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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	re: Hispanics for Clinton Committee [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	03/25/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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Jennifer O'Connor
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

From
Alexis

bill
Cuba

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
 HAROLD ICKES
 SANDY BERGER

FROM: ALEXIS HERMAN
 SUZANNA VALDEZ

DATE: MAY 17, 1995

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH CUBAN-AMERICAN FRIENDS AND
 SUPPORTERS

You will be meeting with Cuban-American friends and supporters from South Florida. The participants include the following::

- Jorge Bolanos, early supporter and fundraiser
- Willy Braceras, President, B&B Medical Management, Inc.
- Paul Cejas, CEO, PLC Investments, Inc., fundraiser and contributor
- Alfy Fanjul, CEO, Flo-Sun Sugar Company and major contributor
- Simon Ferro, attorney, former Chair, Democratic Party and current political activist
- Herminio San Roman, attorney, Hispanic outreach coordinator appointed by Governor Chiles
- Maria Elena Torano, CEO, Maria Elena Torano & Associates and fundraiser
- Carlos Portes, CEO, Portes Group, early supporter, contributor and fundraiser (New Jersey)

Invited but not participating:

Maria Arias Rodham
Luis Lauredo
Jorge Perez

This meeting is in response to our friends and supporters feeling frustrated and disconnected to the Administration. This was heightened after our announcement last week on Cuban migration policy. This is a serious issue for some of them politically, since, they are viewed as "insiders" and leaders in the Cuban American community. The problem they have is not with the overall policy, but the process in which this policy was handled.

They would like to know what our long term goals are with this policy and how they can help the President politically carry these goals out. They may suggest the following:

- Coast Guard vessels return refugees by another method other than entering Cuban waters and docking on Cuban mainland. (This hasn't been done since the Bay of Pigs and symbolically presents a problem for the President.)
- Refugees interdicted on the high seas be given an opportunity to be screened for political asylum.
- New Cuban refugees be resettled throughout the United States thereby reducing the impact on Florida.
- To have the President announce his support for passage of the Menendez Bill which provides incentives for homegrown transition to democratic reforms in Cuba. They feel that this is a proactive response to the Helms Bill.

We should consider the following steps and vet them with this group:

- Have the President express unequivocally that no new secret discussions with the Cuban Government will be held.
- Have the President emphasize that the change in Cuba policy will minimize the possibility of a Cuban mass migration thereby protecting the United States' borders.
- Conduct polling of the Cuban-American community at a minimum of two intervals, three months apart to determine how much and where the support for the Administration's policies lie.
- If Cuba policy does not change, make argument that by returning disenfranchised Cubans, the Administration is putting pressure on the Cuban government to enact policies that satisfy the Cuban population which has no escape valve to the United States.
- Promote the Administration's position on social issues and how it helps lower-income families. Though success among older Cuban-Americans may be difficult, it may build support among younger Cuban-American voters who seem less concerned by the issue of Cuba than their elders.
- Conduct meetings between White House officials and Cuban-Americans to discuss the Administration's current policy and future plans.

May 20th - Cuban Independence Day

May 20 marks the celebration of Cuban Independence Day. This year, the Cuban community will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the death of Jose Marti who fought for Cuban independence. It is the Office of Public Liaison's recommendation that the President not be highly visible due to extreme negative reactions in the Cuban-American community. If our group of friends and supporters feels the President should commemorate this day, we recommend that he announce his support for the Office of Cuba Broadcasting and request that the Congress not eliminate TV/Radio Marti. The President should also consider making new appointments to the Office of Cuba Broadcasting which are currently under review in the Office of Presidential Personnel.

File Cuba
2

Curb Cuban immigration?

Yes, most in survey agree

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA/imm.c.

By JOHN LANTIGUA and STEPHEN K. DOIG
Herald Staff Writers

Nearly half of Cuban Americans in Dade agree with other county residents that immigration from Cuba should be sharply limited, according to a new Herald poll.

In a weekend survey of 485 county residents, pollsters found significant disagreement within the Cuban-American commu-

QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES, 8A

nity about Cuban immigration and how the U.S. government should handle it. While most of them favor blanket admission of Cubans into this country as legal residents, a sizable number of Cuban Americans feel differently.

At least a third of Cuban Americans sur-

veyed also agreed that:

- The U.S. government was not wrong to repatriate Cuban rafters back to Cuba.
- Cubans who arrive in the United States without visas should be considered illegal immigrants.
- Cubans should be treated the same as

PLEASE SEE POLL. 8A

TIME FOR LIMITS?

Future Cuban immigration should be sharply limited, according to a solid majority of non-Cubans in Dade. Nearly half of Dade Cuban-Americans agree.

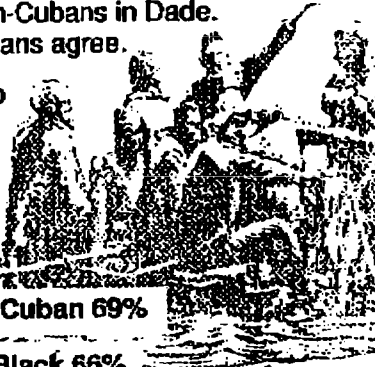
The statement: "The U.S. was right to admit Cuban refugees in the past, but the time has come to sharply limit Cuban Immigration."
Those in agreement:

Cuban 45%

Hispanic non-Cuban 69%

Black 66%

White non-Hispanic 69%



Leon
Harold
Macle
McCurry
Grady
Mont

5/16
Send to
Jennifer
for review

Haitian or other immigrants, not afforded a special status that grants them automatic legal residency.

■ Cubans now fleeing the island are economic refugees looking for a better life, not political refugees fleeing repression.

■ Dade County schools are overcrowded because of immigration.

"The Cuban community has never been monolithic," said Damian Fernandez, a professor of International Studies at Florida International University. "In the population in general, there is a feeling we have to close the door and Cubans are not immune to those feelings."

"Cubans here now have their feet in two camps," he said. "In part they see themselves as political refugees and in part they are members of a minority trying to make it in this country. The immigration issue affects them in that sense as well."

Most Cuban Americans surveyed still believe they have a moral duty to oppose the repatriation of Cuban rafters and feel strongly that anyone returned to Cuba will face persecution by President Fidel Castro's government.

They feel betrayed by President Clinton and, more often than not, say last week's traffic tie-ups and other acts of disruptive civil disobedience were effective in gaining sympathy for the Cuban exile cause.

That puts them tremendously at odds with their neighbors — blacks, Anglos and non-Cuban Hispanics.

"I think it is clear that [the majority of] Cubans have isolated themselves politically from the rest of the population," said Miguel Gonzalez Pando, director of the Cuban Living History Project at Florida International University.

"For years, they didn't make the effort to make contact with these other groups, to explain their issues, and now it is showing."

An attempt by protest leaders to compare their cause with the civil rights movement of the 1960s didn't register with blacks polled. Two-thirds said they didn't consider Cuban immigration a civil rights issue.

"If the Cubans had shown more support for the Haitian boat people, maybe they could count on support now," said Gonzalez Pando. "Now the shoe is on the other foot."

The non-Cuban groups polled also strongly oppose disruptive acts of civil disobedience used recently by Cubans to protest President Clinton's new policy of repatriating Cuban rafters. More than half of the non-Cubans polled said those demonstrators should be immediately arrested.

"I think it is clear that the demonstrations have not been effective in terms of changing the perception of the population as to the plight of the Cuban people," said Antonio Jorge, professor of economics and international relations at FIU. "These people don't have the same political experience Cuban people do, an experience of totalitarianism, and the Cuban community has not done the job of communicating that."

Almost one third of Cuban Americans polled also felt that protesters who block public thoroughfares should be arrested and said the protests have been ineffective.

"Many Cubans are saying, 'The culprit is not my neighbor,'" Fernandez said. "It is Washington that is the culprit. I think if the disturbances go on another week, most Cubans will be against them."

There were several areas in which all the groups agreed.

They concurred that Cuban and Haitian refugees should be treated the same, that the eco-

nomic embargo against Cuba should not be lifted, and that immigrants, in general, end up paying their fair share of taxes.

They also agreed that Cuban protesters were treated better than blacks who have rallied on behalf of Haitians.

On several issues, the Cuban Americans found support from other Hispanics. Nearly half of other Hispanics felt the United States was wrong to repatriate Cuban rafters and that Cuban immigration is a civil rights issue. They agreed that the Cuban government will persecute rafters returning to Cuba.

11 more rafters picked up; all are facing possible return

CUBANS, FROM 1A

and third groups to be picked up by the Coast Guard since President Clinton's decision last week to change immigration policy and deliberately return Cubans to their homeland for the first time since Fidel Castro seized power in 1959. The first group of 13 Cuban rafters was repatriated Tuesday, when a Coast Guard boat docked at the port of Cabañas, about 38 miles east of Havana.

In Washington, government officials Thursday downplayed reports that the Cuban government might be harassing that

Exile leaders plan a 'work stoppage' day for Tuesday in which Cuban Americans will be asked to stop all their activities.

first group of repatriated Cubans, who on Wednesday traveled from Cabañas to their home province of Camaguey.

Members of the repatriated group have said they've been

shadowed by Cuban authorities since their return to Camaguey. One of the rafters said he was followed by a car with men whom he recognized as plainclothes State Security agents. Another man reported that police were monitoring his mother's home.

Doubts raised

However, a State Department cable from two U.S. officials who interviewed most of the repatriated rafters raised doubts about allegations that they were mistreated.

According to the cable, the officials met with eight of the 13 returnees between 4:30 and 8 p.m. Wednesday.

"In the initial meetings, the returnees noted that they were well treated by authorities," the cable said. "However, all were obviously unhappy about the fact of being back in Cuba.

"At one point during the day, U.S. Interest Section officers were told Cuban police were at the home of two returnees, Cesar and Ulises Cabale. When the officers arrived, they found no sign of the police. The Cabales complained, however, that earlier in the day, a police motorcycle and sidecar had visited the house opposite, which is the location of the CDR [Revolutionary Defense Committee] representative for the neighborhood. The Cabale brothers did not tell us of any other alleged harassment."

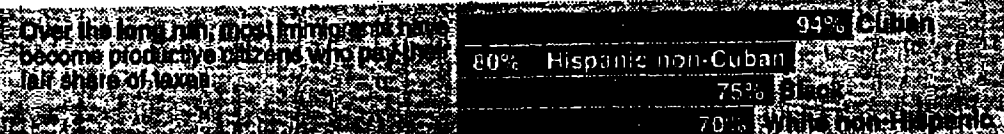
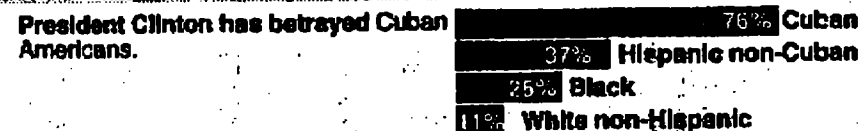
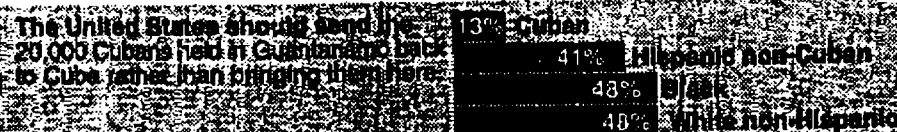
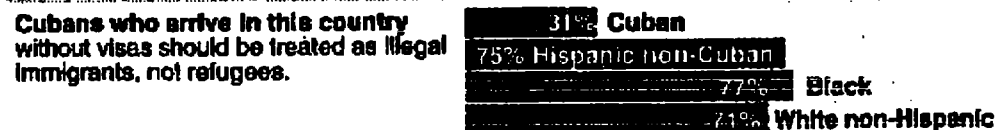
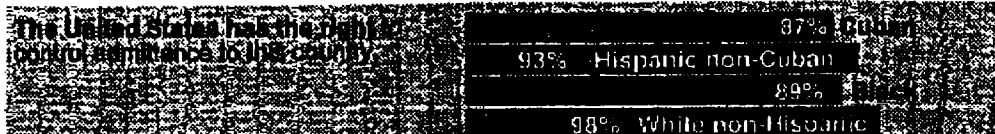
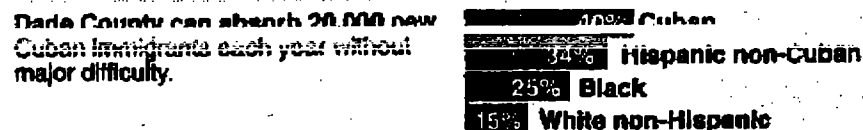
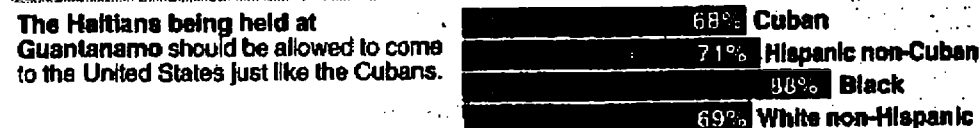
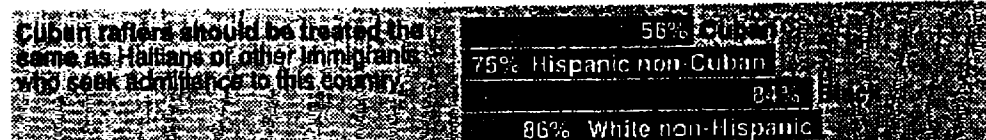
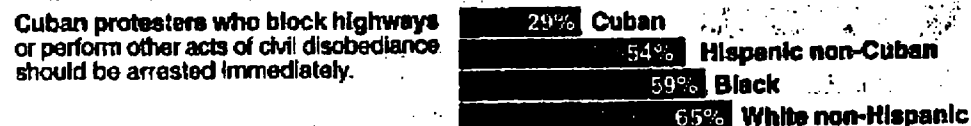
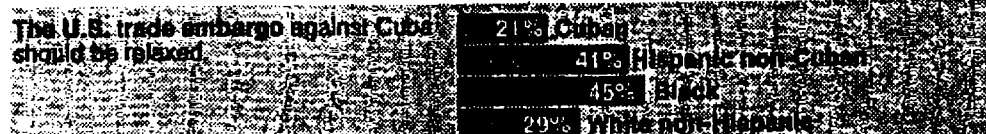
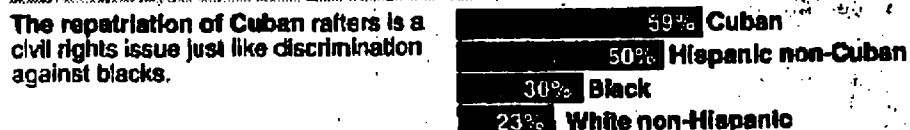
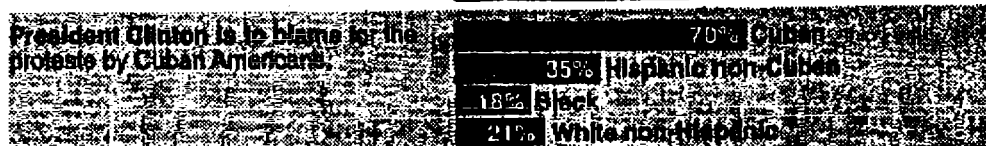
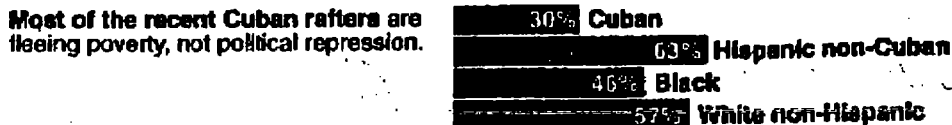
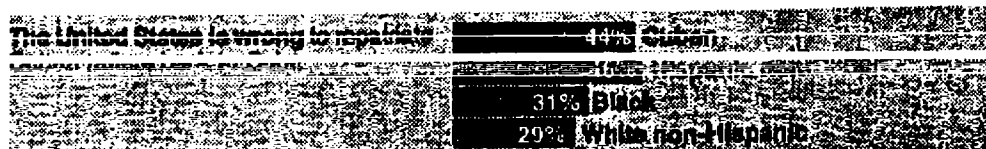
In a phone interview from Havana, a spokesman for the U.S. Interests Section said the Cubans were upset to learn that the repatriation process would not give them any advantage or shortcut in seeking a visa to travel legally to the United States.

RIPPING CLINTON:
Gladys Lavastida tears up a picture of President Clinton during a demonstration at Coral Way and 27th Avenue against the new policy to repatriate Cuban refugees.

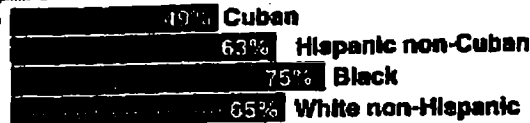


NURI YALLBONA
Herald Staff

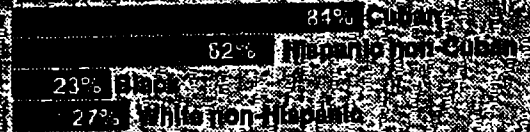
This Herald telephone survey asked 485 Dade County adults whether they agree, agree strongly, disagree or disagree strongly with the following 26 statements. The figures here show what percentage of respondents from each of Dade's major ethnic groups said they agree or agree strongly with the statement.



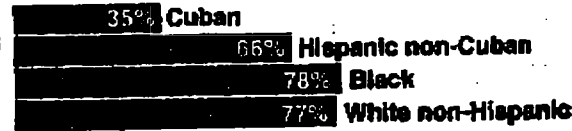
The Cuban-American protesters who blocked traffic were treated better by police than African-American protesters would have been treated.



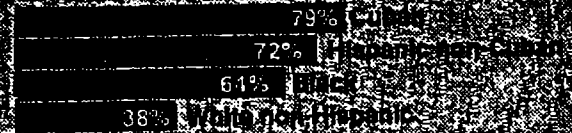
Cuban rafters who are returned will be persecuted by the Castro government.



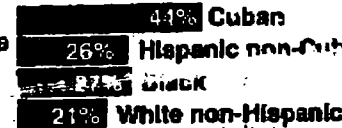
President Clinton made the right decision to end the Guantanamo crisis and stop future waves of rafters.



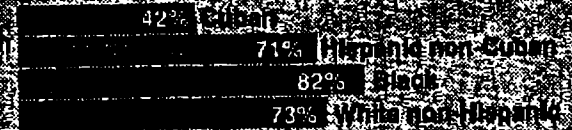
Cuban-Americans have a moral duty to oppose the repatriation of Cuban rafters.



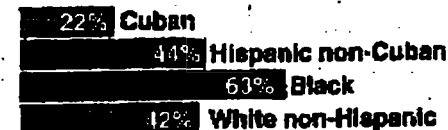
President Clinton should have consulted with Jorge Mas Canosa before deciding to send Cuban rafters back to Cuba.



Cuban people who wish to remain in the U.S. should stay and resist Castro rather than leaving their country.



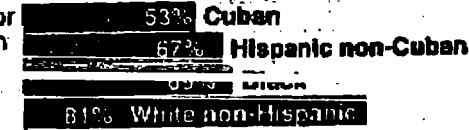
The United States should establish normal diplomatic relations with Cuba.



The U.S. should launch a military invasion of Cuba in order to restore democracy there.



Illegal immigrants are responsible for a significant amount of overcrowding in Miami's public housing.



President Clinton did the right thing in allowing the 20,000 Cubans to come here from Guantanamo.



HOW THIS POLL WAS DONE

This poll, conducted for The Herald by the Prange & O'Hearn Marketing and Research Group of Miami, is based on telephone interviews completed Saturday and Sunday, May 13-14, with 485 adult Dade County residents. Respondents' telephone numbers were selected randomly using a technique called random-digit dialing. The interviews were done in English or Spanish, depending on each respondent's preference. Because the poll was designed to examine differences in opinion among Dade's major ethnic groups, the overall sample doesn't reflect Dade demographics, but rather larger samples for each group. Interviewers talked with 92 non-Hispanic

white respondents, for a sampling error margin of plus or minus 10.2 percentage points; 44 non-Hispanic black respondents (plus or minus 14.1 points); 100 non-Cuban Hispanics (plus or minus 9.8 points); and 249 Cubans (plus or minus 1.2 points). The sampling error margin means, for instance, that if all Dade County Cubans could be asked a particular question, there is a 95 percent chance that the actual results would be within 6.2 points of the answers given on this survey. Other sources of error, such as in the wording of questions, are possible, but cannot be quantified.

—STEPHEN K. DOIG

Haitians at Navy base ask: Why are we here?

M.H. 5-15-95 HAITI

RACHEL L. SWARNS
Lead Staff Writer

U.S. NAVAL BASE AT GUANTANAMO BAY, Cuba — As the ragged boat neared apart midway through its journey to America, a 17-year-old disabled girl found courage in the memory of her father's face. She lived across the ocean, far from her father's grave and her home in Haiti, in a place with big hospitals and doctors who would make her walk straight.

■ IN SEARCH OF DAD, 8A
■ DISABLED GIRL IS TAUNTED, 8A

When she saw the U.S. Coast Guard cutter steaming toward the leaky boat, she rejoiced. "I knew they were taking me to my father in Miami."

Eleven months later, she hides in a green army tent in the detention camp for unaccompanied Haitian rafter children here. She never made it to Miami. She never got

the operation she needed. The other children taunt her until she limps to her tent tears.

"Eleven months of sadness," Marie-Carol Caustin, whose father begged military officials to release her, his care. "Why am I still here?"

As jubilant Cuban rafters abandon sweltering camps here for new homes in

PLEASE SEE HAITIANS.

HAITIANS, FROM 1A

United States, Celestin's question reverberates among the 229 Haitian children held in Camp 9. Her story illustrates the frustrations of the minors, who risked their lives trying to reach the United States, only to be detained here for nearly a year with little hope of attaining their dream.

The U.S. argument

The U.S. government says the children must return to Haiti, where democracy has been restored. About 60 have already gone home. Rumors swirling among refugee resettlement agencies hint at an imminent policy change and the possibility that the children may be paroled into the United States. But so far, nothing concrete has materialized. And tension in the camp is rising.

Last week, dozens of children pelted soldiers with rocks and oranges and set tents on fire, protesting the new U.S. policy that admits only Cuban rafters here into the United States.

The disturbances captured the national spotlight. But until then, the children were virtually invisible, held incommunicado from reporters and photographers by military officials for months. In their first interviews with The Herald last week, they described their risky voyages from Haiti, their daily frustrations and their fears of going home.

They fled Haiti during the summer of 1994, when military dictators ruled the country and ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide lived in exile. Some parents, fearing persecution, put their sons and daughters on rickety boats. Other children fled when their relatives were killed. Others hoped to escape poverty. When the boats lurched to sea, they jumped on board.

But instead of reaching the United States, they ended up in Guantanamo, a desolate camp filled with rows and rows of green burlap tents, surrounded by metal fences topped with barbed wire. And as the months pass and blistering day melts



MARICE COHN BAND / Herald Staff

FACE OF FRUSTRATION: A young Haitian girl spends her days in Camp McCalla #9, a camp for unaccompanied minors.

into blistering day, the frustration rises.

One girl cries for days after her best friend is sent back to Haiti. Another boy takes three showers daily, trying to take the edge off the burning heat. And thunder clouds send the chil-

dren scurrying for plastic bags that never quite manage to keep the rain from soaking their cots and clothes.

For entertainment, the children sing in Creole, braid hair, or play marbles in the dust, with balls popped out of roll-on deo-

dorant bottles. On bad days, they fight. They set fires. Or they refuse to go to school.

Last year, the United States admitted all unaccompanied Cuban rafter children. Two weeks ago, the U.S. government announced that nearly all the remaining 21,000 Cuban rafters would be admitted.

Growing bitter

As the Cubans rejoiced, the Haitians grew bitter. Why, they wondered, didn't they receive a blanket welcome to the United States?

"It hurts us very much," said a 17-year-old girl, whose father lives in the United States. She could not be identified without her parents' permission. "The Cubans found us here. But the Cubans are leaving and we're still here."

The U.S. government says the decision is consistent with long-practiced U.S. refugee policy: Haitians can return to a democracy, while Cubans cannot.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which handles the resettlement

of the Haitian children, says only children without parents or principle caretakers in Haiti, and children facing the threat of political violence in Haiti end up in the United States. Twenty-three children have been paroled so far.

"It's not a simple matter that life is better for kids in the United States," said Michael Troje, the U.N. refugee expert who is tracing relatives in Haiti. "Their emotional health is better in their own country."

But that argument carries little weight with the children. Last week, after the United States announced the Cubans would be leaving, they refused to attend school. They started a hunger strike. And on huge white sheets, hung from the fences, they voiced their outrage in blue magic marker.

To them, the reason for the disparity in treatment was painfully clear.

"Because we are black," the sign read. "We have not the same blood."

"In front of God, everybody is the same thing."

Reboredo's D.C. trip was paid by taxpayers; 'I am not ashamed'



Reboredo

M.H.S-13-95 Comm. Reboredo
By DEXTER FILKINS
Herald Staff Writer

Metro Commissioner Pedro Reboredo's highly publicized arrest at the White House steps earlier this week has a footnote: Taxpayers paid for the trip.

Reboredo billed his \$486 round-trip flight to Washington to Metro government. He plans to submit the rest of his expenses — about \$250 on hotel, dinner and taxis.

Reboredo and U.S. Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart were arrested outside the White House Tuesday when they protested Clinton's Cuba policy.

Reboredo said he happened to be in Washington on county business when he learned of Diaz-Balart's plans.

"May I go with you?" Reboredo asked.

The two were arrested in the afternoon and released in the afternoon. Reboredo flew home that night, met reporters at the airport and called a press conference the next day.

Reboredo said the arrest prevented him from accomplishing much of his official business. He said he went to Washington to lobby for more immigration staffing at Miami International Airport.

He didn't have any appointments with INS or other officials, he said.

Reboredo said he doesn't have any regrets about his action.

"If I put in 60 hours a week [as a commissioner], and while doing it I get involved in a personal thing, so be it. I am not ashamed."

Try *this* for a lose-lose

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA

If you held a contest for bad ideas, you couldn't top the planned work stoppage across Greater Miami tomorrow to protest the change in U.S. policy toward Cuban immigrants. The organizers' avowed aim is to "shut down Miami," as if this were some Third World backwater.

This effort is wrong by every measure of wrong. It targets the wrong people in the wrong place by the wrong method. It will bring its sponsors not community sympathy but more community division. Unless there is trouble, which would be tragic, this work stoppage will be barely noticed, and less noted, by those to whom it should be addressed: the policymakers in Washington, D.C.

Oh, not to worry, it'll surely be noticed by that fiendish policymaker in Havana: Fidel Castro. He may tip over his La-Z-Despot lounge chair in paroxysms of laughter at how the people whom he has hurt so much hurt only themselves and their community in a misguided tactic aimed in part at him.

Yes, Castro couldn't be happier. This effort to "shut down Miami" costs him zero, hurts him not at all. Fact is, it may benefit him further by (as it has) increasing Miami's internal frustrations. While Castro busts a gut laughing, what's the effect on us here? For starters:

■ Businesses (especially in Cuban Miami) will forgo all or part of a day's

WORK-STOP PROTEST

Castro himself couldn't have devised a scheme more harmful — *to us only* — than tomorrow's Miami work stoppage.

income. For many and-pop operations, that's a severe price for a mere feckless gesture.

■ Employees will forfeit untold pay or vacation time if they feel compelled to show solidarity by not working. We respect deeply those who, for reasons

of conscience, will sacrifice. What a pity, though, that their sacrifice won't have a beneficial impact in Washington or Havana! The only impact — *adverse* — will be here, on them, on all of us.

■ We stand the real chance of making this city of the future, this city that seeks to be this hemisphere's 21st Century capital, simply look foolish in Washington (where the real policy power is) and, indeed, to much of South Florida.

■ Public sentiment was 63 percent more negative vs. only 17 percent more positive toward the Cuban community's cause after protesters last week created major traffic jams by blocking arterial roads. If the goal is to drive that disfavor further toward 100 percent, this work stoppage is an ideal 16-wheeler.

This protest is a lose-lose. It won't help the rafters. It won't help their sympathizers. It won't help the Cuban community's sympathy among Greater Miami's other communities.

Whom might it help, then? By our measure, only one person: the in-Fidel in Havana. The ever-wily Castro couldn't have wished for a better outcome had he planned it himself.

Opposition yes . . . protests no

M.H. 5-15-95 CUBA

Many Cuban Americans in New Jersey question Miami methods

By MICHAEL WARREN
Special to The Herald

UNION CITY, N.J. — Many of the Cubans here don't like the idea of *balseros* being forcibly returned to Cuba, but they don't plan to demonstrate against President Clinton's policy turnabout either.

"It's not going to work. It's not going to resolve anything," said Fernando Albar during a lively streetside debate this weekend. Unlike Cubans in Miami, people here have little appetite for carrying signs or blocking traffic.

"We talk too much. That's why Castro's still in Cuba," joked Albar, 42, a pantyhose distributor who has lived in Union City since the Mariel boatlift.

Outside the Pathmark store, none of the shoppers had heard of any demonstrations, much less planned to take part in one.

"Making demonstrations with the Cuban flag is a mistake," said Ydalia Medina. "If a country welcomes you with open arms, you shouldn't demonstrate against its policies."

Medina, 45, has lived in New Jersey for 30 years. Like many who once made Union City one of the largest Cuban communities outside Florida, she has moved to the suburbs. She still comes here to shop and see friends, but on Bergenline Avenue, the stores are being taken over by Colombians, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The sense of community isn't as strong, and people have other priorities.

"In Miami, everybody lives for politics," Medina said. "We're more integrated with Americans. We're not involved in that mess of knocking down Castro."

'We're too busy'

Jose and Mabel Porta might have reason to demonstrate. A year ago last week, they fled Cuba with their two daughters in a small boat, and were taken to the United States by the Coast Guard. But protest? They're worried more about finding health insurance and getting off welfare.

"Here, people have talked

about it, but I haven't heard of any demonstrations. And if there were, we wouldn't have joined it anyway," Porta said. "We're trying to find work. We're too busy to join in any parade."

Outside the Dairy Queen on Park Avenue, Sabrina Perez, 14, giggled when asked how people feel about Clinton's policy. It's not something she and her Cuban-American friends worry about. Her father and uncles are angry, but so far it's just talk, she said.

"They talk about it a lot, but nobody's getting up and carrying signs," she said. "I think they all have it in them. They just need a leader. If someone went around and said there's going to be a big protest, they'd go."

Union City is a working-class, mostly Latin suburb on a ridge overlooking the Hudson River and Manhattan. It straddles Interstate 495. If Cubans here wanted to stage a protest similar to the attempted blockade of the Port of Miami, the entrance to the Lincoln Tunnel is just a short walk down the hill.

But such a move would surely backfire, said Jose Diaz, a construction worker who arrived from Cuba about 1½ years ago.

"You don't gain anything" by causing trouble for non-Cubans, Diaz said. "Look, my family has been here 20 years. They know the reality, how things are."

In the Union City Cafeteria on Saturday, waiters rushed around with plates of Cuban food while a lone member of the anti-Castro group Alpha 66 plotted strategy in a booth in the back. At the bar, Orestes Alvarez, a retired hotel bartender, and Omar Jorin, a factory manager, ordered beers and held forth about the Cubans in Miami, where Alvarez, 55, plans to move next month.

"It's stupid to demonstrate," said Alvarez, criticizing the traffic stoppage that slowed an ambulance to the hospital. "What I say, I'm not afraid to say: It's stupid. It's all politics."

"I remember 1980. Fidel sent beautiful people; he sent delin-

quents, too," Alvarez said. "It's not fair to bring 20,000 people you don't know from Cuba. They're going to put these people on the street — who's going to support them?"

'A different country'

Jorin, who arrived in this country during Mariel, agreed with his friend.

"This is a different country. You're supposed to respect the place where you are," said Jorin, 42. "Don't come over here to make trouble. All those demonstrations, they should have done it to Fidel."

Silverio Rodriguez heard that a reporter was at the bar and took a seat, pulling out a card that identified him as coordinator general of Alpha 66, Delegacion del Norte.

Rodriguez hopes for a big crowd May 21 at a rally along Bergenline Avenue, when Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart and [Alpha 66 leader] Diego Medina are expected to come up from Miami.

Alpha 66 can count Orlando Trespalacios out, even though he's waiting to be reunited with a brother in the camps at Guantanamo Bay whom he hasn't seen in 35 years.

"I don't support these demonstrations," said Trespalacio, who

runs his own restaurant supply business. "The deficit is already too high — this country can't provide for all the people who want to come here."

Bergenline Road is a long way from Calle Ocho, let alone Havana, and keeping younger generations interested in Cuba is difficult.

"You have to feel it here," Rodriguez explained, thumping his chest. "My own daughters, sometimes they say 'Papa, it's too much.' This generation, they say it's not right" to protest.

But Rodriguez is sure young people will attend Sunday's rally. Two anyway.

"Young people will show up. Yes!" Rodriguez said. "I'll call my own daughters. They'll go. I'll order them to do it and then hang up the phone. They'll go."

The containment of Castro

M.H. 5-14-95 CwBA
Robert Scheer, a contributing editor of The Los Angeles Times, wrote this article for The Times.

By ROBERT SCHEER

Thank God for Fidel Castro. And for Jesse Helms, who, if he had his way, would make smoking a Cuban cigar a capital offense. Helms' bill to tighten the embargo on trade with Cuba has been condemned by Canada and the European Union, but what do they know of Castro's unique place in the American political psyche? We would be lost without him.

Who would have thought it would come to this: The Caribbean mouse that roared is all that's left of our global crusade against communism. At a time when the Vietnam War is recognized as a "terrible mistake," and the Chinese communists represent the world's fastest-growing capitalist economy and the former Soviet Reds are on our welfare rolls, it's reassuring to have Castro to contain.

The danger is real. I don't need to remind you of the threat that refurbished casinos in Cuba would pose to Atlantic City, N.J. Only 90 miles from our shores are beaches, cigars, music and women so alluring that hundreds of thousands of Germans, Spaniards and Canadians are, even as we speak, risking their democratic souls and the opprobrium of the U.S. government to vacation there.

If Republicans think Hollywood is a threat to family values, they must shudder at the return of the Havana of old. In 1960, on the eve of the embargo, I caught one of the last flights out evacuating conventioners from Cuba to Key West, and let me tell you, getting them on the plane was a close call. One more round of rum and Cokes and they would have been lost to communism for the next 35 years.

The danger is real. I don't need to remind you of the threat that refurbished casinos in Cuba would pose to Atlantic City, N.J.

Then there's the democracy question. Castro is a dictator, and if he hadn't been isolated, we'd have other nondemocratic governments in the hemisphere. Just look at Guatemala, which inspired our Cuba policy. Back in 1950, nine years before Castro's revolution, Jacobo Arbenz was elected president of Guatemala. Some election — the wrong guy won. Arbenz had barely settled in when he started making moves on the United Fruit Co., talking about giving land to the peasants and other red stuff. Well, the CIA ousted him, and Guatemala was saved for the free world.

I know, the U.S.-trained Guatemalan military was recently blamed for killing a U.S. citizen who owned a hotel in the rain forest there, but that's a small price to pay for our national security. Nor does it matter that the accused killer, a colonel named Julio Alpirez, was a CIA operative. Who else can provide reliable inside information on the Guatemalan government?

True, Castro also killed, and he definitely had useful inside information, but that wasn't enough to qualify him as a U.S. ally. Castro had his chance; we tried working with him during his student revolutionary days, but when he got in power, he turned around and nationalized one of our nickel companies. We saw then that he had "commie" written all over him, and the final proof came when he turned to the Soviets for economic aid

after the U.S. government cut his access to trade with the West.

We tried to get rid of Castro with the Bay of Pigs invasion, but that failed when the people in Cuba didn't rise up as expected. Then we tried democracy through assassination. Just how hard we tried was documented in a CIA report, declassified two years ago, which detailed how the agency supplied the Mafia with money, explosives, infected saccharine pills and poisoned cigars. Strong believers in the free market, the Mafia shared the U.S. government's antipathy to Castro, who had nationalized their casinos, but the mob's hit men kept losing their nerve at the last minute.

Another U.S.-sponsored invasion was in the works when Castro got the Soviets to put some missiles in, and the world almost came to an end. But cooler heads prevailed and a deal was struck in which the United States agreed to stop trying to invade Cuba and instead continue a policy of economic strangulation and subversion. And the Soviets took their missiles home.

A somewhat muddled policy, you might say, but be fair: Bob McNamara was in charge. As he said in a 1987 interview reflecting back on the Cuban Missile Crisis: "What in the hell does the president of the Ford Motor Co., which I was, know about the issue? I'll tell you what this automobile executive knew: Zero! Nothing! I knew it too. I felt in my heart that my appointment as secretary of defense was wrong."

No argument here. But in this season of mea culpas, maybe we should shift tactics and follow the example of our China policy: Try invading Cuba with salesmen instead. Once inundated with credit cards, VCRs and Coca-Cola, communism doesn't stand a chance. And will the last sailor out of Guantanamo please turn out the lights.

24 Cubans found in stalled speedboat

Feds questioning
2 exiles on board

M.H. 5-15-95
By DAVID HANCOCK *WPA*
Herald Staff Writer

Two Cuban Americans were in federal custody Sunday on suspicion of having piloted a boat from South Florida to Cuba to pick up 24 Cubans on the island, including a young woman who apparently died during the trip.

At about 8:30 a.m. Sunday, a Coast Guard helicopter sighted an emergency flare fired from a crowded, 30-foot Scarab speedboat stalled south of Key West.

"The powerboat was dead in the water and we diverted two cutters to the scene," said Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt.

When the cutters arrived, Coast Guardsmen found a 22-year-old dead woman on board. In addition, the group included 11 men, eight women, one girl and three boys.

The 23 Cubans were transferred to one of the cutters, where they remained at sea Sunday night. They will likely be interviewed by a U.S. immigration officer about possible asylum claims.

"They'll remain at sea until there is a determination of what to do with them," Waldschmidt said.

If asylum is not granted, they will probably be repatriated to Cuba, just like 24 other rafters who were returned last week.

"That is U.S. policy at this time," Waldschmidt said.

The Coast Guard brought the two Cuban-American men and the dead woman to shore at Key West. The woman, whose identity was not known, was turned over to the Monroe County medical examiner's office, which will determine the cause of death.

U.S. Attorney Kendall Coffey of Miami identified the men as Abel Eugenio Fuentes-Miranda, 21, and Jorge Niner, no age available. They are both believed to be from Dade, Coffey said.

Both men were in the custody of federal immigration agents, who were questioning them

PLEASE SEE CUBANS, 6A

CUBANS, FROM 1A

about possible involvement in immigrant smuggling.

"The facts and the law will be examined and if proveable violations of federal law can be established, a prosecution will be pursued," Coffey said.

Coffey said the 30-foot powerboat was registered to Everardo Nodarse of Hialeah.

Contacted Sunday night by The Herald, Nodarse said he was unaware the boat had been intercepted by the Coast Guard. He said he kept the 30-foot Scarab at a friend's house in Kendall.

Nodarse then called the friend, Juan Carlos Rodriguez, who said he had loaned the boat to the two men for a date Saturday night. Rodriguez said the two men, Fuentes-Miranda and Niner, were rafters who came to South Florida two or three years ago.

Both Rodriguez and Nodarse said they were unaware of any plans by the two young men to make a trip to Cuba. Nodarse said the 1994 powerboat is valued at about \$50,000.

Archbishop's letter

Meanwhile, Miami Archbishop John C. Favalora wrote a letter, read at Masses Sunday throughout the archdiocese, commenting about last week's tumultuous events, which include traffic blockades and other protest by Cuban

Americans angered over the new U.S. policy of returning Cuban boat people to Cuba.

"Recent developments regarding the Cuban refugees have brought mixed emotions to our community. We rejoice over the news of the release of the refugees in Guantanamo and, with our Cuban brothers and sisters, we are pained by the United States government's decision to repatriate new-found rafters," the letter said.

"Equally painful is the tension these times bring to the entire community. These are times when emotions run high and hearts are heavy. I appeal to everyone in the archdiocese to bring these current turn of events to the Lord for healing and understanding. This is a time for everyone in the community to pray for prudence, patience and an ever spirit."

Exile groups protesting the new U.S. policy have called for a general work strike on Tuesday, urging Cuban Americans and anyone else to boycott work as a show of solidarity with the Cuban rafters.

Vigils throughout Dade

Sunday, however, was a peaceful day of protest, with several vigils held throughout the county. At night, dozens of Cuban Americans gathered at La Ermita de la Caridad, the shrine to

Cuba's patron saint in Coconut Grove, to pray for those on the island and for a change in the new policy of repatriating rafters.

"It's terrible what is happening. I never would have believed that the United States would do this," said Francisco Gonzalez, 67, who came from

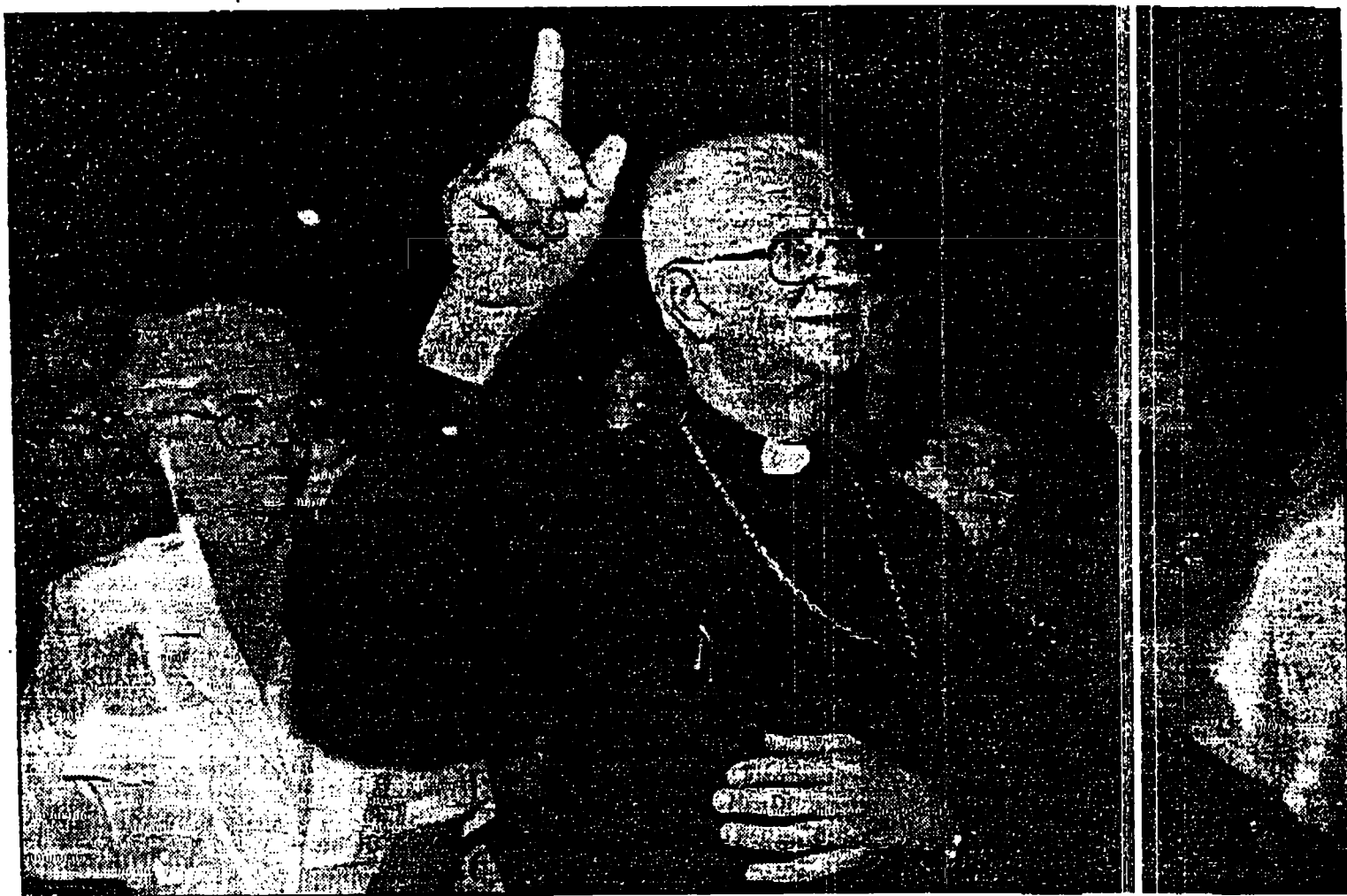
Cuba 28 years ago. "When someone leaves a communist country, they never look back. Get rid of Castro, not the poor people who are fleeing communism."

As a full moon glistened on the waters of Biscayne Bay, Auxiliary Bishop Agustin Roman led the group in praying for

compassion.

"We are praying to the Virgin Mary to move the hearts of President Clinton and the others," said Roman. "And we're praying for a change of heart in Fidel Castro."

Herald staff writer John Lantigua contributed to this report.



DAVIS / BERGMAN / Herald Staff

COCONUT GROVE VIGIL: 'We are praying to the Virgin Mary to move the hearts of President Clinton and the others,' said

Auxiliary Bishop Agustin Roman Sunday night. 'And we're praying for a change of heart in Fidel Castro.'

Coast Guard is focus of ambivalent rally

By ANA MENENDEZ
Herald Staff Writer

Under perfect blue skies, about 100 Cuban Americans stood outside Miami Beach's Coast Guard station Saturday in a demonstration that seemed torn between giving thanks and demanding change.

"We've heard many wonderful stories of the heroism of the Coast Guard in saving Cuban lives," said Isaura Pino, dressed in black. "But we're sad their roles changed and we want them to feel solidarity with us."

Many demonstrators held signs protesting the repatriation policy. Some wore new, creased T-shirts showing President Bill Clinton and Fidel Castro lounging together, smoking cigars.

"Clinton is a communist," Ernesto Corvo said, echoing the words on his T-shirt. "He's had too many talks with Castro."

By the MacArthur Causeway, Richard Maura, 20, stood waving a huge Cuban flag.

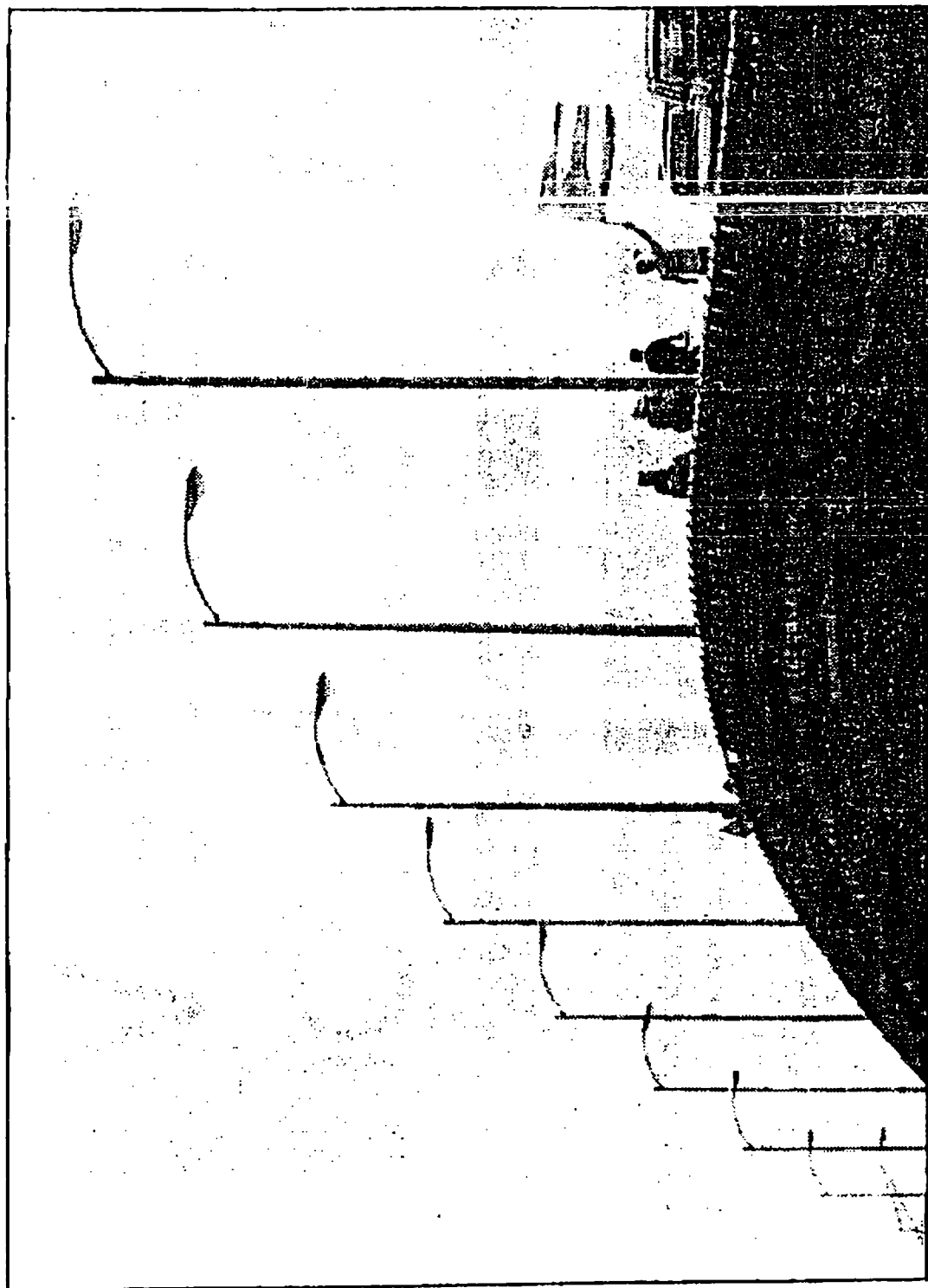
"I want Cuba to be free for my parents," he said. "They've done so much for me, I'm doing this for them."

Many drivers beeped car horns. A red BMW drove by with anti-Clinton slogans painted on the windshield. Other motorists shouted: "Go back to Cuba!"

At times, media and police seemed to outnumber the demonstrators, who came to life under the cameras.

"Thank you! Thank you!" demonstrators shouted at men wearing Coast Guard uniforms.

"We appreciate it," Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt said.



SEEKING POLICY REVERSAL: Protesting Cuban Americans say they're sad that the Coast Guard's mission has changed.
KJLH / ALBONA / Herald Staff

Don't take unity out of community

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

Amidst a discussion with a co-worker regarding the new U.S. policy toward Cuban rafters, I found myself getting mad. I mean really angry. I had to end the conversation and leave the room before a peaceful discussion became an argument.

As I walked away I examined my reaction. Why, exactly, was I angry? I am a white woman in my middle 30s with three small children who attend public school. I am married to a Cuban. My long-time boss, for whom I have the utmost respect, is a Cuban. I am an active advocate for the less fortunate, and I've taught my children to look past color or creed to the human underneath. Still, suddenly I find myself in the position of being the despised *them* in the game of *us* against *them* that many Cubans are determined to promote.

I grew up in a black neighborhood in Los Angeles where I was hated for the color of my skin. I married in California and moved to Hialeah. I did not find the Cuban community any more open to me than the black community had been. I was the enemy, a threat to the purity of their cultural heritage. I was told, Cubans should marry Cubans, etc. Regardless of my personal beliefs, regardless of who I was, I could never truly be a part simply because of my race.

I know about discrimination — hate, ignorance, and racial and cultural disharmony. But through it all I have clung to the values my parents fought hard to instill in me. We are one people. We all hurt, laugh, cry, and bleed the same way. Why do we fight so hard to deny this?

I would like to see the Cuban community make more of an effort to enlist the help of people outside of their own culture in this fight. I would like them to drop the assumption that we are all against them, and believe us innocent until proven guilty of ignorance and hardness of heart. I would like to read less about how poorly the Cuban community has been treated and more about how we can all come together to reach a common goal.

Americans, on the whole, deplore dictators. We will fight for human rights if given the chance. But when we are accosted on the street by angry mobs, blocked from reaching our children as schools close, lumped together as adversaries regardless of our true thoughts, we *become* adversaries to the very cause that we might have joined.

I would ask that all of us see beyond our pride and open our hearts to the neighbors we've lived with, many of us, for nearly all of our lives. Give people a chance. You might be surprised.

VIRGINIA ESTAPE
Pembroke Pines



We are not the enemy

I congratulate Janet Reno and Bill Clinton's administration for *finally* forming a sensible policy on Cuban rafters. Why do the Cubans continue to risk their and their children's lives by setting out in shark infested waters on rickety rafts?

The Clinton administration and the U.S. attorney general are not their enemies, Castro is.

JACK BOLING
Miami

Not their place to speak out

The Cubans are telling our government and our president how to run our immigration laws, but many of them are not even U.S. citizens. Something's wrong with this picture!!

MARIE MAXSON
Pompano Beach

Meaning of freedom

America was built by the strength of the immigrants. From the western railroads to the big city skyscrapers, we have come a long way.

May God bless the man who strives to be free, for it is he who knows the true meaning of freedom.

GENEVIEVE ROMAN
North Miami

How about a 'thank you'?

It would help if Cubans would say thank you to President Clinton and the American people for permitting Cubans to immigrate here. Presidents and Americans have given them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

A simple, sincere *thank you* would be nice.

NANCY WOERNER
Plantation

Prove persecution

If Cubans want to resolve the refugee problem, let them accept that U.S. laws must be upheld. To be allowed entry into the United States, persons fleeing Cuba must provide irrefutable proof that they would be persecuted if sent back.

I doubt that many in Guantanamo, and many already here, could pass that test. Most are economic refugees fleeing a bankrupt regime.

JOHN DELIA
Miami

The untouchables

I like living in Miami because it's so close to the United States. However, I would like to know why this country has had a 30-year open-door policy for Cubans.

It's not because of communism; otherwise we'd have Little Vietnam, Little China, and Little Russia blooming on Eighth Street. And if it is out of guilt for the Bay of Pigs, after 30 years we've long paid our dues.

A. TARIEL
Miami

'I am sick and tired'

I am sick and tired of the Cuban problem; we cannot live in peace. It's Castro who dictates U.S. foreign policy. Whenever he feels like it, he dumps thousands of refugees here.

I am sick and tired of this, and I applaud Jorge Mas Canosa for refusing to continue to pay for this. Let Mr. Clinton and Janet Reno take care of these refugees' expenses.

MARIA E. SANCHEZ
Miami

No blind faith for Cuba

M, H. 5-13-95 CUBA

The so-called Tarnoff-Alarcon immigration accord between Cuba and the United States is being put to the test before the ink on it dries. On Tuesday the U.S. Coast Guard returned the first 13 rafters to Cuba.

The agreement made public on May 2 commits the Cuban regime, a notorious human rights violator, to a civilized standard of conduct toward Cuban "returnees." According to Attorney General Janet Reno, Fidel Castro's government assured the United States that "no one will suffer reprisals, lose benefits, or be prejudiced in any manner, either because he or she sought to depart irregularly or because he or she has applied for refugee status at the U.S. Interests Section" in Havana.

Until May 2, the United States had reason to assume that rafters returned to Cuba would automatically suffer political persecution. Over the years, the Cuban regime has jailed thousands found guilty of "illegal departure," an offense that's still a crime in Cuba.

However, under the terms first of the September 1994 U.S.-Cuban immigration agreement and now of the May 2 accord, the Cuban government pledged to stop persecuting people caught trying to "depart via irregular means." That generally means rafters and boat people.

The immigration pact's critics and other skeptics justifiably have questioned the Cuban government's readiness to live up to its commitments. Havana has often agreed "in principle" to things that it had not the slightest intention of carrying out in practice. Indeed, some of the first "returnees" contend that Castro's repressive appara-

ON IMMIGRATION ACCORD

The United States must monitor the situation of repatriated rafters closely. Other wise, the immigration pact could be in trouble.

tus already is violating the spirit of the immigration agreements. Some of the 13 returnees told Herald reporter Armando Correa and U.S. Interests Section officials that they had suffered "harassment" at the hands of Cuban police. But U.S. diplomats visiting the returnees'

homes in the provincial capital of Camaguey assert that they saw no evidence of harassment.

Still, both supporters and detractors of the accord must ask themselves what fate awaits the returnees when U.S. Interests Section officers are not around to monitor Cuban authorities' behavior. Moreover, the number of returnees could swell. Hence the U.S. staff must be large enough to monitor the treatment of repatriated Cubans and to process their visa applications.

The May 2 agreement commits the United States to this — and to "examining" the asylum claims of rafters "before return." Returnees also have the right to apply for refugee status at the Interests Section in Havana. They can't jump to the front of the queue, however, and they'll have to meet the same tests as other applicants.

Either way, "harassment" by itself does not constitute grounds for granting refugee status to anyone. Yet U.S. diplomats should not be predisposed to reject asylum claims, as they were in Haiti, where Washington was reminded that smooth-talking representatives of dictatorships cannot be taken at their word. Washington's failure to monitor the situation of Cuban returnees would expose repatriated rafters to possible Cuban government reprisals and imperil the immigration agreement.

J.S., Cuban generals talk at Guantanamo; 1 rafters returned

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

RESIGNATION MAY SLOW CUBAN REFORM, 18A
HAITI NATIVE AIDS GUANTANAMO KIDS, 1G

By DON BOHNING
And CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writers

A U.S. general and his Cuban counterpart met this week at the U.S. military base in Guantanamo Bay to discuss the possible repatriation by land of some of the 21,000 Cuban rafters held at the base. U.S. officials said Friday.

Confirmation of the meeting came as 11 rafters, including a pregnant woman, were returned to Cuba without incident aboard a U.S. Coast Guard cutter. It was the second such repatriation this week, an operation that U.S. officials described as quickly becoming routine.

U.S. officials said the meeting between a Cuban general and U.S. Air Force Brig. Gen. John Allen, head of the military joint task force in charge of the

PLEASE SEE CUBANS, 18A

and "he determined... that there were no fears which would preclude them pursuing whatever avenues they might wish" to apply for regular U.S. visas in Havana.

The cutter docked at Cabañas at 11:42 a.m. Friday and departed 45 minutes later, according to Petty Officer Steve Aitkins, a Coast Guard spokesman in Miami. It was met by a handful of journalists and representatives from the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba.

As with the 13 returned on Tuesday, the 11 repatriated Friday were taken to Havana for processing. They were scheduled to leave for their home — in several cities around central Cuba — later in the day.

"Everything went fine, said a Havana-based diplomat. "The returnees were cooperative. The discussions were brief."

Unlike the 13 repatriated Tuesday who were outfitted in clothes obtained from the ship, the 11 returned Friday were described as raggedly dried and "weather worn." Some had been at sea since April 9, according to U.S. officials.

In Washington, Acting Sec

day the same cutter intercepted two more rafters.

Friday's repatriation at the port of Cabañas west of Havana was a replay of the return Tuesday of 13 Cubans who had been rescued off the island's south coast by a Miami-based cruise ship and turned over to the Coast Guard.

First off the cutter Friday after it docked were the pregnant woman and her boyfriend, according to U.S. officials. Accompanied by a doctor, they were taken by ambulance to an immigration processing center on the outskirts of Havana.

Richard Nuccio, a senior State Department official involved in Cuban affairs, said only one of the 11 rafters made a claim for political asylum strong enough to merit special treatment — presumably during an onboard interview with U.S. immigration agents.

Nuccio said, however, that "further review determined that the person did not have a credible fear of return and was returned Friday" along with the other 10 refugees.

U.S. officials said the 11 returnees met with a U.S. immigration officer aboard the cutter

CUBANS, FROM 1A

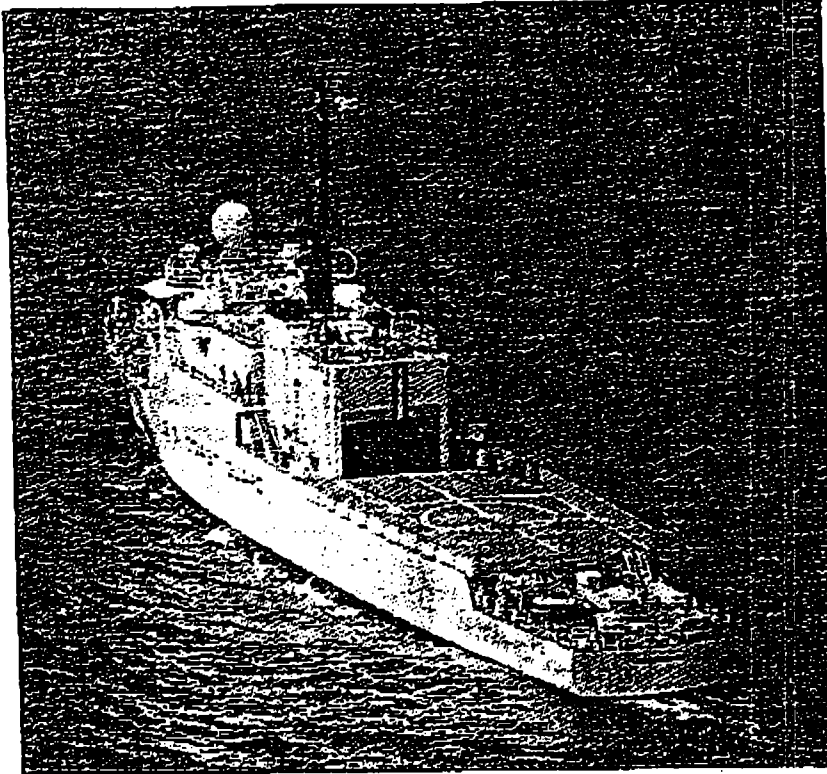
refugee program at Guantanamo, took place Tuesday in a tent just inside the U.S. naval base.

They discussed the repatriation by land of those Cubans at Guantanamo not expected to be given migrant visas to the United States under the new U.S. policy adopted last week by the Clinton administration, the officials confirmed.

While most of the 21,000 Cubans held at the base since last summer's rafter crisis are expected to receive U.S. visas, the new policy would repatriate some of those with criminal records, mental problems or a record of violence against their U.S. guards.

"The [Guantanamo] meeting went extremely well," said a U.S. official. "The Cubans were obviously well prepared, ready to make some decisions and very amenable for returns through the northeast gate."

Of the Cuban rafters returned Friday in the second such repatriation since the Clinton administration shifted policy on May 2, nine were rescued by the Coast Guard Wednesday from a sinking boat north of Cuba. The next



Associated Press

ENTERING CUBAN WATERS: The U.S. Coast Guard cutter Mohawk arrives north of Bahia de Cabañas Friday.

Department spokesman David Johnson said U.S. diplomats in Cuba will visit the latest return-

ees "as soon as possible, and an officer may be dispatched as early as today [Friday] to their

hometown for this express purpose."

Johnson added that two other officers from the U.S. Interests Section in Havana had met in Camaguey with 12 of the 13 Cubans returned Tuesday and expected to meet with the last one on Friday.

"They've enjoyed full access to them. The migrants have been able to freely meet as a group among themselves and have been able to meet both individually and as a group with U.S. officers," Johnson said.

He said a few of them "complained to the officers of minor harassment since their return to Camaguey," complaints which "the U.S. government takes seriously."

Johnson said Joe Sullivan, the top U.S. diplomat in Havana, met Thursday with Cuban diplomat Ricardo Alarcon in Havana to express U.S. concerns. Alarcon "reiterated his government's assurance that the returned migrants will not be harassed or otherwise prejudiced for having attempted to leave Cuba illegally," he said.

Herald staff writer Susan Benesch contributed to this report.

Employers predict business as usual

By MIMI WHITEFIELD
And SUSANA BARCIELA
Herald Business Writers

South Florida employers said Friday they don't expect a planned work stoppage next week to disrupt business, but many plan to meet Monday to reassess the situation.

Work stoppages and general strikes to press a political agenda are a time-honored tradition in Latin America, but the concept of workers staying off the job for political reasons seemed to catch many Miami employers by surprise.

"We have no policy, decision or comment at this time," said Marc Cohen, a spokesman for Jackson Memorial Hospital. His was a fairly typical response.

Municipal governments in Dade and Broward counties said they expect to carry on as usual

Tuesday.

Will 'work with' protesters

Most employers said they wouldn't retaliate against workers who may take the day off. But most companies expect their employees who don't work Tuesday to take a vacation day or lose the pay.

"Employees who strongly believe in the work stoppage are encouraged to take vacation time to participate," said Kim Miller, spokeswoman at Burger King. "We will work with those employees."

The sentiment was similar at Robles & Gonzalez, a 55-person law firm in downtown Miami.

"We anticipate all 55 will be working because the office is extremely busy and people are very dedicated," said Louis Robles. "But if any of the staff

MIA 5-13-95 Curb

Though general strikes are common in Latin America, South Florida bosses seem surprised by the prospect.

did participate, we would honor that personal decision."

Dave Dawson, spokesman for Ryder System, said "If an employee wants to take a floating holiday on Tuesday or Thursday or any other day, they are free to do so."

At Hialeah's Telenoticias, a Spanish-language all-news network, Tuesday is expected to be a busy day.

"We going to be covering [the work stoppage], but here at Telenoticias we're going to be working. After all, this is a 24-

hour news station," said Gustavo Pupo-Mayo, the network president.

Some managers, however, fear a snowball effect. "There may be a lot of people joining in just to take the day off," said the manager of a branch bank in Miami. "Put it this way: I'll be here."

Concern for health care

There also is concern about the impact on hospitals and other critical community services if a significant number of workers decided to protest.

"I hope that people who work

in medicine will not stop working, regardless of their political view. These people [here] are sick. Workers can't just walk off the job," said a worker at Baptist Hospital.

Miami International Airport spokesman Mark Henderson said no special plans are in place.

"We have 30,000 employees at this airport," Henderson said. "I don't know who is going to leave and who is going to stay, but the airport is going to function."

So will the phone company, said Southern Bell spokesman Spero Canton. Employees recognize how critical phone lines can be in any emergency, said Canton. "They know they have a responsibility to our customers to not jeopardize that."

Canton said few Southern Bell employees participated in protests this week. There were no

phone interruptions earlier this week when protest organizers called for a five-minute work stoppage, he said.

Temporary help agencies said their phones were not ringing off the hook Friday.

"Personally, I don't know how many people take this seriously enough to risk their jobs," said Holly Lewis, president of Budget Quality Staffing.

But some companies clearly are nervous. When asked if they had plans for Tuesday, several companies declined to comment, saying they didn't want to be unwitting targets of the protest.

Greg Brown, Michelle Chandler, Don Fineck, Rafael Lortente, Ana Menendez, Ted Reed, Jack Rejman, Christina Samuels and Amy Vernon contributed to this report.

on Tuesday

Miami protests find no echo in Cuba

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA

Herald Staff

HAVANA — For loud reaction to the U.S. decision to repatriate Cuban rafters, one must turn on the radio and tune in Miami.

It is easy to catch Miami's Spanish-language radio here, with commentators railing against the U.S. migration negotiations with Cuba and reports on demonstrations in Miami. Since the accents are nearly all Cuban, it takes a moment to realize that they are describing another city.

In contrast to the clamor in Miami, Havana seems calm. Demonstrations — except those organized by the government — are rare in Cuba. Daily life commands more urgent attention than politics, as Cubans try to cope with high food prices and power blackouts.

The approach of summer raises the level of anxiety. In the last two years, summer has been accompanied by increasing blackouts and restlessness.

For the moment, Havana neighborhoods have blackouts for a few hours on two days a week — an improvement over recent months. Many are announced in advance, which makes them easier to tolerate. But Cubans expect the blackouts to grow longer, as they did last summer, with increasing electricity consumption. Blackouts also interrupt food supplies and distribution.

High price of oil

Food supplies are generally better than they were a year ago, Cubans say, but still uneven. Rice and beans have been abundant lately, but the cooking oil that people use to prepare them has been so scarce that its price on the black market went up last week to \$8 for a small bottle.

The Cuban government is most worried about August, the month when protests broke out last year, followed by the exodus of boat people.

Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina recently told a group of Cuban journalists that he plans to invite some Cuban Americans to Havana in August, and hopes that will dissuade Miami commentators from encouraging violence at the same time, said one journalist who was present.

Another Cuban writer said some people fear Aug. 13 because it is President Fidel Castro's birthday, and his more daring

opponents might choose that day to try to cause trouble.

But many Cubans, including dissidents, say they think unrest is unlikely.

The presence of fear

"Last summer, when people went out in the streets, people said Cubans had lost their fear. But the thing is that fear is very easy to get back," said a prominent Cuban writer.

Earlier this week in Cojimar, a beach town just east of Havana, a broad-bellied man resting with his bicycle said it was unfair for the United States to send Cuban rafters home. "We are having a very hard life," he said.

He began to list his family budget, complaining that many of the items in his government ration book are no longer delivered monthly, as they are listed in the book. He must buy many necessities on the open market for exorbitant prices. A bar of soap costs more than 10 percent of a laborer's monthly wage.

Another exodus?

The most likely form of disorder, Cubans say, would be another exodus, since most Cubans who are very discontented want to leave, not rebel. ~~And in the face of a massive exodus, the United States might be forced to change its policy again.~~

But even an exodus is now unlikely, Cubans say. Many of those who were willing to risk their lives on rafts did so last summer, when the Cuban government made no effort to stop them. That exodus relieved the pressure; now there are fewer potential rafters desperate to go, said several people who remained behind in coastal towns near Havana.

Many Cubans are hoping that the negotiations between the United States and Cuba will bear further fruit, perhaps including less restrictive travel for Cuban Americans who want to visit their families in Cuba. Some people in Havana say they would be less eager to leave if their exiled families could visit more easily.

Some also hold out hope that the Cuban government will take more steps to liberalize the economy, giving private individuals a chance to make a living and to work independently.

With possible changes and a long, hot summer looming, many Cubans said, the wisest policy is to wait and see.

Work stoppage planned

M. H. 5-12-45
By DAVID HANCOCK *Cuba*
And CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writers

Round 2 is under way in the U.S. government's controversial repatriation of Cuban rafters. Nine rescued Cubans — eight men and a woman — spent Thursday night on a Coast Guard cutter that could take them back to Cuba as early as today.

Thursday afternoon, the Coast Guard picked up two more Cuban men on a raft. They were expected to be transferred to the same cutter as the other nine.

A Coast Guard jet spotted the first group of Cubans in a home-made, 15-foot sailboat struggling amid six-foot waves Wednesday evening in the Florida Straits.

"The waves were washing over the side of the sailboat and it was taking on water," Coast Guard spokesman Dan Waldschmidt said. "The plane radioed one of the cutters that was on patrol in the straits. It got over there in less than an hour and got the people off the sailboat before it sank."

The rescues may have been salvation of a sort, but not all that the Cubans might have hoped for in these changing political tides. Government sources say some or all of the 11 Cubans could be returned to the island as early as this afternoon, after an immigration officer on the Coast Guard cutter interviews them about possible political asylum claims.

Cuban exile groups in Dade County, meanwhile, took a breather Thursday after a week filled with rallies, marches, traffic blockades and other protests against the new Cuban repatriation policy. Thursday was spent planning new ways to make their position known, most notably a "work stoppage" day planned for Tuesday in which Cuban Americans will be asked to stop all their activities.

The 11 Cubans are the second

Traffic jams are just most visible protest

M.H. 5-13-95 CUBA
The protests are widespread and varied. Not all who disagree with the Clinton administration's new Cuba policy are hurling their bodies in front of cars, banging on hoods, choking traffic.

"But you just watch," warned the young Cuban-American professor and documentary filmmaker. "Tomorrow, this entire day of protest will amount to a traffic story."

"Those people out there," he said, referring to the rush-hour protesters, "have good intentions. But they are being counter-productive."

The traffic jam. "That's all the people of South Florida are going to see and, Cuban and non-Cuban, they are going to be ticked off," he said one hot afternoon this week.

In what he believes to be a more powerful, peaceful way, 27-year-old Joe Cardona has been sitting outside The Herald building for nearly a week. He and film partner and fellow professor Alex Anton, and several others, are protagonists of one of the more curious displays of outrage toward the administration for repatriating rafters to Cuba. They are staging a "chain fast," called "Fasting for Justice," and hope to build a wide circle of young protesters who relieve one another after several days of fasting.

It is their response to the interdiction of Cubans at sea by U.S. Coast Guard boats. Anton and Cardona were riding along State Road 836, listening to National Public Radio, when they heard about the policy shift.

"This goes against everything this country has stood for. We decided we needed to take a stand," says Anton, 28.

Days later, it was Cardona who was on NPR, lambasting the policy from a plastic-covered mattress in The Herald parking lot.

The protesters, although a generation away from the old Cuban guard, shared an instant identification with the traditional methods of Cuban dissent. A hunger strike, they thought. But, in an effort to invite other supporters, Cuban and otherwise, they came up with the chain idea.

Last year, Anton and Cardona produced a popular documentary called *Breaking the Silence*, a film about the nonviolent opposition inside Cuba.

Today, in their protest, they are joined by Sebastian Arcos Cazabon, an exiled human rights activist and son of jailed dissident Sebastian Arcos. So it is a mix of protesters who state their cause underneath the white canvas tent in the parking lot. There are *cubanitos* from here and *cubanitos* from there. There is even a rafter who arrived just weeks ago.

What they have agreed on, though, is to educate, not antagonize.

"You're asking people to take a leap of faith to your cause. You have to do that by opening their hearts and minds, not getting into a shouting match," says Anton.

The protests are widespread and varied.

I've heard about former Democratic Party loyalists who are taking down their photos of handshakes with Bill Clinton.

I've heard about Cubans quitting their government posts in protest.

I've heard more than several Democrat friends say they want to ditch the party, register Independent.

This cause has even made lawbreakers out of lawmakers. The sight of U.S. Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart getting arrested was startling. Here he was, the embodiment of The American Dream, in handcuffs.

At the scene, a disgusted Frank Calzon, a human rights advocate for Freedom House, turned to a cop and said, "Officer, if you want to enforce the law, you have to go to the other side, because the president is breaking the law."

The disgust is widespread. And it is about more than just traffic.

Public Hearings Decision May Be Packwood's Call

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Senate ethics committee leaders yesterday sidestepped the sensitive issue of whether to force public hearings on allegations of sexual and official misconduct against Finance Committee Chairman Bob Packwood (R-Ore.), saying the future course of the probe is largely up to him.

But Sen. Richard H. Bryan (D-Nev.), ethics committee vice chairman, said it would be a break with precedent if hearings are not held, raising the prospect that Democrats on the panel will push for hearings even if Republican members do not.

Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) declined to comment on the likelihood of hearings except to note that Packwood has a right under Senate rules to demand them. "The ball is now in Senator Packwood's court," he said.

Earlier in the investigation, Packwood told his Oregon constituents he wanted hearings. But he has not responded to new inquiries on the subject, and many Republicans, along with some Democrats, oppose a public airing of the case—in part because it could embarrass the Senate as well as Packwood.

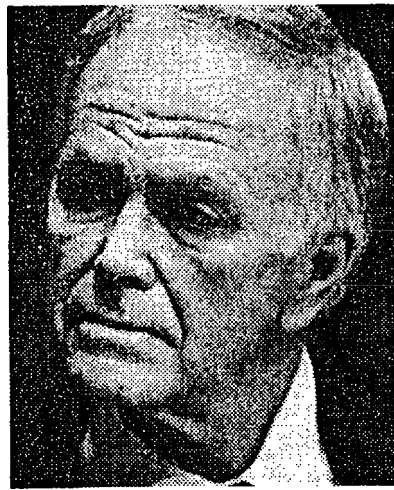
In their first public comments since the committee voted unanimously Tuesday to pursue a full-scale investigation of allegations against Packwood, the panel's leaders issued a detailed accounting of its initial probe—one of the most exhaustive ethics inquiries in Senate history.

The committee said it found "substantial credible evidence" that Packwood may have made improper sexual advances toward women, sought job offers for his wife from lobbyists and tampered with diaries sought by the panel as evidence.

McConnell and Bryan said they interviewed or took testimony from more than 260 witnesses, at least 210 in relation to allegations of sexual misconduct or intimidation. The committee's report cited 18 instances of alleged sexual misconduct through 1990, including grabbing, groping and kissing. It did not make reference to allegations by some of the women that Packwood tried to intimidate them into not telling their stories.

The two committee leaders also said they conducted 111 depositions, took 40 affidavits, reviewed more than 16,000 pages of documents, served 44 subpoenas, reviewed 2,600 pages of diary transcripts and 350 audio tapes and sent about 300 questionnaires to women who have worked for Packwood. The committee did not say how many responses it got to the questionnaires.

The detailed accounting appeared aimed at least in part at addressing questions that have arisen over why the probe, which was launched in December 1992, has taken so long. McConnell and Bryan said the inquiry was "significantly delayed"—at least a year, McConnell said—by Packwood's ultimately unsuccessful fight in the courts to block the committee's subpoena for his diaries.



SEN. BOB PACKWOOD

... has right to demand hearings

"My own view is the process has worked very well," McConnell said.

On Monday, the committee plans to give Packwood a full record of the evidence against him, along with a timetable for response. He can confer privately with the committee as well as confront his accusers in public hearings. At any point, he can seek a negotiated settlement with the panel.

If Packwood fails to request hearings, the committee can order them—as it did in the "Keating Five" savings and loan case several years ago—although it is not required by its rules to do so.

While agreeing with McConnell that it was premature to say whether the committee might require hearings, Bryan said the "history and practice has been to hold open hearings" in ethics cases, dating to proceedings against Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.) in the 1950s.

Neither senator would speculate on how long the proceedings—now in their 30th month—will last. "A good bit may lie ahead," Bryan said. "We don't know at this point."

Lawmakers Assail New Policy on Cubans

Administration Says Havana Isn't Harassing Those Who Are Returned

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration ran into a storm of criticism on Capitol Hill yesterday over the change in its Cuban immigration policy, with Democrats joining Republicans in denouncing the State Department for negotiating with the "Cuban dictatorship" and "trusting the word" of Fidel Castro.

The man who negotiated with the Castro regime to end a 30-year policy of automatically granting Cuban refugees asylum in the United States, Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff, drew a skeptical response from legislators when he insisted that Havana was living up to its end of the bargain. He told a House International Relations subcommittee that the Castro regime had kept a promise to refrain from harassing refugees returned to Cuba by the U.S. Coast Guard or Cubans who apply to emigrate legally to the United States.

Tarnoff provided further details of his talks with Ricardo Alarcon, a Castro confidant and president of the Cuban National Assembly, that led up to the May 2 announcement on the forcible repatriation of Cuban rafters who attempt to cross the Straits of Florida. Tarnoff said that during four hours of talks with Alarcon in New York and Toronto, he was acting under the instructions of President Clinton, as relayed by deputy national security adviser Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger.

As a result of the agreement with Alarcon, most of the approximately

20,000 Cuban rafters who were interned at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay after being intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard will be permitted to enter the United States. The U.S. general responsible for the Guantanamo facility told legislators that some Cuban detainees had mutilated themselves and injected paraffin into their arms in a des-

Democrats joined Republicans in denouncing the State Department.

perate attempt to draw attention to their plight.

Marine Gen. John J. Sheehan, head of the U.S. Atlantic Command, said there would have been riots at the camp over the summer in the absence of a solution to the refugee crisis. "We would have had U.S. servicemen hurt, and Cubans hurt," he told the Western Hemisphere subcommittee.

Rep. Robert G. Torricelli (D-N.J.) predicted that Congress will overwhelmingly approve a package of tough new sanctions against Cuba designed to help Cuban exiles regain property confiscated by the Castro regime. But Tarnoff warned the legislation could "severely disrupt" important U.S. trading relationships with third countries and would be "difficult to defend under international law."

The bill, sponsored by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), would deny entry to the United States to shareholders of mutual funds that have invested in Cuban businesses. It also envisages cutting aid to Russia in retaliation for the transfer of a former Soviet intelligence facility on the island to the Castro government. Legislators complained that the facility could be used to eavesdrop on Cuban citizens and "spy on the United States."

Although most Cuban exile groups have denounced the immigration agreement with Havana, there are divisions within the Cuban community over how to handle Castro. A spokeswoman for the Cuban American Committee, Alicia Torres, cited a recent poll in the Miami Herald which indicated that 45 percent of the exile community approved of the new policy.

Jorge Mas Canosa, leader of the Cuban American National Foundation, dismissed the poll, and told the subcommittee said that the migration agreement had "set back the prospects for freedom and democracy in Cuba by 20 years," sending a message to Castro that he was able to draw the United States into a negotiation without undertaking meaningful political and economic reforms.

Tarnoff said the administration remains committed to tightening sanctions but also seeks to "encourage those forces in Cuba working for democratic change" through cultural exchanges and other programs. "That sounds to me suspiciously like taking incremental steps towards Castro's regime," shot back subcommittee Chairman Dan Burton (R-Ind.).

Clinton Tactic on Cuts Angers Republicans

Conferees Charge No Guidance Was Provided on Projects President Now Calls 'Pork'

By Dan Morgan
Washington Post Staff Writer

When President Clinton sent his budget to Congress Feb. 6, he included proposals for rescinding some \$1.5 billion in programs and projects for which money had been approved in previous budgets but not spent.

But federal building projects—the courthouses, federal offices and border stations that are popular in local communities—were not included in Clinton's hit list. Instead, he requested \$1 billion for 33 new projects in 20 states. Angry Republicans yesterday cited this as one sign the president and his advisers are not serious about reaching an accommodation on the \$16.4 billion spending cut package Clinton has promised to veto.

Late yesterday, the GOP-controlled House easily approved the spending cut measure 235 to 189, and sent it to the Senate where passage is expected next week.

At the White House, Clinton said he was prepared to veto the bill because it protected special interest projects at the expense of programs for children and the poor. "This is not a partisan issue at all. This is about pork." It is wrong, he said, to allow a \$100 million courthouse to be built in Arizona when a similar amount was being cut from education programs.

The administration has suggested in its alternative that Congress rescind \$438 million in unspecified federal building projects to offset the cost of restoring money for education, crime fighting and environmental programs trimmed in the bill.

Republicans charge this is just politics. "You have a case of the president playing Monday morning quarterback on a game he didn't even watch," said Rep. Jim Lightfoot (R-Iowa), who chairs the Appropriations subcommittee with

jurisdiction over General Services Administration building funds.

He said the subcommittee was informed yesterday that the Office of Management and Budget had instructed GSA not to provide a suggested list of building projects that could be cut, leaving the panel in the dark about how to reach the \$438 million.

The measure already rescinds \$580 million for 39 federal building projects. Lightfoot said it would be difficult to cut another \$438 million without terminating projects that have started, or disrupting the plans of numerous government agencies.

House and Senate conferees considered, but rejected, cuts in another 50 projects for which funding of \$1.3 billion has been appropriated but not yet obligated to contractors. But that includes projects on which construction has begun, such as a new federal courthouse in Sacramento. A sum of \$113 million set aside for a new building for the U.S. Secret Service was not touched, Lightfoot said, because the lease on its current facility expired this month and the landlord could sue for damages if the service does not move quickly to a new site.

Some of the facilities spared by the House-Senate conferees, such as a courthouse in San Diego, a federal building and courthouse in Albuquerque and a courthouse in Las Vegas, are included in the list proposed for new construction funds in Clinton's 1996 budget.

"They were a priority for him when he submitted his budget," Lightfoot said. "Now he seems to think they're pork."

Meanwhile, White House officials stuck to their guns. Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta said on ABC's "Good Morning America" yesterday "the president thinks you should not cut people, you ought to cut pork." The White House has proposed restoring funds cut for the Goals 2000 education program, safe and drug free schools, school-to-work programs, anti-crime

initiatives and safe drinking water grants, offsetting the costs by cutting GSA building funds, the Public Law 480 agricultural export program, and highway demonstration projects.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) conceded yesterday he will not have enough Democratic votes to override a veto, but hinted he will not try to renegotiate it.

On NBC's "Today," Gingrich painted Clinton as the loser because the measure, along with cuts, contains funds to aid California and Gulf Coast earthquake and flood victims, rebuild the federal building in Oklahoma City, strengthen the FBI's counterterrorism capabilities, and aid Jordan. "I don't know what he's doing," Gingrich said. But the veto ultimatum has soured relations between the White House and GOP leaders beyond the level of political sparring.

A key House appropriator, Rep. John Edward Porter (R-Ill.), who heads the subcommittee with jurisdiction over education, labor and health funding, charged yesterday that the president had provided no guidance as to what was acceptable or not.

House conferees agreed to reduce proposed rescissions in social programs from \$5.6 billion in the House bill to \$3.3 billion, closer to the Senate version that Clinton said he would accept. The bill agreed to by conferees left intact such programs as Headstart and the \$6 billion-a-year Chapter 1 program, but sharply cuts funds for such Clinton initiatives as the Goals 2000 education innovation program, safe and drug free schools, and national service.

Rep. Bud Shuster (R-Pa.), chairman of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, yesterday denounced Panetta for "gross misstatements" Wednesday suggesting conferees failed to rescind nine highway projects in his district. Conferees did reject eliminating some \$140 million worth of projects, as proposed by the Senate, but Shuster said only two of the 72 projects were in his district.

POLITICS

Hollywood Morality Plays Big in Senate

It was probably mere coincidence that, on the day the news broke that Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) had invested in an R-rated movie, Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) took to the Senate floor to denounce Hollywood for "mindless violence" and "loveless sex."

"Too much of today's entertainment continues to operate in a moral vacuum, without a redeeming hope and without any suggestion that virtues are important, that morality is, in fact, preferable to immorality," Dole said.

The Kansas senator has been making Hollywood a target of criticism in his presidential campaign, while Gramm, despite the embarrassment about an investment made through a former brother-in-law in 1974, has been courting religious and cultural conservatives.

Dole's statement praised an upcoming advertising campaign featuring William J. Bennett, a Republican and former education secretary, and C. Delores Tucker, a Democrat and chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women, in which they criticize Time-Warner Corp. for its affiliation with Interscope Records.

"It is gratifying to see two concerned Americans, with different backgrounds and different political views, joining forces to put some much deserved public heat on one of the giants of the entertainment industry."

The timing of Dole's speech caught the attention of reporters in the Senate press gallery, but his campaign office said it had nothing to do with Gramm. "The statement was in the works well in

advance of the news coverage of Senator Gramm's difficulties," said Dole spokesman Nelson Warfield. "I think the two are entirely unrelated."

Powell Sustains the Riddle

■ Colin L. Powell, whose political affiliation has become a cottage industry in Washington, admitted yesterday he is hard to peg.

Speaking to executives from the mutual fund industry, Powell said he has Republican leanings on economic and foreign policy issues and Democratic leanings on social justice, according to an account by Reuter news service.

"I don't find yet that I fit neatly into either party," Powell said during a question-and-answer session. "I have very strong Republican leanings on economic matters and international affairs matters." But he added, "I'm still a New Deal kid" on other matters.

Powell's political future remains a topic of considerable speculation. He is finishing a book and continues to say he is keeping all options open.

Powell also told the group that while he sympathizes with the thrust of the GOP "Contract With America" in attempting to shrink the size of government, he found part of it punitive toward the poor. The Reuter account said Powell criticized radio talk show hosts and was particularly harsh in his evaluation of afternoon television.

"I get sick watching afternoon TV," he said, "these dysfunctional people that have been dredged from the bottom of the barrel of society."

—Dan Balz

Department of Veterans Affairs

Office of Public & Intergovernmental Affairs

Telephone: (202) 273-5750

FAX: (202) 273-5717

To: Jennifer O'Connor 456-1121

From: Kathy Jurado

Date: May 12, 1995

Contents of fax: Following is information for Jennifer O'Connor. It is confidential and should be delivered ASAP.

CUBAN-AMERICAN APPOINTEES' CUBA POLICY REVIEW PROPOSAL
PREPARED FOR THE PRESIDENT BY:
Elio Muller, Jack Otero, Nelson Rayneri

The purpose of this proposal is to express the personal opinion of the above Cuban-American Appointees of the administration to the President. The recommendations expressed herein do not reflect the position or policy of any of the agencies or Departments in which the appointees are employed. Some aspects of this proposal pertain to how the White House should respond to the immediate Policy/Political crisis. The totality of this proposal is directed toward a proactive and sustainable Cuba policy.

I. WHITE HOUSE STAFF INFRASTRUCTURE

The White House must confront the fact that Cuba policy is a strange combination of foreign policy, immigration policy, domestic policy, and political policy. More high level advisors should be added to the staff that is dealing with this set of issues. To date, NSC, Justice Department, and State Department have been driving the policy with Public Liaison, and Political Affairs being brought in for valiant efforts of last minute damage control. Cuban-Americans in the administration, Rep. Bob Menendez NJ(D), and Cuban-American Democrat political friends have not been consulted. Political and crosscurrent issue considerations must be front loaded in order to have a more proactive and sustainable policy. Some of the White House staff and advisors that we recommend be added to the team are; Vice President, Al Gore, Mark Geran, Kathy Jurado, Ron Scheman, Rep. Bill Richardson, and Rep. Bob Menendez.

II. SHORT-TERM POLICY ACTION STEPS

1. Announce support and visibly advocate for passage of the Menendez Bill. This an all "carrots" bill with the incentives for homegrown transition to democratic reforms in Cuba. This is a proactive response to the Helms Bill.
2. Give a proper accounting of the president's firm and aggressive policy record on Cuba. President Clinton has taken the toughest steps for a meaningful isolation of Cuba's regime. Lets get him credit for it.
3. Attack the Republican House vote to eliminate Radio and TV Marti. Have the president loudly restate his support for the Office Of Cuba Broadcasting.
4. Remind the Cuban-American Community that they send more than \$700,000,000.00 per year to Cuba. This makes them the largest source of hard currency to the Castro Regime.
5. Be prepared to respond decisively to any violation of the immigration accord by the Cuban regime. (Exit Strategy)

III. LONG-TERM POLICY ACTION STEPS

1. Maintain a mechanism for receiving and imputing advise from the Cuban-American appointees, and the political core group.
2. Develop a sustainable Cuba policy with pragmatic, proactive, and progressive strategies.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Alexis Herman
FROM: Suzanna Valdez
DATE: May 10, 1995
RE: Core Group

Based on the attached letter and other phone calls I have received from our friends in Miami, I feel it is important for us to bring them up as soon as possible. Simon Ferro has informed me that he will be resigning from the OPIC board on Friday. The meeting should take place in the next week.

Please let me know your thoughts.

cc: Harold Ickes

SIMON FERRO
6161 Blue Lagoon Drive
Suite 250
Miami, Florida 33126

Miami

Member, Democratic National Committee

Chairman,
Florida Democratic Party
1989-1992

May 8, 1995

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Re: The Administration's New Policy of Forced Repatriation
of Cuban Rrafters

It was with mixed emotions that I received word of our new policy on Guantanamo and Cuban Rrafters.

Although I applaud your decision to allow entry to the U.S. of the Cubans held in Guantanamo I strongly object to the forced repatriation of new Rrafters picked up at sea. I urge you to reconsider and modify your decision before our country becomes an accomplice to Castro's human rights violations.

Mr. President, your Cuban democratic friends in South Florida have been uncompromising in our support and loyalty to you and what you stand for. Even on the most sensitive of issues we have always tried to provide rational and balanced advise. That such a drastic change of policy could have occurred without prior consultation with anybody in Miami is difficult to understand or accept.

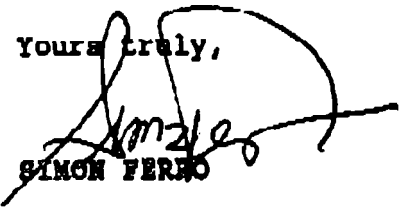
Castro has been handed a major political victory with our new policy. His government has been legitimized, and what did we get in return? Will he release political prisoners? Allow freedom of association or of the press? Stop harassing dissidents? Mr. President, if all we got was his consent to the release of the Rrafters from Guantanamo we were poorly served by our negotiators.

Mr. President, in a memo dated October 18, 1994 I urged you to clear the Guantanamo camps before November by allowing the Rrafters entry into the U.S. This could have been accomplished without secret negotiations with the Cuban government. The U.S. certainly has a right and responsibility to secure its borders, but the onus should be squarely placed on the Cuban government, not on the U.S. Coast Guard. Castro should have been warned that another Rrafter crisis would have been interpreted as an act of aggression against the U.S. Any Rrafter rescued at sea should be accorded a fair hearing on political asylum requests and the presumption should be to grant it.

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
May 8, 1995
Page two

Mr. President, you have been grossly ill-advised on the issue of forced repatriation and I urge you to take immediate steps to clarify the policy before any Rafterers are returned to Cuba. It is not too late to right this wrong. Get tough on Castro, not on freedom-seeking men, women and children.

Yours truly,



SIMON FERRO

SF:aev

Varadero
Cuba

20th de Mayo
Cuban Indep Day
(Indep fr Spain)

celebrate in Cuba now
biggest C. nat'l holiday
long been used by admins. to
praise Castro

1st yr we did
last yr we cancelled last yr
w/ refugee problem

\$800,000 from Dem Cubans for
campaign
\$500,000 for inaugural

4-5 supporters in Miami
Simon Ferro (fmr D Party Chair)
Jorge Bolanos
Herminio San Roman
(McKay/Chiles's big contact)
Jorge
+ 30 others

Offered 'em last year
issue of pride to them they aligned
w/ us in election
we sucked up to Jorge Mas Canosa &
Republicans

some thing happened last week
we # give notice & consult
no talkers to help 'em defend us

Before this, we were urging P.L. to have a
radio address centered on Cuban
issue

- invite in all up for May 20
- radio Marki

was good idea

Valdez - says they're saying # want to come up

But not whole community
need to id the key ones who will
listen

if nothing else, make amends to
our friends

MEMORANDUM

TO: Alexis Herman
FROM: Suzanna Valdez
DATE: April 27, 1995
RE: Cuban Independence Day

*Suz -
Set up
- digital
- making
- and*

May 20 marks the 93rd anniversary of Cuban Independence Day. It also commemorates the 100th anniversary of the death of Jose Marti who fought for Cuban freedom and independence and the 10th anniversary of TV/Radio Marti.

I have developed four proposals for the President's participation on Cuban Independence Day (May 20):

- * • The President invites 40-50 Cuban-American supporters from New Jersey and South Florida to the weekly radio address at which he acknowledges Cuban Independence Day, the anniversaries of TV/Radio Marti and Jose Marti and the Administration's commitment to democracy in Cuba. The address would also launch a new program providing simultaneous translation of the President's weekly radio address into Spanish.
- The President hosts a reception at the White House for Cuban Independence Day as he did in 1993 with Cuban-American and Hispanic Congressional, business and community leaders.
- The President holds a photo-op with the board of TV/Radio Marti in the Oval Office for Cuban Independence Day and is released to the South Florida and New Jersey media markets.
- The President visits, thanks and has a photo-op with the board and staff of TV/Radio Marti at the United States Information Agency where it is produced. He tapes a short message acknowledging Cuban Independence Day, the anniversaries of TV/Radio Marti and Jose Marti as well as the Administration's commitment to democracy in Cuba.

Please let me know your thoughts

ASAP

SV

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jennifer O'Connor
FROM: Suzanna Valdez, Office of Public Liaison
DATE: April 20, 1995
RE: Florida

Attached please find information from my Florida Hispanic appointee task force. Let me know if you need any additional information. If possible, can we get a note from Harold to thank Lula Rodriguez for her work in putting the information together. Thank you.

Need
address
from
Suzanna
Valdez -

Then
draft
ty

MEMORANDUM



To: Suzanna Valdez

FROM: LULA RODRIGUEZ
DATE: MARCH 24, 1995

At your request The Florida Presidential Appointees met on Saturday March 18th to discuss issues of importance to the state. Dick Lobo, Director of the office of Cuba Broadcasting, graciously hosted the reunion which was attended by eight political appointees and visiting guest Ann Cassanova. Attached please find a list of participants plus the name of other Floridians who have been invited to participate in future meetings.

The Florida Saturday Breakfast Club has agreed to meet once a month on the third Saturday of each month. For the month of April, Yvonne Soler, Executive Director of the Presidential Advisory Board of Radio and TV Marti, has agreed to be the hostess. You are welcomed to join us that day.

Attached please find the contributions submitted by the members of the team on the following subjects:

- * List of community leaders
- * List of VIPs for State Dinners
- * List of media recommendations
- * Important issues for the Hispanic community in the State

In addition, the group recommended that The White House hosts a "20 de Mayo" event that would be held on Friday the 19th of May. This would insure that we have appropriate attendance and media coverage. However there was a strong feeling that issues of concern in the Cuban American community such as the detention of Cubans in Guantanamo and President Clinton's stand on Helme's Cuba bill, be addressed and clarified if the event is to be held at The White House. Should our stand on these issues continue to be vague we recommend that an event just honoring the 10th anniversary of Radio Marti might be more appropriate and would avoid exposing the President to intense questioning and criticism.

It is also recommended that in addition to a major reception the following steps will be taken for the "20 de Mayo" celebration:

- * Statement from the President to the Cuban American Community
- * A taped message of the President to be broadcasted on radio and TV Marti
- * A message from the President be sent to the Cuban American National Foundation Annual 20 de Mayo luncheon (Attended by over 2,000 people in Miami)

In reference to the President's upcoming visit to Florida, the majority of the group recommended that President Clinton meet with the Black Caucus to discuss his visit to Haiti. However they feel that a meeting with the Cuban caucus will expose the President to hostility and criticism based on the concerns previously mentioned. Issues that might surface during the President's visit to Tallahassee might include:

- * Suspension of benefits to legal residents
- * Abrogation of the Cuban Adjustment Act
- * Lack of resources for naturalization
- * Detention of Cubans in Guantanamo
- * Rumors of reversal of Presidential sanctions against Cuba
- * Marzo 13 tugboat incident and lack of support by the administration on requesting condemnation by the United Nations
- * Haitians unaccompanied minors detained in Guantanamo

It was also decided that Tanya Lopez, Director of Latino Outreach for the DNC be invited to participate at future meetings.

We will be submitting to both you and Tanya all our traveling schedules should you want to have any input.

We are gathering ideas to include in our agenda for the April meeting, please feel free to comment.

On behalf of the entire Florida Team THANK YOU for your continuous support and encouragement.

FLORIDA SATURDAY BREAKFAST CLUB

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BOB GRAHAM
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FAX NUMBER: 364-0782

3/23/95

Lula,

This fax is already too long. I will call Arthur Green's office & ask them to give you a copy of the summit press list. - Call me if you need anything.

XOXO
Ann

.808 GRAHAM
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630 MT. LAKE CUT-OFF-ROAD
LAKE WALES, FL 33853

WXTO-AM, WXXU-AM
1801 CLARK ROAD
ORLANDO, FL 32818

WOEQ-AM 1190
4833 OKEECHOBEE BLVD.
WEST PALM BEACH, FL 33417

WPOM-AM 1600
6667 42ND TERRACE, N.
WEST PALM BEACH, FL 33407



F A X T R A N S M I T T A L

Date

3/22/95

To

Lula Rodriguez

(202) 205 - 0792

Fax Number

Phone Number

From

Ann Casanova

(305) 579-7614 (w)

Number of Pages

53

Remarks

I tried to send this yesterday
but your line was busy,
Ann

Summit of the Americas 1994

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Miami, FL 33128

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FAX: 375-4658

Natacha Millan
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FAX:

Dr. Rosa Castro Fineberg
School Board Member
Dade County Public Schools
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Miami, FL 33132

OFFICE: 995-1334

FAX: 995-1572

Conchy Bretos

Tallahassee, FL 3

OFFICE:

FAX:

Rose Pujal (HOME INFORMATION)
General Contactor
2455 S. Bashore Drive
Miami, FL 33133

OFFICE: 665-7101???

FAX:

3/22/95

Lula,

Most of the names I am sending you I pulled from the Summit Steering Committee List. The Steering Committee was appointed by Lt. Gov. MacKay. I know few people on the list personally (as I am not as experienced as you and the others) or well enough to be able to group them in the lists that you requested. I felt that by not knowing these people individually and grouping them based on a few experiences (except the few obvious) I would waste your time, which I do not want to do. You or the group may recognize the names and group them appropriately. I am giving you names, titles, addresses, and phone and fax numbers of members who I believe are Hispanic who you may wish to include.

As for the media contacts, I am sending you the list I worked when I worked for you at Senator Graham's office, which contains many of the small Hispanic press. I am also sending you the list of press who attended the Summit, which Arthur Green of USIA, which again contains many Hispanic press.

I hope it helps!!!!

Call me if you need anything!!! I can be reached at 305/ 579-7614 until March 31, when the Summit Closes. After that call me at home at 305/ 252-6432.

XXOO

CANNON

STEERING COMMITTEE

PAGE 1

Dade County

Joaquin Aviñó
Wolfberg Alvarez
5960 S.W. 57th Ave.
Miami, FL 33143

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March 20, 1995

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Per our discussion. Please note that for the purposes of maximizing the information, I focused on Jewish Hispanics in S. Florida. Hope this is useful.

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-Addresses forthcoming -- also, possible "C" list people include business leaders, doctors

Publications

Entre Nosotros, Editor Betty Heisler

- "society" type magazine that goes out to the community

Significant Dates

Jewish holidays -- there aren't really any others

Issues

The usual -- including Guantanamo, travel and money restrictions

FAX COVER SHEET

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Date: 03/22/95 Time: 4:47p

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'Parole' Lets 6,000 Cuban Refugees Settle in the U.S.

By MIKE CLARY
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

MIAMI—Six months after the Clinton Administration shut off a chaotic tide of Florida-bound Cuban rafters with a naval blockade and a vow that none would be permitted into the United States, refugees are being airlifted here from a detention camp at a rate of almost 500 a week.

In three weekly flights from the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, almost 6,000 Cuban rafters have entered this country since December and at least 5,000 more are scheduled to arrive under a "humanitarian parole" plan supported by Cuban American lawmakers and lobbying groups who have criticized the indefinite detention policy as inhumane.

Paroling hardship cases into the United States does not signal a change in U.S. policy, according to government officials, who are wary of touching off another dangerous exodus of Cubans fed up with the hardships of life under Fidel Castro. As if to drive home the point, the U.S. military is replacing thousands of tents at Guantanamo with sturdier, wooden-sided structures designed to last for five years.

However, the numbers of Cubans who have been granted permission to enter the United States is higher than predicted and has raised the hopes of remaining detainees that all eventually will reach U.S. shores.

"Surprisingly, camp morale is good," U.S. Marine Corps Sgt. Joseph Muniz, a spokesman for the military at Guantanamo, said. "When they see their friends and relatives getting out, they get a boost. It means things may turn better for them, too."

So far, all of the Cubans allowed into the United States since the crisis ended last fall are minor children and their immediate

families, the elderly or persons with special medical or psychological needs.

About a third of the 32,000 rafters picked up at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard last summer are expected to meet the conditions of parole announced by the Clinton Administration in December. That would leave about 18,000 *balseros*—mostly single men and women—at Guantanamo.

But few in Miami think those Cubans will stay there for long.

"The sooner they get out, the better," said Raul Hernandez, director of the U.S. Catholic Conference's Miami office. "Indefinite detention is not an acceptable policy."

Each week, three planeloads of Cubans arrive at Homestead Air Force Base near here, where they are greeted by crowds of ecstatic relatives. A relative or sponsor has signed an affidavit accepting financial responsibility for each Cuban paroled into this country. About 80% of the Cubans from Guantanamo have relatives in Miami and plan to stay here, according to resettlement agencies. Those without family members in Florida are being sent to several locations, including San Diego, Portland, Ore., and Chicago.

Preliminary surveys suggest that the majority of Cubans arriving now are young, ambitious and educated at least to the high school level. In one group of 700 rafters resettled by Catholic Community Services, almost 15% said that they had worked in credentialed professions, including law and medicine.

Under a program called Operation Angel, a coalition of Miami Cuban American groups has promised to match all the rafters with private sponsors, so that none becomes a burden on the taxpayer. The Cuban American Ad-Hoc Advisory Committee also has raised \$500,000 to buy health insurance for many of the refugees

and provides free psychological counseling, according to coordinator Lourdes Quirch.

Despite the financial support from Miami's Cuban community, the arrival of thousands of Cuban children—along with the steady stream of immigrants from elsewhere—has jammed Dade County's already overcrowded schools. Most elementary schools are operating at 150% of capacity and new students enter the public system here at a rate of 120 a day, school official say.

To ease the burden, the Catholic Archdiocese of Miami opened the first of several free schools designed to introduce the Cuban children to English and the ways of the U.S. educational system. After months in the tent cities, "they tend to yell out, and solve things aggressively," said teacher Michelle Senra, who is trying to cope with 24 children ages 12 and 13 in a small classroom at Hialeah's Immaculate Conception Church.

During their first week in an American school, the children spend a large part of the day drawing. When the subjects change from sharks, empty rafts and big waves to houses with flowers, Senra said, "that's progress."

Susan Krehbiel, director of the Miami office of Church World Service, another resettlement agency, said that the trauma of the Cubans' dangerous flight from Cuba and their subsequent detention "shows up in the children with nightmares, bed-wetting, more aggressive behavior."

What Krehbiel called "a high rate of conflict within families" as a result of their travail can also affect the rafters' placement with relatives.

"It's quite a serious thing, taking someone into your home, especially if it's someone you haven't lived with before," said Krehbiel. "These are people born and raised under the Cuban regime, so there is a need for orientation about things we take for granted. They are starting from zero."

Nonetheless, because of support from the Cuban community, Krehbiel said, "eventually the vast majority [of *balseros*] will get here. It may take two years. But to have people stuck in Guantanamo is not a good solution."

'Parole' Lets 6,000 Cuban Refugees Settle in the U.S.

By MIKE CLARY
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

MIAMI—Six months after the Clinton Administration shut off a chaotic tide of Florida-bound Cuban rafters with a naval blockade and a vow that none would be permitted into the United States, refugees are being airlifted here from a detention camp at a rate of almost 500 a week.

In three weekly flights from the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, almost 6,000 Cuban rafters have entered this country since December and at least 5,000 more are scheduled to arrive under a "humanitarian parole" plan supported by Cuban American lawmakers and lobbying groups who have criticized the indefinite detention policy as inhumane.

Paroling hardship cases into the United States does not signal a change in U.S. policy, according to government officials, who are wary of touching off another dangerous exodus of Cubans fed up with the hardships of life under Fidel Castro. As if to drive home the point, the U.S. military is replacing thousands of tents at Guantanamo with sturdier, wooden-sided structures designed to last for five years.

However, the numbers of Cubans who have been granted permission to enter the United States is higher than predicted and has raised the hopes of remaining detainees that all eventually will reach U.S. shores.

"Surprisingly, camp morale is good," U.S. Marine Corps Sgt. Joseph Muniz, a spokesman for the military at Guantanamo, said. "When they see their friends and relatives getting out, they get a boost. It means things may turn better for them, too!"

So far, all of the Cubans allowed into the United States since the crisis ended last fall are minor children and their immediate

families, the elderly or persons with special medical or psychological needs.

About a third of the 32,000 rafters picked up at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard last summer are expected to meet the conditions of parole announced by the Clinton Administration in December. That would leave about 18,000 *balseros*—mostly single men and women—at Guantanamo.

But few in Miami think those Cubans will stay there for long.

"The sooner they get out, the better," said Raul Hernandez, director of the U.S. Catholic Conference's Miami office. "Indefinite detention is not an acceptable policy."

Each week, three planeloads of Cubans arrive at Homestead Air Force Base near here, where they are greeted by crowds of ecstatic relatives. A relative or sponsor has signed an affidavit accepting financial responsibility for each Cuban paroled into this country. About 80% of the Cubans from Guantanamo have relatives in Miami and plan to stay here, according to resettlement agencies. Those without family members in Florida are being sent to several locations, including San Diego, Portland, Ore., and Chicago.

Preliminary surveys suggest that the majority of Cubans arriving now are young, ambitious and educated at least to the high school level. In one group of 700 rafters resettled by Catholic Community Services, almost 15% said that they had worked in credentialed professions, including law and medicine.

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Immigrants Rush to Gain Citizenship

Surge is prompted by threat to cut public benefits for legal migrants

By Clemence Flagome

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

FOR most of the 12 years that have elapsed since he arrived in Miami from Cuba, Juan Valiente did not feel he needed to become a United States citizen. Legal resident status allowed him many rights and federal benefits — and, besides, he always thought he might return to his native land.

But recently the retired factory worker heard that Congress is thinking about throwing legal immigrants who are not US citizens off Social Security and Medicaid rolls. Now, at a Little Havana civic center, he is learning US history and English "in a hurry," so he can pass a citizenship exam.

He is far from alone. Across America, seats in citizenship classes are suddenly as popular as tickets to basketball star Michael Jordan's return.

Even legal immigrants who have been in this country for years are rushing to apply for citizenship, hoping to avoid an anti-immigrant backlash sweeping the country.

Nationally, citizenship applications jumped 78 percent in the first four months of fiscal 1995 (October through January) compared with a year earlier.

California, home to Proposition 187, a ballot initiative that denies government services to illegal immigrants, saw some of the sharpest increases. In Los Angeles, applications jumped some 300 percent.

City officials in San Antonio, Texas, have had to schedule extra citizenship ceremonies. And here in the Little Havana section of Miami, 15 civics centers have seen sign-ups for citizenship class go up by a third.

"Because [legal residence status] has been a traditionally safe status" many immigrants didn't see the need to become citizens, says Ariela Rodriguez, director of social services for the Little Havana Activities and Nutri-

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A number of factors may lie behind this increase. For one, the Immigration and Naturalization Service now requires legal resident immigrants with "green cards" issued before 1979 to replace them with newer versions. Some have been opting for the full citizenship route, instead. For another, a pool of immigrants became eligible for citizenship in 1993, under the terms of a general amnesty law passed in 1986. Many of these candidates are now in the midst of citizenship application.

Proposed cuts in Congress

But anti-immigrant political pressure is still a major factor in citizenship decisions, according to many who teach or attend citizenship classes. House Republicans, following provisions contained in their Contract With America, are looking to save big money by cutting many government services for legal immigrants.

This week, revised legislation heads to the House floor that GOP sponsors say would cut welfare spending by \$21 billion over five years. The bill would exclude noncitizens from the largest federal programs: Medicaid, food stamps, disability aid, Aid to Families With Dependent Children, and social service programs.

"When this bill becomes law we cannot feed someone with a green card," Ms. Rodriguez says. "We have to ask for citizenship. The only thing we check now is age. This turns us into border guards. Everything that has public funds they cannot access."

This part of the welfare-reform hits ground zero here in Miami. More than half the people who live in Miami's Dade County were born in some other country. Two of South Florida's Republican lawmakers, Ileana Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart, refused to sign the Contract With America last fall because of this stipulation. Both were born in Cuba.

Most Cubans who fled to the United States when Fidel Castro Ruz and his revolutionaries seized power three decades ago thought the US would overthrow Mr. Castro and they would soon return. "Many thought exile was a temporary process," says Jose Espinosa, a Cuban-trained lawyer who has helped compatriots prepare for the citizenship exam in Little Havana since 1993. "They were waiting to go back home and the years went by."

Not only Cubans

But the phenomenon is not limited to Cuban immigrants. Across the country, in Little Haiti, the scramble for citizenship is the same. "The demand has been overwhelming," says Jacques Espinasse, a community activist.

"The [citizenship application] has become a hot commodity. People are coming here not knowing what to do. They paid their taxes; now the government wants to take it all away from them," he says. The bill has exceptions for seniors over 75 years old who lived in the US for five years, and for anyone who fought in a war on the side of the US.

The Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese communities — there are a large number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union — are stepping up efforts to get immigrants to become citizens.

The rise in citizenship also is creating a potential new pool of voters, which both parties are courting. Traditionally Cubans have voted Republican, while Mexican Americans voted Democratic.

But both parties are now more monolithic than they once were. Community organizers are counting on capitalizing on the voter shift.

"What we are hoping to do is create a voting bloc where elected officials are having to realize the strength of the community. Of not only voting for granted the Latino vote," Robert Almanzan, of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund in San Francisco.

Tanya / Andy
Simon / Susanna
Alejandra / Agnes

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Odd Allies Await Clinton If U.S. Shifts Cuba Policy

Several GOP Conservatives Back Easing Sanctions In Return for Reforms

By CARLA ANNE ROBBINS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — If President Clinton decides to ease sanctions on Cuba, he'll have some unexpected allies in a small but influential group of conservative Republicans.

Mr. Clinton's top foreign-policy advisers, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, have both endorsed a plan to encourage change in Cuba by offering to ease economic sanctions in exchange for concrete reforms. The president's political advisers firmly oppose such a move. They still have hopes of carrying Florida, where many Cuban immigrants oppose rapprochement with Fidel Castro's Cuba, in the 1996 elections. Their case was strengthened last week after reports of a possible policy shift set off a fierce round of Cuba-bashing from congressional Republicans.

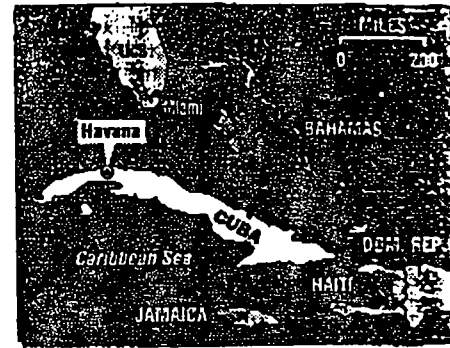
But not everybody in the GOP camp agrees. Indeed, over the past year, a number of prominent conservatives, including the late President Richard Nixon, National Review editor William F. Buckley and TV commentator John McLaughlin, have begun to speak the unspeakable, calling for a lifting of the U.S. trade embargo as a way to hasten Mr. Castro's demise. Instead of reflexively endorsing the embargo, this year's Conservative Political Action Conference featured a debate on the issue.

Reasons for Support

Gary Jarmin, a conservative political consultant who is pressing for a change in Cuba policy, believes there's a new constituency in the GOP for lifting the three-decade-old embargo. "Look at what Republicans care about," he adds, citing free trade, immigration and "not getting dragged into a military quagmire." He's hoping to lead a delegation of conservative congressional aides to Cuba next month.

For President Clinton, this new thinking from conservatives as well as a growing number of U.S. business leaders could provide much-needed political cover. Whether it would be enough to offset the opposition of the powerful anti-Castro lobby is far from certain. One top official says that last week's reaction "shows how much political work we'd need to do."

Conservatives' arguments for loosening up on Cuba are straightforward. They say the free flow of ideas and goods is the best advertisement for both capitalism and democracy. "The plain fact," wrote President Nixon in his last book, "is that . . . the



hard line against [Mr. Castro] has failed to get rid of him." The best hope for doing that, he added, is "to build pressure from within by actively stimulating Cuba's contacts with the free world."

The conservatives also warn that more pressure on Cuba could spark a blood rebellion on the island, a massive outpouring of refugees and calls for U.S. military intervention. "A hard landing in Cuba would be far worse than . . . Haiti," said Mr. McLaughlin in congressional testimony last year.

It is that fear, along with the wave of 30,000 Cuban refugees last summer, that persuaded the Clinton administration to take another look at Cuba policy.

Administration officials insist they've never seriously considered lifting the embargo. They say they're going to have a tough enough fight trying to defeat legislation offered by Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Jesse Helms imposing new sanctions. Instead, they have proposed more-modest moves, starting with a rollback of sanctions imposed at the height of last summer's refugee crisis.

Administration Arguments

Before last week's Cuba bashing, administration officials believed they could make a politically palatable argument that the ban on sending cash to Cuba and restrictions on visiting the island have hurt average Cubans far more than the Castro government. They were also confident they could sell a proposal to increase "the free flow of ideas" by allowing U.S. news media to open bureaus in Cuba, and letting the Cubans do the same here.

The most significant and controversial recommendation would have the U.S. lay out a road map of economic and political reforms that the Cubans might take, beginning with a release of political prisoners and allowing human-rights monitors on the island. In return, the U.S. would offer "calibrated" easing of sanctions or increased diplomatic contacts.

Officials acknowledge they have to do considerable political work before taking any moves on Cuba. If they decide to do that, they could have another ally in Richard Lugar, the Indiana senator and Republican presidential aspirant, who has called for direct negotiations with Mr. Castro in a "quid pro quo" easing of sanctions.

Clinton aides Christopher and Lake want to ease sanctions against Cuba in exchange for reforms, but White House political strategists oppose such a move. Cuba's Castro, on a visit to France, rejected charges that his regime is repressive. He invited a French rights group to investigate conditions for political prisoners. (Article on Page A18)

Peligra la Ley de Ajuste Cubano

Liderazgo republicano en el Congreso trata de acabar con esa ley

Por HORACIO RUIZ PAVON

La Ley de Ajuste Cubano de 1966, que en gran parte ha permitido el desarrollo de la comunidad exiliada en Estados Unidos, está en peligro de desaparecer en medio del remolino de reformas que se están debatiendo en Washington y, como una bofetada en la cara para el vasto electorado cubano-republicano, son los legisladores de ese partido los que llevan la iniciativa en contra de los

nuevos inmigrantes.

Los congresistas cubano americanos se encuentran embarazados, dispuestos a pelear contra sus propios colegas y, en un hecho que para algunos podría resultar insólito, en el Subcomité de Inmigración del Senado, en donde su presidente, el republicano de Wyoming, Alan Simpson, se ha empeñado en abolir la ley, es el demócrata liberal de Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy, el que la está

defendiendo con más fervor,

"Kennedy nunca ha sido anti-cubano, lo que pasa es que siempre lo asocian con su hermano, el desaparecido presidente (John) Kennedy. Además a los cubanos les cuesta entender que en Massachusetts el electorado no se parece en nada al de Miami", afirmó una fuente del Departa-

(Pasa a la Pág. 11-A Col. 1)

Peligra la Ley de Ajuste Cubano

(Viene de la pag. 1-A)

mento de Estado.

El miércoles el senador Simpson anunció que quiere abolir la Ley de Ajuste Cubano a la que llamó "un anacronismo". También está dispuesto a convocar a una sesión especial para debatir el tema, pero hasta ahora no se ha fijado una fecha para ello.

Simpson al parecer no pudo contener sus sentimientos contra esa ley en medio de una sesión sobre medidas para contener la inmigración ilegal desde México. La procuradora general de Justicia, Janet Reno, estaba allí presente y le tocó soportar la descarga del senador quien criticó la política del presidente Bill Clinton hacia Cuba.

"A mi no me gusta la política de derechos humanos de Fidel Castro, pero no creo que sea peor que la de China, país al que le damos el estatus de nación más favorecida", dijo Simpson. El legislador agregó que es necesario permitir "un mínimo intercambio comercial" con Cuba, como la venta de alimentos y medicinas, lo que a su juicio ayudaría más al establecimiento de la democracia en la isla.

Otro senador veterano del Subcomité de Inmigración, el demócrata por Wisconsin, Paul Simon, fue quien abordó el tema al interrogar en forma repentina a la procuradora sobre su posición frente a dicha ley. Simon admitió que en el pasado abogó por un trato favorable a refugiados polacos y de otros países del desaparecido bloque soviético, pero que ahora es partidario de tratar a todos los refugiados por igual.

La señora Reno, quien fue duramente criticada por la comunidad cubana en Miami el pasado verano cuando de hecho suspendió la Ley de Ajuste Cubano para interceptar en el mar a los "balseros" para trasladarlos a los refugios seguros en Guantánamo y Panamá, defendió a la Ley de Ajuste diciendo que es un elemento necesario en la estrategia a largo plazo que permitiría el retorno de la democracia a Cuba.

El senador Simpson ha estado presente en las tres reformas más importantes a las leyes de Inmigración que se han acordado en Estados Unidos en las últimas dos décadas. Su oposición a la Ley de Ajuste Cubano se remonta al comienzo de la década de 1980 y en gran parte se debe a los efectos de la inmigración cubana a través del puerto de Mariel.

"Las personas para quienes esa ley extraordinaria fue creada desde hace mucho tiempo ha regularizado su permanencia en Estados Unidos. Ahora es injusta e innecesaria. Mientras cuatro millones de personas están esperando por visas para venir a este país desde todas partes del mundo, cualquier cubano que llegue legal o ilegalmente aquí puede obtener una tarjeta verde en sólo un año", dijo Simpson en una reciente presentación ante el Congreso.

Una fuente del Departamento de Justicia señaló que Simpson se ha opuesto con fervor a la ley pero sólo hasta ahora está cerca del éxito debido a que los republicanos por primera vez en mucho tiempo tienen el control del Senado.

Pero Simpson también la ha emprendido contra los programas de reacondicionamiento de cubanos desde Guantánamo o terceros países. El senador acusó a la procuradora Reno de estar "abusando" de su poder de conceder paroles con fines humanitarios. Su propuesta limitaría estas atribuciones y podría cerrar la puerta a miles de cubanos que todavía se encuentran en los refugios seguros esperando poder venir a EE.UU.

La Ley de Ajuste fue creada por el gobierno demócrata de

Lyndon B. Johnson después del fracaso de la invasión de Bahía de Cochinos. Muchos cubanos tienen la sensación que se les dio como un "premio de consolación". Pero pocos saben que no todos los cubanos que llegan a EE.UU. pueden ampararse en la misma.

Translation of an article which appeared in
Diario las Americas on Monday, March 20, 1995

CUBAN ADJUSTMENT ACT IN JEOPARDY

Republican Congressional Leadership Attempts to Eliminate Law

By Horacio Ruiz Pavon

The 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act, which in large part has helped the development of the Cuban exile community in the United States, is in danger of disappearing amidst the many reforms being debated in Washington and, like a slap in the face to the vast Cuban Republican electorate, it is the legislators of the Republican Party who are taking the initiative against these new immigrants.

The Cuban-American congressmen are embarrassed, willing to fight against their colleagues and, in a move which may seem unbelievable for some, in the Senate Immigration subcommittee, the chairman, Republican Alan Simpson of Wyoming, is bent on abolishing the law, and liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy from Massachusetts is defending the law with fervor.

"Kennedy has never been anti-Cuba. The problem is that he is always associated with his brother, former President John Kennedy. Also, it is hard for Cubans to understand that in Massachusetts the electorate does not resemble the electorate in Miami in any way," affirmed a State Department source.

On Wednesday Senator Simpson announced he wants to eliminate the Cuban Adjustment Act, which he labeled "an anachronism". He also stated he is willing to convene a special hearing to debate the issue, but a date has yet to be set for the hearing.

Apparently Simpson could not resist expressing himself against the law during a hearing on controlling immigration from Mexico. The Attorney General, Janet Reno, was there and she had to withstand the attacks from Senator Simpson against President Clinton's policies toward Cuba.

"I don't like Fidel Castro's human rights policies, but I don't think it is worse than China's, a country to which we grant most favored nation trading status," said Simpson. The Senator added that it is necessary to allow "a minimum of trade" with Cuba, such as food and medicine, which in his opinion would help the establishment of democracy on the island.

Another veteran member of the Immigration subcommittee, Wisconsin Democrat Paul Simon, pressed the issue by repeatedly questioning the Attorney General about the law. Simon admitted that in the past he favored special treatment for Polish refugees

and refugees from other former Soviet bloc countries, but now he feels all refugees should be treated the same.

Ms. Reno, who was harshly criticized in Miami's Cuban-American community last summer when she suspended the Cuban Adjustment Act to intercept "rafters" on the high seas and transfer them to safe-havens in Guantanamo and Panama, defended the Cuban Adjustment Act saying it was a necessary element in the long-term strategy to return democracy to Cuba.

Senator Simpson has been involved in the three most important reforms to immigration laws which have been implemented in the U.S. in the past two decades. His opposition to the Cuban Adjustment Act began in 1980 and in large part is due to the Cuban immigration wave from Mariel.

"The people for whom this extraordinary law was created a long time ago have normalized their residency in the United States. Now it is unjust and unnecessary. While four million people are waiting for visas to come to this country from all over the world, any Cuban who arrives legally or illegally can get a green card in only one year," stated Simpson before a recent hearing in Congress.

A State Department source stated that Simpson has strongly opposed the law but only now is he having success due to the Republican control of the Senate.

But Simpson also is opposing the resettlement programs for Cubans from Guantanamo or third countries. The Senator accused Attorney General Reno of "abusing" her authority to grant humanitarian visas. His proposal would limit this authority and could close the door to thousands of Cubans who find themselves in safe-havens waiting to come to the U.S..

The Cuban Adjustment Act was created by the Democratic administration of Lyndon B. Johnson after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion. Many Cubans believe the law was passed as a "consolation prize". But few realize that not all Cubans who arrive can avail themselves of the law.

The Immigration Service estimates that there are 50,000 Cubans in this country who cannot avail themselves of the Cuban Adjustment Act because they entered the country irregularly and can only stay with a special status (EWI) and not with a parole. Also, the United States does not have a deportation agreement with Cuba.

Cuban-American congressmen Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart, Republicans, together with Democrat Bob Menendez, have promised to do everything possible to stop the elimination of the law and, in Washington, it is believed that the "Congressional Hispanic Caucus" will close ranks against the reforms proposed by Simpson.

"Today exist the same circumstances which created the Cuban Adjustment Act. Its elimination would be premature and extremely prejudicial," affirms Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen.

"We are going to see incredible problems here. Cubans donated a lot to Republicans for their political campaigns and they are not going to allow this to happen," she stated.

The attempt to eliminate the law only causes irritation in Dade County, not in Senator Simpson's Wyoming and other urban areas where white Republicans with conservative agendas defeated liberal, Jewish, Black and Women Democrats in the last election.

Another interesting factor in the equation is that of Florida Governor Lawton Chiles, who on Wednesday testified before the Senate Immigration subcommittee against the Cuban Adjustment Act, arguing that the Refugee Act of 1980 protects all refugees who are politically persecuted in their countries.

Chiles believes that the special immigration status for Cubans is not necessary and his representative in Miami, Joe Pena, argues that the Governor, even though many Cuban Republicans may not want to admit it, has a long history in favor of Cubans and Hispanics in general.

"The Governor did not go to Washington to ask for the elimination of the Cuban Adjustment Act. He went to speak in favor of improving immigration laws, to ask for funds for refugee assistance programs, and to ask for continued deportation of violent criminals," but the press ignored this.

Chiles does not believe that the situation in Cuba today is very different from that of 1966. "The Governor believes that Cuba is the same or worse now. In that sense, he feels very differently than Simpson," stated Pena.

On Friday Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen sent a letter to Chiles criticizing his position against the Cuban Adjustment Act, reminding him of his opposition since 1982. "Your attitude is very disappointing, since Cubans have made positive contributions to the state of Florida," affirmed the legislator.

Mr. Pena responded by saying that Ms. Ros-Lehtinen should criticize her Republican colleagues for trying to eliminate the law before criticizing Governor Chiles.

abuse

Most of the exiles will address the commission over the next week under item 12 of the agenda, which deals with the violation of human rights anywhere in the world.

Political prisoners

The Miami-based Cuban Committee for Human Rights will also raise the subject of political prisoners in Cuba. Sebastian Arcos Cazaban, son of Cuban dissident Sebastian Arcos Bergnes, will deliver a report on the most serious cases.

"Conditions [in Cuban prisons] are subhuman, particularly food, hygiene and medical care," said Ricardo Bofill, the committee's president. "The prisoners are dying."

Bofill said he will focus on the rafters who disappear at sea. Some researchers have estimated that only one of every four Cubans who flee the island makes it to the United States. Bofill said he plans to ask the United Nations for an independent investigation of the situation.

Exile accuses U S of rights

By CYNTHIA CORZO
Herald Staff Writer

GENEVA — Armando Valladares, former U.S. representative to the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights, said Wednesday he plans to accuse the governments of both Cuba and the United States of violating the human rights of the Cuban people.

Valladares is among the Cuban exiles and representatives of Cuban human rights organizations who have been arriving in Geneva to testify before the commission, which has been in session here for the past three weeks.

"We are going to denounce, first, the deteriorating condition of human rights in Cuba," Valladares said. "We'll also denounce the situation that exists in the concentration camps at Guantanamo, under United States management." Valladares stressed that his complaint is directed at the Clinton administration for ordering the indefinite detention of tens of thousands of Cuban rafters at the Guanta-

Armando Valladares called the indefinite detention of tens of thousands of Cuban rafters a blot on U.S. history.

namo naval base. That action, Valladares said, is a shameful blot on the history of the United States.

"Out of love for the United States, we have to denounce what this administration is doing," he said. "It has taken reprisals, not against [President] Fidel Castro but against the victims of Fidel Castro."

13 de Marzo

Many of the exiles plan to concentrate their fire on the Cuban government, backed by reports, letters and photographs denouncing the abuses they say it has inflicted on its citizens.

The rallying cry for these exiles is 13 de Marzo, the name of the tugboat that sank July 13, seven miles off the coast of

Havana, after government fireboats tried to prevent its 72 passengers from fleeing to the United States.

Rammed by the government vessels and battered by jets of water from their high-pressure hoses, the tugboat sank, carrying an estimated 41 people to their deaths. Twenty of them were children.

"This is one of the most brutal massacres that have ever been committed in our continent," said Luis Zuhiga, president of the Miami-based Human Rights Foundation. "It shows an enormous lack of respect for people's most basic rights."

The foundation will present the testimony of several survivors of the tragedy, including Sergio Perodin, 7, who lost his mother and 11-year-old brother.

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THE HERALD

Desde Washington

En defensa del proyecto de Ley Helms-Burton

Por Ileana Ros-Lehtinen

Esta semana alzamos nuestra voz en el Congreso de los Estados Unidos, la más alta tribuna del mundo democrático, para condenar --una vez más-- al régimen de Castro y recabar el apoyo de mis colegas al proyecto de ley Helms-Burton que aumentaría las sanciones a aquella dictadura.

En la audiencia convocada por el Subcomité de Asuntos del Hemisferio Occidental pronunciando estas palabras:

"Muchas gracias, Sr. Presidente. Primero quiero darle las gracias por su liderazgo en guiar este proyecto de ley de una manera tan rápida. La pronta programación de esta audiencia confirma la determinación de usted de librar al pueblo cubano del yugo que ha sufrido por 36 años bajo el régimen castrista.

Sr. Presidente, hoy comenzamos una nueva batalla para ayudar al esclavizado pueblo de Cuba. Por demasiado tiempo, se les ha negado a los cubanos los derechos más básicos por un hombre: Fidel Castro. Un hombre que piensa que reformas significan cambiar su uniforme militar por un traje y corbata. Sabemos que el hombre dentro de esa nueva vestimenta es el mismo: el dictador más brutal y represivo que este hemisferio ha



ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN

conocido.

Irónicamente, Castro ahora recurre a capitalistas extranjeros para salvar su fracasado régimen. Estos inescrupulosos inversionistas se dirigen a Cuba para enriquecerse a costa de un pueblo cuyo sufrimiento no les importa. A esos inversionistas y a todos aquellos alrededor del mundo, como el presidente de Francia, Francois Mitterrand, que prefieren fraternizar con Castro en vez de condenarlo y aislarlo debemos recordarles las palabras del prócer cubano, Jo-

sé Martí: "El hombre no tiene el derecho de ver impasible la esclavitud y deshonra de otro hombre, ni los esfuerzos que estos hombres hacen por conquistar su libertad".

Para terminar esta intolerable represión, debemos continuar apoyando al pueblo cubano a través de legislación como la Ley de Ajuste Cubano, que le permite al que puede abandonar la Cuba de Castro comenzar una nueva vida de oportunidades y libertad en los Estados Unidos; mientras, al mismo tiempo, continuamos presionando al dictador cubano. Existen allí, todavía, las mismas circunstancias que crearon la Ley de Ajuste Cubano. La anulación, como algunos sugieren, de esta ley es prematura y altamente perjudicial.

La legislación que hoy consideramos muestra que el Congreso no observa, impasiblemente, la situación en la Isla. Al contrario, señala, que estamos preparados para confrontar a Castro y demandar que la libertad llegue al pueblo cubano.

La ley Helms-Burton es el eco de los gritos de libertad que en Cuba se oyen diariamente y los que también se escuchan en los campamentos de Guantánamo. Gracias por su atención, Sr. Presidente".