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Elizabeth R. Newman
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To: Michael J. Sullivan, Steven J. Naplan, Steven J. Ronnel
cc:
Subject: Statement by the President: Cuba

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 20, 1998

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Eight weeks ago, His Holiness John Paul II made an historic visit to Cuba. He spoke to and for the Catholic faithful who have for decades endured a system that denied their right to worship freely.

In anticipation and in support of that visit, my Administration made a number of exceptions to our policy regarding travel and shipment of humanitarian supplies to Cuba. The response of the Cuban people to that visit has since convinced me that we should continue to look for ways to support Cuba's people without supporting its regime, by providing additional humanitarian relief, increasing human contacts, and helping the Cuban people prepare for a peaceful transition to a free, independent and prosperous nation.

Prior to the Pope's visit, we authorized direct charter flights for pilgrims to attend Papal services. We also authorized direct humanitarian cargo flights to Cuba in order to reduce the cost of getting these needed supplies to the Cuban people. The deliveries were carefully monitored to ensure that they reached the people for whom they were intended.

These measures were fully consistent with the letter and spirit of the Cuban Democracy Act and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, which, in addition to sustaining tough economic sanctions also enable and encourage the Administration to conduct a program of support for the Cuban people.

I continue to believe in the validity of our policy built on four main components:

-- pressure on the regime for democratic change

-- support for the Cuban people through humanitarian assistance and help in

developing civil society

-- promotion of more concerted multilateral effort to promote democracy and human rights and

-- cooperative arrangements to move migration into safe, legal and orderly channels

I have been following carefully the various proposals put forward by Members of Congress and other interested groups for expanding humanitarian assistance to the people of Cuba, including food. I have asked Secretary Albright to work on a bipartisan basis with the Congress to fashion an approach to the transfer of food to the Cuban people.

To build further on the impact of the Pope's visit, to support the role of the Church and other elements of civil society in Cuba, and to thereby help prepare the Cuban people for a democratic transition, I have also decided to take the following steps:

-- Resume licensing direct humanitarian charter flights to Cuba. Direct humanitarian flights under applicable agency regulations will make it easier for Cuban-Americans to visit loved ones on the island, and for humanitarian organizations to provide needed assistance more expeditiously and at lower cost.

-- Establish new licensing arrangements to permit Cuban Americans and Cuban families living here in the United States to send humanitarian remittances to their families in Cuba at the level of \$300 per quarter, as was permitted until 1994. This will enable Cuban-Americans to provide direct support to relatives in Cuba, while moving the current flow of remittances back into legal, orderly channels.

-- Streamline and expedite the issuance of licenses for the sale of medicines and medical supplies and equipment to Cuba. Based on experience of the past several years, including during the Papal visit, we believe that the end-use verification called for in the Cuban Democracy Act can be met through simplified arrangements.

The Departments of Treasury, Commerce and State will develop and promulgate new licensing arrangements in these three areas in the coming weeks.

The people of Cuba continue to live under a regime which deprives them of their freedom, and denies them economic opportunity. The overarching goal of American policy must be to promote a peaceful transition to democracy on the island. Such a transition will depend upon the efforts of Cubans who seek to build a vibrant civil society and to secure respect for basic human rights.

The presence of His Holiness John Paul II in Cuba inspired the Cuban people, providing an important psychological boost to the Cuban Catholic Church, to Cuba's nascent civil society, and to the Cuban people. The measures I have announced today are designed to build upon that visit, to support the Cuban people through the hardships and difficulties ahead, to contribute to the growth of a civil society and to help prepare for a peaceful transition to democracy.

→ Cuba
→ Les Kutz
→ Lipman
→ E. Pardo

CUBA TALKING POINTS

- The Pope's visit to Cuba has changed the landscape. For the first time in 38 years, Castro openly took second place in Cuba. And the Cuban people for the first time saw how many people believed in something other than the state.
- I met the Pope. We were struck by similarities to Poland when he visited in 1979. In both places, he created some space away from the government.
- We need to be honest. Castro isn't going to change, and Cuba isn't likely to change much as long as Castro is there. Already since the Pope left, Castro is going back to business as usual.

For example, the Pope requested the release of approximately 300 political prisoners, out of about 600 total. Castro has released more than 100 but has exiled some, arrested more than 15 others, and said that he will not release more than 70 persons whose release the Pope requested.

- But Castro won't be there forever. People in Cuba and elsewhere have acknowledged that they need to start considering Cuba after Fidel.
- Over the last month I've consulted extensively. In the community, there are many divergent views, but it is clear that there has been a sea-change since the Pope's visit. The community wants to find ways to help the Cuban people without helping the government.
- The Pope agrees that the Church can help us help the Cuban people in ways that do not benefit Castro. I've spoken with bishops in Miami, and they are ready to help.

[AS APPROPRIATE] I was especially impressed by Bishop Roman. He has a measured approach to these issues that is very credible.

- The weight of opinion settles around three principles:
 - we should help the Cuban people, not the government, as they prepare for what comes after Castro;
 - we should focus on independent civil society, especially the Church; and
 - we should maintain the current elements of our policy, including the embargo and the Libertad Act.

- Exchanges could help the Church. The Pope emphasized to me that the Church is fragile in Cuba. It has few priests. The bishops in Miami are starting exchange programs. We need to do more in this area, including by bringing religious lay persons to the States.

FYI: Our policy is to promote a peaceful transition to democracy through:

- economic pressure, including the embargo and the Libertad Act;
- support for the Cuban people and civil society;
- multilateral efforts on human rights, democracy, and private property; and
- orderly migration.

Package

will

- The President ~~is seriously considering whether~~ to announce a one-time package designed to:
 - simplify and expedite exports of medicine;
 - allow direct humanitarian flights of cargo and passengers;
 - restore family remittances; and
 - announce a willingness to work for a legislative, bipartisan approach to the transfer of food.
- This package helps the Cuban people. It builds on the Pope's visit by putting more space away from the government. It hurts Castro. His people get some control of their own lives and incomes. Religion and civil society grows -- apart from the government -- especially with new experience in handling medicines and humanitarian flights.
- Basically, these steps bring us back to where we were before the immigration crisis of 1994 and the shutdown of 1996. We are doing so because there is an historic new element -- the Pope's visit, which merits our response as we prepare for Cuba after Castro.
- We are still working on details of how we might implement these steps. If the President decides to go ahead, I'll be glad to have the experts speak with you or your staff as the procedures are developed. The core principle should be clear: help the people, not the Government.

This is the Key.

Exports

- First, we are seriously considering whether to simplify and expedite the export of medicine. This is an important humanitarian measure.
- We will preserve end-use monitoring as required in the Cuban Democracy Act. Medicines will be used properly.

- This is one way that the Church helps. For example, Caritas has an excellent record in making sure that medicines go where they should, not to fancy tourist hospitals.

Flights

- Second, we are seriously considering direct humanitarian flights for both cargo and passengers. This would reduce the cost to humanitarian operations.
- We do not intend to expand the categories of persons eligible to fly to Cuba. This is not tourism. We want to allow humanitarian flights to go to Cuba in the most cost effective way.
- We will work on the modalities for these flights to ensure that this is not abused. The benefits should go to the people, not to the government. Catholic and other charities have exemplary records in delivering humanitarian cargo.
- [IF NECESSARY] Flights for passengers present both a humanitarian and an enforcement issue. People pay more than they should to visit families; this is a hardship for the less well-to-do emigres.
- Also, direct flights would let us know what the people on the flights are taking to Cuba. These passengers would be very effective messengers, as well, because they would dispute Castro's propaganda.
- Still, I understand that some see benefit to Castro and his friends from these flights. I also understand that the passenger flights are especially sensitive in the community.

Remittances

- We also are seriously considering allowing family remittances up to \$1,200 annually.
- I was surprised at the depth of support in the community for this step. A few spoke against remittances, but most favored them. They said that the payments are made anyway. "The biggest thing you would do is remove thousands of Cuban Americans from the list of criminals."
- The majority of people I spoke with were certain that remittances "buy freedom." People can decide for themselves what they want. Some of the money goes on the black market, some of it goes to the state stores. Less and less goes to state stores, however, because there's nothing to buy.
- Also, remittances hurt the regime. People with relatives have more money than party hacks, who can see -- every day -- the difference between freedom and Communism.

- I know that this is a sensitive subject. We should push the payments into transparent and legal channels. In the exile community, there are many stories of how Cuban officials get a huge cut of these remittances; because they are illegal, we cannot make sure that the intended recipients actually get what they should.

Legislation

- Of course we are willing to work with you on legislation to get more food to the Cuban people.
- We have heard about the CANF proposal, the Majority Staff report on their recent visit to Cuba, and the Dodd and Torres proposals. We think that there is much we can work with.
- We can take the steps we outlined above on the President's authority, and we intend to move forward with them while we work with you on bipartisan legislation.

Helms-Burton [FOR DODD/HAMILTON ONLY]

- We want to work to secure multilateral support for democratic change in Cuba and for the broadest possible agreement to stop trafficking in expropriated goods. Stu Eizenstat's negotiations have been promising on the latter point.
- I am concerned that this package will hurt his negotiations with the Europeans. He may get European agreement to restrict investment in expropriated properties globally, including Cuba. The Europeans' price has been a waiver to Title IV, the visa restrictions in Helms-Burton.
- Do you think that we'll get a waiver to Title IV? Even if the President takes the steps I've outlined?
- How much risk do you think that there is of retaliatory legislation? I'm wondering especially about efforts to take away the President's waiver authority under Title III.
- [IF APPROPRIATE] Losing the Title III waiver could cause direct and serious harm to our national interests. We would be forced into the WTO on a case that we could lose. We would also have lawsuits affect our relations with Europe at an important and sensitive time.

Exchanges [IF RAISED]

- We are not taking any action on exchanges now. We will examine in the coming months ways to increase contact with a broader cross-section of Cuban society without bolstering the regime or lending it legitimacy. We will do this quietly.

WH/NSC CALLS:
(38 calls)

- Start*
- ✓ Gephardt
 - ✓ Daschle
 - ✓ Gingrich
 - ✓ Lott
 - ✓ Torricelli (NATO)
 - ✓ Burton (Mondag)
 - Rangel
 - ~~Wagner~~
 - Bennett
 - Enzi
 - Jeffords
 - Bumpers
 - Chafee
 - Kerry
 - ~~Feuer~~
 - Moynihan
 - Reed
 - Wellstone
 - Wyden
 - Moseley-Braun
 - Murray
 - Fazio
 - Hall
 - Lofgren
 - Lantos
 - Leach
 - ~~Paul~~
 - Morella
 - Velazquez
 - Nadler
 - Shays
 - Roybal-Allard
 - Boucher
 - Woolsey
 - Reed
 - Sanford
 - Becerra
 - ✓ Serman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 12, 1998

*Call To
Wright re:
Friday*

The Honorable James C. Wright, Jr.
9A10 Lanham Federal Building
819 Taylor Street
Fort Worth, Texas 76102

Dear Speaker Wright:

I read with interest and admiration your recent commentary, "Time to Reexamine Our Cuba Policy." Your op-ed piece is timely and thoughtful and reflects your years of work in Central America and the hemisphere at large.

You have contributed much and continue to do so. Please know your thoughts are fully appreciated and, as always, will help to broaden our thinking on the important issues of the day.

Personally,

Bill

bcc: *Case*

Nelson

Steve

Donna

Desk

Speaker
H.O. House of Representatives
1987 - 1989

James C. Wright, Jr.
910 Lanham Federal Building
819 Taylor Street
Fort Worth, Texas 76102

Member of Congress
12th District, Texas
1955 - 1989

FAX

DATE: JANUARY 8, 1998

TO: MR. MACK MCLARTY

FROM: ORA BETH MCMULLEN

of pages, including this page 4

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COMMENTS:

*NSP
Eric
Wesley
John
D...
H...*

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Advance Copy of Sunday, January 11, 1998 Newspaper Column

TIME TO REEXAMINE OUR CUBA POLICY

Speaker Jim Wright

January 11, 1998

Pope John Paul II's heralded visit to Cuba this month should inspire us to reexamine our current policy toward that unhappy country, which U.S. armed forces freed from Spanish colonial rule 100 years ago. The centennial year is ripe with opportunities for a new beginning.

Our hard-nosed embargo of all trade, travel and services to and from Cuba, including even medicines and foodstuffs, has become a self-defeating embarrassment. For almost four decades we've systematically punished the Cuban economy trying to convince Cubans to overthrow Fidel Castro. That, obviously, hasn't worked. The bearded ruler's 39-year reign has outlasted eight U.S. presidents.

Rather than a tool for prying Castro from power, the embargo has become an instrument of his political survival. It provides him a scapegoat -- the United States -- on whom to blame the island's sundry economic ills, including those resulting from his own mismanagement. Meanwhile, it miscasts us in the unflattering role of a bully.

Particularly hurtful to our international image during the past year has been the U.S. ban on sending food and medicines to Cuba, a lingering relic of the Cold War. Former Senator Malcolm Wallop, a Wyoming Republican and no coddler of leftist dictators, asked poignantly last April if it made sense, regardless of our feelings for Castro, to deny smitten Cuban children the benefits of life-prolonging leukemia drugs. The American Association for World Health condemned our embargo as shameful. And the World Trade Organization questions the legality of recent U.S. attempts to penalize other countries for doing business with Cuba.

Staunch allies like Canada, Mexico and the European Union think we're a little silly after 39 years to keep our people from even traveling to Cuba, since we've long since come to terms

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with far more threatening ideological foes such as China and the Soviet Union. We even send food and medicine to Iraq in exchange for oil, but not to the little country 90 miles off our coast whose independence we fathered.

Castro, beyond doubt, can be a pain in the rear. He's made a career out of thumbing his nose at us ever since the myopic Bay of Pigs invasion attempt in 1961. He thinks the CIA tried three times to assassinate him. Whatever the truth or morality of that, our ways of trying to persuade Cuba haven't worked.

Most Cubans admire individual Americans but harshly resent outside intervention in their domestic affairs. In Cuba today, it's considered a badge of patriotic honor to endure hardships stoically rather than bow to "imperialist" domination. Have we wondered why Omar Linares, the Cuban baseball superstar, turned down a \$1.5 million offer to play for the New York Yankees? Or why Teofilo Stevenson, the Olympic heavyweight boxing sensation of the 1970s, repeatedly refused lucrative U.S. offers to go pro? Strange as this may seem to us, it has something to do with their concept of patriotic duty.

A little over two years ago, responsible and highly respected Mexican officials, proven friends of our country, told me of private conversations they'd had with Castro. In their opinion, he would like to cultivate a friendlier relationship with the United States but was afraid of being snubbed. They think he was ready at one point to announce new human rights guarantees and perhaps even set a time for his official retirement, allowing a successor to be chosen in a free election. But he wouldn't want those things to appear the results of his yielding to outside dictation.

There has been so much bad blood on both sides that mutual mistrust paralyzes common sense. It still rankles Castro that President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles

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refused to see him when he came to this country seeking an audience after overthrowing the Batista regime. And President Bill Clinton has not forgotten how, when President Carter offered sanctuary to Cuba's political prisoners, Castro cynically sent boatloads of criminally insane to our shores. Riots by some of those demented Cubans in an Arkansas prison caused Clinton considerable personal embarrassment.

So there's an element of wounded pride on each side, and the twice-shy caution of men once burned. The matter is complicated politically by influential Cuban Americans who contribute to political campaigns and harbor fantasies of riding triumphantly into Havana someday to take over the government of the country they left 30 years ago. Some have died waiting for Castro to be overthrown. And Castro, even if he is ready for a *rapprochement*, isn't going to die just to please his political foes.

I propose that, in this centennial year of Cuba's independence from Spain, the U.S. show a willingness to reconcile our differences with the country that was our protege in the family of independent nations. ~~We could begin by exempting food, pharmaceutical and medical supplies from our embargo of goods shipments to Cuba. Surely that wouldn't endanger our national security. It would be a simple act of compassion for which no further explanation is necessary~~

Who knows? Such an unbidden gesture of friendship might evoke a spark of reciprocity. Pope John Paul II's upcoming visit seems to have thawed at least enough ice to restore Christmas as a national holiday, and maybe much more good can flow. It should be clear by now that thumbs in the eye aren't helping. And, even though sometimes unthanked, blessed are the peacemakers.

Friday, March 20, 1998

by labor unions. Argentina's business lobbies have criticized the labor reform because it does not break up collective bargaining or reduce their costs, which they say makes them less competitive.

Political News

Clinton To Announce U.S. Policy Changes With Cuba

President Bill Clinton is expected to announce on Friday that the U.S. will implement changes in its policy toward Cuba. After broad-ranging consultations aimed at "finding ways in which we can assist the Cuban people without re-energizing the (Cuban) government, our policy changes will be announced tomorrow," a U.S. official said. Florida Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen said the government plans to allow direct flights to resume between the U.S. and Cuba and permit direct remittances between the two countries. U.S. officials, however, said key elements of U.S. policy toward Cuba -- including an economic embargo and the Helms-Burton law that seeks to discourage foreign investment on the island -- would remain in force. But the new proposed changes would indicate a significant shift in the U.S. policy of trying to isolate Cuba politically and economically.

Colombian Army Arrests Rebels For Attempted IADB Bombing

A Colombian army official said late Wednesday it captured two suspected Marxist rebels charged with an attempted bombing at the annual assembly of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) in Colombia. A spokesman for the army said it arrested the suspected National Liberation Army (ELN) guerrillas on Tuesday afternoon. The guerrillas had intended to travel to Cartagena and set off a car bomb shortly before the closing ceremony on Wednesday of the three-day IADB meeting. The army spokesman said the captured ELN fighters had initially planned to detonate the device on Sunday or Monday with the aim of killing Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori and Colombian President Ernesto Samper.

U.S. Ambassador To Colombia To Lobby For More Military Aid

U.S. Ambassador to Colombia Curtis Kamman said on Thursday that he would lobby for more military aid for Colombia. "We are now in a position to hand out important material aid (to the military). We want to strengthen the Colombian armed forces in any areas where we have got the resources and the legal basis to do so," Kamman said. But Kamman did not say that this would indicate U.S. support in the war against leftist insurgents. The ambassador also said the U.S. would also boost logistical aid to the Colombian armed forces, indicating more U.S. military advisors would arrive in Colombia. U.S. officials say there are currently about 30 U.S. advisers based in Colombia. Independent sources, however, believe as many as 250 U.S. military personnel are in Colombia at any time. Under U.S. law, however, military aid cannot be destined to those units alleged to have committed human rights abuses.

Argentina's Alfonsin Urges Nation To Fight Menem Re-election

Former Argentine President Raul Alfonsin said on Thursday that Argentines should take up arms and fight if the Supreme Court decides to allow Carlos Menem to run for a third consecutive term. Menem was first elected in 1989 and then re-elected in 1995 after a secret deal with Alfonsin allowed the constitution to be reformed and Menem to run for a second consecutive term. Menem's Peronist Party is running a "Menem '99" campaign and the Supreme Court is considering of the ban. Menem supporters argue that the ban does not apply, since the president has only run once since it was enacted in 1994. The opposition Alliance, grouping the Radicals and the center-left Frepaso, said the Supreme Court is biased toward the government

and might rule in favor of allowing Menem to run again as the Peronist Party's candidate. Recent opinion polls show Menem's approval rating has plummeted to 18% and only 3% of Argentines say they would vote for him again. Alfonsin was Radical party president of Argentina from 1983 until his government collapsed in economic chaos in 1989.

Company News

Pemex Celebrates 60th

Anniversary Amid Low Oil Prices

Mexico's state owned oil company Petroleos Mexicanos (Pemex) celebrated on Thursday its 60th Anniversary, despite plummeting oil prices and disgruntled workers. "We cannot let ourselves be defeated by pessimism in these not necessarily fleeting circumstances," Pemex chief Adrian Lajous said. He called for cooperation between oil producing nations, saying only a lower supply of crude would help prices recover. But Mexican officials would not say whether the country would limit its own output. Meanwhile, the 79,000-member union for Petroleos Mexicanos (Pemex) launched an attack against a rising number of service contracts with foreigners in the industry. Domestic contractors have also complained that Pemex has given preference to foreign firms, and the union alleges that Pemex has not granted it certain maintenance contracts as required by law. "It could be very dangerous for everyone if the workers' patience is abused and worse still if administration mandates make this a permanent policy," a union leader said at the ceremony. Analysts said the union's threat was likely hollow, because the union has generally fallen in line behind Pemex officials in recent years.

The International Trade Administration Office Of Latin America
announces their new web site:

www.mac.doc.gov/ola/brazil/index.htm

where you will find detailed political and economic information on Brazil.

Founder & Principal: Jonathan I. Zemmol; Principal: Catherine Gay; Managing Editor: Jennifer L. Rich; Director, Project Development: Erik A. Brand; Project Manager: Jennifer Bertsch; Manager, Business Development: Jessie Weissman; Office Manager: Pauline Freedman; Editorial Associates: Anna Chung, Nicholas Bundy

CUBA

Aid's OK, but the embargo stays

Two months after Pope John Paul II criticized the strict U.S. embargo on Cuba, President Clinton last week loosened it ever so slightly. The administration restored direct flights to the island and permitted Cuban-Americans to send cash to relatives there. (Cuban-Americans have been sending \$700 million a year in violation of U.S. law.) Clinton's envoy to Latin America,



Thomas McLarty, said those small steps are in-

tended to help ordinary Cubans and to respond to the minor but noticeable movement toward freedom of religion that accompanied the first papal visit to Cuba in January.

The administration also announced that it would streamline procedures for medical sales to Cuba and work with Congress to send food, while keeping the 36-year-old overall trade embargo intact. Sen. Jesse Helms, a North Carolina Republican, favors channeling U.S. food aid through church and other private groups. But hard-line Cuban-American leaders say any aid to the island helps prop up Fidel Castro.

-Linda Robinson in Miami



ZHU LOOMS LARGE. Hong Kong residents watched last week as China's National People's Congress formally elected Zhu Rongji as premier. Zhu, 69, leads a reformist cabinet dominated by Communist Party technocrats. Washington last week sought to improve ties with China by dropping its sponsorship of a United Nations resolution chastising Beijing for its human-rights record.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Talking peace on St. Patrick's Day

Last week's wave of optimism about the Northern Ireland peace talks—furthered by St. Patrick's Day meetings at the White House—could run into some hard realities this week. The multiparty talks to end 27 years of sectarian violence resume in Belfast with the return of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army, from a brief suspension.

Sinn Fein was penalized after the IRA was implicated in

two murders. Protestant parties, which back continued British rule in Ulster, are protesting Sinn Fein's reinclusion. Moreover, the Ulster Unionists, the largest Protestant contingent, have so far refused to negotiate directly with Sinn Fein. A possible compromise between Catholic republicans, who want to join the Republic of Ireland, and the unionists would create a Northern Ireland Assembly and allow for limited self-rule. It's uncertain that Sinn Fein will accept that deal, which would face a popular referendum. Yet British Prime Minister Tony Blair insists the outline of a settlement is "agonizingly close" and wants it done by Easter.

-Thomas K. Grose in London

the southern Serb province, Kosovo, or face economic sanctions and a possible arms embargo. But as the deadline lapsed last week, a unified dip-



Milosevic with Serbian police

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A recent Serb crackdown on independence-minded guerrillas resulted in 80 deaths. U.S. diplomats say they will insist on Serb compliance in Kosovo. Critics think otherwise. Says Jim Hooper of the Balkan Institute, "What we're seeing is a repetition of Bosnia. It's the same tough rhetoric masking weak measures." -Stephen J. Hedges and Kevin Whitelaw



Have a Havana? Not yet. America's new Cuba policy preserves the embargo. These New York women sample non-Cuban cigars.

KOSOVO

Deciding how to sway Milosevic

Members of the Balkans "Contact Group" will meet this week to measure Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic's resolve, and perhaps their own. Collectively, the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and Russia gave the Serbs 10 days to halt attacks on the majority ethnic Albanians in

Edited by Thomas Omestad

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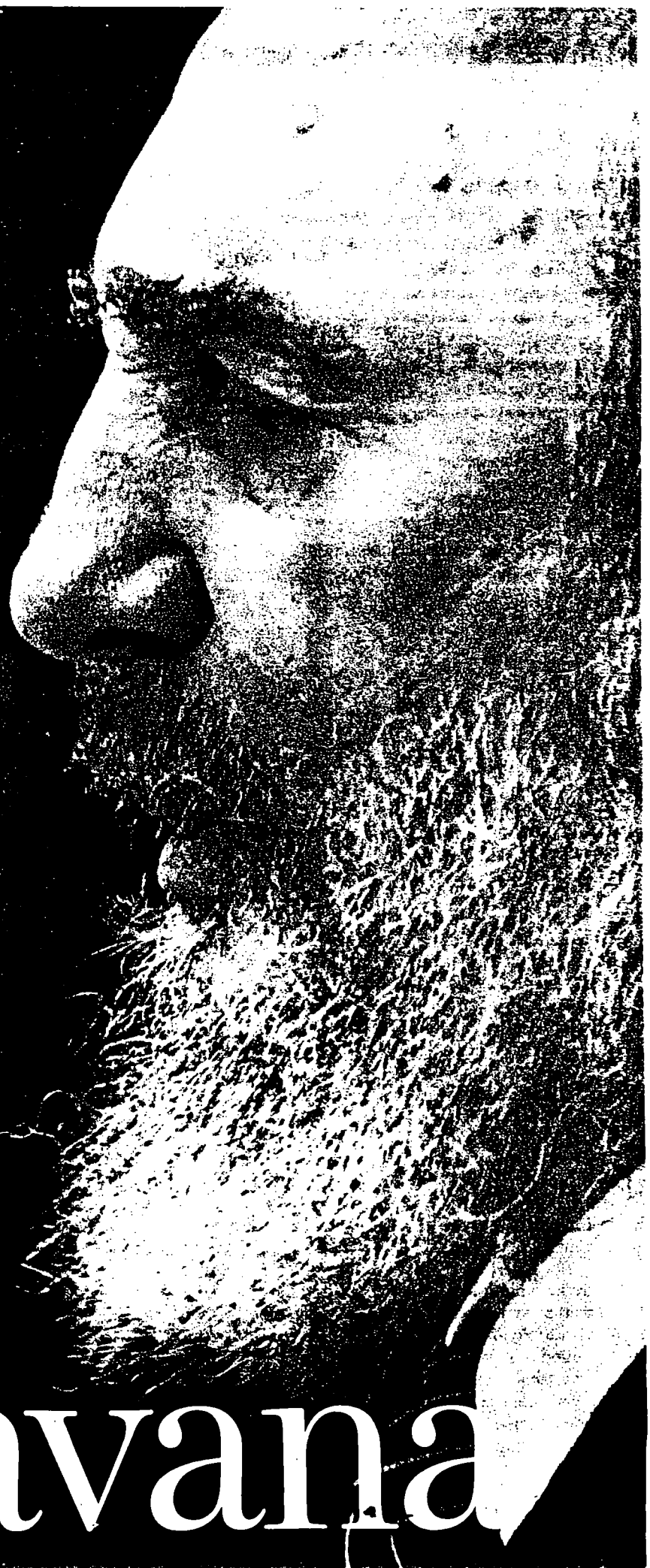
KOSOVO

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Next week Pope John Paul II will carry his crusade to one of the last socialist outposts. How will Fidel Castro's Cuba respond? BY KENNETH L. WOODWARD

NEAR THE END OF the millennium, in the heat of Havana, two aging ideological adversaries meet. One is a canny, mystical man of God and fervent anti-communist; the other is the last romantic revolutionary to head a Marxist state. The military is everywhere and edgy. The people, many of them wide-eyed laborers just in from the cane fields, are in a restless festival mood. Pickpockets and prostitutes work the crowd. Suddenly, a flag featuring the image of the Virgin is unfurled in the Plaza de la Revolución, Havana's largest open space. And then ... No, this is not a scene from a Graham Greene novel. But were he alive, the novelist would undoubtedly be in Cuba next week, when Pope John Paul II begins his long-anticipated



in Havana

... with fervor against his old communist foes

August
1983

During a pilgrimage to the French shrine at Lourdes, John Paul speaks out for the 'silent churches' of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He also refers to mainland China, where persecution of Roman Catholics is widespread.



September
1987

He makes his second visit to the United States, meeting fellow anti-communist Ronald Reagan

June 1991

On his first trip to a free Poland, he draws crowds of hopeful Catholics from neighboring Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus



February
1993

Visiting Africa, John Paul urges the Muslim rulers of Sudan to stop the persecution of Christians

November
1996

In a historic private visit to the Vatican, President Fidel Castro shakes hands with the pope. Plans are made for a visit to Cuba by a pontiff who has said for many years that he seeks a 'third way' between the extremes of communism and capitalism.

most emotionally charged moment of his five-day sweep across the island. There he is expected to proclaim Our Lady's sovereignty over Cuba—just as he rallied Catholic Poland to "the Queen of Poland" at the shrine of the Black Madonna in 1979. But Our Lady of Charity is also a major goddess of Santería—"The Way of the Saints"—an African religion imported by slaves and the faith to which 60 percent of Cubans (including millions of Catholics) give their primary religious allegiance. In short, the pope may find himself in the odd position of extolling a syncretistic figure of Afro-Cuban religion to a nation that barely recognizes the figure of Jesus Christ.

John Paul will have ample opportunities to evangelize the Cubans. In addition to a private meeting with Castro he will address an audience of intellectuals at the University of Havana. Castro is permitting four outdoor papal masses and will make half of the island's buses, trucks and other forms of transportation available to move the faithful. But it is still unclear whether the government will allow the papal festivities to be televised live. The risk to Castro is plain: the Cubans may not know much about the papacy, but they are religious enough to be energized by the mystique of John Paul II. On such a stage, this pope is always in his element—the singer of a new song.

What will he say? Certainly he will address the decay in Cuban family values. There are four divorces for every six marriages, and the state's marriage tax only adds incentive to the widespread practice of common-law cohabitation. The abortion rate is high—60 for every 100 births and 26 for every 1,000 women between the ages of 12 and 19. Some women have four or more abortions before giving birth to their first child. This pope is given to moralizing—that's his job. But in Cuba he is not confronting the usual lifestyle liberals. It's tough to start and sustain a family in an economy that cannot feed its own people or trade with its wealthy Yankee neighbor. How to advance the



At their first meeting, in 1996, Castro did most of the talking

Christian vision of sex and marriage in this environment will be one of the pope's more difficult challenges.

John Paul is also expected to denounce the U.S. embargo on Cuba. This alone may be worth the price of the pope's admission for Castro. Castro's strategy, especially after the loss of subsidies from the former Soviet Union, has been to isolate the United States from Europe over the embargo issue. The pope has long opposed economic embargoes because of their effects on civilian populations, but he and Castro have more than this issue in common. Both share the view that unregulated capitalism is the enemy of human solidarity, and that every economic system must be measured by the demands

of social justice. Here again, the pope must measure his words in speaking to one of the last Marxist heads of state.

What the pope wants most, however, is breathing room for the Cuban church. Access to media is one issue, the right to hold outdoor religious processions, a ritual dear to all Latin Americans, is another. Above all, he wants Castro to admit more foreign priests and nuns, and down the road, perhaps, the return of Catholic schools, where Castro himself was educated. But if his speeches in Poland are any measure, the pope will call for something more comprehensive: the resurrection of a true civil society in Cuba, one in which the people, through unions, churches and other organizations, can exercise their liberties and make social solidarity—there's that word again—a reality.

Will Castro listen? During his previous visit with the pope at the Vatican, Castro expounded his beliefs at length. When he invited the pope to comment, John Paul urged the loquacious Marxist to go on, as if he were hearing confession. Since then, Castro has been prodding Vatican diplomats to tell him what this pope is really like inside, what makes him the man he is. Next week he will find out. It's the confessor's turn to speak.

With BROOK LARMER in Havana and ROD NORDLAND in Rome

The Life And Times Of a Rumor

The unlikely alliance behind a Ron Brown conspiracy theory

BY MARK HOSENBALL AND GREGORY L. VISTICA

FOR A FEW TENSE HOURS, IT LOOKED like they had a murder on their hands. It was April 6, 1996, and the forensic team at Delaware's Dover Air Force Base was working on a high-profile case: the death of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown. Three days before, a plane carrying Brown and 34 others had smashed into a Croatian mountain, killing everyone aboard. The pathologists noticed that the top of Brown's skull had been punctured. But there was something strange about the wound: it was about the size and shape of a .45-caliber bullet hole. What's more, an X-ray of Brown's skull revealed a pattern of specks that looked like bullet fragments. The room fell silent.

Still, something didn't seem right. There was no exit wound, and X-rays showed no bullet lodged anywhere in Brown's body. But what about the apparent bullet fragments? On further examination, X-rays of three other victims had exactly the same pattern of specks. They weren't bullet fragments, just dirt on the equipment. The team officially concluded Brown had died in the crash from a blunt-force injury. Case closed.

Not quite. Almost two years after Brown's death, an unlikely alliance of conservative Clinton bashers and liberal African-American politicians is pushing the murder theory. In mid-December, the "gunshot wound" was the most-talked-about subject on talk radio. Now the Congressional Black Caucus and the NAACP are demanding answers, and last week Jesse Jackson called for an official explanation "to quiet people's doubts." The Pentagon wants the answer to a different question: how did the bullet-hole story ever get out of the morgue?

The story likely begins with Lt. Col. Steven Cogswell. A military pathologist, Cogswell wasn't at Dover when Brown's body was examined. But he saw the X-rays and photographs of Brown's body. Based on

The RON BROWN Assassination Information Clearinghouse

Click on these new links...

What Happened at Kozlovic's Top 40000
[View the photos of the plane wreckage](#)

RON BROWN was MURDERED

Key to Bosnian boundaries:
 ■ Federation of Bosnia-Herz. (Croats, Muslims)
 □ Serb Republic (Bosnian Serbs)
 ▬ Security zone

Area of crash: 1.8 miles north-west of airport

Sources: White House, U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Department of Defense

What we have heard...

White House Press Release

[Hilla Shuyang, Chinese Language, then to show the text on your computer in six of Nov. 1996, 11](#)

Whispers on the Web: The Internet is helping peddle allegations about Brown's death

those, Cogswell concluded the team had been too hasty in declaring Brown's death accidental. In a series of lectures called "Mistakes and Failures in Forensic Pathology," which he delivered to FBI agents and to a group of medical examiners in Florida, Cogswell showed slides of Brown's body and faulted his colleagues for not performing an autopsy.

The air force shut down Cogswell's lectures—but not before reporter Christopher Ruddy had gotten wind of the story. Ruddy is best known for his pursuit of an alleged Vince Foster cover-up. His paper, the Pitts-



Into the storm: Brown visits troops in Tuzla just before his fatal 1996 plane crash

burgh Tribune-Review, is owned by Richard Mellon Scaife, a conservative multimillionaire with a taste for anti-Clinton conspiracies. In a Dec. 3 article, Ruddy laid out the bullet theory, quoting Cogswell as his primary source. Within days, the story was picked up by conservative newspapers in the United States and London. **WAS RON BROWN DEAD BEFORE HIS PLANE WENT DOWN?** screamed a Washington Times headline. Black Entertainment Television also broadcast a lengthy program featuring Cogswell's charges. Joe Madison, a radio host and member of the NAACP's national board, began pushing the story on his syndicated show. Congressional Black Caucus chairwoman Maxine Waters asked Janet Reno "whether an investigation into the allegations is warranted."

Reno doesn't think it is. In December, the Pentagon's chief medical examiner briefed Brown's family—who have remained silent—on why they ruled out the bullet theory. An internal military review has confirmed the conclusion that Brown's death was accidental, and Reno announced last week that Justice won't look into the matter further. She knows that's not enough to convince the rumor buffs—but nothing ever is. ■

Mack:

Henry Cisneros' handwritten note to you reads as follows:

Attached is a confidential memo I sent to the President several weeks ago. The more I hear from influence-leaders in Miami, the more convinced I am a breakthrough may be possible if the President's words are couched correctly. It is important to put the burden to act on Castro: i.e., "If you will do the following things to demonstrate real opening in Cuba, Mr. Castro, the United States will respond as follows." I think it would be an effective topic/section in the State of the Union Address. It could be as Pres. Reagan's Berlin speech directed at Gorbachev: Mr. Gorbachev, take this wall down!"

P.

Self - Jim
News

Eric

~~James~~

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UCI -- FAX

Date 1/9/98

Number of pages including cover sheet 3

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
 INITIALS: JAM DATE: 7/12/98
 206-0920-7

TO: Mack M^c Clarty
 (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~)

FROM: HENRY CISNEROS
 PRESIDENT
 UNIVISION
 COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

Phone
 Fax Phone 202-450-2215

Phone (310)556-7676
 Fax Phone (310)556-7697

CC:

REMARKS: Urgent For your review Reply ASAP Please Comment

Mack: Attached is a confidential memo I sent to the President several weeks ago. The memo I hear from influence-leaders in Miami, the memo convinced I am a breakthrough may be possible if the President's words are couched correctly. It is important to put the burden to act on Castro: ie, "if you will do the following things to demonstrate real opening in Cuba, Mr. Castro, the United States will respond as follows." I think it would be an effective topic section in the State of the Union address. It could be as Pres. Reagan's ^{earlier} speech directed at Gorbachev: "Mr. Gorbachev, ~~take~~ ^{take} this wall down!" Henry

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 PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
 ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
 INITIALS: JAM DATE: 7/12/18
 2016-0920-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To: President Clinton
From: Henry Cisneros *Henry Cisneros*
Subject: Ideas for the President's State of the Union Address
 as Requested by Michael Waldman
Date: December 19, 1997



1. Beginning on January 21st, Pope John Paul II will be visiting Cuba. The visit will be an important worldwide news story and will be interpreted as having the potential to create a new opening in Cuba. The world press story lines will include the following:

- One of the last great dramas of the Cold War – Communism vs. the Catholic Church – is being played out.
- The Pope's call for freedom will echo his role in the unraveling of Polish and Eastern European Communist regimes.
- Castro's risk-taking in inviting the Pope may signal a new readiness for dialogue and openness which should be pursued.
- Despite the stark nature of their disagreements on matters of freedoms and human liberties, the Pope and Castro share common priorities for social justice and humanitarian assistance, issues which the Pope is likely to address.
- The irresistibility to Cuban-Americans of returning to Cuba to witness this convergence of their Catholic faith and love of homeland has resulted in about 15,000 Cuban-Americans – many of whom swore they would never return to Cuba until Castro was removed - seeking visas and planning to be present for the Pope's visit.

I would argue that the you can creatively embrace the spirit of opening and advance the fact of opening by appropriate remarks in the State of the Union Address. My argument is based on the following logic:

- a) The possibilities for civil dialogue about steps toward opening Cuba will be fresh on the minds of Americans and people around the world.

- b) **The case for modifying the embargo to allow medicine, food, and humanitarian imports is gaining adherents, including many Cuban-Americans who still have families in Cuba. There is specific legislation now before the Congress to modify the embargo to allow humanitarian products.**
- c) **The constituency for a political middle ground is growing in the Cuban-American community. There is a changing alignment of political forces and a growing middle ground among Cuban-Americans who see humanitarian aid as a possible consensus position in the debate about the embargo.**
- d) **As we think of the "big picture changes" that you can create or oversee in the next three years, it is hard to imagine anything more powerful than actually "opening" Cuba over the next several years. The actual transformation of this remaining "sore spot in our own backyard" before the end of the century would surely qualify as a major legacy of the your foreign policy stewardship. It is within reach, even with Castro alive.**

In the State of the Union Address you can speak in general terms about encouraging steps to explore the new potential for opening Cuba or speak more concretely in support of the pending legislation on humanitarian assistance. You can also lay out a larger vision of Cuba's transition to democracy and human freedoms and explain what the U.S. would be willing to do in response to specific positive actions by Cuba. You can call on Castro personally to put Cuba on the right side of history in the governing time that remains for him, thereby cementing his own historic role rather than being portrayed by history as the last intransigent obstacle standing against the inevitable transition to democratic institution. It could be a very powerful statement that seizes the moment created by the Pope's visit and spurs accelerated openings which can later be traced to your sense of timing and decisive action.

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Advance Copy of Sunday, January 11, 1998 Newspaper Column

TIME TO REEXAMINE OUR CUBA POLICY

Speaker Jim Wright
January 11, 1998

Pope John Paul II's heralded visit to Cuba this month should inspire us to reexamine our current policy toward that unhappy country, which U.S. armed forces freed from Spanish colonial rule 100 years ago. The centennial year is ripe with opportunities for a new beginning.

Our hard-nosed embargo of all trade, travel and services to and from Cuba, including even medicines and foodstuffs, has become a self-defeating embarrassment. For almost four decades we've systematically punished the Cuban economy trying to convince Cubans to overthrow Fidel Castro. That, obviously, hasn't worked. The bearded ruler's 39-year reign has outlasted eight U.S. presidents.

Rather than a tool for prying Castro from power, the embargo has become an instrument of his political survival. It provides him a scapegoat -- the United States -- on whom to blame the island's sundry economic ills, including those resulting from his own mismanagement. Meanwhile, it miscasts us in the unflattering role of a bully.

Particularly hurtful to our international image during the past year has been the U.S. ban on sending food and medicines to Cuba, a lingering relic of the Cold War. Former Senator Malcolm Wallop, a Wyoming Republican and no coddler of leftist dictators, asked poignantly last April if it made sense, regardless of our feelings for Castro, to deny smitten Cuban children the benefits of life-prolonging leukemia drugs. The American Association for World Health condemned our embargo as shameful. And the World Trade Organization questions the legality of recent U.S. attempts to penalize other countries for doing business with Cuba.

Staunch allies like Canada, Mexico and the European Union think we're a little silly after 39 years to keep our people from even traveling to Cuba, since we've long since come to terms

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Advance Copy of Sunday, January 11, 1998 Newspaper Column, Page 2

with far more threatening ideological foes such as China and the Soviet Union. We even send food and medicine to Iraq in exchange for oil, but not to the little country 90 miles off our coast whose independence we fathered

Castro, beyond doubt, can be a pain in the rear. He's made a career out of thumbing his nose at us ever since the myopic Bay of Pigs invasion attempt in 1961. He thinks the CIA tried three times to assassinate him. Whatever the truth or morality of that, our ways of trying to persuade Cuba haven't worked

Most Cubans admire individual Americans but harshly resent outside intervention in their domestic affairs. In Cuba today, it's considered a badge of patriotic honor to endure hardships stoically rather than bow to "imperialist" domination. Have we wondered why Omar Linares, the Cuban baseball superstar, turned down a \$1.5 million offer to play for the New York Yankees? Or why Teofilo Stevenson, the Olympic heavyweight boxing sensation of the 1970s, repeatedly refused lucrative U.S. offers to go pro? Strange as this may seem to us, it has something to do with their concept of patriotic duty.

A little over two years ago, responsible and highly respected Mexican officials, proven friends of our country, told me of private conversations they'd had with Castro. In their opinion, he would like to cultivate a friendlier relationship with the United States but was afraid of being snubbed. They think he was ready at one point to announce new human rights guarantees and perhaps even set a time for his official retirement, allowing a successor to be chosen in a free election. But he wouldn't want those things to appear the results of his yielding to outside dictation.

There has been so much bad blood on both sides that mutual mistrust paralyzes common sense. It still rankles Castro that President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles

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refused to see him when he came to this country seeking an audience after overthrowing the Batista regime. And President Bill Clinton has not forgotten how, when President Carter offered sanctuary to Cuba's political prisoners, Castro cynically sent boatloads of criminally insane to our shores. Riots by some of those demented Cubans in an Arkansas prison caused Clinton considerable personal embarrassment.

So there's an element of wounded pride on each side, and the twice-shy caution of men once burned. The matter is complicated politically by influential Cuban Americans who contribute to political campaigns and harbor fantasies of riding triumphantly into Havana someday to take over the government of the country they left 30 years ago. Some have died waiting for Castro to be overthrown. And Castro, even if he is ready for a *rapprochement*, isn't going to die just to please his political foes.

I propose that, in this centennial year of Cuba's independence from Spain, the U.S. show a willingness to reconcile our differences with the country that was our protegee in the family of independent nations. We could begin by exempting food, pharmaceutical and medical supplies from our embargo of goods shipments to Cuba. Surely that wouldn't endanger our national security. It would be a simple act of compassion for which no further explanation is necessary.

Who knows? Such an unbidden gesture of friendship might evoke a spark of reciprocity. Pope John Paul II's upcoming visit seems to have thawed at least enough ice to restore Christmas as a national holiday, and maybe much more good can flow. It should be clear by now that thumbs in the eye aren't helping. And, even though sometimes unthanked, blessed are the peacemakers.

Gender and the Death Penalty

KARLA FAYE Tucker is the 38-year-old former prostitute and drug addict who is awaiting execution in Texas for murdering two people 14 years ago with a pickax. She does not seem to be an obvious candidate for clemency. Ms. Tucker readily admits her guilt and has apparently not been denied fair legal processes. Yet she has attracted an outpouring of support from such noted conservatives—and death penalty proponents—as Christian Coalition founder Pat Robertson. He, along with other commentators, has urged Texas Gov. George W. Bush to spare Ms. Tucker's life. Why the campaign against executing this woman? Ms. Tucker, in the years since the murder, has convincingly changed her attitude and persona, say her advocates, and has been miraculously transformed from a monster into an exemplar of prison rehabilitation.

Few seem to doubt the sincerity of Ms. Tucker's conversion or her good works in prison, but this is not the point. She is not the first death-row inmate to make a dramatic change for the better while awaiting execution for a terrible crime. And it is difficult to imagine that her case would attract even a glimmer of interest were she not an attractive woman who does not conform to pervasive societal images of murderers. For many people who are normally unmoved by pleas such as those being made on her behalf the relevance of factors such as her previous addiction and

her self-reformation in prison are evidently easier to see in someone with whom they can identify.

The mere fact that a debate over her fate is taking place, in other words, is a reflection of how disparately the death penalty is applied in this country. More than 400 people have been executed in the United States since the Supreme Court reinstated capital punishment in 1976. But of these, only one was a woman.

Texas, now preparing to execute Ms. Tucker, has not killed a woman since the Civil War, though it executed 37 men only last year. Part of the reason for this disparity is that women commit fewer capital crimes than men. But part of the reason is that, though Texans purport to like the death penalty, they manage not to apply it in those cases that would most challenge the policy in the public mind.

Those of us who oppose capital punishment hope Ms. Tucker receives clemency, because we oppose executions across the board. Supporters of the death penalty, however, should not try to escape the consequences of their position by arguing that this woman is deeply different from men who have been condemned. Gov. Bush has said he will not consider Ms. Tucker's gender in reviewing her clemency case, and this is the correct approach for him to take—though it will probably cost Ms. Tucker her life. Those who are squeamish about executing women should reconsider their position on the death penalty itself.

Belated Aid for the Double Victims

FINALLY, AFTER far too long a wait, some help is on the way for the double victims of history: those Jews who survived the Nazi Holocaust and then five decades of Communist dictatorship as well. Unlike concentration camp survivors who live in the United States or Israel, Jews in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have, in most cases, received nothing in the way of compensation. Whereas a survivor in the West may receive from German reparation funds a monthly pension of \$270 or so, elderly survivors in Ukraine or Latvia typically receive nothing—although in many instances their needs today are far greater.

Now Germany, to its credit and that of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, has agreed to establish a fund of \$110 million for ghetto and concentration camp survivors in the former Communist world. Monthly payments appropriately will go directly to individuals, not through local governments. The funds should begin flowing in a few months. Perhaps 20,000 people are still alive to benefit from this program.

It is, of course, a shame that so much time passed, and so many survivors died, before Germany acknowl-

edged this responsibility. Germany overall has set a positive model for the world, one that few other nations have matched, in facing up to the evils of its history and paying about \$60 billion in reparations for admittedly unrightable wrongs. But in the case of the Eastern Europeans, it stalled for half a decade, offering varying untenable excuses. Only when the American Jewish Committee went public with its tenacious campaign, beginning last spring, did it begin to make progress. Quiet State Department pressure and a Senate resolution endorsed by 82 senators also may have helped.

It will always be possible to complain—and it will always be true—that any compensation for Holocaust-related suffering is too little too late. In this instance, though, the emphasis should rather be on Germany's reversal of position, never easy for a government, and even more on the belated recognition of the legitimate claim of survivors who have too long been ignored. For them, the modest amounts of money no doubt will matter greatly. But perhaps the knowledge that they and their suffering have not been forgotten will matter even more.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1998

A Run for the Money in Annapolis

WITH ALL 188 legislative seats and the governor's office up for election in November—and with more than \$260 million in unanticipated revenues to be dispensed *somehow*—the creative juices of lawmakers in Annapolis could reach flood stage this year. Every politician comes to today's opening of the General Assembly with more than a few ideas about how best to make the extra cash disappear. But if they stop to think about it for a legislative moment, their home counties could put the money to good use in their schools, and the state could do the same for higher education. That is the lead that has been taken by Gov. Glendening, and it rings a bell with those county leaders whose school systems are beset by new demands for space and programs.

The pressure for a larger state commitment to education at all levels is coming from more than the usual corners—parents and educators—and with good reason. Businesses, big and small, have recognized that a premier educational system is essential if Maryland is to compete seriously with other nearby states for economic development. Maryland's lawmakers need look no farther than across the Potomac, where their Virginia counterparts have been lobbying hard for education support and where Gov.-elect Gilmore is not only listening intently but also responding with money and the appointment of a secretary of technology to help make new things happen faster.

Some legislators in Maryland are seizing on the occasion to push for an acceleration of the phased-in tax cut that was enacted last year. But those members who are focusing on an even more immediate as well as more

lasting endeavor—upgrading education in general and making it available to more people—are satisfied with the tax-cut schedule already in place and realize the important rewards of investing instead in their schools.

The new recognition of educational needs is a welcome indication of shifting legislative power in the Maryland legislature, away from traditionally dominant Baltimore City to the Washington-Baltimore suburbs. Credit for this overdue correction of the "Baltimore Tilt" goes to two suburban leaders—Montgomery County Executive Doug Duncan and Prince George's County Executive Wayne Curry. They joined forces and then invited their counterparts in neighboring counties to be allies in a battle for more equitable distribution of state school aid.

Though Mr. Curry and Mr. Duncan didn't prevail last year, they showed enough muscle to win a better shake this time around. Several key players got their drift and helped set the stage for a spotlight this year on education. Right after last year's session, House Speaker Casper Taylor spoke up for suburban school concerns. State School Superintendent Nancy Grasmick worked with a task force and came up with a fairer statewide system for distributing assistance. And Gov. Glendening has now seized on the state's new financial opportunity to endorse significant increases in assistance to education.

The governor's political opponents will continue to grouse about election-year stunts, but the prevailing windfalls that have happened on Gov. Glendening's watch make going for more education money possible as well as desirable.

Our Man in Havana

TWO IMPORTANT, elderly figures of the Cold War are about to meet and contest in Cuba. The host, Communist leader Fidel Castro, still seeks legitimacy after 39 insecure years in power. His guest, Pope John Paul II, tested anti-Communist and underminer of established Communist regimes, seeks religious and political freedoms for Cuba's millions. In what is shaping up as a classic end-of-era confrontation, our man in Havana—that is, one representing the claims of democracy—is John Paul.

For all of the Castro repression, Cuba remains a heavily Catholic country and to that extent at least an anti-Communist one. Fidel Castro's revival of the Christmas just past as a public holiday was for him a token gesture. But for Cubans it marked official recognition of a traditional chosen identity. The 77-year-old John Paul represents precisely the future—individual liberty—that the 71-year-old Castro denies.

The pope has precise ideas about how to open up the closed and disciplined Cuban society. He believes that the larger post-Cold War circumstances have now changed enough to make possible a fruitful dialogue with the ruling dictator—and with religious and other

elements of Cuba's emerging civil society. Now there is the prospect of a peaceful transition to democracy.

John Paul speaks from a vastness of experience and success that no active figure anywhere can match. His approach differs from the longtime American emphasis on isolating and embargoing Cuba. A bit of a good-cop, bad-cop act is unfolding here. The pope is in a position to offer concessions that an American government would have trouble making—and to reap concessions that the Cuban government could never make to the United States. Such an approach will work, however, only if the American government moves its policy out of the time warp in which it still is caught and makes its own timely acknowledgment of change.

Here lies the political importance of the pope's reception. It carves out extra space for a policy reconsideration by the United States. Fidel Castro, with the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of Latin democracy, long ago lost a capability to harm American security interests. His model of crumbling totalitarian rule has no takers anywhere. What remains to be consummated in Cuba is a passage to democracy and to normal relations with the United States. John Paul is showing the way.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1998

Business-Led Coalition Urges U.S. to Relax Embargo on Cuba

Groups Have Mixed Motives for Ending Ban on 'Humanitarian Trade' in Food, Medicine

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

An unusual coalition of business groups, corporate executives, religious organizations, lobbyists, members of Congress and prominent former U.S. officials called yesterday for relaxing the U.S. embargo on trade with Cuba to permit the sale of food and medical supplies.

Calling itself "Americans for Humanitarian Trade With Cuba," the group was organized by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, one of the nation's most influential business organizations. In a news conference at the chamber's headquarters here, Willard A. Workman, its international vice president, pledged to run a "grass-roots campaign" to enlist support for legislation introduced in both houses of Congress last year to modify the trade ban.

He and other Chamber of Commerce officials said they timed the news conference to take advantage of the attention focused on Cuba by the visit next week of Pope John Paul II.

Participants made clear that they came together with different motives: Some want to do business with Cuba, some believe the entire U.S. embargo is bad policy and some seek only to moderate what they say is the suffering of innocent Cubans deprived of food and medicine.

Food and medicine were added to the trade embargo as part of the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act.

For the Chamber of Commerce and some individual businesses, the longer-term goal is to reduce the U.S. reliance on economic sanctions as an instrument of U.S. policy in Cuba and other countries, Workman and other chamber officials said.

The Clinton administration has taken no position on the legislation, sponsored in the House by Reps. Esteban

Edward Torres (D-Calif.) and Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.) and in the Senate by Sens. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) and Rod Grams (R-Minn.). It is opposed by several Cuban American groups.

To support its campaign the chamber rolled out an all-star cast of business and political figures. Joining Workman at the news conference were former House Ways and Means Committee chairman Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.), former senator Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.) and retired Marine Corps Gen. John J. Sheehan, former NATO supreme commander.

The "advisory council" includes former Treasury secretary Lloyd Bent-

sen; former Federal Reserve chairman Paul A. Volcker; former World Bank president A.W. Clausen; Benjamin Spock; David Rockefeller; former U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills; and Dwayne Andreas, chairman of the giant Archer Daniels Midland agribusiness company.

Joan Brown Campbell, executive secretary of the National Council of Churches and a supporter of the coalition, told the news conference via a telephone hookup that on a recent visit to Cuba, "I saw firsthand how U.S. restriction on the sale of food, medicine and medical supplies undermines health and nutrition in Cuba.... The National Council of Churches plans to

work hard to allow sales of food, medicines and medical supplies simply because it is the right thing to do."

A member of the group's executive committee, Delvis Fernandez Levy, executive director of the Cuban-American Alliance, said in a telephone interview that many Cuban Americans "agree that the policy is counterproductive, it is not getting rid of Castro and it is creating pain and misery for people in Cuba."

But Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-Fla.), a prominent Cuban American, said the Chamber of Commerce campaign "demonstrates a profound ignorance of Cuban reality and contributes to giving capitalism a bad name" and predicted the lobbying campaign will fail.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1998

Japanese Official Held Hostage

Rightist Frees Man After 5-Hour Standoff

By Kevin Sullivan
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, Jan. 14 (Wednesday)—A right-wing extremist armed with a handgun held a Finance Ministry official hostage at the Tokyo Stock Exchange for more than five hours Tuesday before surrendering peacefully.

Tetsuo Itagaki, 41, had demanded a meeting with Japanese Finance Minister Hiroshi Mitsuzuka and that trading on the exchange be halted. Both demands were denied; activity on the trading floor, located in another part of the building, continued uninterrupted while 400 police officers in bulletproof vests filled the building and the streets outside.

Itagaki is reportedly a member of one of Japan's many right-wing organizations, who profess fiercely nationalistic and xenophobic views and are often violent. Police said Itagaki was arrested in 1985 after throwing a firebomb at a government office to protest the construction of a housing complex for U.S. military personnel stationed in Japan.

Police said Itagaki was upset at the Japanese government's response to the financial crisis sweeping Asia. He told police that Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto's "Big Bang" proposals to open Japan's financial markets would result in the United States taking over Japan's financial system.

The crisis began at about 1 p.m. (12 a.m. Tuesday EST), when Itagaki, dressed in a suit, came to the exchange building and asked to meet with a Finance Ministry official who works there. He reportedly showed a business card that identified him as an executive with a film company. Although he had no appointment, he was shown into a waiting room and given a cup of tea.

When Masahiro Abe, the official, entered the room, Itagaki reportedly fired one shot into the ceiling and took Abe hostage. He slid a note outlining his demands under the door. Stock trading, which is conducted on a different floor of the building, continued until its usual closing time of 3 p.m.; stocks closed down slightly.

Itagaki surrendered at about 6:30 p.m. after talking to an unidentified high-ranking official of a right-wing group. The man apparently persuaded Itagaki to surrender, and Abe was released unharmed.

Mitsuzuka, the finance minister, was in the national parliament building on Tuesday seeking passage of a package of bills to respond to the nation's financial problems. He told reporters that armed confrontation was an unacceptable way to influence government policy.

"It is intolerable to challenge by violence the framework of a law-governed state," he said.

Outside the building, located in a busy downtown area, other right-wing extremists arrived in their sound trucks—armored buses and vans painted with nationalistic slogans and fitted with powerful sound systems. One rightist spoke into his microphone: "I have great sympathy for the man in this building," offering support for the hostage-taker.

Israel Delays West Bank Withdrawal

Palestinians Accused Of Reneging on Pledges

By Jeffrey Heller
Reuters

JERUSALEM, Jan. 13—Israel decided today not to carry out a troop pullback in the West Bank until the Palestinians meet what it said were commitments made a year ago in a U.S.-brokered document.

Palestinian leaders reacted angrily, accusing Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of trying to stall the long-delayed withdrawal further.

"The cabinet decided today that there can be no Israeli withdrawal before the Palestinians live up to their commitments according to the Hebron agreement and the Note for the Record," David Bar-Illan, a top Netanyahu aide, said. The cabinet acted in preparation for a meeting next Tuesday between Netanyahu and President Clinton.

The U.S.-negotiated Note for the Record accompanied the 1997 agreement on the handover of most of the West Bank town of Hebron to Palestinian rule.

Israel has accused the Palestinians of reneging on key pledges in the Hebron document, primarily to combat "systematically and effectively terrorist organizations and infrastructure" and to "complete the process of revising the Palestinian National Charter."

But the Palestinians say they have been making a genuine effort to curb attacks by Muslim militants and have already canceled clauses in the charter that Israel contends call for the Jewish state's destruction.

"The important thing is that we believe that if the Palestinians keep their side of the bargain, we'll keep our side of the bargain," Netanyahu told reporters.

Meanwhile there have been signs of closer Israeli-Palestinian cooperation in fighting Muslim militants. Israel said Monday that its forces working with Palestinian police in the West Bank seized guerrillas of the Muslim group Hamas who were planning attacks. In the West Bank city of Nablus today, Palestinian intelligence officers took reporters to an "explosives factory" uncovered in the operation.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1998

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1997
THE HERALD 31A

Examine options on Cuba

The following editorial is from The Los Angeles Times:

THE TIME comes when the broken relations between neighboring countries demand a hard look and consideration of change. That time is now for the United States and Cuba.

Thirty-nine years ago, when Fidel Castro brought Soviet-style communism to the Western Hemisphere, Washington's hard trade embargo made some sense politically. Not now. Now Castro and Cuba stand in the international shadows. The Cuban people deserve a break. Lifting the embargo enough to allow U.S. companies to sell them food, medicines, and medical equipment could bring them relief.

In Castro's long reign, the people have suffered under an obsolete economic and political system that has deprived them of the most elementary freedoms. Their plight has been exacerbated by the embargo, which made life more painful while failing to rewrite political realities. Suddenly, a handful of forces are coming together that could create historic change. It's time to examine the options.

Two U.S. senators, Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., and John Warner, R-Va., have introduced a bill to allow the sale and export of food, medicines, and medical equipment to Cuba. A similar bill was introduced in the House by Rep. Esteban Edward Torres, D-Calif., and a group of Republican congressmen led by Rep. James A. Leach, R-Iowa. Both bills have been endorsed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The timing of the bills may be auspicious. A new generation of Cuban Americans, people who played no role in the 1958 revolution or the fumbled attempts at counterrevolution, are replacing the hard-line exiles who have shaped U.S. policy toward Cuba. A recent survey [taken in Miami-

Dade County] by Florida International University showed that 77 percent of Cuban Americans between 18 and 29 opposed the embargo against the regime that their parents and grandparents fled.

Miami's Cuban community, too, is changing politically. The impact of anti-Castro politicians and the propaganda of hard-line radio stations is fading in the second generation of the Cuban diaspora. The recent death of Jorge Mas Canosa, a capable political operator who heavily influenced Washington's Cuba policy, has created a leadership void that a more-moderate generation will fill.

It was Mas Canosa, the man who wanted to be . . . president of Cuba, who championed the 1996 Helms-Burton Act, legislation that effectively eliminated normalization of relations with Havana as long as Fidel Castro and his brother, Raul, remain in power. Helms-Burton turned into law what was a U.S. foreign-policy formulation, essentially codifying the embargo imposed by President Kennedy in 1963 and other sanctions pressed against Cuba since then.

The negative effects of Helms-Burton have created unnecessary frictions between the United States and its most important trade partners, Canada, Mexico, and the European Union. In effect, the law transfers from the executive to Congress the authority to dictate U.S. policy in a post-Castro Cuba.

Congress should pay close attention to what Pope John Paul II has been able to achieve even before his planned visit to Cuba in January. Hundreds of Western journalists will be roaming the country before, during, and after the papal visit. Cuban Americans will be permitted entry to visit their relatives. Christmas will be celebrated as an official holiday. This may be a changing Cuba, and Washington would do well to look for positive opportunities.

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ROBERT MENENDEZ
13TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3013

November 8, 1997

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The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

NOV 12 PM 5:07

Dear Mr. President:

I was extremely surprised and disappointed by your remarks on U.S. policy toward Cuba while traveling in Latin America last month.

As a member of the House Democratic leadership and as someone who has defended this administration to the Cuban-American community in Florida and New Jersey time and time again, I find it extremely disconcerting that you would give credence to your critics and disassociate yourself from U.S. policy toward Cuba. Your statement implied that the embargo and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act are in place only because of "hardliners in Miami."

The Libertad Act has been the most effective tools ever employed by the United States in its policy toward Cuba. In the past one and one-half years, since you signed the Libertad Act into law we have seen more positive movements from the nations of the European Union and Latin America toward Cuba than in the preceding thirty-seven years combined.

The European Union's Common Position on Cuba, the public acknowledgment of human rights abuses and calls for democracy and the concern by some Ibero-American nations about holding the 1999 Ibero-American Summit in Cuba are derivatives of your signing the Libertad Act. The world has begun to see the reality of life in Cuba and it has begun to tire of Castro's rhetoric and tyranny.

In the same way that other ethnic communities exercise their right to lobby their government on issues of U.S. foreign policy, the Cuban-American community should not chided for advocating for measures which will promote the advent of democracy in Cuba.

I hope that the Cuban-American community and the Cuban people can continue to count on your support and leadership to advance the day when Cuba joins the host of democratic nations in the Western Hemisphere.

Sincerely,

ROBERT MENENDEZ
Member of Congress

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

12/17/97

FOR STEVE RONNEL

Per your request.

CHRIS BURRELL

X 69171

SDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1997, THE HERALD 23A

Younger Cubans, exiles want a new Cuba

TORONTO — In Canada and Spain, far from Miami's unproductive hothouse politics, the death of Jorge Mas Canosa has led to quiet reassessments about Cuba's future after Fidel Castro, now 72, also has departed.

Assuming that a peaceful post-Castro succession takes place, a prognosis is growing that many Cubans in their 40s and early 50s in business in Miami and in government in Havana will want to work together to restore Cuba.

Largely free of the vengeance and anger that still consumes so many of their aging parents who cannot forget life in pre-revolutionary Cuba, this new generation will want to change Cuba "their way."

The suggestion that Cuban Americans and Havana-based Cubans can work together in Cuba sometime soon sounds as revolutionary as the Cuban Revolution itself. Yet recent scholarly surveys in Miami, and many private admissions by the young technocrats managing Havana's state ministries to Canadians working in Cuba, deliver the same firm message: They want a U.S.-Cuba dialogue to commence soon.

A "benchmark poll" by Florida International University [funded by The Miami Herald] and reported in June revealed that among young Cubans, 74 percent favored dialogue. That compared with 33 percent of those 65 or older.

Certainly after almost four decades of trying, the confrontational methods that the United States has used against Cuba — including the 36-year-old U.S. embargo and last year's Helms-Burton law — have not worked. The embargo's long-term effects will make Cuba's recovery from



**JOHN D.
HARBON**

utterly to unseat Castro, who has survived eight U.S. presidents from Eisenhower to Clinton and now has outlived Mas Canosa.

In Havana many senior bureaucrats worry about Cuba's severely deteriorating economy as they cope with the threats of the Helms-Burton law against desperately needed but now-wary foreign operators.

Any future associations between Cuban technocrats, who have worked in Castro's ministries, and Cuban-American executives trained in the U.S. open-market economy are likely to be prickly.

For example, outsiders surely will want to eliminate the inefficient state-funded social programs of the long Castro era. But the surviving bureaucrats from the Castro era, trained in the mixed economies of Canada and European democracies whose governments long have sustained both the private sector and such state-supported programs as universal health care — rejected in the United States — will agree that social programs can be improved but not shut down.

No longer isolated from the outside world, many of these Cuban officials would open a dialogue — if they could.

If all this sounds like "blue sky," remember: Castro has been appointing new members to his Cabinet and the senior bureaucracy from among a young cadre of Cubans who are not veterans of the original revolutionary struggle.

Chief among them are two of Latin America's most impressive technocrats. They are Vice President Carlos Lage, 44, a skilled economist in charge of Cuba's joint-venture program who has been called "Cuba's undeclared prime minister"; and Roberto Robaina Gonzalez, 47, Castro's foreign minister, who is highly regarded around Latin America for his negotiating skills.

During a Canadian-government trade mission to Cuba in 1975, former Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, veteran Cuban Communist Party intellectual who was called "uncle of the revolution," told me that "it is easier for a nun to change into a monk than for an exile in Miami to return home and become a Cuban again." He died Dec. 8 at 84.

If "history will absolve me," as the onetime student revolutionary Fidel Castro prognosticated in July 1953, it will also — ultimately — prove Rodriguez wrong.

The pope and Cuba

The Cubans celebrated Christmas this year — for the first time in almost 20 years. In Fidel Castro's Cuba, you see, Christmas is generally not on the calendar, replaced instead with a none-too-festive day of sugarcane harvesting. In a workers' paradise such as Cuba, who needs the opium of the masses, as Karl Marx contemptuously described religion?

But this year is different. In a little less than a month, on Jan. 21 to be precise, Pope John Paul II will pay a visit to Cuba, the first ever by a pontiff since Fidel's revolution in 1959, and as a courtesy, Mr. Castro generously allowed his subjects a privilege that Christians in free countries the world over consider a basic right. Communism, wherever this holdover of the 20th century's darkest days still exists, be it in Cuba or Communist China, still remains hostile to religious beliefs, which in the nature of things cannot be controlled by the state. As the head of the Roman Catholic Church, the pope will be the visible symbol of that which the state cannot extinguish, try as hard as it may.

It is fairly clear that Mr. Castro did not extend the invitation out of a sudden 11th-hour conversion in his advancing years. Cuba is feeling the impact of the Cuban Freedom Act, also known as the Helms-Burton bill, which penalizes foreign companies trading in the property of American citizens in Cuba. Despite the fact that President Clinton repeatedly has waived the legislation's harshest measures, it has had a distinctly discouraging effect on foreign companies eyeing lucrative business deals there. Mr. Castro is looking for all the help he can get to slip out from under its strictures, and Pope John Paul II is on the record opposing embargoes.

What the pope could really do for Cuba, however, probably bears little resemblance to what Fidel Castro has in mind. Having lived through both the

occupation of Poland by Nazi Germany and by the communists, he knows better than most of us the nature of totalitarianism. Throughout the 1980s, the pope's support was crucial for the Polish church's role in its resistance against the Communist regime. The church worked hand in hand with the Solidarity labor movement. By the late 1980s, as went Poland, so went the rest of Central and Eastern Europe.

This is not to say that churches have always served such a function. East Germany's protestant churches and Russia's Orthodox Church managed accommodation with the state. And, in Cuba, the relationship between the church and the state has undergone some changes in recent years. While the 1960s saw hard-core repression of religion, including persecution and church burnings, in recent years, the climate has eased up some. Church attendance has grown, with Catholic missions and some protestant denominations, for example, the Methodists, gaining ground and aiding in the distribution of international humanitarian aid. There is an understanding, though, that there will be no challenge to the state from the churches that are allowed to operate. Priests who do not abide by this find themselves given the same rough treatment as other dissidents.

In the United States, an intense debate has broken out among members of the Cuban American community. Some want to take advantage of the lifted State Department ban on travel to Cuba. Others still refuse to set foot in their former homeland until Mr. Castro is gone for good. That is not the real issue here. The real issue is the hope he brings the million Cubans who will watch him celebrate mass in the Plaza de la Revolucion in Havana. For the rest of us, the world media will bring us this notable event. We might let it remind us not to ease up the pressure until Mr. Castro allows Cubans to have their Christmas every year and — a real elected government to boot.

Make this polluter pay

It pumps millions of tons of sinister greenhouse gases into the atmosphere each year. It flouts with impunity the consensus of the recently concluded climate-change talks in Kyoto, Japan. And it would no doubt similarly defy any climate-change treaty that the governments of the world could bring themselves to sign in an effort to save the planet from future warming.

If it were an individual or business, it might be in jail by now. But it is neither. This mean-spirited environmental saboteur is none other than Yellowstone National Park.

According to Penn State researchers, Yellowstone produces an estimated 44 million tons of carbon dioxide each year. That's the odorless, colorless incombustible gas linked, among others, to global warming. In a paper presented to the American Geophysical Union meeting in San Francisco this month, Cindy Werner and Susan Brantley reported that hot springs and thermal vents in the park's Mud Volcano area emitted some 176,300 tons of carbon dioxide annually. Extrapolating from those numbers, the researchers suggested the entire park may generate about 44 million tons of the gas each year. The average power plant in this country produces 10 times less, or about 4.4 million tons.

"[We] expect," the two scientists said in a study abstract, "the carbon dioxide emissions derived from the Yellowstone geothermal/volcanic system could be a significant contributor to the worldwide CO₂ emissions, and we stress that other geothermal systems should be quantified for global carbon budgets."

These findings are significant because some sci-

entists believe rising concentrations of carbon dioxide help to trap heat in the atmosphere, raising planetary thermometers, melting polar ice caps and flooding countries around the globe. Man-made emissions have borne most of the blame in the press for this gloomy outlook even though 1) the biggest greenhouse gas of all — constituting more than 90 percent of all such emissions — is good old, all-natural water vapor; and 2) it's not clear such emissions are driving up world temperatures in the first place.

The Kyoto talks were supposed to help generate emission caps on the tiny fraction that man produces, thereby reducing gas levels and averting disaster. To fulfill their end of the bargain, for example, U.S. consumers would have to slash projected consumption of oil and coal by as much as 30 percent. They would have to give up their minivans and sport utility vehicles for more environmentally sensitive econoboxes. They would have to rely on more efficient light bulbs and air conditioners, assuming such luxuries are still available.

The Yellowstone study is a timely reminder that man is not the environmental thug activists would have you believe. Indeed it appears that insofar as it is possible to say the environment is being mugged, the mugger may be the environment itself.

So if environmentalists are serious about "doing something" about global warming, they should seek the arrest of Old Faithful for unauthorized emissions and make sure this particular polluter pays for what it is doing to the planet.

Or, better, they could acknowledge, as many scientists have suggested, that there is no global warming crisis and leave Yellowstone and man alone.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1997

Waning legal defense fund officially closed as Clintons head for sun, fun By William Neikirk Chicago Tribune (KRT)

HILTON HEAD, S.C. One of the many topics discussed by prominent Americans at the annual Renaissance Weekend is how to spend a million dollars, but President Clinton, who arrived Tuesday, has a much more challenging problem how to raise \$3 million to pay his legal bills.

His legal defense fund announced it was shutting down after a huge decline in contributions. Through the first 11 months of 1997, the three-year-old fund brought in less than \$80,000, not enough to pay the year's expenses of more than \$92,000.

The president thanked the people who contributed to the Presidential Legal Expense Trust and those who ran it, then asked the White House legal counsel's office to look into "the ethical and legal requirements" for raising the money he will need to represent himself in the future.

White House deputy news secretary Joseph Lockhart said the counsel's office is looking into "a different kind of trust or vehicle that can be more effective. ..."

The White House blamed negative publicity from the campaign finance scandal for the dropoff in giving to the fund, which took in \$1.3 million and paid legal bills of \$766,134 since it was established in 1994.

Most of the money went for paying legal expenses in the Whitewater investigation, but Clinton also owes \$171,813 in legal bills from the fund-raising scandal.

One of the president's old friends, Yah Lin "Charlie" Trie, a former Arkansas restaurateur and international businessman, dealt the biggest blow to the fund. After Trie delivered \$640,000 in donations to the fund, its trustees questioned the origin of much of the money and decided to return all of it.

"The notoriety associated with that incident had a chilling effect on contributions to the trust fund," said Michael Cardozo, the fund's executive director. "There is no question the notoriety hurt us."

The defense fund also had been hampered by a restriction that barred trustees from soliciting donations, but Cardozo said he believed the challenges to raising money for the president's legal defense can be overcome. The fund will stop accepting checks dated after Dec. 31, 1997.

Among those who gave the maximum \$1,000 to the fund in 1997 were Judith McHale, chief executive of Discovery Communications, which operates the Discovery cable channel; author Jean Auel; New York insurance executive Walter Kaye; and Washington lawyer Philip Verveer, whose wife is chief of staff for First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Clinton also has huge legal expenses from defending a sexual harassment suit filed by Paula Corbin Jones, but so far an insurance policy has met most of those expenses.

According to the trustees of the fund, it has paid \$766,134 of Clinton's and the first lady's legal bills, with another \$3 million owed. Of the unpaid bills, \$2.7 million is owed to Clinton's Whitewater attorney, David Kendall.

Though the mounting legal bills have concerned the president in the past, he seemed in a good mood as he came to this island resort to attend the Renaissance Weekend gathering of leaders from various walks of life and to play some golf.

He brought along his dog, Buddy, who got his first ride on Air Force One. "He's a happy little camper," said Clinton, who carried the dog down the stairs of the airplane. Socks, the family cat, was left home because, Clinton explained, he might damage hotel carpets with his claws.

Clinton also revealed Buddy and Socks do not get along. "I still haven't reconciled him with Socks yet," he said. "But I am working at it. I almost got them together." He said when he returns from his trip, reconciling the two will be his first project.

The Renaissance Weekend, started in 1981 by Philip Lader, now the U.S. ambassador to Britain, and his wife, Linda Lesourd Lader, attracted 1,500 opinion leaders who talked about topics ranging from the nature of virtue, the changing roles of men and women, capital gains and estate taxes, sailing the South Pacific, and what to do with a million dollars.

Partly a serious conference on major topics and partly a schmoozefest of leaders of the Baby Boom generation, the event has helped generate interest in issues that ultimately have led changing to national policies, such as reforming welfare, Lader said.

The Clintons will take part in a discussion with the other invitees on New Year's Eve. "The general theme is the road ahead," Lader said.

If all goes as planned, the president and first lady will join others

around a piano on New Year's Eve and sing "Auld Lang Syne" and "God Bless America" to ring in a new year. Then they will depart for a vacation in the Virgin Islands.

Tyson Foods Pleads Guilty to Giving Illegally to Clinton Official By Naftali Bendavid, Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON -Dec. 30--Tyson Foods Inc., the world's largest poultry processor, agreed to plead guilty Monday and pay a \$6 million penalty for giving illegal gifts to former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy, marking a legal setback for Espy and a political one for President Clinton.

The \$6 million penalty, although large by some standards, is a pittance for a company the size of Tyson, whose annual sales exceed \$5 billion. But it is significant because Tyson -- which is based in Springdale, Ark., and is a powerhouse in that state -- had close ties to Clinton when he was governor.

While there is no suggestion of improper dealings between Tyson and Clinton, the guilty plea adds to the president's ethical embarrassments. It bolsters the image, pushed by his opponents, of Clinton as a product of a murky Arkansas world of shady business and political deals.

The plea was a victory for independent counsel Donald Smaltz and it could affect the upcoming trial of Espy, who is charged with accepting improper gratuities from Tyson and others. Tyson essentially pleaded guilty to trying to influence government policy through illegal means.

The plea agreement cannot be directly introduced at Espy's upcoming trial. But it seems likely that Smaltz's team will find a way to mention it.

Tyson had important business before USDA, Smaltz's office says. When Espy led it, USDA officials were considering imposing labeling requirements that would have cost Tyson \$30 million. Meanwhile, according to the plea, Tyson gave Espy gifts valued at about \$12,000.

The gifts included air travel for Espy and his girlfriend to a birthday party in Arkansas, a \$1,200 scholarship for the woman and tickets to a football game between the Dallas Cowboys and Green Bay Packers.

Until Monday, Tyson had defended itself against Smaltz's charges with unusual vigor. But company lawyer Thomas Green said the investigation was taking a toll on Tyson.

"Its attention was being diverted from its principal task of producing quality products," Green said. "And from what we could tell, Smaltz was committed to stay on for the next 20 years and pursue everything under the sun."

Smaltz wasted little time trumpeting the guilty plea.

"Such conduct must continue to invite outrage, never passivity," he pronounced. "Our government is the government of all the people, and not just the privileged few who seek to buy their way into regulatory grace."

Espy's lawyer, Reid Weingarten, sought to minimize the importance of Tyson's plea to his client.

"Tyson's corporate decision to settle the independent counsel's burdensome and expensive investigation by pleading guilty to a single count does not implicate Mike Espy," Weingarten said. "Mr. Espy is fully confident that he will be fully vindicated on the merits at trial."

During his three-year tenure, Smaltz has often infuriated his targets -- and not a few critics -- who believe he has run roughshod over the agribusiness industry in an attempt to make a name for himself and score political points.

Smaltz, who has spent perhaps \$8 million on his investigation, has been accused of chasing targets who never would have been pursued by ordinary prosecutors, and who have little to do with Espy.

Smaltz has successfully convicted seven individuals, four corporations and a law firm. On the other hand, four of his targets have won acquittals -- an unusual losing streak for an independent counsel. Among those acquitted is Espy's brother Henry, who was accused of making false statements and violating election laws.

Smaltz has aggressively taken on the Justice Department. When it resisted his attempts to expand his investigation, Smaltz appealed to the courts, which granted his request. Earlier this month, Smaltz appeared before Congress to blast Justice for interfering with his work.

All this has earned Smaltz his share of enemies as well as admirers. While Monday's announcement may help his cause, it is unlikely to quiet his critics, who see Smaltz as the embodiment of all that is wrong with the independent counsel system.

"You focus an incredible amount of resources on one particular individual or few individuals," said E. Lawrence Barcella, who represented a client targeted by a previous independent counsel. "It



CAPITOL LOVE FEAST

Brother, Can You Spare a Payroll Cut?

EVERYBODY LOVES THE WORKIN' STIFF, especially with an election year coming up. Which is why Washington witnessed a rare political alignment last week as leaders from both parties pushed credits, reductions or deductions of the tax that hits the lunch-box crowd hardest: the payroll tax. While many Republicans talk about lowering income-tax rates, Senate majority leader **TRENT LOTT** last week named making payroll taxes deductible as a more likely reform. And, hey, Democrat **TED KENNEDY's** a big fan too, listing a cut as a top priority for next year. In a



Lott

private make-nice meeting last week with House Democratic minority leader **DICK GEPHARDT**, White House chief of staff **ERSKINE BOWLES** said the Administration wants to champion its own idea. That support is likely to help overcome the claim that payroll-tax meddling imperils the Social Security system it funds. Now it's a race to see who gets the credit. As Lott told TIME, "You want to do something that would affect the blue-collar American? Buddy, this is it."
—By John F. Dickerson/Washington

CUBA LIBRE

Is Fidel Getting Religion, Or Just Tourist Dollars?

IT SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN A FORM OF divine intervention for the U.S. to loosen its embargo against Cuba just a tiny bit. To help **POPE JOHN PAUL II's** visit there next month, Washington will allow a cruise



Castro

ship, some church supplies and as many as 10 chartered airline flights to take pilgrims from Miami to Havana. Might this be the start of a thaw? Well, one U.S. official noted that **FIDEL**

CASTRO "is saying things he never said before," including asking a group of Protestants to pray for his country. National Security Adviser **SANDY BERGER** explained it this way: Washington "wants the Pope's visit to have a lasting effect." But no formal review of Cuba policy is under way, and no one expects John Paul to convert the communist graybeard to democracy and capitalism.
—By Douglas Waller and J.F.O. McAllister/Washington

THE MICROSOFT CHRONICLES

World Domination May Just Have to Wait



IT'S OFFICIAL: WINDOWS 98 IS in play. Last week Federal Judge **THOMAS PENFIELD JACKSON** ordered Microsoft to stop forcing PC makers to include its Explorer Web browser on Windows 95 machines, at least until

Harvard law professor **LAWRENCE LESSIG** completes a study of the company's business practices as they relate to federal antitrust law. A Lessig conclusion that Microsoft's plan to knit Explorer into the upcoming Windows 98 system violates antitrust statutes could mean the biggest antitrust battle since the Feds broke up Ma Bell in the 1980s. The stakes? Just the future of Windows: which is to say the PC; which is to say the Net; which is to say human civilization as we know it. Both Lessig's report and Win 98 are due next spring. But for now, lawyers and lobbyists, start your engines!
—By Michael Krantz

THE GLORIOUS INVALID

Simon Agonistes?

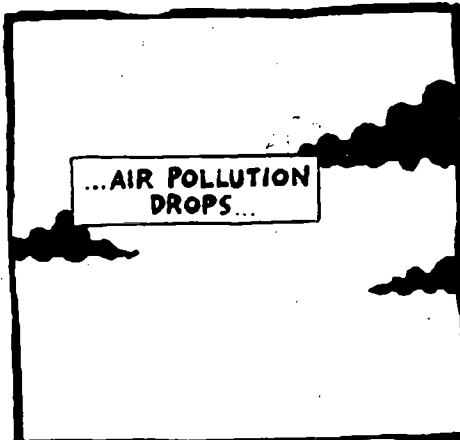
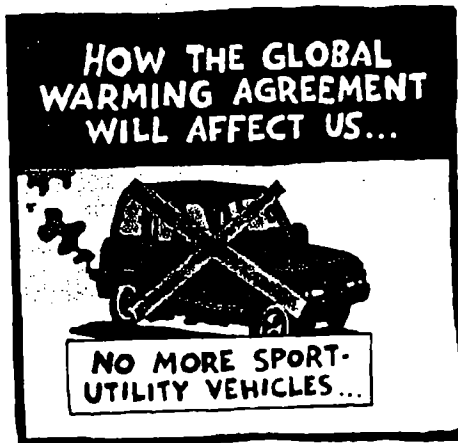
BACKERS OF THE CAPEMAN. **PAUL SIMON's** much ballyhooed musical, are doing their best to spin away the bad word of mouth the Broadway show is



Simon and friends

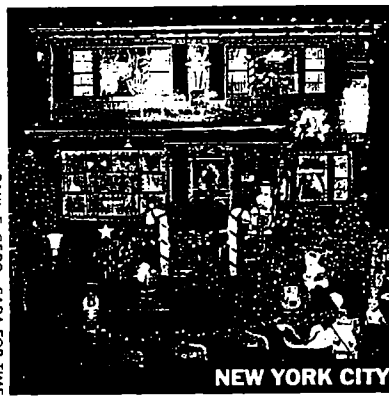
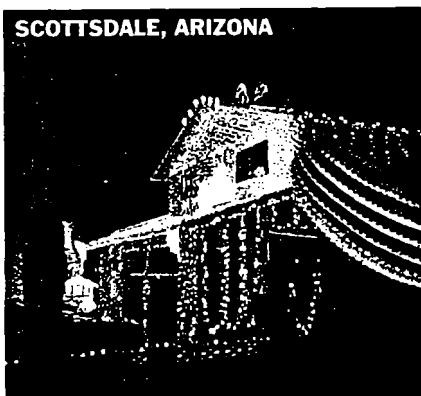
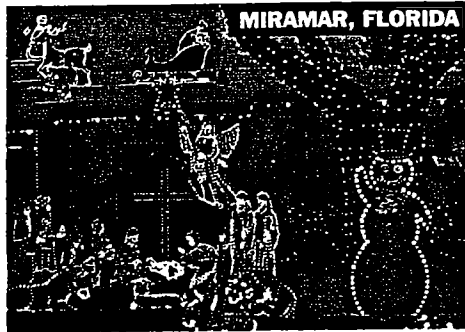
getting in previews. Too slow. Too static. Too earnest. In fact, Simon et al. are busy making cuts and changes. He's also writing a new number for star **RUBEN BLADES** and trying to give the show a much needed boost of energy. Director and choreographer **MARK MORRIS** is still in charge, but such old hands as **MIKE NICHOLS**, British director **NICHOLAS HYTNER** and Simon's buddy **LORNE MICHAELS** have been called in for advice. The opening, at least for now, is scheduled for Jan. 8.
—By Richard Zoglin

THE DRAWING BOARD



That Xmas Glow

LET THERE BE LIGHTS. AND there are. All across America. These days electrification is as much a Christmas tradition as sugar-plum fairies. The more bulbs (say 10,000 to 50,000), the merrier. Our illuminating selection of homes that drive-by gawkers—and utilities—love to see:



Out of the Claus-et

ONCE UPON A TIME, THE BIG THRILL FOR young wisenheimers who perched on Santa's lap was to pull off the old guy's fake beard. But these days, accord-



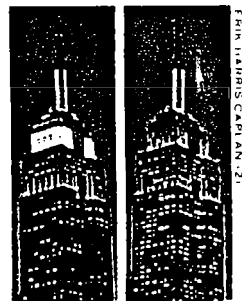
ing to a new study, 95% of mall Santas are "Natural Santas"—that is, they have their own beard. Other Santa stats:

- 95%: Have a round belly**
- 225 lbs.: Average weight**
- 56.9: Average age**
- 5 ft. 8 in.: Average height**
- 66%: Attended college or have a graduate degree**
- 8.55: Average years of Santa experience**

Source: 1997 General Growth Properties Santa Survey

Candle of Many Colors

YES, MALLORY, THERE IS A LEONA Helmsley. Thanks to the persistent pleas of nine-year-old New Yorker Mallory Blair Greitzer, the Empire State Building's overseer has agreed to bathe the skyscraper in blue and white on Dec. 23 to mark the first night of Hanukkah. The usual red and green that adorn the spire during the Christmas season will return the next evening.



HEALTH REPORT

THE GOOD NEWS

BOTTOMS UP! Go ahead, raise a glass. The largest study yet on alcohol's effect on health concludes that a drink a day can improve longevity. Those who benefit most: middle-age folks who have had a heart attack or stroke, or are otherwise at risk for heart disease.

SPECIAL DELIVERY A new epidural blocks labor pain without impeding Mom's ability to move her legs or walk. The injection combines a morphine-like drug with a low-dose anesthetic.

YES, YAM! Low-dose estrogen derived from yams and soy may protect women from osteoporosis just as well as today's higher-dose pills (made from horse urine). And it has fewer side effects.

Sources: *New England Journal of Medicine* (1,2), *Archives of Internal Medicine*



THE BAD NEWS

SAVE YOUR BREATH Wonder why allergies seem to run in families? Think genes. Doctors have identified a specific genetic mutation that can increase a person's odds of developing allergies a whopping tenfold.

FOWL FLU Several people in Hong Kong have contracted a deadly strain of influenza previously found only in birds. The big concern: it could be passed from person to person—and eventually spread worldwide.

SHAKY DEFIBRILLATORS Warning. Because of a software error, the implantable defibrillator Ventak AV may make the heart race. The device needn't be removed but should be adjusted by a doctor.

Source: *New England Journal of Medicine*, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, <http://www.cdc.gov>

Letters

Al Gore's politically revised Christmas Gospel

Al Gore should put down "Love Story" and reread his Bible. According to your Inside the Beltway column ("The homeless," Dec. 24), the vice president said, "2,000 years ago a homeless woman gave birth to a homeless child in a manger because the inn was full." Not quite true. Joseph and Mary were only temporarily homeless — because of the government. I quote from Luke, the controlling legal authority:

"And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed, everyone into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth [his home], into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; To be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. And so it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered" (Luke 2:1-6).

So, Mr. Gore, what drove Joseph and Mary from their home? Not war, not a shortage of affordable housing, not meanspirited cuts in the welfare and social safety net by the majority party. What forced Mary and Joseph to be away from home and hearth at Jesus' birth were taxes and the equivalent of the

How many Americans today can feel their pain!

MARC BEAUCHAMP
Falls Church

How long will the liberal media not challenge the Democrats when they label Joseph, Mary and the baby Jesus as homeless?

Jesse Jackson and other blabbed such lies during the 1992 campaign, and now Vice President Al Gore speaks such from his own religious tradition.

But the Gospel according to Luke clearly indicates that Joseph was living in Nazareth (not homeless) when he had to travel for the tax census. A lack of room at an inn does not make one homeless.

Further, the Gospel according to Matthew notes that while Jesus was still in Bethlehem the wise men came into the house to present their gifts. So for the visitors, even the stable was only temporary. To call them homeless is flat-out lying.

LARRY BICKFORD
San Jose, Calif.

Vice President Al Gore is doing to the Christmas Gospel what he has

already done to environmental science — rewriting it to bolster a liberal political agenda. On Dec. 22, while announcing new spending programs for the homeless and trying to drum up support for another big government solution, he made the following comment:

"And speaking from my own religious tradition in this Christmas season, 2,000 years ago a homeless woman gave birth to a homeless child in a manger because the inn was full."

Here are the facts straight from the Gospel according to St. Luke: Mary, the mother of Jesus, was not homeless; the child she bore was not a homeless child; and she was not a single mother. She and her husband, Joseph, were on a journey in response to a government mandate created for the purpose of collecting taxes.

A big, powerful government was the reason they left their home in Nazareth to travel to Bethlehem. True, the Gospel says they could not find accommodations for the night, but that did not make them homeless. Let's deal with homelessness in sensible, effective ways without invoking a politically correct revision of the Christian Gospel.

DAVID LACK
Alexandria

U.S. embargo on Cuba is punishing the sick and needy

Benjamin Tyree's commentary about coming to terms with Cuba is long overdue ("Coming to terms with the outcast," Dec. 4).

Last month, I participated in a nonpartisan study tour to Cuba — duly licensed by the U.S. Department of the Treasury and sponsored by the International Policy Institute. We discovered the friendliness of the Cuban people and the gentle push toward change that 1 million tourists paying in dollars is giving to the outdated state-run economy. And the Pope's visit next month gives us a rare opportunity to move toward "normalizing relations."

The time has come for all Americans to support the passage of SB 1391 and HR 1951, two bills in Congress that would lift part of the Cuban embargo so that needy children and women can receive the medicine, vitamins and medical procedures to which they are enti-

led. The fight against breast cancer, for example, is almost as American as apple pie these days. In Cuba, however, mammograms are severely rationed because the machines needed are blocked by the U.S. embargo. The U.S. embargo adds, as told to us by Cuba's deputy health minister, \$400 million in higher costs for drugs, equipment and freight.

Further, both the rector of Havana University and the director of the Pediatric Hospital complained about doctors and professors who are invited to present papers and participate in international medical scientific symposiums in the United States being denied visas by the United States.

Finally, we discovered that Americans are being denied access to Cuban medicines and vaccines that could benefit our own health — specifically PPG (possibly the best

cholesterol-control drug in the world), meningitis A and B vaccines for children and experimental cancer treatments, to mention a few examples.

The United States could also learn from the Cuban family doctor, AIDS prevention and family planning programs, which work extraordinarily well under a very difficult economic situation.

Punishing children and sick people is an approach unworthy of this country. Promoting more scientific medical exchanges and allowing sick Americans access to the best drugs available — even if they are Cuban — need to be emphasized as we re-evaluate what is an outdated approach to Cuba, namely the embargo.

JIM ROBINSON
Arlington

Who will help the disabled children who were denied SSI benefits?

Your editorial, "Correcting the errors of SSI," (Dec. 19) is unfortunate in that it contains numerous inaccuracies and misconstrues the Arc's views of the Social Security Administration's plan to review certain cases in which Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits to children were denied.

To set the record straight, allegations of fraud in the children's SSI program were studied by four separate bodies. Fraud was found to be virtually nonexistent. I will leave it to the Social Security Administration to correct your other factual inaccuracies about the SSI eligibility and appeals process.

Let me clarify the Arc's views regarding the Social Security Administration's action. We are pleased that Social Security Administration officials, having acknowledged problems with the imple-

mentation of the new eligibility standards, are taking corrective action to ensure that children who meet the program's eligibility requirements receive its benefits. We are pleased that children with disabilities and their families, through a reopening of the appeals process, will have full access to the appeal rights provided by the Social Security statute.

By renotifying families, the Social Security Administration is attempting to correct problems discovered within its own system and to ensure a fair process for all children involved. We would hope that a major newspaper like The Washington Times would have an interest in protecting the most vulnerable families in our community — those with extremely low incomes who are raising children with severe disabilities at home.

The Arc is indeed delighted that a number of our constituents will return to the SSI program as they rightly deserve. However, any joy is tempered with the knowledge that at least 100,000 other children with disabilities from very poor families will have lost essential support. The children's disabilities have not disappeared and their families will face an even greater financial struggle in caring for them without the SSI benefits. Since the Congress and the administration have washed their hands of them for now, who will help them?

MARTHA E. FORD
Assistant director
of governmental affairs
The Arc of the United States
Washington

■ The Arc is the new name of the Association for Retarded Citizens.

allout generated at Kyoto

The Clinton administration's new Kyoto, Japan, treaty on global warming may rank as the most important foreign policy initiative undertaken by the United States since the end of the Cold War.

Not since the round of strategic arms control agreements pursued by Ronald Reagan and George Bush will an international accord have such a far-reaching impact on national security, the protection of U.S. sovereignty and, more broadly, the American way of life.

With so much at stake, it is strange that the Clinton administration — in almost cavalier fashion — appears to have abandoned the hard-won lessons of a generation of tough negotiations with the former Soviet Union. The result is a seriously flawed agreement that is almost certain to bedevil the United States for years to come, even if never ratified.

From a foreign policy perspective, the agreement reflects four fundamental shortcomings:

•Preemptive concessions: After staking out a clear position prior to Kyoto at odds with most of the international community, the administration appears to have consciously capitulated in short order on a number of critical issues, especially in the area of greenhouse gas emissions reductions and the exclusion of such major economies as China, India, Indonesia and Mexico from the agreement.

The exclusion of these key emerging markets is not only bad economics and environmental policy, but by creating exceptions for specific states it has created a dangerous diplomatic precedent for future arms control and trade negotiations.

Why couldn't the administration just hang tough at Kyoto? At the famous U.S.-Soviet summit at Reykjavik a decade ago, Mikhail Gorbachev offered to give up the Russian advantage in offensive missiles if Mr. Reagan would agree to scuttle his Strategic Defense Initiative. Mr. Reagan, of course, refused, and the result was that Moscow finally agreed to mutual missile reductions without constraining U.S. strategic defenses. Maybe the venue for the follow-up conference on the Kyoto accord should be moved from Buenos Aires to Iceland.

•Inadequate verification: The

Kyoto agreement clearly violates Mr. Reagan's basic negotiating dictum — trust but verify. In the 1991 strategic arms reduction treaty signed by Messrs. Bush and Gorbachev, the verification annexes to the agreement alone were over 2,000 pages long.

With the Kyoto accord, which could reduce U.S. energy consumption by more than 30 percent by 2010, verification is essentially an afterthought. To commit to such goals without really knowing whether and how they will be monitored — both here and more importantly abroad — is a major blunder.

•International intrusion: Without any clear and precise implementation and enforcement plans, the Kyoto agreement creates an open invitation for the United Nations and other international organizations to fill the void regardless of the impact on U.S. sovereignty. Indeed, at least three international agencies are reportedly already competing for new missions and new budgets connected to the Kyoto treaty — the International Energy Agency, the World Bank and the United Nations Conference and Trade and Development.

Clinton administration officials

have promised that Kyoto would not be allowed to produce any United Nations "green hats," but then agreed to the establishment of a "Framework Convention on Climate Change Secretariat," an international body that, according to the administration, will serve as "the bookkeeper for tracking emissions inventories and budget adjustments."

•Diplomatic cynicism: Politically, some analysts have begun to argue that we need not worry too much about Kyoto, that it is a "feel good" accord designed mainly for its public relations value at home and abroad. If true, this is a highly dangerous development, for it relegates U.S. foreign policy to a level of self-delusion displayed by the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, in which a U.S. secretary of state took the lead in a romantic and misguided effort to ban war as an act of diplomacy.

If the Kyoto accord is nothing more than a cynical exercise to win the support of the environment lobby in the 1998 elections and beyond, the administration looks manipulative and runs the risk of jeopardizing more serious diplomatic enterprises, such as NATO expansion and fast-track trade authority.

In some respects, we have unfortunately seen this movie before. In the 1970s and 1980s as the nuclear arms race gained prominence on the international agenda, support for a range of extremist arms control options, including unilateral disarmament, grew among Democrats on Capitol Hill, in the press and in academic circles. One particularly dangerous idea was the "nuclear freeze," a favorite of then-Sen. Al Gore, which would have halted the Reagan military buildup and legalized Moscow's superiority in several important classes of weaponry.

The freeze idea was resisted, and U.S. negotiators were able to go on to patiently negotiate agreements that actually reduced the nuclear threat facing the nation. Just as Mr. Gore was wrong in the 1980s with the nuclear freeze, he is wrong now. With the Kyoto agreement, he and his boss are practicing the 1990s version of unilateral disarmament.

Richard Burt served as assistant secretary of state and U.S. ambassador to Germany during the Reagan administration and chief strategic arms control negotiator in the Bush administration.



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