up with Northern Ireland's violent tribulations and want both sides to negotiate.

Despite the IRA's bombs, nationalist leaders such as John Hume, head of the moderate Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party, which advocates a united Ireland but spurns violence, are calling for compromise and restraint. Trimble was supposed to be Hume's negotiating partner. But, sporting his Orange Order

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Sacramento Bee, July 17, 1996

sashes on the front line at Drumcree, he looked less like a man ready to make history than one determined endlessly to repeat it.

THE BRITISH and Irish governments have little choice but to hope that the majority of unionists -- who stayed peacefully at home last week and who want a new political settlement with their nationalist neighbors -- can find a voice.

That has not yet happened. One wonders, given the present unionist leadership, if it ever will. Until it does, the prospect of achieving the political accommodation needed to end Ulster's agony looks remote.

GRAPHIC: Associated Press photograph

Children sitting outside Stormont, British government headquarters near Belfast, display signs Tuesday encouraging the continuation of peace talks.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 18, 1996

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LEVEL 5 - 12 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 Times Newspapers Limited
Sunday Times

July 14, 1996, Sunday

SECTION: Features

LENGTH: 3017 words

HEADLINE: The road to God knows where

BYLINE: Liam Clarke and Walter Ellis

BODY:

The meeting, in the unlikely setting of the Ulster Carpet Mills factory off Portadown's Garvaghy Road, had not gone well. In fact, by general consent, last Thursday was a pig of a morning.

In one room, Brendan MacCionnaith of Sinn Fein a small, pugnacious man who had served time as a convicted IRA terrorist paced up and down, dialling out on his mobile phone.

He and others from the Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition were determined that the Orange Order, corralled for five days in Drumcree by the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the British Army, should never again march through their streets.

In a second room, the pale, frail figure of Cardinal Cahal Daly could be seen locked in conclave with the more imposing mass of Archbishop Robin Eames, the Church of Ireland primate, and leaders of Ireland's presbyterian and methodist churches. They fretted openly as they pored over various options for a peaceful resolution to the stalemate that was growing increasingly volatile just a few yards away from where they sat.

In a third room, grim-faced representatives of the Orange Order waited impatiently for news. Under no circumstances were they prepared to deal face to face with a residents' grouping led by a known IRA man. Nor were they interested in finding an alternative way home from the church in Drumcree.

According to MacCionnaith, the stalemate was finally broken when his phone rang. His informer on the road told him the RUC had arrived in force and was saturating the area to push Catholics back. The march down the Garvaghy Road, banned so resolutely by the RUC chief constable the Saturday before, was to go ahead.

Eames and Daly were shocked. The cardinal said he felt betrayed. Sir Hugh Annesley, the chief constable, had decided that, on the fifth day of the stand-off between his officers and a growing army of Orange Order demonstrators, he could no longer guarantee that lives would not be lost. Dramatically, he turned on its head his original decision to ban the procession.

MacCionnaith rushed from the factory to join other local residents in a



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sit-down protest on the road. The RUC, mobilised in overwhelming numbers, moved in to clear the way. They succeeded by force of numbers.

THIS weekend, the consequences of Annesley's decision were becoming painfully clear.

The Orangemen's march down the Garvaghy Road has threatened a return to the darkest days of Ulster's 25-year conflict. It has sparked a public Anglo-Irish rift, and concern is rife throughout the country that the fragile Northern Ireland peace process, fostered for almost two years by the British and Irish governments, under the scrutiny of international observers, may be damaged beyond repair.

John Bruton, the taoiseach, had earlier accused the British government of breaching all the canons'' of democracy by standing over the RUC's unexpected decision to permit the Orange march to proceed through such a contentious nationalist area, while Dick Spring, the tanaiste and minister for foreign affairs, spoke of a black week'' for Anglo-Irish relations and the people of Northern Ireland.

This weekend, those people are in a state of flux. Civil unrest has spread across the province, with nightly outbreaks of sporadic rioting, looting, and attacks on the RUC. Sectarian attacks have been reported in numerous towns. The police force and the British Army are at full-stretch in their efforts to curtail the situation.

The nationalist community say they have lost completely what little faith they had in the police force, while Unionists are angered at the RUC's handling of the Drumcree march. While fireworks lit up the Belfast sky on Thursday night after Orangemen marched through the nationalist Lower Ormeau Road, elsewhere the flames were coming from vehicles abandoned and set alight on the streets.

The politicians of Northern Ireland are equally ablaze. John Hume's SDLP is under pressure from within its membership to review its position on the talks process.

Sinn Fein, whose members were prominent in the Garvaghy Road seige, finds itself reinvigorated and presenting itself once more as the legitimate voice of nationalist dissent.

Already, according to republican sources, the Irish National Liberation Army has resumed its offensive against the security forces. Reports indicate that the outlawed paramilitary group, which never declared a ceasefire, was behind the shooting of three police officers in north Belfast on Thursday night, firing on them again on Friday.

On Friday evening, masked IRA gunmen appeared on the streets of Belfast for the first time since the terrorist ceasefires began in September 1994. The three hooded men posed for journalists and photographers in the Ardoyne area, a nationalist estate which comes under the jurisdiction of one of the IRA's most hard line formations, the Belfast Brigade's third battalion.

The terrorists strode confidently along the street carrying two Kalashnikov AKM assault rifles and a pistol, as well as walkie-talkies and binoculars. We are here to defend the nationalist community Irish Republican Army,'' they told



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reporters, as one of their number knelt down to take aim for the clicking cameras.

It had a dreadfully familiar feel to it.

In the early hours of yesterday morning, and perhaps inevitably, the civil unrest that has followed the Drumcree march claimed its first life. Dermot Tonto'' McShane, 35, a former INLA prisoner from Derry's Brandywell estate, was knocked down and killed by an RUC Land Rover during heavy rioting in the city.

Police say that prior to McShane's death, more than 1,000 petrol bombs had been thrown at the RUC's armoured vehicles, and that the rioting was on a scale unseen for many years. An RUC officer who tried to give the injured man first aid on the street was stabbed in the face, and needed 19 stitches.

Last night, at a march to lay black flags at the spot where McShane died, Martin McGuinness, deputy leader of Sinn Fein, urged the crowd to stay united; stay calm; stay dignified; stay peaceful.''

In Dublin, a senior Irish government official summed up the mood across the country: Only the most incurable optimist would see any hope in the current situation. In a couple of hours, the British threw the situation back 25 years.''

Suddenly, as stories spread about what exactly pushed Annesley to suddenly and startlingly reverse his decision, it is as though last year's IRA ceasefire, the peace process and Ulster's recent elections to all-party peace talks had never happened.

TO the outside world, Orange marches appear absurd and vaguely sinister; the medieval posturing and marking out of territory painfully outmoded and a sign of social immaturity in an age of pluralism. But to the Protestants of Ulster, whose culture and identity, once so certain, are now under unrelenting assault, the marching season is their lifeblood.

Many feel that if they ever stop, it will be because they have finally lost the sense of who they are and what they stand for.

Last Sunday morning, in Drumcree, an unremarkable patch of farmland bordering Portadown, Co Armagh, some 1,300 Orangemen marched peacefully to the parish church for an annual service. The return journey from the little church would take them two miles down the hill back to their lodge headquarters in the centre of town.

The route along which they had marched to the service was uncontentious but they were determined to make the return journey along the Garvaghy Road, which is bordered by the homes of 7,000 Catholics. It was a matter of pride; it was also a show of strength.

The original Orange Society sprang up just 10 miles away from Portadown in Loughgall in 1795, after the so-called Battle of the Diamond, a territorial faction fight between Protestants and Catholic rebels.

It is the commemoration of this skirmish which brings thousands of Orange marchers onto the streets of Northern Ireland in July every year. There were



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3,000 marches in Northern Ireland last year,' said David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist party, and there was trouble at only 13 of them.'

For the best part of a year, the Orange Order had refused to meet the Garvaghy Road residents on the grounds that some of them were Sinn Fein members. They had also categorically refused to countenance any suggestion of an alternative route. No matter what the British government or the chief constable of the RUC might say, the Orange Order was committed irrevocably from the start to making its way down that road.

Portadown is a predominantly Protestant town, with a strong Orange tradition. The Garvaghy Road was, for many years, largely rural, with a scattered population from both communities. In the 1970s, a number of sprawling estates were built, flanking the road, and housing a vast nationalist community. In the mid-1980s, after complaints from Catholics along nearby Obins Street, the Orange Order's traditional route home from their annual church service at Drumcree, the Garvaghy Road was selected as an alternative route for the march.

Today, conscious of their pivotal role in local power politics, Catholics living in the housing estates along the road see themselves as a bulwark against the Orange state'', and are united in their determination to score a nationalist victory over the old enemy.

An ugly three-day stand-off at the top of the road ended last year in a deal, brokered between the Orangemen and the local residents. The Protestant marchers, including Trimble, agreed to walk in silence, bands muted and banners furled, along the Garvaghy Road, while local residents lined the highway in silent protest.

I thought at the time it was a model solution which would be repeated wherever there was disagreement over Orange marches,' said Ronnie Flanagan, the deputy chief constable of the RUC at the centre of the negotiations between marchers and residents.

The agreement collapsed when Trimble and Ian Paisley, the leader of the Democratic Unionist party, were filmed raising their arms in triumph as they marched through the disputed area. A special Siege of Drumcree'' medal was struck afterwards, marking an Orange victory.

Trimble enraged Catholics by proclaiming that there had been no compromise'' a statement widely believed to have been the catalyst which catapulted him unexpectedly, a few months later, to the leadership of the Ulster Unionist party.

This year, Catholics were resolved not to be taken in a second time. They let it be known that they would arrange a counter protest march and organise local resistance to any Orange parade down the Garvaghy Road.

Annesley was also determined to make a clean break with the past on his own terms. If he could persuade the Orange Order to abandon its right'' to walk down the Garvaghy Road, it would be a victory for common sense and a considerable logistical weight off his mind.

It would also, no doubt, mark a major achievement for his office.



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But instead of scoring points for the RUC, Annesley unconsciously set up a disaster for his force. The Orangemen, painfully conscious of a steady growth in Catholic assertiveness, refused to back down. The Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition felt equally bound to resist. Compromise, the bourgeois chimera of Ulster liberals, was never going to be on the cards, and all that remained was to see what way those cards fell.

Annesley had announced the re-routing of the Drumcree march the day before it was due to take place, on the basis, he said, of public order. Operational decisions since the fall of Stormont in 1972 have been exclusively a police responsibility, and it was his conviction that a second Orange invasion'' of the Garvaghy Road would lead to an influx of nationalists to resist it, and could easily result in serious rioting, and possible deaths.

Meanwhile, the Grand Lodge of Ireland, the Orange order led by the Reverend Martin Smyth MP, had spent months preparing for the showdown. Detailed plans and strategies were laid to paralyse the province and stretch police resources to breaking point. Smyth told reporters that Orangemen might have to break the law and that they were willing to suffer the consequences.

On Sunday, Orangemen from throughout Ulster began to congregate at Drumcree, ready for battle. Razor wire was thrown across their intended route home from the church and a large contingent of police, in riot gear, took up station in the fields opposite. The scene was set.

Elsewhere in the province, extremists on both sides took immediate advantage of the situation. Loyalist thugs gathered outside the homes of Catholics living in their areas. Stones were thrown and threats were issued. At the same time, Sinn Fein spoke of widespread intimidation and in some cases even encouraged'' Catholics in Protestant districts to leave their homes.

Protestant gangs began to roam the streets of north Belfast, attacking the police and creating a climate of fear unknown since the IRA ceasefire had ended. In towns across the province, including Derry, Coleraine, Ballymena, Newtownards and Portadown itself, barricades manned by Orangemen blocked all major roads as well as the main airport and ports. Shops and showrooms were attacked and destroyed, and RUC resources were stretched to breaking point.

ON Sunday night, Michael McGoldrick, a Catholic taxi driver who had just been awarded a degree in English and political science by Queen's University, Belfast, was called out from his base at Lurgan, four miles from Portadown, to pick up a fare. His body was found the following morning, slumped in his cab, several miles outside Lurgan. He had been shot twice through the head.

The murder of McGoldrick was the first of its type since the loyalist ceasefires, still in force, and gave rise to concerns that the UVF might be resuming its campaign of violence.

In Drumcree, meanwhile, tension continued to mount. As Sunday turned to Monday, the stand-off continued, with no sign of compromise on either side. The second siege of Drumcree was showing every sign of being as intransigent as the first.

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And so it continued, with Orange reinforcements arriving by the day. A huge mechanical digger was brought onto the site on Wednesday and equipped with makeshift armour plating. For Annesley, with Friday's annual 12th of July celebrations just around the corner, the day of reckoning was at hand.

Bids to negotiate a compromise deal continued, with the 12th an unspoken deadline. On that date, as many as 70,000 Orangemen from across the province were due to converge on Drumcree to attempt to break through the police lines and gain access to Garvaghy Road.

Trimble, worried by the prospect of a full-scale battle, asked churchmen to mediate. At that point, Annesley made his fateful decision to allow the march through.

Once I heard from the church leaders on Thursday morning that no agreement had been reached, I had no option but to put the parade through in order to avoid loss of life," said Annesley. The pressures on him were even greater than he first admitted. Army officers told him that any attempt to deal with vast numbers of Orangemen at Drumcree would lead to the use of firearms. Opening fire on civilians could not be an option and I would never have suggested it," Annesley said.

Events now moved at great speed. On the Garvaghy Road, two large squads of riot police, reinforced with close to 100 armoured Land Rovers, converged on the residents' hastily-convened protest. Enraged local people were beaten back from the main road and forced into alleyways; plastic bullets were fired at youths, who retaliated with rocks, stones and the occasional quickly-assembled petrol bomb.

No serious attempt had been made to negotiate with the Catholics. They were simply told to clear the road, and when they didn't they were subjected to the full rigour of Ulster riot control.

As the 1,300 Portadown Orangemen began to parade in front of them, looking nervous and sullen by turn, residents could not believe what was happening. The RUC, from their perspective, having assured them of their protection, had now turned into the military wing of the Orange Order.

ULSTER this weekend appears to have reverted to bloody habits of old. The sound of moderate nationalist and Catholic leaders such as Bruton and Daly blaming the British government will be music to the ears of IRA hardliners. It strengthens the argument that a return to violence at this stage could plausibly be blamed on British intransigence.

Already, the IRA, in common with its loyalist counterparts, has reacted to the widespread fear in working class areas by distributing guns across the province for what is termed defensive" use.

The UVF is thought to be split, with its Mid-Ulster unit spinning out of control and facing internal disciplinary measures.

Annesley, who sits in the eye of the storm, believes the IRA is unsure what course to take. The IRA may explode more bombs on the mainland and they are ready and able to mount operations in the province," he said. But there is no immediate indication that is what they are going to do. The top echelon of the

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IRA seems unsure of what to do.''

The IRA's decision may well depend on the unfolding political situation. Over the coming week, constitutional politicians on both sides will be attempting to stifle their anger with each other and to get the situation back under control. There are fears in Dublin that renewed violence could tip Ireland into civil war and spill into the republic with loyalist bombs in Dublin and major towns near the border. Despite the furious diplomatic rift between Dublin and London there is an underlying conviction that, in the end, the two governments must hang together, or they will hang separately.

They have shown in the past that they can be adept at picking up the pieces where Northern Ireland is concerned. The next few weeks will tell how adept.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 18, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 15 OF 30 STORIES

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The Christian Science Monitor

July 12, 1996, Friday

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 729 words

HEADLINE: N. Ireland Mob Protests Put Peace Talks in Doubt

BYLINE: Alexander MacLeod, Special to The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: LONDON

HIGHLIGHT:

British decision to let Protestants march upsets Catholics

BODY:

Northern Ireland's Protestants and Catholics appear further apart than ever. Their mood is again one of angry confrontation as the peace process appears to be in further peril.

The long-standing rift between the province's religious communities greatly widened following a decision yesterday by the British government to let a controversial Protestant march go ahead.

The march went through a Catholic-dominated community at the village of Drumcree in the town of Portadown south of the capital, Belfast. Police shoved hundreds of Catholic protesters out of the way to make way for the marchers.

The decision, said by a senior government source to have required a policy reversal at "the highest political level" in London, ended a five-day street protest by Protestants against police.

Brendan MacKenna, leader of Drumcree's Catholic community, said the granting of permission to allow the march by about 1,300 members of the 100,000-strong Protestant Orange Order was "a further setback" for the already-faltering peace process. He said Catholics in the area had not been consulted.

But David Trimble, leader of the official Ulster Unionist Party, called the London government's policy switch, taken on the eve of an important anniversary date in the Protestant calendar, "a victory for reason and common sense."

Passions whipped up by the confrontation at Drumcree have deepened bitterness on both sides of the province's religious divide, putting peace talks in jeopardy.

Since the 1994 cease-fire, supporters of the moderate nationalist cause have been urging reconciliation between Unionists and Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army. But moderates deplored the decision by Hugh Annesley, Northern Ireland's chief constable, to let the march go ahead.



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Today is the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, when the Protestant King William of Orange, defeated the invading Catholic claimant to the English throne, James II.

It is a passionately cherished date for Protestants who for 200 years or more have taken to the streets and marched to mark the occasion.

Kevin McNamara, a Labour member of the British Parliament and his party's former spokesman on Northern Ireland, said Mr. Annesley "had given in to blackmail and threats of violence."

Annesley said, however, he had "no choice" but to "break the impasse." A day earlier his senior officers insisted that the march would be prevented.

A source in the mainly Roman Catholic Social and Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) said one result of the march was likely to be a refusal by the SDLP to attend future sessions of the all-party peace talks in Belfast. SDLP leader John Hume said Annesley's decision was "disgraceful."

Earlier this week, as Drumcree became a flash point for province-wide Protestant protests, the main Unionist parties boycotted the talks, saying they would not return to the table until the standoff was resolved in their favor.

Less than 24 hours before the Orangemen, clad in full lodge regalia, were finally allowed to march down Drumcree's Gavarghy Road to the sound of a beating drum, Prime Minister John Major, in a House of Commons statement, appeared to back the police in their opposition to the march.

But London's policy reversal came after a fourth night of violence across Northern Ireland and amid warnings by Protestant militants that if Mr. Major did not change his mind, worse troubles would ensue. When violence erupted last weekend, many Catholic houses and business premises were burned and cars were set on fire. Police described it as the worst violence in the province in more than a quarter century.

In the face of a huge buildup of Protestant demonstrations at the police blockade at Drumcree, the London government flew an extra 1,000 British soldiers to the area. Major held crisis talks late Wednesday night with Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Northern Ireland secretary.

Twelve hours after the extra troops arrived, soldiers in full riot gear appeared at Drumcree and began removing razor wire and concrete barriers that had prevented the Orangemen's march, letting them through.

Police then fired plastic bullets at Catholics attempting to halt the march.

When at last the parade went ahead, residents on the nearby Catholic housing estate pelted police and troops with homemade petrol bombs, rocks and bottles.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: OUT YOU GO: Royal Ulster police remove Catholics protesting against a Protestant march through their neighborhood in Portadown, N. Ireland.



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The move to allow the march ended a standoff between Protestants and police.,
JEROME DELAY/AP
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 12, 1996, Friday



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LEVEL 5 - 16 OF 30 STORIES

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The Times

July 11, 1996, Thursday

SECTION: Home news

LENGTH: 1025 words

HEADLINE: Fear and frustration fuel Drumcree stand

BYLINE: Michael Gove

BODY:

Northern Ireland is on the brink of descending into renewed sectarian violence. Michael Gove explains what is behind the anger of the Orangemen.

The men who face each other across the barbed wire at Drumcree are from the same stock. The brethren of the Orange Order and the officers of the RUC are overwhelmingly the sons of respectable Unionist, Protestant Northern Ireland. Their confrontation in Co Armagh is the most noticeable symptom of the frustration felt by a majority who fear they have been too quiet for too long.

Drumcree has become the focus for press attention and popular resistance, but the sentiments expressed in the shadow of its church are reflected across the Province. Ulster's Unionists, of whichever party, believe the events of the past 25 years have followed an all too familiar pattern: IRA violence and intimidation have progressively hammered at the bonds that keep Northern Ireland within the UK.

Although grateful for the money spent and the security afforded by the British Government, they suspect, in the words of one self-employed Protestant from north Belfast, that London is just waiting to leave with as much dignity as possible''.

The suspicion that London is anxious to be rid of its turbulent province increased after the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985 and was given greater momentum with the publication of the framework document on Northern Ireland's future last year.

There was a brief period of hope in the aftermath of the IRA ceasefire, when loyalist terrorists responded with their own cessation of violence. The veteran UVF campaigner Gusty Spence declared he was happy to see his associates lay down their weapons because the Union is safe''.

That view, shared tentatively, if at all, by the Unionist majority, is now rarely expressed. The Unionists believe that the Government responded to the IRA ceasefire with a series of concessions. David Brownlee, a research scientist and Orangeman originally from Portadown, says: The Government was willing to work on the assumption that the IRA ceasefire was permanent, but it was nothing of the kind. It relaxed the decommissioning criteria and has treated IRA terrorists as statesmen.''



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It may be unfair to blame the Government for the celebrity of the Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams when ministers were at pains to sup with him using only the longest of spoons, but among Unionists the Government is held culpable for lending respectability to what they see as apologists for terrorism.

As James Jamieson, a working class Protestant from north Belfast, put it: People here have long memories, certainly, but they don't need them. Only a couple of years ago Sinn Fein were murdering innocent people; now they're treated like film stars and lords of the manor. It proves violence works. Of course we're angry.'

That anger has seen cars, schools and homes burnt over the past few days, but the anvil of the current crisis has been Drumcree. Although the atmosphere has been more peaceful in the lee of the church than in many other parts of the Province, the confrontation in Drumcree has a particular symbolic significance.

The Protestants of Portadown live on Ulster's fault line. The River Bann running through the town divides predominantly Protestant eastern Ulster from the overwhelmingly Roman Catholic west. The Orange Order was founded a few miles away at Loughgall and has always played an important part in the cultural and social life of the area.

In the past ten years, the area's Orangemen have felt their traditions eroded. Before the Anglo-Irish agreement, there were seven routes they followed through Portadown that took them past Catholic communities. Now there is only one and this year even that, they feel, is denied them.

The hand of Dublin is detected behind the RUC's decision to limit their routes. Unionists also believe Dublin's hand is driven by agitation organised by republicans. In Portadown, opposition to the march down Garvaghy Road is associated with a former republican prisoner, Brendan McKenna.

Since 1985, Dublin, as a guardian of Catholic interests, has had the right to be consulted on the routes of marchers. Unionists believe Dublin's intervention is more provocation than protection and direct evidence of the ambitions of the South to take an ever-growing role in the administration of the North.

Opposition to the decision to bar the marchers extends beyond Portadown and its Orangemen. Jim Hamilton, a businessman who runs a waste-disposal service in Armagh city, said: Everyone I know feels a confrontation like this is necessary to express our sense of anger that Dublin is calling the tune and the IRA is winning concessions.'

Last year's confrontation between police and Orangemen was christened the siege of Drumcree in a self-conscious echo of a defining moment in Protestant Ulster's history, the siege of Derry in 1689. More than 300 years ago an embattled garrison held Catholic King James's army at bay and by their endurance in the face of force without and weakness within ensured a famous Protestant victory.

The sense that Ulster is a province under siege has been a persistent feature of life in Northern Ireland. On those occasions when the security of the



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Province has been threatened and its status under question, Ulster's people shelter under the banners of its traditional institutions, such as the Orange Order.

Support for the order and its offshoots made it a mass movement only after the Liberals advocated home rule in the 1880s. Its fortunes have been sustained by uncertainty since. The success of David Trimble and Ian Paisley in securing the right of Portadown's Orangemen to walk their traditional route last year was seen as a rare victory in another siege. Their fate this week will have a crucial impact on the confidence and capacity of Ulster's Protestants to maintain their morale, discipline and willing support for the law. Already the combined loyalist military command is under pressure to end its ceasefire. Events in the shadow of the Church of the Ascension in Drumcree may tip the balance.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 16, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 17 OF 30 STORIES

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Financial Times

July 11, 1996, Thursday

SECTION: Pg. 7

LENGTH: 593 words

HEADLINE: News: UK: Where accountants man the roadblock: Even middle-class Protestants seem ready to risk peace to support Orange marchers

BYLINE: By JOHN MURRAY BROWN

BODY:

When Orangemen briefly breached the police lines at Drumcree on Tuesday night, it was a director of an Armagh haulage company who was first over the wire.

This fact alone is a striking reminder of the depth of anger in the Unionist community. Even middle-class Protestants, who arguably have most to lose from a return to violence, seem prepared to risk the peace in support of the rights of Orangemen to march their traditional route through a Roman Catholic housing estate.

Today, as tensions ride high before the traditional July 12 celebrations, it is the Orange Order and not any political party which is shaping the political agenda.

Less than six months ago, the UUP, the province's largest party, was voting to sever its links with the Orange Order. Mr David Trimble, the party leader, publicly outlined a new relationship which would parallel the ties that the British Labour party has with its trade unions - close but not institutionalised.

The UUP's links with the Orange Order look stronger than ever. As the largest Protestant organisation in the province, its influence is clear. 'If you'd come to our lodge last night, you would have found two accountants and a solicitor on the roadblock,' says a Newry Orangeman.

Membership of the order is put at around 60,000, although in the wake of the stand-off at Drumcree last year, applications have increased. Indeed last year's protest at Drumcree revitalised the Orange Order's standing. The local Orangemen formed their own group - the Spirit of Drumcree - minting their own medal to mark the occasion.

At a time when Unionist parties are at each others' throats over the tactics towards the all-party talks at Stormont, the common stand taken at Drumcree has united the strands of Unionism - even though neither the Rev Ian Paisley, leader of the hardline Democratic Unionist party, nor Mr Bob McCartney, the leader of the UK Unionists, are not actually Orangemen.



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The intimidatory tactics have been used before. The wildcat roadblocks were deployed by Orangemen in 1974 in support of the Ulster Workers strike. Mr Trimble was a member of the Vanguard movement which was behind the actions.

For all the Order's denials, there is growing evidence that the wave of protests have been centrally organised. It emerged yesterday that the Orange Order had called on district lodges to submit applications with the police to allow additional protest marches even before the stand off at Drumcree was underway - an indication that the Orangemen were preparing for trouble.

Mr Trimble relied on the Orangemen's support in his narrow victory in the contest to succeed James Molyneaux as leader of the UUP. It is that debt Mr Trimble is now seen to be repaying with his staunch defence of the Orangemen's demands to be allowed to march down the nationalist Garvaghy road.

In crude terms, the men on the barricades at Drumcree are his political constituents, however much he may feel personally uncomfortable with the association.

The sashes, the bowler hats and unfurled umbrellas suggest an image of geniality, but they have menacing significance to many nationalists.

'The Orange is a symbol that we will not be railroaded into a united Ireland,' says Bob Stoker, a Unionist councillor and Orangeman from the hardline loyalist area of Belfast's Sandy Row.

The Order was founded in 1795, more than 100 years after the defeat of the Catholic King James II at the Battle of the Boyne, which Orangemen mark on July 12 - this Friday.

John Murray Brown

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 11, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 14 OF 30 STORIES

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The Guardian

July 13, 1996

SECTION: THE GUARDIAN HOME PAGE; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 2827 words

HEADLINE: ULSTER PAYS HEAVY PRICE FOR WEEK OF LIVING DANGEROUSLY;
David Sharrock charts the events of six days which almost seemed to condense 25 years of the Troubles into a single, tragic chapter

BYLINE: David Sharrock

BODY:

SUNDAY morning: the Orangemen march to the Church of the Ascension at Drumcree from the centre of Portadown, the loyalist citadel of mid-Ulster, where everything connected with the festivities marking the victory of William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne is bigger, brighter and bolder than anywhere else in Northern Ireland.

Harold Gracey, district grand master of the Portadown Orangemen, has already held a press conference in response to the RUC decision to prevent the church parade returning home via the overwhelmingly Catholic Garvaghy Road. "Sir Hugh Annesley referred to Custer's Last Stand. Well this will be Ulster's Alamo," he says.

The Star of David Accordion Band leads the Orangemen into the church on the hill from where they can see a half-mile coil of barbed wire and lines of RUC armoured Land-Rovers blocking the Drumcree Road, down which they have marched for 189 years back into Portadown.

The mood is angry and confident. The Rev John Pickering begins his sermon by talking of "this anxious day" and urges his congregation to "pray fervently to God that He will bring help".

Prayers over, the parade reassembles on the crest of the hill. The Rev Tom Taylor, a tall, frail old man who is chaplain to the Orange district lodge, walks down to the police lines. "I'm sorry that you're here today. I hope there will not be any trouble and I'll do my best to ensure that there won't be," he tells the most senior RUC officer behind the wire. "Thank you sir," the officer replies.

The Star of David band sets off down the hill, accordions blazing brightly, their tiny bellows pumped by diminutive teenage girls in cornflower blue uniform. "Go on right into them! Over the top of them!" come the cheers. "Bastards, Bruton's playboys. What's it like to work for a foreign government, I suppose they're teaching you Gaelic now, are they?"

The day is unfolding like some ritual re-enactment of an ancient battle. Mr Gracey marches his men back up the hill and informs the crowds that "in a few



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hours the rest of the province will be showing their strength, heading this way. If we fail in this the Protestant people know this time we are finished."

The stand-off begins, just as 12 months earlier. Except this time the Orangemen are better organised. Press liaison officers are on hand, as are squadrons of women preparing tea and sandwiches. A young lorry driver declares: "We're the last Protestant fighting nation in Europe. My father-in-law and two uncles have been murdered by the IRA. The Ulster Protestant is being ethnically cleansed from his land."

The Reverend Ian Paisley arrives to more cheers, managing to combine the sinister with the comic in black suit and Homburg. He calls the RUC chief constable, Sir Hugh Annesley - who is retiring in November - a "despicable and miserable sinner". He has warned John Major that any attempt to forcefully break up the protest would lead to "a full-scale rising".

Someone jokes that Sir Hugh "is lighting the blue touch-paper and retiring". Reports filter through of road blocks and skirmishing away from Drumcree.

The place is crawling with reverends: the Rev Martin Smyth, leader of the Orange Order, arrives. Last year he stayed away, drawing fierce criticism and losing badly in the Ulster Unionist Party leadership battle to David Trimble, hero of the original Siege of Drumcree. "Martin's learnt his lesson," says a smug Orangeman. He certainly has. "There comes a moment when if we are breaking the law then we have got to suffer that penalty," Mr Smyth tells reporters. "The RUC are not the only ones who can block roads."

Monday

A man has been found dead in a vehicle near the shores of Lough Neagh. The killing bears the hallmarks of a loyalist paramilitary assassination. It is a chilling development. Before the loyalist ceasefire in October 1994 many Catholics were murdered in mid-Ulster on Sunday evenings.

Michael McGoldrick's body was found halfway between a largely Protestant and a largely Catholic village. The patchwork quilt of Ulster's history is never more clear than in these normally tranquil townlands, where most of the good land is owned by Protestants and everybody carries a map of the territorial status quo in their minds.

Back at Drumcree the Catholic residents of the Garvaghy Road are making the security forces welcome, providing tea and biscuits. It is like 1969 all over again, when the army came to the relief of beleaguered Catholic areas under attack from Protestants.

Excited children crawl over and into Saxon armoured carriers, try on camouflage helmets and peer down the sights of rifles. Even more extraordinary, the Gaelic Athletic Association playing field has been transformed into a army supply staging post.

Tuesday

"It's all a bit petty, isn't it?" says an old man from the Garvaghy Road out walking his dog. "I mean on both sides. It's only a parade, but they've never once asked in all those years whether we mind. It's always been rough for



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Catholics in Portadown."

John Taylor, deputy leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, is across the barbed wire. Another Drumcree Siege casualty, he is now making amends for his comments last year that he did not "prance on streets".

That error probably cost him the leadership. Mr Taylor warns that 100,000 Orangemen may descend on Drumcree on Friday and that the majority community "is swinging strongly against the RUC . . . the situation is deteriorating rapidly".

Up at the wire the front line police are being baited. "Hey I know you," shouts an Orangeman. "You're from Carrick, I know where you live. Who's looking after your wife and children tonight?"

Wednesday

The temperature is rising. By day Drumcree looks like a gymkhana, the fields full of family saloon cars, families picnicking and Radio Orange - broadcasting on medium wave 1690 - blaring out a steady diet of propaganda and music, including songs of the Ulster Volunteer Force.

An earthmover arrives on the crest of the hill, sending the RUC and army into a panic. Burly men begin welding armour-plating to the cabin. There is talk of smashing through the defences, now grown to two lines of barbed wire and a set of concrete "dragons teeth" in the narrow lane. Tonight is the night. The men from Belfast will be arriving . . . not Orangemen, says one of the press liaison officers coyly.

An older man is worried. "I don't like them boys coming down here, they're a rough crowd, not like us at all. It could get out of hand," he feared.

But hopes are also rising of a deal to bring the Portadown Orangemen down the Garvaghy Road after all. Mr Trimble has been meeting church leaders.

Thursday

The deal is off but the parade is going through. After two hours of talks the Catholic primate, Cahal Daly, and the Church of Ireland archbishop, Robin Eames, have failed to find common ground between the Orangemen and the Garvaghy Road residents. The RUC has made a 180 degree about-turn on the original policy of resisting the threat of force. Sheer numbers have swung them around. The Orangemen are delighted but urge one another not to be triumphalist.

"There must be no sign of triumphalism along any part of the route, to do so would be folly for any future parades," the radio man says. The Star of David Accordion band assumes its position at the front of 1,300 men. The flag of Israel flutters puzzlingly beneath that of Ulster on a telegraph pole. "It's because Israel takes a very firm line on terrorism," says one man.

"Three cheers to the RUC for bringing us together," shouts an Orangeman. A Royal Engineers unit pulls aside the barbed wire and lets the parade through. To the solemn tone of a slow drumbeat they head down the lane. Riot police dressed in body armour point plastic bullet guns at the Garvaghy Road.

The violence erupts when a petrol bomb is thrown, drawing an immediate and



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sustained response from the police. A young woman holding her baby son in her arms stoops and picks up a stone from her garden, then hurls it into the marching Orangemen. The baby starts to cry. "Youse Orange bastards!" she screams, her face contorted in rage.

The Orangemen remain stony-faced, silent, eyes looking straight ahead. At the lower end of the Garvaghy Road they are met by an ecstatic crowd of loyalists, children, old and young women and men. The band strikes up with Killaloo, the song of the Irish Rangers. The faces of the Orangemen melt into smiles of relief and, yes, triumph.

"How do I feel? Tired, but we finally got home from church and now all I want to do is go home and sleep," says a middle-aged man, picking his eight-year-old son up and embracing his wife.

"We did what we set out to do."

Around midnight bonfires are lit across loyalist areas of Northern Ireland, but the crowds are thin and seem dispirited, worn out perhaps. Maybe there's even a bad taste in the mouth.

Nobody seems to be celebrating. Across Belfast and Derry it is the turn of nationalist districts to riot. Three policemen are shot, none of them are seriously injured.

Friday

The Twelfth of July, the high point of the marching calendar, and on the Ormeau Road in Belfast a repeat of the Siege of Drumcree is being avoided by a huge security force. The biggest parade of the year snakes through Belfast to the Field at Edenderry. "This is the worst Twelfth I've seen in 40 years," says a spectator.

"There's usually a good mood and a bit of crack, but not this year." The loyalist pipe bands keep up a day-long tattoo of military music, but the note is different. The drumbeat has come to the fore, drowning out the melody.

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LEVEL 5 - 2 OF 30 STORIES

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The Independent

August 25, 1996, Sunday

SECTION: COMMENT; Page 21

LENGTH: 1474 words

HEADLINE: Ulster: back to square one; The marchers have gone home, but they've left a bleak political landscape. By David McKittrick After a turbulent summer, the dust is settling on a bleak political landscape. By David McKittrick

BYLINE: David McKittrick

BODY:

In the 16th century an English civil servant wrote: "It is a proverb of old date, that the pride of France, the treason of England, and the war of Ireland, shall never have end. Which proverb, touching the war of Ireland, is like always to continue, without God set it in men's breasts to find some new remedy that never was found before."

The quill which he presumably used has today been replaced by a word processor, yet the sentiment he expressed is very much alive in Belfast today. The events of the past six months, principally the breakdown of the IRA ceasefire and July's Orange march confrontation at Drumcree, have sent almost everyone back to the drawing-board in search of "some new remedy that never was found before".

They conduct their reassessments not in a spirit of enthusiasm but under a deep pall of depression and apprehension which has enveloped not just the political classes but also most of the population. Just about everyone expects that it will get worse before it gets better; many say, sadly and bitterly, that it never will get better.

A flavour of the legacy of the summer was conveyed by Norman Jenkinson, one of Belfast's least excitable newspaper columnists, who wrote: "From towns and villages all over this province come sad reports of sectarian damage to property, of intimidation, of the boycott of businesses, of accusations, of recriminations. Human stories of villages and townspeople who once lived in peace with one another, if not quite on close terms, now keeping their sullen distance. Heartbreaking accounts of communities torn apart by their Christian differences, living in fear for their futures, for their local economies.

"Communities ripped asunder by one week in July, some of their peoples seething with fury at what they see as their humiliation, some heady with the narcotic effect of perceived victory. Drumcree was a catastrophe for religious tolerance and it is doubtful if anything can be salvaged from it. Good people will try, but then good people are not the problem."

John Alderdice of the determinedly optimistic Alliance party has spoken of "a depth of sectarian division more widespread and corrosive than for some



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time". A nationalist leader said privately: "In all my years I have never seen so much bitterness and hatred, on both sides." Another political figure added: "It's bad, bad, bad and worse. My non-political friends are saying, 'What hope is there?' They're just deflated. A lot of them are talking about emigrating."

It is against this sombre background that multi-party talks will reconvene at Stormont next month following a summer break. Even before Drumcree few believed they would succeed; now, with such a dearth of political and communal goodwill, hardly any participants or spectators believe tough issues such as de-commissioning and policing can be cracked, let alone the wider questions involved in mapping out a new future.

Yet paradoxically the poisonous atmosphere and lack of political momentum have not produced a reversion to full-scale terrorism. There has certainly been violence including isolated murders, punishment beatings and general summer intimidation, as well as a number of major IRA bomb attacks in England. But in Northern Ireland the paramilitary campaigns which used to claim up to a hundred lives a year have not returned. No one knows quite why this is so, or how long it can last.

On the extreme Protestant side the loyalist ceasefire, declared in October 1994, has proved more durable than almost anyone expected. Punishment beatings have continued, but the Ulster Volunteer Force summarily expelled the mid-Ulster unit which killed a Catholic man during the Drumcree stand-off. Not only did the loyalist ceasefire survive the collapse of the IRA cessation last February, but the political spokesmen of the paramilitaries have taken a consistently more conciliatory line than the mainstream Unionist parties.

It would be wrong, however, to count on this restraint lasting. At this moment there are reports that it is under serious strain and it could well break down if, for example, the minor loyalist parties were to be expelled from the Stormont talks, or if the IRA escalates its violence.

No one can be sure what the IRA will do. There is no IRA ceasefire, yet no IRA bombs are going off in Belfast: the last policeman and soldier to die were killed in the spring of 1994. The renewed IRA campaign has so far been directed exclusively against England.

The republican terrorists have the capacity to begin again in Northern Ireland, and it is anyone's guess why they have not. Perhaps they are waiting for the right moment; perhaps they intend to make Britain their principal battlefield. They will certainly be aware that there is still little or no appetite in the wider republican community for another quarter-century of war.

The difficulty for the republicans is that they are in distinct need of a new master-plan. The peace process collapsed, they argue, because of the British government's failure to call all-inclusive talks: entry into talks was in fact elevated to Sinn Féin's central demand.

This would presumably also be the centrepiece of any revived peace process, yet Drumcree has convinced most republicans that talking to Unionists, as led by David Trimble and Ian Paisley, would be a waste of time. In any event, most republicans always believed Unionists would only ever negotiate under pressure from London; and Drumcree seemed to establish that London has not the capacity



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to exert such pressure.

A republican movement which doubts that either terrorism or a new peace process can achieve its aims is clearly a movement in trouble. With no clear avenue of progress visible, the IRA may opt to wait for the next British election to see what business can be done with a new government. But in republican terms the IRA cannot simply do nothing, since that would give the impression of weakness. The logic, tragically, is that it will use bombs in Britain in an attempt to keep Northern Ireland high on the British political agenda.

It is not just republican theorists who are going back to square one, for it was a summer which had no winners. Drumcree challenged and undermined many other long-held assumptions. Constitutional nationalism, for example, is now questioning whether Northern Ireland can ever be turned into an equitable modern state. Many now complain that Unionism has proved itself irredeemably sectarian.

In the Republic, public opinion was appalled during the Drumcree crisis by the actions of the Unionists, the RUC and the British government: the seething anger generated by television pictures is difficult to exaggerate. Those in the south who hoped it was over are facing up to the painful notion that it may never end, and people are saying "a plague on both your houses".

That mirrors a sizeable section of opinion in Britain, where the dashing of the hopes generated by the peace process has unsurprisingly produced disillusionment. For the Government, next month's talks represent pretty much the only show in town. With no new IRA ceasefire in prospect, its ambition may be limited to crisis management, and to ensuring the talks do not break down in acrimony.

Unionists, too, are reviewing their position. The fact that the marching organisations prevailed in many instances is a source of satisfaction for many. There is a widespread sense that at Drumcree Protestants finally showed their determination not to be pushed around.

But others in the unionist community worry about the cost and the damage, in terms of community and political relations, the blow to the standing of the RUC, and economic prospects. "As a political tactic it was disastrous," said a senior churchman. "Sinn Fein was on its knees, but Trimble succeeded in giving the republicans new legitimacy."

At Drumcree and elsewhere the Orange Order, in close association with the Ulster Unionist Party, demonstrated a new strength. Any government will in future have to think twice before embarking on a course which might incur Orange wrath, and get the roads blocked and barricaded again.

But Drumcree won no new friends either for Unionism or for Northern Ireland, and has increased the tendency in London, Dublin, Washington and elsewhere to think of it as an impossible place, as a problem which, no matter how much energy and goodwill is devoted to it, might have no solution.

Hope is in such short supply that almost the best that can be said is that Northern Ireland has survived other dark moments in the past, and that progress has unexpectedly been made. This is a dangerous, unpredictable time and if



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things are to improve it will require "some new remedy that never was found before".

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LEVEL 5 - 3 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Irish Times
The Irish Times

August 6, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: NEWS FEATURES; RITE AND REASON; Pg. 12

LENGTH: 1200 words

HEADLINE: A church used as symbol of insurrection
A strange silence persists about the Church of Ireland's role in the Orange confrontation at Drumcree, writes William Arlow

BYLINE: By WILLIAM ARLOW

BODY:

THE raucous voice roared "for God and Ulster". The vast crowd listened in silence as if hypnotised. The "big man"

warmed to his task. He shouted at the top of his voice: "The person with the strongest force is going to win this battle."

He didn't give chapter and verse for it. He couldn't; it is not a biblical quotation. It was the rhetoric of naked power politics. Still they cheered him to the echo. Mouths were wide open but minds were closed tight.

The real significance of what he was saying escaped all but the most cynical of them.

He had more to say. He hadn't led them up the hill for nothing. He went on to give them his version of the promised land, a Protestant province for a Protestant people. Again they cheered him. It was like the replay of an old movie on the German situation before the second World War.

The publicity stunt over, the "grand old Duke of York", as Ian Paisley was once dubbed by the UDA, led the "God and Ulster" brigade down the hill into the real world. Ahead lay more deaths, suffering, disillusionment and despair.

That seemed to have happened light years ago. Since then, we have had a ceasefire followed by a peace process. Surely, it could not happen again. But it did - I saw it on television. This time it was a double act with Ian Paisley and a younger version, David Trimble, the Ulster Unionist Party leader, who is both more energetic and more articulate.

The backdrop this time was a Church of Ireland church, parish hall and graveyard. I could not believe what I was seeing. I always thought a church was a symbol of reconciliation, but here it was undoubtedly a symbol of insurrection.

The church - Drumcree church in the diocese of Armagh - is now a familiar sight on our television screens. There, angry Orangemen confronted the police and mob rule won the day. This sparked off very serious civil unrest, polarised



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the Northern Ireland community, caused a rift in Anglo-Irish relations and placed a question mark over the whole peace process.

It was all very predictable. Hadn't there been a dummy run the previous year which ended with Ian Paisley and David Trimble celebrating their "victory" by dancing together in the streets of Portadown?

Did it need to happen? No, say some impartial commentators, and I agree with them. It would not have happened if the Church of Ireland had learned the lesson of Drumcree 1995 and made it clear to the Orangemen they would not be welcome at the church unless an undertaking were given that their parade to and from it would be kept within the law.

Such a courageous stand was not made and Drumcree church, with its barbed wire fence and mobs in conflict with the police, became a centre of insurrection. That was the sad picture the media flashed around the world, giving the impression that the Church of Ireland either fostered the insurrection or was too cowardly to stand up for law and order.

There are many decent, law-abiding church members, including Orangemen, who are horrified by the implications of what they saw on their television screens. They are still waiting for an explanatory statement or perhaps even an expression of regret from the appropriate church authority.

BUT a strange silence persists about the Church of Ireland's involvement in this affair. We are given instead a statement expressing anger and sadness about the recent attacks on Protestants, their churches, homes and property and the calls for a boycott of their businesses, and saying that nationalist leaders must work to end sectarian attacks against Protestants and ensure they too are given parity of esteem.

Are we so preoccupied with the mote in the eye of others that we cannot see the beam in our own eye? Surely these things would not be taking place if there had been no Drumcree.

What happened at Drumcree raises important questions for the Church of Ireland, and, not least, for its role in promoting reconciliation between a divided community in Northern Ireland. Drumcree cannot be described as a symbol of reconciliation and so it calls into question the credibility of that role. Drumcree has now come to be perceived as a symbol of the Church of Ireland, at least the part of it which is in Northern Ireland.

It is a symbol of a church which seems to be an adjunct of a particular political party that is too preoccupied with reflecting the political views of the majority of its members, that is clearly identified with an organisation regarded by many Protestants and most Roman Catholics as sectarian and divisive and that it bends over backwards to be supportive of those who willingly use force to achieve their political goal.

These, and other questions too, need to be addressed as a matter of urgency, for reconciliation is our ministry, given to us by Christ Himself.

Will there be another Drumcree next year? God forbid. Perhaps, on second thoughts, there is no need to drag God into it at all. We who are loyal members of the Church of Ireland, together with our sisters and brothers in the other



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churches, just need to get on with doing what needs to be done - practising what we profess to believe. This means giving priority to the spiritual over the political.

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