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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. memo | Morton Halperin to Deputies Committee re: Summary of conclusions on Cuba (3 pages) | 08/22/1994 | P1/b(1) |
| 002. memo | William Itoh to Deputies Committee re: Summary of conclusions on Cuba (3 pages) | 08/19/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Political Affairs
 Joan Baggett
 OA/Box Number: 4055

FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba

2016-0920-F

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Jorge Mas Canosa

305-968-7632

Tara
 Have Keith
 Macon call
 it's OMB
 regarding
 Chile's question

JOAN N. BAGGETT

PHONE CALL LOG

DATE: 8/26

| TIME | NAME | NUMBER | RE/COMMENTS |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 3:34p | Anne Walley | | who are Pol. Contacts Steve Baker should work w/ in Maine; who is CEO |
| 4p | Cory Lynn Schenk | 225-2070 690000 | |
| 4:30p | Brian Focant | 202-416-1135 | Just calling to see how you are doing / wants to get together for lunch. |
| 4:40p | Grace Garcia | 66481 | |
| 5p | Ann Barimolini | 366-1103 | Svelte Strike Issue - are you covering it? - Then maybe requesting PSES Emergency Board - |
| | John Costenin | 56190 | guide of how to get out - call Margaret Green in his office 56937 yao |
| | Larry Hawkins | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

From
Ethnic

Keith
Macon

of Brian
Lynn
etc.

to get

office

TO:

202 456 7929

AUG 29, 1994

2:23 PM

P. 22



THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA

LAWTON CHILES

August 29, 1994

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

During 1993, a total of 4,840 Cuban and Haitians were granted entry into Florida. As of August 25, 1994 the number of entrants into Florida this year is 11,414 -- an increase over last year of more than 150 percent. Once Cuban and Haitian refugees from the most recent activity are also reflected, the total number will increase even further.

Yet, over the last three years, the allocation of U.S. refugee assistance to Florida has remained consistently inadequate to meet the demands we are confronting. This approach gravely concerns me and is a serious financial threat to Florida.

As you know, the fiscal restraints on U.S. refugee assistance programs have forced a serious limitation on their scope and effectiveness. Currently, the assistance is confined to eight months. Florida's dramatic escalation of entrants means an even shorter period of federal coverage for refugees and a cost shift and burden to our taxpayers -- through our health, education and social services programs. The State of Florida cannot withstand the trauma caused by this deluge.

I urge you to act swiftly to send a supplemental budget request to Congress for a \$25 million increase in targeted assistance under the Refugee Assistance Act to address the crisis created by the number of Cubans and Haitians rising in Florida. An increase of population by potentially 20,000 to 30,000 to any community is analogous to the relocation of a small city. Such a burden cannot be withstood by state and local governments.

In addition, it is apparent that there will be a corresponding need for additional refugee resettlement resources for the Department of State and Department of Justice programs which have also been heavily strained by the recent actions in the Caribbean. I urge you to consider increases for these programs.

The federal government must acknowledge and provide for those refugees to whom they extend an open door. My top priority remains the protection of the health and safety of Floridians and the prevention of loss of lives among Cubans desperate to flee Castro's failed revolution.

FROM:

TO:

202 456 7929

AUG 29, 1994

2:23PM

P. 03

On behalf of the people of Florida, I am grateful for your efforts to minimize the latest impact on our State. We will continue to work together towards an orderly, humane process that is adequately supported by the federal government. We will do our part but need to be reassured that the federal government will address the financial needs of Florida.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,



LAWTON CHILES

cc: Secretary Donna Shalala
Department of Health and Human Services

Director Alice Rivlin
OMB

Florida Congressional Delegation

FROM:

TO:

202 456 7929

A.S. NO. 1001

A.S. NO. 1001

A.S. NO. 1001



The State of Florida's

Washington Office

444 North Capitol Street
 Suite 349
 Washington, D.C. 20001

Telephone: (202)624-5885
 Fax: (202)624-5886

FOLLOWING 2 PAGES

TO: Marcia Hale, Joan Baggett
Keith Mason

fax # _____

phone # _____

FROM: A. Kelmer

DATE: 8-29 TIME: _____

NOTE: _____

IMMEDIATE ATTENTION

OFFICIAL USE ONLY:
PLEASE DO NOT CIRCULATE BEYOND ADDRESSEES

8/25

DRAFT MEMORANDUM

TO: Mort Halperin
Richard Clarke
Alexis Herman
Joan Baggett
Tara Sonenshine
Bill Danvers
Reta Lewis
Susanna Valdez
Joe Valasquez
Tim Atkin
Rand Beers

FROM: ERIC SCHWARTZ

Subject: Visit to Miami and Follow-up

Here is a rough draft. I don't know who should be the recipient of this memo. Perhaps we can discuss tonight.

OVERVIEW OF THE VISIT

The White House/NSC/State/DOD team sent to Florida yesterday went a long way toward dispelling rumors and opening deeper lines of communication with community and opinion leaders. However, the community is disparate and we will not have unanimous support for any measures we adopt. At the same time, close and continual contact is essential if we hope to communicate our policy messages clearly to Cubans in Cuba, who rely so heavily on the Cuban-American community in Miami. It is also essential to build support among those who might be sympathetic to our approaches and to anticipate and deflect opposition.

ESSENTIAL FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The need for a Presidential message

Even among more moderate members of the Cuban-American community, there is skepticism about the credibility of the messages coming from the Administration. Many doubt that we will continue to be "tough" toward Castro and there is palpable fear that we will be forced into a broad negotiation with him. On the migration issue, Cuban-Americans report that their brethren in Cuba simply

*will happen -
see 8/27 in POTUS*

Tarnoff is official spokesperson.

do not believe the U.S. message that Cubans will not be resettled.

In addition, we were told that the U.S. seems to lack a "gameplan" for change in Cuba. We heard strong expressions of support for a Presidential statement on Cuba which would address these issues.

RECOMMENDATION

That NSC staff prepare a draft Presidential statement to be delivered as soon as possible.

- Low-level (dep. asst. sec)
- Continuing

2. Migration "Talks"

We believe that any bilateral migration discussions scheduled in the near future will evoke strong protests from large segments (i.e., beyond the most dogmatic members) of the Cuban-American community. Those who might in other circumstances accept such talks argue that the symbolism at this moment would be wrong -- that we would be negotiating with Castro under threat.

Under current circumstances, we will take political hits for any migration talks. By conceiving of the talks as narrowly as possible, consulting beforehand with political allies in south Florida and traveling there for broad consultations with the community, we could effect some damage control.

RECOMMENDATION

That prior to any initiation of such discussions, NSC staff coordinate with White House offices of Public Liaison and Political Affairs.

Ed Board first

- Rick Ruccio
- Once a week

3. STRUCTURE AND STRATEGY FOR COMMUNICATION WITH FLORIDA

We need to send periodic messages to south Florida community groups and leaders emphasizing the main components of our message on Cuba, including the need to urge Cubans in Cuba not to take to boats.

We also need to be have periodic personal contact with these groups, with the next trip including visits to Florida editorial boards and follow-up discussions with local groups to pin them down on actions they are taking to discourage Cubans in Cuba from leaving by boat.

We should continue to work through the Governor's Office as our main point of liaison with south Florida groups and public officials.

RECOMMENDATIONS

NSC staff will draft a "message of the day" for clearance at a 9 am White House/NSC staff meeting, which will then be faxed by OPL to local officials, civic groups and others in south Florida. OPL will also make this available to NSC Legislative Affairs and NSC press as well as other White House offices.

OPL and White House Political Affairs will prepare, by OOB Friday, a short list of south Florida leaders and Florida public officials who can be called to be informed of important policy initiatives, of misinformation that needs to be corrected, etc. PA, OPL, and NSC staff will coordinate when it is believed that such calls need to be made.

OPL and PA will provide to Justice (Phyllis Coven: 514 3392) a list of organizations/individuals with whom we met, so that Justice's Community Relations Service and the INS can ensure those groups are doing everything possible to discourage boat departures.

The Administration will, as soon as possible, dispatch a representative to south Florida to meet with editorial boards and follow-up liaison with the Cuban-American community. The representative, who will be accompanied by someone from White House media affairs, will speak with CRS and INS on the issue of encouraging Cubans not to take to rafts and will seek concrete information on actions being taken by Cuban-Americans to discourage boat departures. Media Affairs will provide to NSC press a list of Florida publications to be visited, and NSC Press will coordinate with Media Affairs in arranging appointments.

4. OTHER MEASURES INVOLVING AGENCY ACTION

The groups and individuals we met made a number of other suggestions, which will be raised with appropriate agencies by White House/NSC offices as indicated.

- Encouraging third countries to condemn Cuba's violations of human rights (NSC will raise with State). *Doing this already*
- Taking a series of measures suggested by the Governor's Office (and listed at Attachment A) to promote quality of life at Krome Detention Center (NSC will raise with Justice). *[See about Ferraro, UN Human Rights Com during our media]*
- Publicizing human rights violations by the Cuban Government -- it was also suggested that we use film footage of women and

children being put onto rafts (NSC will raise with Coast Guard and State).

- Creating an empowerment zone in south Florida to promote development in the context of immigration (Political Affairs will raise with HUD).
- Providing additional assistance, possibly through a supplemental, for south Florida (Intergovernmental Affairs will discuss with DPC staff). *most*

Codel - No codels for

- Torrecelli want

- No public members

POTUS - Sandy Berger checking
on for Relations, FL members

[Ladd, Magniban, Pell, Lugar]

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO JOAN BAGGETT AND ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: RETA LEWIS ^{RL}
SUZANNA VALDEZ (unsigned)

RE: POLITICAL AND PUBLIC OUTREACH -- SOUTH FLORIDA

DATE: AUGUST 25, 1994

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

There is a great lack of information and communication between the Administration and the Cuban American community. This is generating confusion and unhealthy speculation about what the next steps will be. Radio talk shows are filled with rumors that a complete naval blockade will be set up in a matter of weeks and a government in exile will be established in Guantanamo Naval Base. Additionally, the humanitarian issues are very central to the stability in the detention center and for the emotional stability of the Cuban-American South Florida residents.

In addition, the community believes that we are going to begin talks/negotiations with Castro. Community leaders believe that at some level within the State Department talks have occurred. POLITICAL RED FLAG!!! If we precede with any talks -- even if centered on the migration issue only, this will be a political disaster for Chiles and for the POTUS in the state of Florida. The POTUS will never be trusted in that state again. We will in effect have broken a major campaign promise.

The Administration's actions would have been better received had the community been consulted, primed and prepared for them. Due to the nature of the situation as it unfolded there was very little advance work done to insure a positive reception by a larger/broader group of the more important elected and community opinion-makers.

The Administration representatives sent to Florida yesterday, helped tremendously towards dispelling rumors and opened deeper lines of communication with a broader group of community leaders and opinion-makers. I am convinced that given the results of yesterday, if we had been able to prime the community, the Administrations' position would have been overwhelmingly endorsed.

WHAT ARE OUR NEXT STEPS?

* We should continue to work with and keep the Governor and Lt. Gov. and their staff as our lead in Florida regarding how the Administration is implementing the Cuba initiatives. (We must remember it is their political future that is at stake in November). Currently, the Governor is looking very strong on this issue. This crisis has in effect pushed the political campaign on the back burner. The Republicans have not been able to get much air space.

* We need more messengers spreading the positive words. The Public and Political Affairs staff will recommend a very broad bipartisan array of individuals that we will stay in touch with regularly. These individuals will be selected from representatives of the Governor's Free Cuba Commission, the elected leadership, Miami's civic organizations, President Clinton Democrats and from representatives of Cuban-American civic groups.

We believe this communication should be channeled through the public and political affairs department and must be included as a part of a well thought out plan of action for the hispanic, civic and political community in South Florida.

* If any representatives of the Administration continue to go to Miami to brief/consult key constituent groups -- it should be coordinated out of the political and public affairs department. A media representative should be included in that group.

* We should in the next two-three weeks invite to Washington a representative group of leaders from the people we briefed yesterday. This briefing should be conducted by Cabinet level officials and conclude with a meeting with the POTUS.

* Since the balance of political power is shifting in the Florida Cuban-American community -- the Administration should take this opportunity to empower our democratic supporters and then to forge a closer bi-partisan leadership group.

It was interesting to learn first hand the history of the Cuban-American community, its leadership and its perceived relationship to the Washington power structure. We must not forget that there has been a close ideological and political alignment of the Cuban-American community with the Republican party. The former Republican Administrations were able to identify that alignment and to take maximum advantage of it early. NOTE: Republican Gubernatorial candidate Jeb Bush was a major player in that reality.

page 3

Prior to the POTUS, there has been a void of a major democratic Presidential player that has identified with the needs and truly understands the concerns of the Cuban-American community. President Clinton has the potential to fill that void. The President speaks their language. His philosophy towards Cuba is exactly in tune with that community. What this Administration needs to do is to ensure that the Cabinet and senior officials continue to tow only the President's line. (NOTE: NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH CASTRO AND THAT THE EMBARGO WILL NOT BE LIFTED).

* Within the next two months, the VPOTUS and the POTUS are planning campaign stops in Florida -- we must begin to take a look at how they will respond to the community during those visits. Additionally, several Cabinet Secretaries have scheduled campaign visits to Florida. We should capitalize on this opportunity to do some additional community outreach.

* The Cuban-American community is responding very positively to the face of Under Secretary of State, Peter Tarnoff. In conversations today, people think he is political, close to the POTUS, passionate and believable.

* We should remember to always assess our policy not only from the Cuban-American perspectives, but also how it is being viewed by the overall community and particularly by the African-American community. The briefings yesterday, because it included all segments of the Florida community, was appreciated and complimented.

* We must remember that the Summit of the Americas is only three months away.

cc: Eric Schwartz (points to be included in a draft memorandum to POTUS)

US Policy toward Cuba Speaking Points

Background

The current situation in Cuba is a direct result of and a testament to the failed policies of Castro. The large number of people willing to flee Cuba reflects the growing frustration of the Cuban people; the encouragement given by the Castro regime for people to flee in unsafe rafts is an indication of Castro's weakening grip and his desire to divert attention from Cuba's internal problems.

Main Themes

1. The President has made it clear: the answer to Cuba's internal problems are economic and political reform and Castro will not be allowed to export Cuba's problems to the United States. Undocumented migrants from Cuba will not be allowed to enter the United States.

2. Castro's safety valve of encouraging Cubans to risk their lives at sea is despicable and unacceptable. The U.S. will do everything within its power to ensure that Cuban lives are saved and that people stop risking their lives. Several people have already died and several are still unaccounted for as some rafts are found empty.

Secondary Themes

1. The best hope for democracy in Cuba is for the Cuban people to stop risking their lives and to stay in Cuba and work toward a democratic future.

2. Cubans who desire to reach the United States should not risk their lives at sea but rather take advantage of the legal immigration available through the US Interest Section in Havana.

3. There has been no change to the economic embargo placed on Cuba. The President's actions to stop remittances and reduce charter flights are increasing pressure.

For Press Interviews: Call Tara at 456-7291 w/questions.

Messages for 26 August:

1. IS THE POLICY WORKING: Since the President's announcement over 11,000 migrants headed for US shores have been picked up from sea by the Coast Guard and Navy and on their way to or already at Guantanamo. The Coast Guard and Navy have enough resources to deal with the flow of migrants in a safe and orderly fashion. With Navy support the Coast Guard will soon begin diverting cutters back to other routine missions.

2. WHY ARE FLOWS STILL SO HIGH: We anticipated it would take time for Cubans to fully understand, through our message and more importantly our actions, they would not reach the US by setting out in rafts. Cubans in Guantanamo have already said on news reports that if they'd fully understood where they would end up they would not have risked their lives.

3. BUT WILL CUBANS ULTIMATELY BE ALLOWED ENTRY TO THE US: No they will not. The pictures speak for themselves. We are expanding the capacity at Guantanamo and finalizing plans for safe havens in other countries. We are acting quickly to back up our words.

4. WON'T CUBANS DETAINED IN THE US BE RELEASED INTO THE COMMUNITY: The Cubans will be accorded their rights under US law. We have no plans to release them and that is why they are still in detention. They have the opportunity to apply for asylum.

5. ARE WE NEGOTIATING WITH CASTRO TO CUT A DEAL: No we are not. Since *being* established by President Reagan in 1984 there have been continuing talks with Cuba regarding migration issues, these may be the talks some people are misinterpreting as negotiations.

6. ARE WE GOING TO REPATRIATE CUBANS: We are not planning nor discussing forcibly returning Cubans to Cuba. It has always been US policy that if a Cuban comes to America and then decides he or she wants to return, we would allow them to return. There has been no change to that policy.

To Discuss on Call:

Cubans taken to Texas (method of transport).

- You have
- twice
- Same thing

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constructed

- Supports Pairs

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August 19, 1994

MEETING WITH FLORIDA LEADERS

Date: August 19, 1994
Time: Flexible (approximately 8:00 p.m.)
Location: Cabinet Room, The White House
From: Joan Baggett, Political Affairs

I. PURPOSE

To meet with Florida Governor Lawton Chiles, Dade County leaders and members of Florida's Cuban community to discuss recent events in Florida and the new Cuban immigration policy.

II. BACKGROUND

The key participants in tonight's meeting are Governor Chiles; Jorge Mas Canosa, Chair of the Cuban American National Foundation and Arthur Teele, Chair of the Dade County Commission.

Although he is a Republican, Teele is supporting the Governor's efforts to prevent the potential surge of Cuban immigrants into the state. Teele, a leader in Florida's African American community, strongly supports consistency in immigration policies for Haitian and Cuban refugees. Teele has indicated a high level of support for the new immigration policy from Florida's African American community.

Jorge Mas Canosa is a strong and effective opinion-maker in Florida's Cuban-American Community. Mas Canosa has indicated support for Governor Chiles in his 1994 re-election bid (although he has not officially endorsed) and has been a supporter of your Administration's position on Cuba. Fundamentally, however, he does not agree with the repatriation of Cubans.

Mas Canosa has pledged to support your policy on Cuban immigration and to lobby its merits within the Cuban-American leadership. His support is due in large part to the implementation of the following recommendations.

1. Lower cash limits (remittances) for donations from \$300 per quarter, per household to \$150 per quarter, per household. Gift packages would be restricted to medicines, food, clothes and other clearly humanitarian items.
2. Use all available means to broadcast into Cuba, in compliance with international convention.

Page 2, Florida Meeting

3. Review the passenger makeup of charter flights to determine if the number of flights is appropriate. The purpose of the review is to reduce the number if consistent with the need to use the flights to bring legal immigrants to the United States.

You should be aware that the offices of Political Affairs and Public Liaison have initiated calls to Florida's Democratic leadership, Cuban American leadership and African American leadership regarding the new immigration initiatives.

III. PARTICIPANTS

White House/Administration Staff:

Leon Panetta, Chief of Staff
Attorney General Janet Reno
Sandy Burger, NSC
George Stephanopoulos
Joan Baggett, Political Affairs
Dennis Hays, State Department
Mort Halperin, NSC
Joe Velasquez, Political Affairs
Reta J. Lewis, Political Affairs
Suzanna Valdez, Public Liaison

Florida Leadership:

Governor Lawton Chiles
Jorge Mas Canosa
Luis Lauredo, Summit of the Americas Chief of Staff
Cesar Odio, Miami City Manager
Fernando Rojas, Assistant to Jorge Mas Canosa
Art Teele, Chair of the Dade County Commission
Maria Elena Torano, Businesswoman and Democratic Supporter

IV. PRESS

Closed Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

-You will welcome the participants of the meeting and acknowledge Governor Chiles. This will be an opportunity for you to state what you have done with the four recommended points regarding the new immigration policy.

-Governor Chiles will open the discussion.

-Jorge Mas Canosa will give brief remarks.

-You will participate in open discussion.

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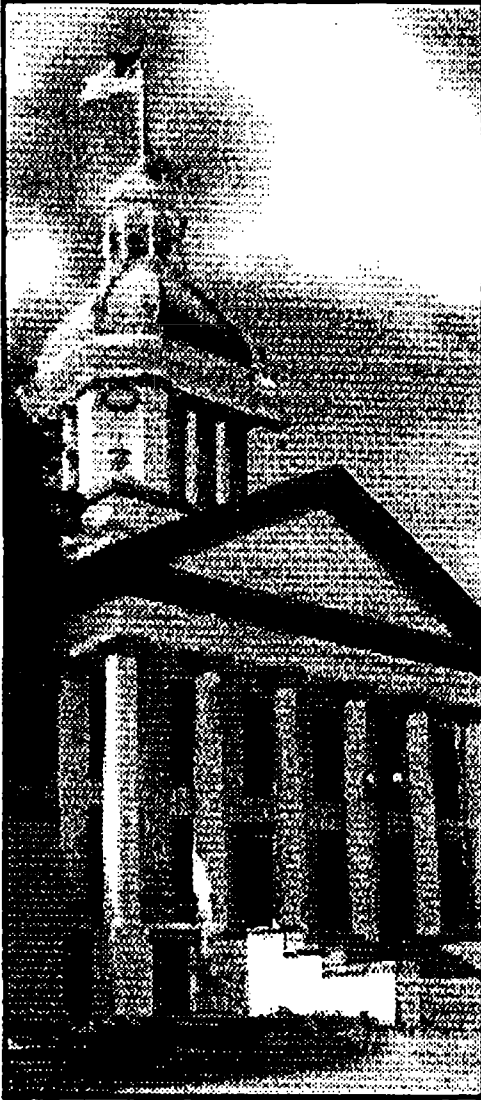
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Joan

GOVERNOR'S CLIPS

Lawton Chiles, Governor

in the Oval

August 19, 1994

Daily Clips

Florida's Chiles Calls for U.S. Assistance Amid Swelling Tide of Cuban Refugees

Alarmed by reports that Cubans are massing by the hundreds on the island's north coast to set sail for the U.S., Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles declared an immigration emergency and asked the federal government to help the state cope with the swelling flood of Cuban boat and raft people.

In Washington, the Clinton administration's initial reaction to the influx of

*By Wall Street Journal reporters
Jose de Cordoba in Miami and Robert
S. Greenberger in Washington.*

Cubans was low-key. But U.S. officials hinted that more stringent options were discussed at a top-level White House meeting yesterday and could be announced today.

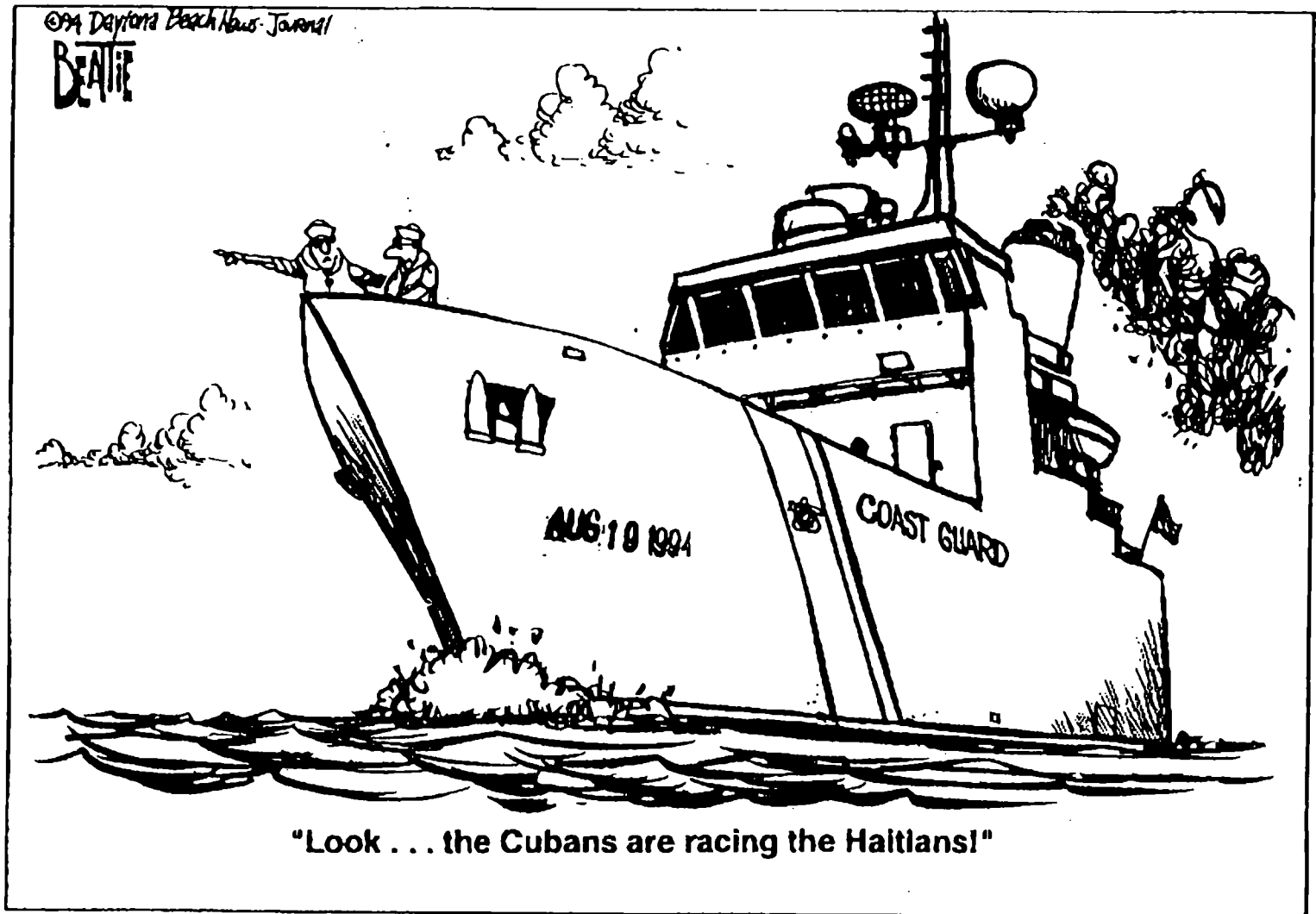
Officials were reluctant to disclose details, but measures to stem the flow could range from towing back Cuban rafters to putting Cubans in third-country "safe havens," as the U.S. now does with Haitian boat people.

But so far, Washington's only action has been Attorney General Janet Reno's announcement yesterday that the administration would increase to 86 from 26 the number of Immigration and Naturalization Service agents being sped to Key West, Fla., to deal with Cuban refugees.

Trying to avoid a sense of crisis, officials in Washington insisted the U.S. could easily absorb the number of Cubans expected in 1994. An official estimated that at current rates, a total of 20,000 Cubans could head here this year, but he added that the hurricane season is likely to hold the figure below that.

'Distant Shores' Plan

The U.S. has for years had a contingency plan, known as "distant shore," periodically updated by the administration, for dealing with an unmanageable level of emigration, one official noted. The plan involves such steps as moving boat people who arrive in Florida to other



U.S. states and sealing off the coasts. But "we are well below the levels that would trigger this kind of thing," an official insisted.

"It's a controlled Mariel," says Agustin de Cardenas, a 46-year-old university physical education teacher who arrived at a Cuban processing center in Miami 10 days ago after spending three days on a raft with six fellow refugees. "Whoever wants to build his raft and go, well, he can go."

During the 1980 Mariel boatlift, more than 125,000 Cubans came to the U.S., most on boats manned by their Cuban-American relatives. A number of them were criminals and mental patients hastily freed from Cuban prisons and institutions and sometimes forced to emigrate. So far this time, the people leaving Cuba appear to be a cross-section of the population, including professionals, workers and families—from toddlers to 90-year-old grandmothers.

The new flow of refugees, though well below Mariel levels, has been growing since Fidel Castro, reacting last week to a riot and a spate of boat hijackings, said his government would no longer restrain Cubans wanting to leave the country, unless the U.S. negotiated an immigration agreement and an end to its three-decade-old trade embargo on Cuba.

Confirms Castro's Orders

A Foreign Ministry official reached by telephone in Havana confirmed that Mr. Castro's orders that Cuban police and coast guard not do the work of the U.S. Coast Guard were being followed.

The number of Cubans picked up by the Coast Guard has climbed almost geometrically every day this week. On Wednesday, the Coast Guard picked up 537 people, the largest number since the 1980 boatlift. By 5 p.m. yesterday the number was 247. Nearly 7,000 Cubans have been picked up so far this year, about twice last year's total.

Luis Alvarez, sunburned and sporting a donated T-shirt, waits patiently as throngs of refugees threaten to overwhelm the staff at the main refugee processing center on the edge of Miami's Little Havana.

"All of Cuba is going to come here," says Mr. Alvarez, a 46-year-old taxi driver, rescued by the Coast Guard several days ago after spending 18 hours on a raft with 10 other people.

Mr. de Cardenas, the physical education teacher, says everyone in Cuba wants to leave the island before the U.S. government decides to clamp down. "Before the Americans stop it, they want to get out," he says.

One of Mr. de Cardenas's companion on the raft trip to the U.S., Pastor Suarez, a 32-year-old truck driver, says the recent Havana riots have underscored Mr. Castro's need to permit his disgruntled subjects to leave the island as a safety valve to Cuba's disastrous economic situation.

Asking for Freedom

"The people ask for freedom, and since Castro can't give freedom, the only thing possible is to leave," says Mr. Suarez. "If they stop people from leaving, then there will be demonstrations against the government."

Mr. de Cardenas says the U.S. is very generous to Cubans, and permits them to come in, unlike Haitians. It's precisely that difference in treatment, stemming from the 28-year old Cuban Adjustment Act, which allows Cubans who escape Cuba and arrive in the U.S. to stay, that has come under attack. Groups such as the Congressional Black Caucus have complained about this double standard, and the griping could grow louder if Cuba mush-

rooms into a high-profile issue.

This time around the newcomers might not be as welcome. Cuban Americans who sailed boats to Mariel to pick up relatives were the driving force behind the 1980 boatlift. Now, for diverse reasons, including the feeling that Mr. Castro is on the ropes and can only profit from another mass migration, there is little enthusiasm to sail again for Havana.

"Cubans have developed a lot stronger ties to the community," says Pedro Freyre, a lawyer who chairs the Free Cuba committee of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce. "They are balancing how much can the community put up with vs. 'I've got to get my brothers in here.'"

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WALT ST. JRL

PRESIDENT DENIES EMERGENCY MONEY ON CUBAN INFLUX

FLORIDA PLEA REBUFFED

Justice Department Chief Tells Gov. Chiles That Refugees Are Being Absorbed

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 — With hundreds of Cubans continuing to flee in rafts and rubber dinghies, Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida asked the Federal Government today to declare a state of emergency there but President Clinton denied the request.

The Governor pressed the Administration for millions of dollars in emergency Federal aid to deal with the more than 2,000 Cubans who have flocked to Florida so far this month. But Attorney General Janet Reno, who comes from Miami, insisted that the situation was under control and that the refugees were being easily absorbed. Miami already has a huge Cuban population.

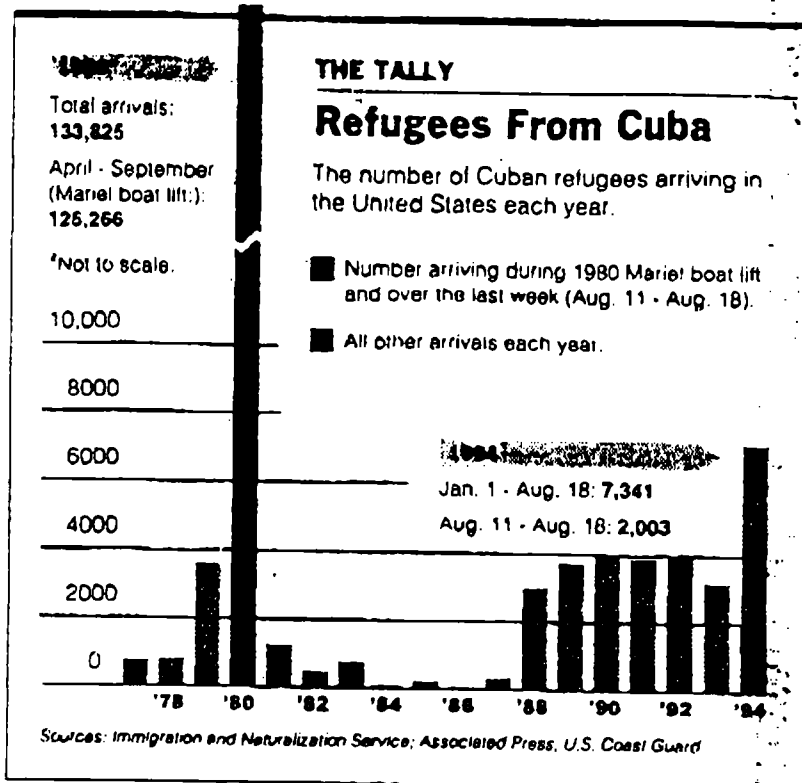
According to the Coast Guard, 401 fleeing Cubans had been picked up by 8 P.M. today, while 537 were picked up on Wednesday. That was the highest number on any single day since the 1980 Mariel boat lift, in which 125,000 refugees ultimately fled to the United States from Cuba. So far more than 7,000 refugees have fled Cuba by boat this year, the largest annual number since 1980.

The Federal Government's emergency plan for Florida would send additional Coast Guard or Navy boats to patrol the Florida Straits and release tens of millions of Federal dollars to the state to provide services for the refugees.

In resisting the pleas of Governor Chiles, President Clinton finds himself torn between domestic politics and foreign policy imperatives.

On one hand, the President wants to help Governor Chiles, a fellow Southern Democrat who faces a tough re-election race this November, possibly against former President George Bush's son Jeb.

In a mid-term election year when the Democrats fear major reversals, especially in the larger, more influential states, one of the last things the Administration wants is to lose the Governor's mansion in Florida, the fourth most populous state, which has 25 electoral votes.



With an eye to November, Mr. Chiles is insisting that the Administration declare a state of emergency, partly to show Florida voters that he has clout in Washington. He is also asking for a total \$75 million in emergency Federal funds to counter Republican charges that he is spending too much on social services for immigrants and others.

But diplomatic concerns are giving President Clinton a strong tug in the other direction. Administration officials said today that they were reluctant to declare a full-scale emergency because it would send a signal to Cubans that the door was open wide

for them to flee in their boats and rafts. At the same time, declaring an emergency would tell Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, that he had succeeded in unnerving the Administration.

Emergency at White House

After an emergency high-level White House meeting on the Cuba situation today, Administration officials said they were considering numerous contingency plans. These included increasing the number of Coast Guard vessels off Cuba and enabling more Cubans to gain refugee status by applying in Havana, rather than by taking to rafts. The Coast Guard now has a dozen cutters and 31 small boats patrolling the Florida Straits.

Pentagon officials said Navy personnel were trucking tents from Gulfport, Miss., to Homestead Air Force Base in Florida in case the wave of Cubans surged suddenly.

Administration officials say wretched economic conditions in Cuba are the underlying factor behind the exodus, but they add that the immediate reason for it is that Mr.

Castro has stopped prohibiting Cubans from fleeing in rafts, inner tubes and small boats.

According to Administration policymakers, Mr. Castro has permitted the recent wave of refugees in the hope that it would vex the Administration and pressure it to ease its trade embargo against Cuba. This would enable Cubans and Mr. Castro to breathe more easily at a time when the Cuban leader faces the most domestic dissent in years.

Senior American officials said today they had ruled out relaxing the embargo, which Mr. Castro asserts is destroying Cuba's economy and causing the wave of refugees.

Options List Prepared

A White House official said that Anthony Lake, the national security adviser, would soon give President Clinton an updated list of options on the Cuban situation.

One option under consideration, the official said, would be to stop granting blanket entry to virtually all Cubans who flee to the United States. Refugee is granted because the Cubans are fleeing from a Communist country.

Several officials said they doubted that the President would stop granting blanket entry, mainly because it would enrage many Cuban-Americans.

Another option under consideration would be to transfer fleeing Cubans to third countries or safe havens, a policy the Administration pursued to handle the flood of Haitians this summer. That option is also expected to meet resistance from Cuban-Americans.

In a news conference today in Key

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West, where the Coast Guard has taken most of the Cuban refugees, Governor Chiles declared an emergency situation within his state. He said the Florida National Guard, marine patrol and other branches of government would be used to respond to the wave of Cubans.

"These large numbers create an emergency situation for services and assistance," Governor Chiles said. "Already, this emergency creates a burden on local and state resources."

At a news conference, Ms. Reno treated Mr. Chiles's depiction of the situation as an exaggeration, saying the Administration was handling the problem "in an orderly way and without disruption." She said the Immigration and Naturalization Service was adding more than a dozen workers in Florida to handle the Cuban refugees.

"We do not believe that this current influx has been a burden yet on the community," she said. To buttress this point, she noted that 75 percent of the Cuban refugees who have arrived this year have been settled with relatives in Florida and 15 percent with relatives in other states, primarily New York and New Jersey. The other 10 percent, she said, have also been placed outside of Florida.

But Administration officials said they were analyzing the situation day to day and would not rule out putting an emergency plan into effect.

"We're watching it very closely, but to date we've been able to manage the situation and we expect we'll continue to be able to," said Dee Dee Myers, the White House Press Secretary.

Administration officials vow not to allow a replay of the Mariel exodus, in which an estimated 90 percent of the refugees were carried by boats belonging to Cuban-Americans from Florida.

The Coast Guard has been ordered to increase patrols to stop and seize boats heading to Cuba from Florida to pick up refugees.

"We are not going to permit another massive exodus," said Ms. Myers. "We will not allow Fidel Castro to dictate our immigration policy."

One senior State Department official said he doubted the flow of Cubans would grow to the same proportions as wave of Haitians last June. He said that since Cuba did not have free enterprise, it was harder for Cubans to build medium-sized boats to carry lots of refugees. That is why Haitian refugees often fled 50 or 100 to a boat, while the Cubans flee five or ten to a raft.

Attorney General Reno seized on the new exodus to indict Mr. Castro. "To divert the Cuban people from seeking democratic change, the government of Cuba has resorted to the unconscionable tactic of letting people risk their lives by leaving in flimsy vessels through the treacherous waters of the Florida Straits," she said.

"An uncontrolled exodus from Cuba will do nothing to address Cuba's internal problems. The solution to Cuba's problems is rapid, fundamental and far-reaching political and economic reform."

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Cuban refugees Nancy Lopez, left, and Laura Lopez are greeted by their cousin Thursday in Miami, after arriving earlier in the week aboard a 23-foot boat.

CARAH THOMAS-MASKELL/The Associated Press

Tallahassee Democrat

CUBA:
Chiles says Florida's safety is jeopardized by unchecked Cuban immigration

which Fidel Castro is trying to manipulate U.S. foreign and immigration policy," Graham said. "The actions by the attorney general indicate that this will not be tolerated."

Chiles has demanded more federal help to pay for housing, health care and other services for the thousands of refugees streaming into Florida in the largest migration since the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

But the Clinton administration earlier Thursday responded coolly to Chiles' request, insisting there was no crisis at hand.

In an interview before Reno's hastily called news conference, Chiles took a defiant stance.

"When (White House Press Secretary) Dee Dee (Myers) says that they are handling the situation that means that in these 15 or 30 minutes they are processing these people and turning them loose on my streets," Chiles said on CNN. "We are not going to stand for that."

The governor complained that the refugees are not receiving health screenings and said he would issue an executive order to quarantine them until they are checked out by doctors. He did not elaborate.

In declaring an emergency, Chiles authorized the Florida National Guard to activate its members to deal with the growing influx.

Part of the urgency is fueled by fear of a repeat of the 1980 Mariel boatlift that swamped Florida with 125,000 refugees in five months. Law enforcement, health services, schools and social agencies were overwhelmed.

Cubans in a ragtag flotilla of homemade rafts and leaky boats have been making the perilous 90-mile crossing in growing numbers since Aug. 5 when Cuban leader Castro threatened another Mariel after

**Reno approves
TALL DEMOCRAT
detention for
Cuban refugees**

Gov. Lawton Chiles says he is thrilled with the decision because it will send a strong message to Fidel Castro.

By John Pacenti
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
KEY WEST

AS hundreds of Cubans landed in Florida and thousands more gathered along the Cuban shoreline, Attorney General Janet Reno announced for the first time Thursday that Cubans arriving by boat will be detained, effective immediately, rather than released to friends and relatives.

Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles, who earlier Thursday declared an immigration emergency, said he was delighted by the decision. He said it sends a strong message to Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

"This keeps Castro from being able to call the shots in regard to immigration policy," Chiles said. "It also allows us to make sure these people get the proper health screening, that other screening is

done. Right now, we don't know who is coming in. Castro could be sending agents."

Since 1966, Cubans arriving in Florida have been released to relatives or other sponsors in the United States upon their arrival, after being interviewed by immigration officials.

But the administration has been under pressure from a steadily increasing flow of refugees the past week to stem the tide.

The Coast Guard has rescued more than 2,000 Cuban refugees from the Straits of Florida in the past week. The guard picked up 547 Cubans on Wednesday, the biggest single day since the 1980 exodus, and 527 by late Thursday.

U.S. Sen. Bob Graham, D-Miami, also repeated Chiles' assertion that the announcement was a message to Castro and that it would allow for careful processing of the refugees.

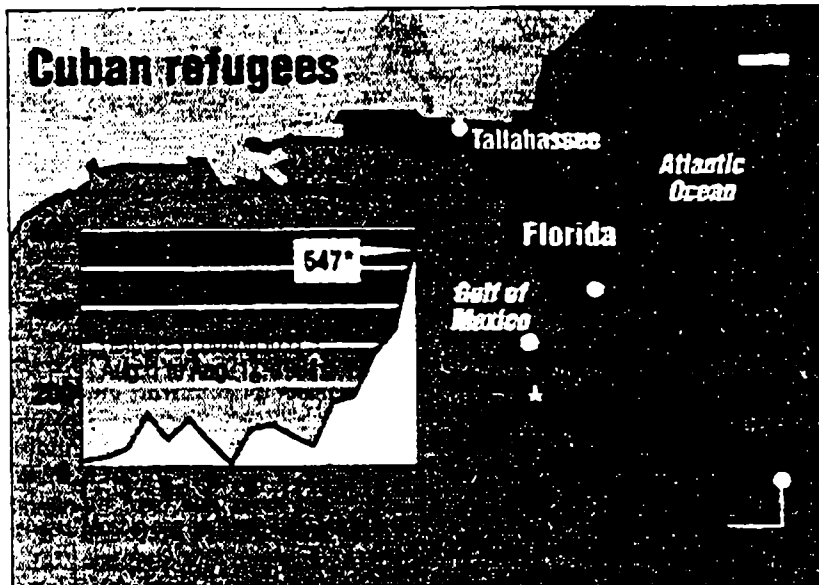
"Clearly this indicates that the administration and president recognize that this situation has moved to a new stage, a stage in

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CHUCK FADELY/The Miami Herald

A Cuban refugee waves as he and his fellow passengers bail water Thursday from their sinking raft in the Straits of Florida.



SOURCES: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Coast Guard, research by BRENNAN SINK Knight-Ridder Tribune

friends to go in boats."

Until Reno's announcement, Cubans who arrive were briefly questioned by U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service agents at the Coast Guard base in downtown Key West and then taken by bus to the Cuban Transit Center. From there they go on to Miami.

A new arrival at the center said Thursday he sailed with a group of 15 Cubans after hearing the Castro government was no longer stopping refugees from leaving.

"Before, when we try (to leave), they take everything. But now Castro says, 'Go,'" said Pedro Gonzalez, who sailed with his wife, three sons, daughter, son-in-law and the family dog from Mariel.

The Coast Guard believes the number of refugees will peak at 1,500 refugees a day because of the limited number of boats available to make the trip from Cuba, said a U.S. government source who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The U.S. government, through the Coast Guard and federal immigration agents, already handles the brunt of the influx in its initial stage. But Chile pleaded for activation of an emergency federal refugee plan that includes resettling refugees in other states.

the worst rioting of his 35-year rule.

Cuban journalists who spoke to The Associated Press by phone said refugees were setting off openly from beaches and harbors around Havana with no apparent interference from police.

Forty-three rafts — often rope-bound contraptions made of inner tubes, canvas, even house doors — were intercepted Wednesday alone by the Coast Guard. One man died

trying to reach freedom, and another reached shore on a stretcher. A 91-year-old woman crossed with her son rather than be left behind.

"Everyone was talking about leaving," Yamilka Santos Lopez, 23, said Thursday after arriving at the Cuban Transit Center, an exile-run program to help refugees find their relatives near Key West. "Lots of people were starting to build rafts or make plans to get together with

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U.S. to detain Cuban refugees

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ST. PETE TIMES



Cubans picked up by the Coast Guard wait for Gov. Lawton Chiles to finish speaking so they can touch free land in Key West on Thursday.

Times photo — RICARDO FERRO

■ Don Addis



■ Gov. Lawton Chiles says the refugees are creating a "true emergency" in Florida.

By NED SEATON
and DAVID DAHL
Times Staff Writers

Cubans arriving in Florida by boat will be detained rather than released into the community, the Clinton administration announced late Thursday.

Attorney General Janet Reno announced the new policy. Details about it will be disclosed by President Clinton today.

ton today.

The decision came after a day when Gov. Lawton Chiles declared a state of emergency and demanded federal help with the largest wave of Cuban immigrants to hit Florida since the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

"There are hundreds of people, perhaps thousands, massing on the shores of Cuba," Chiles told a news conference held at the Key West Coast Guard station. "A true emergency exists for the state of Florida."

Since 1966, Cubans arriving in Florida have been released to relatives or other sponsors in the United States upon their arrival, after being

interviewed by immigration officials.

But the administration has been under pressure from a steadily increasing flow of refugees the past week to stem the tide.

Chiles wants the administration to implement an emergency immigration plan that would bring Florida federal help. He wants Navy ships sent to the Florida Straits, possibly to intercept the desperate Cubans who are boarding makeshift boats and rafts to take the treacherous 90-mile trip from their homeland.

But earlier Thursday the administration was cool to the governor's request, and no one at the White House would agree with his description of the situation as an emergency.

"I think clearly we've been able to handle the surge in Cuban migrants in an orderly fashion and we'll continue to do that," said White House spokeswoman Dee Myers.

An additional 86 Immigration and Naturalization Service agents were dispatched to South Florida this week. And a senior Pentagon official said Defense Secretary William Perry authorized shipment of excess military supplies to South Florida as a "prudent measure" in case the flow of refugees turns into

a flood. The items, including tents and cots, were being flown to Homestead Air Force Reserve Base.

Other than taking those steps, Myers would only say that White House officials met to discuss the situation Thursday and that they were evaluating Chiles' request.

"We're not going to permit another Mariel," the spokeswoman said.

That's exactly what Chiles wants to avoid. An estimated 125,000 Cuban refugees came to the United States in 1980 to escape Fidel Castro's communist regime. Many of the refugees were rescued by their Cuban-American relatives, who took boats to their former homeland.

The influx altered South Florida dramatically, swamping schools, public health programs and law enforcement. In the years since, state leaders often have argued that these immigration costs are the responsibility of the federal government. Washington hasn't entirely agreed.

Now, with a new, though much smaller, wave of Cuban refugees, Chiles doesn't want to get stuck with the tab again — especially when he's facing a tough re-election fight this fall.

Chiles' request

Gov. Lawton Chiles on Thursday appealed to President Clinton for a four-pronged federal response to Florida's refugee situation. The components of his request include:

- An increased naval presence in the Florida Straits to deter Cubans from taking to the seas.
- Some \$75-million to assist local communities affected by the refugee influx. This money presumably would go to communities such as Miami and Key West, where large numbers of refugees are coming ashore.
- U.S. Public Health Service officials to assist state health officials in the medical screening of incoming refugees.
- A second refugee processing center. Florida's existing processing center, the Krome detention center in west Dade County, is inundated with refugees. Sites mentioned as possible secondary facilities include Homestead Air Force Base and the Naval Installation on Boca Chica near Key West.

"This is not a manageable situation," Chiles said at his news conference.

He urged Cubans to stay in their homeland and declared: "The Castro government is clearly weakening and the day of freedom in Cuba is near."

As Chiles spoke, the 82-foot Coast Guard cutter *Point Baker* pulled up to the Key West dock, carrying 49 refugees and one small

dog on a leash. The refugees appeared to be in good condition, walking off the boat with no assistance.

The latest round of refugees apparently is arriving because Castro is opening Cuban ports in the wake of the worst rioting of his 35-year regime.

The Coast Guard has rescued more than 1,600 Cuban refugees from the Florida Straits in the past week, including 547 on Wednesday, the biggest single day since the 1980 exodus, and 369 by Thursday evening.

The Coast Guard believes the number will peak at 1,500 a day and then drop off, limited by the number of available boats and bad weather expected from Tropical Storm Chris, a U.S. government source told the Associated Press.

Forty-three rafts — often rope-bound contraptions made of inner tubes, canvas, even house doors — were intercepted Wednesday alone. One man died trying to reach freedom, and another reached shore on a stretcher. A 91-year-old woman crossed with her son rather than be left behind.

Under the 1960s-era Cuban Adjustment Act, any Cuban who reaches the United States gets permanent resident status automatically. The federal government processes the immigrants, with an emphasis on reuniting the immigrants with relatives.

Reno said about 75 percent of the new arrivals end up in Florida and about 15 percent in New York or New Jersey. The rest are being placed outside of Florida.

Chiles would like to bus the immigrants out of the state in 72 hours, but he wasn't getting a lot of help from the federal government. Customarily a close ally of President Clinton, the governor said, "I wouldn't be here this morning if everything was working the way it should be."

By day's end, Florida's con-

gressional delegation was joining Chiles in his demand for federal help.

Sen. Bob Graham, a Democrat who was Florida's governor during the Mariel boatlift and its aftermath, contacted Clinton administration officials Thursday evening. One target: Reno, herself a Floridian who was Dade County state attorney in the 1980s.

The Floridians want some of the nearly \$1-billion the state has been requesting from the Federal Immigration Emergency Fund. They also want help to guard against disease that could be spread by the new arrivals.

"There exists a public health threat to the residents of Dade County because the federal government has not yet established a mechanism for conducting medical screenings at the point of entry (in Key West)," Dade County Manager Joaquin Avino said in a letter to Reno on Wednesday.

"This is of great concern to us because there exists the real potential for a resurgence in transmittable diseases such as tuberculosis," Avino wrote.

Reno didn't offer a sympathetic ear to her home-state allies, however. She pointed out that the state already receives federal money for South Florida's hospitals and other needs. She told reporters the administration was handling the latest problem "in an orderly way and without disruption."

Furthermore, Reno argued the administration has taken a big step in avoiding a repeat of the Mariel boatlift. The Coast Guard is warning Florida boaters that they will be seized if they're headed to Cuba. Ninety percent of Mariel's influx resulted from Floridians traveling to Cuba to get relatives.

Chiles praised Florida's Cuban community for showing restraint in not attempting to haphazardly boat out into the straits to find friends or relatives.

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This Cuban family was among those who escaped their homeland on rafts Thursday. They were picked up by the Coast Guard.

Times photo — RICARDO FERRO

Until more federal help arrives, Chiles said his declaration of emergency will draw people and resources from state agencies to implement Florida's immigration emergency plan.

Command posts will be set up in Key West and Tallahassee, Chiles said, to coordinate the Florida National Guard, the Marine Patrol, the Highway Patrol and several other state departments.

"Just as Florida prepares for and deals with natural storms that cross our shores or hurricanes, we're prepared to respond to this storm of immigration emergency," Chiles said.

Monroe County Sheriff Richard Roth said a \$38-million jail in Key West, opened just six months ago, would be used as a staging area for the refugees. The jail has room to hold about 2,000 refugees — temporarily, at least — in an area under the building.

At the state's Emergency Operations Center in Tallahassee, Joe Myers was preparing for what could be a one-two punch — the immigration wave and a possible blow from Tropical Storm Chris.

— Information from the Associated Press and Times staff writers Jennifer S. Thomas and Bill Mose was used in this report.

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Graham, Florida delegation join call for U.S. response

■ "If . . . Fidel Castro is consciously directing Cubans to leave, then the U.S. should interdict and return those refugees," says Sen. Bob Graham.

By JENNIFER S. THOMAS
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Democratic Sen. Bob Graham led a chorus of Florida lawmakers Thursday demanding a federal response to the most recent water-borne exodus of refugees from Cuba.

"It is imperative that the federal government do everything in its power to address what is fast becoming another Mariel situation," said Graham, referring to the 1980 boatlift that brought 125,000 Cubans to the United States.

Graham's request for a face-to-face discussion with President Clinton was turned down. Instead, he made his case to White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta in a phone conversation Thursday evening.

Earlier in the day, Graham expressed confidence that the president would respond quickly to Florida's refugee situation.

"I don't think he wants to relearn the lesson Jimmy Carter learned in 1980," Graham said. Carter was repudiated at the polls in November 1980, in no small part because of his handling of Mariel.

Clinton suffered his own political setback during the Mariel influx, when he was the governor of Arkansas. Several thousand Marielitos were detained at Fort Chaffee in Arkansas, and Clinton was forced to call in the National Guard to quell rioting. Arkansans' disapproval of Clinton's handling of the Cuban situation is often cited as a major reason for his defeat when he ran for re-election in 1980. Graham, who was governor of Florida during the Mariel crisis, did not face the voters in 1980.

Gov. Lawton Chiles has requested emergency aid, including a higher Navy profile in the Florida Straits, federal dollars for affected local communities, U.S. Public Health Service officials to help state health officials deal with the incoming refugees and the establishment of a second refugee-processing center.

Graham said that the Krome refugee detention center in west Dade County is filled to capacity with recent arrivals from Cuba and Haiti. Homestead Air Force Base, which is being prepared for partial closure, and the Navy base on Boca Chica near Key West, have been mentioned as possible sites for a processing center.

When asked if the government should continue to admit all Cuban refugees able to reach U.S. shores, Graham responded, "As long as we are dealing with people who are leaving of their own motivation, then I think our policy should remain the same."

But Graham added, "If the determination is made that Fidel Castro is consciously directing Cubans to leave, then the U.S. should interdict and return those refugees."

Fifteen members of the Florida House delegation and Sens. Graham and Connie Mack, R-Fla., signed a letter to Clinton, demanding that the administration shoulder the responsibility for processing, transporting and caring for the incoming Cubans.

Lawmakers pointed to the fiscal hardship that compelled Chiles in April to file a lawsuit against the U.S. government for the costs of providing services for illegal aliens.

"The state has repeatedly sought federal relief for the financial burdens of immigration on states like Florida," the lawmakers told the president. "Today's escalating crisis will only sharpen the dire need for this reimbursement."

They warned that the state was "neither able nor obligated" to continue shouldering the financial burden.

THE PETE TIMES

AUG 19 1994

COLUMNS

■ Bernard Aronson

Let's give Cuba incentives to move toward democracy

The recent, unprecedented street protests in Havana and Fidel Castro's subsequent threat to unleash another "Mariel Harbor" flood of refugees upon the United States should serve as a warning.

The United States is uniquely vulnerable to events 90 miles away in Cuba. But we have no real policy to influence them.

How can U.S. policy help ensure that the inevitable change coming to Cuba will be peaceful rather than violent and traumatic? Instead of trying to answer that question, we have been locked for years into a paralyzing impasse between advocates and opponents of the U.S. embargo.

It is time to transcend that debate and seek a new consensus about Cuba.

To do so, we must acknowledge first that there are honest, principled people on both sides of the embargo divide. Supporters believe that isolating the Castro regime and depriving it of hard currency are the surest and quickest routes to Cuban democracy. They fear that Castro would manipulate trade opportunities with the United States to enhance his international legitimacy while keeping his police state apparatus well fed and well equipped. They do not want to breathe oxygen into a dying dictatorship.

Opponents believe that flooding Cuba with goods, people and information would undermine Castro's dictatorship more effectively. They argue that dropping the embargo would focus international criticism on Cuban repression rather than U.S. policy.

What we should be seeking, instead of capitulation by one side or the other, is common ground between the two. A framework already exists on which a new consensus about Cuba could be constructed — the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act. The conventional wisdom is that the act merely tightens the embargo.

In fact, the act also opens up for the first time telecommunications and direct-mail services between Cuba and the United States. And it declares it "should be the policy of the United States to be prepared to reduce sanctions in carefully calibrated ways in response to positive developments in Cuba."

The challenge to U.S. policy — and the opportunity — is to give meaning to those words. The United States has never spelled out what specific steps it is prepared to take in response to which "positive developments in Cuba." We should do so now.

The executive and Congress should begin a bipartisan effort to define the specific steps the United States is prepared to take in response to peaceful democratic change. The Cuban-American community must be a full partner in such a negotiation. The administration would be wise to appoint someone well-trusted by the Cuban-American community, such as Rep. Robert Torricelli, author of the Cuban Democracy Act, to negotiate any final deal.

For its part, the United States should be prepared to place on the table: (1) withdrawal from the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay and relinquishing of U.S. base rights; (2) confidence-building measures to reassure the Cuban military that the United States would not take advantage of a democratic opening to intervene; and (3) a step-by-step relaxation of the provisions of the embargo in exchange for concrete steps by the Cuban government to move irreversibly toward democracy. As a sweetener, the United States should offer to a fully democratic Cuba immediate negotiations to join the North American Free Trade Agreement.

The steps Cuba would be required to take might include freeing political prisoners, halting violence against civilians by state-sponsored "rapid deployment brigades," on-site monitoring of human rights by the United Nations, constitutional reforms guaranteeing civil and political liberties and, ultimately, internationally monitored elections.

The United States also should engage Latin America and the Caribbean in this process. Latin and Caribbean democracies know that violent convulsion in Cuba will only divert progress from their agenda of attracting foreign investment and pursuing free trade with the United States. Were the United States to offer a credible set of incentives, the hemisphere's democracies could emerge as the strongest and most effective voices pressing Cuba to respond.

There is no guarantee that the Cuban government would do so. Initially the odds are that it would not.

Still, simply offering such a bipartisan initiative for peaceful democratization would shift the weight of international and internal pressure onto the Castro regime to justify why it refuses to take reasonable steps to reduce its own isolation and regain symbols of national sovereignty like Guantanamo Bay. And as social pressures inside Cuba grow, such an initiative — particularly measures to reassure Cuba that it faces no military threat — might make it less likely that the Cuban army will choose to be the ultimate enforcer of regime repression and terror at the expense of its fellow citizens.

Administration advisers will argue no doubt it is too risky to engage in negotiation over an issue as volatile as Cuba. Recent events in Havana prove the more dangerous course is to do nothing while the struggle for democracy in Cuba unfolds.

■ Bernard Aronson was assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs from June 1989 through July 1993. ■
Special to the Washington Post

CARRIE P. MEEK
17TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

**COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS**

**SUBCOMMITTEES:
ENERGY AND WATER
DEVELOPMENT
MILITARY CONSTRUCTION**



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0917

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(305) 381-9541
(305) 381-9376 FAX**

August 10, 1994

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

BY FACSIMILE

Dear Mr. President:

I write to urge you to act quickly and swiftly to put an end the influx of Cubans entering South Florida.

Urging potential Cuban rafters to use restraint simply will not work. Our governor, our Dade County government and our South Florida community all support an end to the influx of Cubans. We have truly borne a greater burden of now entrants than the federal government has a right to expect.

Also, there is a crucial need to release immigration emergency funds to Dade County.

There is a terrible resentment that is building up in every part of our community because of the burden of these additional entrants, particularly in the African American community, which compares the different treatment of Haitians and Cubans and rightfully questions the consistency and fairness of your Administration's immigration policies in the Caribbean.

Please know that there is great need for bold action to deal directly with this problem.

Sincerely,

**CARRIE P. MEEK
Member of Congress**

CPM/js

August 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Joan N. Baggett

SUBJECT: Cuba Response

We are still working out whether a meeting with Cuban-American community leaders here late this afternoon will elicit a positive response. In the meantime, we are moving ahead to get out as much accurate information and positive press as possible.

I need your immediate approval on the following:

1. Dennis Hayes, State Dept. Cuba desk and Ray Ruga, DOD Cuba desk will do a background briefing in the Roosevelt Room at 2:30 pm following the press conference with Florida press.
2. At 3:00 pm in the Roosevelt Room you would do a satellite teleconference with Miami stations.
3. Ray Ruga, DOD Cuba desk, who is Cuban-American would do Spanish radio feeds into the region on the policy.

The four points that need to be reacted to for a Jorge Mas Canosa meeting are the following:

1. Stopping charter flights to Cuba - *Will cut back*
2. Stop ^{remittances} American dollars going to Cuba - *assume exclude food & medicine*
3. Using C-130's to enhance communication on the island *will only allow minimal cuts per week per person*
4. Do Haiti-like blockade *[will look at if Castro]*

Tony referred me to Halperin who indicated #3 is possible. Numbers 1 and 2 we could possibly consider if our current policy doesn't deter Castro. #4 should not be discussed.

FLORIDA PARTICIPANTS

Group 1

1. Jorge Mas Canosa -- Chair of Cuban Democratic Foundation
2. Lawton Chiles -- Governor of Florida
3. Luis Lauredo -- Summit of Chief of Staff
4. Art Teele -- Chairman of Dade County
5. Maria Elena Torano -- Businesswoman
6. Cesar Odio -- City Manager, Miami
7. Fernando Rojas, Assistant to Jorge Mas Canosa

Group 2 (from Dominican Republic)

1. ~~Paul Rojas~~ -- Chair, Free Cuba Commission
2. ~~Alfie Fajul~~ -- President/CEO Flo-Sun Corporation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~**DATE:** August 19, 1994**TO:** DISTRIBUTION**FROM:** Luis Lauredo**RE:** CUBAN CRISIS - SUGGESTIONS / TALKING POINTS

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|---------|------------|------------|---|
| Post-it* Fax Note | 7671 | Date | 8/19/94 | # of pages | 2 |
| To | JOE VELAZQUEZ | From | L. LAUREDO | | |
| Co./Dept. | | Co. | SOS 94 | | |
| Phone # | | Phone # | 579-7641 | | |
| Fax # | 202/406-2983 | Fax # | | | |

- I. BE AND TALK FIRM
- II. ERODE THE "ATTRACTION" OF COMING TO U.S.A.:
 - A. Unsafe seas/passage - Loss of lives
 - B. Detain those who arrive
 - C. Transfer arrivals to 3rd countries for processing:
 1. Guantanamo Base
 2. Panama Canal Zone
- III. CONGRATULATE CUBAN-AMERICAN EXILE COMMUNITY OF MIAMI FOR MATURITY AND RESTRAINT SHOWN DURING THESE DIFFICULT TIMES
 - A. "Do not allow Castro to use us"
 - B. "Cuba does not need a mass exodus. It needs an exodus of one: Fidel Castro."

A country, a people, divided by one man.
 - C. Solution is not exodus, but Cuba's return to democracy and economic reconstruction. Join the family of Hemispheric democracy.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: JAM DATE: 6/4/18
2016-0920-F

- Cont. -

MEMORANDUM - CUBAN CRISIS

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 2

IV. TAKE THE OFFENSIVE -- STOP REACTING TO CASTRO

- A. Castro's actions are acts of aggression against U.S.A. Put Castro on notice.
- B. Take matter to U.N. Security Council & OAS:
 - 1) Human rights: Cuban government encouraging unsafe, inhumane migration -- disregard for life.
 - 2) Use international forums to highlight real problem -- lack of democracy in Cuba

V. INITIATIVES

- A. Suspend all cash transfers to Cuba
- B. Cancel all tourist visas from Cuba to U.S.A.
- C. Continue to allow humanitarian assistance to Cuba.
- D. Consider increasing legal immigration quota from 3,000 annually (current) to 15-20,000.

- VI. President's remarks on announcing initiatives or "change of policy" (or the perception that it is a change) must be accompanied by strong words condemning the Castro regime and urging the international community to be actively involved in pursuing a change in Cuba.

If proposed policy "changes" in fact more closely align U.S. Cuba and Haiti immigration policy, it should also more closely align U.S. foreign policy to Cuba and Haiti (i.e. active policy to return both countries to democratic regimes).

UNCLASSIFIED
FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET
THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FROM: Morton H. Halperin X
Kathy Cooper

PHONE: 202-456-9241

FAX: 202-456-9240

TO: JOAN BAGGETT

FAX: 62983

PHONE:

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET 3 .

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

UNCLASSIFIED

August 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

FROM: MORTON H. HALPERIN

SUBJECT: The Four Requests

Attached is a memorandum which describes what we can say about the four requests. We have also listed several other matters of concern to the Cuban American community. The recommendations have the concurrence of Peter Tarnoff (Acting Secretary of State).

Concurrence: Richard Feinberg

CC: Joan Baggett

MEMORANDUM ON THE FOUR REQUESTS

1. Remittances - The present limit for cash donations is \$300 per quarter, per household. This was lowered from \$500 per quarter several years ago. Gift packages can include many different items, such as household appliances or tools.

Recommendation - Lower cash limits to \$150 per quarter per household. Restrict gift packages to medicines, food, clothes, and other clearly humanitarian items.

2. Broadcasts to Cuba - Radio Marti is often jammed, TV Marti is always jammed.

Recommendation - Use a C-130 as an air borne platform to broadcast into Cuba, in compliance with international convention.

3. Charter flights - There are 10 or 11 flights a week between Miami and Havana.

Recommendation - Review passenger makeup to determine if number of flights is appropriate. Reduce the number if consistent with the need to use the flights to bring legal immigrants to the United States.

4. Blockade

Recommendation -- If Castro responds to our action by continuing to encourage large outflows of refugees we would consider a variety of tough additional measures including exploring the possibility of a blockade. NOTE: we would not want anything said publicly about this.

OTHER ISSUES:

1. Visas for Cuban Officials - Cuban officials require a 212 f waiver of ineligibility.

Recommendation - Restrict issue of visas for all government officials except those on diplomatic missions.

2. Embargo Protesters - At present many individuals and groups seek to violate embargo laws.

Recommendation - Enunciate a clear policy of enforcement of the embargo. Investigate and, if warranted, prosecute offenders.

3. Outbound inspections - Many travelers exceed authorized limits on travel to Cuba.

Recommendation - The appropriate authorities will conduct full outbound inspection of visitors to Cuba.

4. UN motions

Recommendation - The USG will aggressively promote motions in the United Nations and other fora to expose and condemn human rights violations in Cuba such as the sinking of the 13th of March tugboat.

5. Private Sector Initiative

Recommendation - Sign a new MOU for the PSI for this year. Explore if the PSI can be used for new groupings of Cubans overseas.

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Kathy Cooper _____

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FAX: 202-456-9240

TO: JOAN BAGGETT

FAX: 62983

PHONE: _____

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

UNCLASSIFIED

August 20, 1994

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Hill contacts on Cuba

FROM: Bill Danvers, NSC

Beginning two weeks ago, when Castro first made his comments on TV that he would allow immigrants to freely leave Cuba, we began contacting the Florida delegation. That Saturday, 6 August, we made a round of calls to the Florida delegation and other key Members/Senators that follows either immigration or politics in this hemisphere-- i.e. Sen. Dodd, Rep. Torricelli, etc.

In the period between those calls and today's decision, key Members and Senators were briefed and talked to frequently, as often as they felt necessary. We also made calls the evening of 11 August when the AG made her announcement indicating that we would stop boats from going to Cuba to pick up refugees. There were at least three large briefings-- two last week with the Florida delegation and with Rep. Torricelli's and other members of HFAC-- and another briefing on 17 August with the Florida delegation in which there was a strong message from many attendees that we were creating a "magnet" with our policy. Others, including Sen. Mack, Rep. Torricelli and the two Cuban-American Representatives from Florida, disagreed. They wanted us to continue with our policy of accepting all Cubans who get beyond the 12 mile limit.

In addition, we worked with White House leg.-- Tim Keating-- in arranging a 17 August briefing with the Florida delegation. On Thursday night, 18 August, we called the offices of every/every member of the Florida delegation, as well as a number of other Members/Senators-- 46 calls were made in all, and an additional eight were made Friday morning, 20 August, to DoD appropriators and authorizers because Gtmo is being used.

We set up two briefings today-- House and Senate-- to provide more details of the policy change. We set them up after the President's and AG's press conference. One was canceled by Rep. Hamilton about an hour before it was to take place, but we rescheduled it for Saturday, 20 August. The Senate briefing went on as planned and we had a number of staff and three Senators in attendance. This is all in addition to calls we made to Senators/Members who were concerned about our policy. Both Graham and Mack were called before the President's press conference, as were a number of other Members. We did cancel a briefing with Reps. Torricelli, Diaz-Balart and Menendez scheduled for late yesterday afternoon because of the imminent change in policy. I have attached a list of offices that were called last night. I know the AG called both Florida Senators, as well as Reps. Diaz-Balart and Ros-Lehtinen.

We also contacted a number of friendly Senate and House offices, asking them to make positive public statements about our policy. Sen. Dodd, for one, attempted to make a statement on the floor of the Senate, but had to leave before he could get floor time (he did make a positive statement about our policy on Imus in the Morning show). He, instead, decided to send out a press release. Rep. Meek made a positive statement on our policy today during one-minutes.

Today, we-- DoJ, State and NSC-- made 58 calls to the Hill on the most recent adjustments to our policy. We did not make calls last night because we did not know about the changes until this morning-- other than what was on CNN.

Cuba Call List

DoJ

Graham
Mack
Hutto
Petersen
Brown
Fowler
Thurman
Stearns
Mica
McCollum
Bilirakis
Young
Gibbons
Canady
Miller
Goss
Bacchus
Lewis
Meek
Shaw
Mazzoli
Kennedy
Simpson
Simon
Ros-Lehtinen
Diaz-Balart

Obey
Livingston
Leahy
McConnell

NSC

Mitchell
Dole
Foley
Gephardt
Bonior
Michel
Gingrich

State

Hamilton
Gilman
Pell
Helms
Dodd
Coverdell
Torricelli
Chris Smith
Harry Johnston
Hastings
Deutsch
Menendez

Cuba Call ListDoJ

Graham
 Mack
 Hutto
 Petersen
 Brown
 Fowler
 Thurman
 Stearns
 Mica
 McCollum
 Bilirakis
 Young
 Gibbons
 Canady
 Miller
 Goss
 Bacchus
 Lewis
 Meek
 Shaw
 Mazzoli
 Kennedy
 Simpson
 Simon
 Ros-Lehtinen
 Diaz-Balart
 Rangel
 Mfume
 Payne
 McKinney
 Wynne
 Waters
 Owen
 Lewis

State

Hamilton
 Gilman
 Pell
 Helms
 Dodd
 Coverdell
 Torricelli
 Chris Smith
 Harry Johnston
 Hastings
 Deutsch
 Menendez
 Obey
 Livingston
 Leahy
 McConnell

NSC

Mitchell
 Dole
 Foley
 Gephardt
 Bonior
 Michel
 Gingrich
 Serrano
 Mack
 Graham
 Dodd
 Torricelli
 Diaz-Balart
 Menendez
 Ros-Lehtinen

} called
 by
 NSC as well

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
 JOAN BAGGETT
 MARK GEARAN
 ALEXIS HERMAN
 TONY LAKE
 GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: MARCIA L. HALE *MHL*
 ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT &
 DIRECTOR OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: GOVERNOR CHILES

Attached please find information about Governor Chiles' activities related to Cuban refugees.

08/18/94

Governor Chiles relayed following information to the Attorney General via John Hogan:

Governor Chiles conducted a meeting this afternoon August 18, 1994, with local Dade County officials and they were uniform in indicating the need to be firm in interdicting boats from Cuba to Miami. People who make it to Miami should be detained. Florida is prepared to set up Homestead using the National Guard. 500 people per day is too many for South Florida to absorb. The impact on the black community is very serious. Jackson Memorial Hospital is overloaded. We need to hold people as they come in. All local government officials are in agreement. With respect to what Castro is doing, "Our hearts say let the people in, our minds say don't let Castro tear our community apart."

Diario Las Americas, the principal Spanish language newspaper, is coming out with an editorial today, "Stop boats southbound to Cuba and Navy should stop exodus from Cuba headed North."

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 002. memo | William Itoh to Deputies Committee re: Summary of conclusions on Cuba (3 pages) | 08/19/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Political Affairs
Joan Baggett
OA/Box Number: 4055

FOLDER TITLE:

Cuba

2016-0920-F

jm1886

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

—
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Daniel Jones

Maria Elena

(JV)

856-2061

George M. met w/ Lawton -
msg w/ POTUS approved by
Leon - plane ready
on Larry King tonight w/ Rengle
avoid
stake

Over the past month, several ferries were hijacked from the port of Havana by fleeing Cubans and there has been an increasing amount of unrest as seen by demonstrations in Cuba. On August 5th, Castro made provocative statements indicating that he would instruct Cuban border guards "not to intercept those boats that want to go to the United States..."

The Coast Guard has experienced a steady increase in the number of Cuban migrants during the past week. Yesterday the Coast Guard made 50 separate rescues saving 538 Cubans. The total number of Cubans picked up this week exceeded 2,000 and was the largest number in one week since 1980. The Coast Guard has rescued more Cuban migrants in the Florida Straits during the past eight months than it did during 1992 and 1993. While the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been able to handle the present flow of migrants from Cuba, the steady flow and the number of empty rafts found at sea raises serious humanitarian concerns that must be confronted before a crisis occurs.

As announced by the Attorney General, in an effort to deter more Cubans from risking their lives, as of last night the INS is detaining individuals interdicted that were brought to American shores.

The current situation is a reflection of the failed economic and political policies of the Cuban regime.

The actions I am taking today are designed to avert a crisis in which hundreds of lives are endangered. Primary concern right now is to stop people from risking their lives at sea.

Like Haitians, Cubans will be rescued at sea and offered safety and protection outside their country. They will not be allowed to enter the United States illegally by boat.

The Cuban regime has shown a callous disregard for the lives of its people by turning a blind eye to their departure in unsafe rafts and by actively encouraging the life risking voyage.

WE WILL NOT ALLOW A NEW MARIEL.

WE WILL NOT ALLOW CUBA TO DICTATE OUR IMMIGRATION POLICY.

WE WILL NOT ALLOW CUBA TO EXPORT ITS DISCONTENT.

THERE IS NO CHANGE IN THE U.S. ECONOMIC EMBARGO ON CUBA.

THERE IS NO CHANGE IN THE CUBAN ADJUSTMENT ACT.

Schwartz, Eric P.

From: Darragh, Sean J.
To: Schwartz, Eric P.
Subject: Cuban Talking Pts
Date: Friday, August 19, 1994 1:00PM

– As with Haitians, the US will not do refugee screening at Guantanamo. Bona fide refugees may apply in Havana for entry to the U.S. We currently admit almost 3000 Cubans refugees a year through in-country processing.

– We urge Cubans to stay in Cuba and to enter the US lawfully rather than risk their lives at Sea.

– We do not anticipate a long term Cuban safe haven at Guantanamo. Every effort will be made to offer protection to Cubans in third countries.
We believe that nations in the region will help us in this effort.

– We expect that these actions will stem the flow of Cubans fleeing and risking their lives. We expect this to avert another Mariel boat lift.

– For the Cubans being detained in the U.S., we are complying with the immigration and nationality act and a determination of their admissability is being made.

U. S. Coast Guard

Talking Points -- Cuban Interdictions -- 19 August 1994

The U. S. Coast is acting today to implement the President's statement regarding Cuban migrants. To that end, the Coast Guard has increased its patrols in the South Florida area. Cutters, small boats, and aircraft are actively patrolling the Florida Straits and south Florida area to support the safety of life at sea and to enforce the laws of the United States.

Cuban migrants rescued at sea will be taken to the U. S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, where they will be turned over to INS authorities. All persons rescued by the Coast Guard will be given humanitarian treatment, including medical assistance, food, water, and shelter.

The U. S. Coast Guard will continue to conduct search and rescue patrols looking for Cuban migrants and persons in distress on the high seas. The paramount concern is the safety of life at sea.

The Coast Guard will board U. S. flag vessels that appear to be bound for Cuba. The purpose of this action is to determine the intended destination and purpose of travel of each vessel.

If the Coast Guard finds probable cause to believe that a vessel is being used in an attempt to transport undocumented migrants to the U. S. in violation of U. S. law, the vessel will be seized and appropriate legal action taken.

U. S. vessels returning from Cuba with undocumented migrants on board will be seized by the Coast Guard and their crews will be turned over to the Department of Justice for appropriate legal action.

Note: The U. S. Coast Guard does not routinely release the location of its law enforcement assets. Coast Guard units deployed at sea are engaged in a variety of multi-mission activities, including search and rescue, law enforcement, drug interdiction, and environmental protection. The release of unit location may compromise ongoing law enforcement cases.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Q. Do you have enough cutters in the South Florida area for this mission?

A. Yes, the Coast Guard is maintaining a strong presence in the Straits of Florida. Additional resources will be provided as at sea operations require.

Q. Will Navy vessels be used?

A. The Coast Guard and the Navy will continue their cooperative and complementary life saving efforts in the Caribbean. U. S. Navy assets may be used as the circumstances require.

Q. Will you detain U. S. boats outbound from Florida "on the spot?"

A. Violations of U. S. law will be evaluated on a case by case basis.

Q. Will legitimate Cuban political refugees be taken to Florida or Guantanamo?

A. The Coast Guard will take all rescued migrants to GITMO for processing by the INS.

Q. Will the Coast Guard attempt to stop people who voluntarily attempt to rescue Cubans at sea.

A. No. Persons engaged in legitimate activities who are attempting to rescue persons in distress are not violating U. S. law. When the actions of a boat are unclear, an appropriate assessment will be made. If there is probable cause to believe that U. S. laws have been violated, then a proper legal action will ensue.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

President William J. Clinton
Opening Statement
Press Conference
August 19, 1994

Good afternoon. In recent weeks, the Castro regime has encouraged Cubans to take to the sea in unsafe vessels to escape their nation's internal problems. In so doing, it has risked the lives of thousands of Cubans, and several have already died in their efforts to flee.

Castro's action is a cold-blooded attempt to maintain his grip on Cuba and to divert attention from his failed Communist policies. He is trying to export to the United States the political and economic crises he has created in defiance of the democratic tide flowing throughout our hemisphere.

Let me be clear: the Cuban government will not succeed in its attempt to dictate American immigration policy. The United States will do everything within its power to ensure that Cuban lives are saved and that the current outflow of refugees is stopped.

I have today ordered that illegal refugees from Cuba will not be allowed to enter the United States. Refugees rescued at sea will be taken to our naval base at Guantanamo while we explore the possibility of other safe havens in the region.

To enforce this policy, I have directed the Coast Guard to continue its expanded effort to stop any boat attempting to bring Cubans to our shores through the Florida straits. The United States will detain, investigate and, if necessary, prosecute

Americans who take to sea to pick up Cubans. Vessels used in such activities will be seized.

I want to compliment the Coast Guard and the Immigration and Naturalization Service for their efforts and thank Florida officials -- starting with Governor Chiles and the Florida Congressional delegation -- for their help in protecting and saving the lives of Cubans who seek to escape the Castro regime.

I want to speak for a moment about the Crime Bill. In the last week, I have fought hard to put the Crime Bill back on track. After extensive talks with members of Congress from both parties, I have indicated my support for strengthening the provisions that require sexual predators to report to the police and that make sure our communities are notified of their presence. And I support cutting overall spending in the bill by ten percent. The cuts will ensure that every dollar authorized in the Bill will be paid for, not with new taxes or cuts in necessary services, but -- as I have always insisted -- with savings from reducing the federal bureaucracy to its lowest level since John F. Kennedy was President. All of these historic savings will go to help empower our communities make their streets safe again.

I have insisted that we retain the most profoundly important elements of the Crime Bill. We are going to keep it tough -- by putting 100,000 more police on the street, building more prisons and putting violent criminals away for good by making "three-strikes-and-you're-out" the law of the land and, with other

requirements, making sure criminals serve their time. And we are going to keep it smart -- with sensible crime prevention programs that steer our kids away from drugs and gangs and give them something to say yes to.

This Crime Bill must ban handguns for juveniles and take deadly assault weapons off our streets. Even though we have come under intense pressure from forces that will say or do anything to take the assault weapons ban out of this Bill, I won't do it.

Let's keep in mind what this Crime Bill is all about. It is about removing fear from our streets, our schools and our homes. Innocent Americans should not have to fear being preyed upon. Young lives should not be snuffed out by insane violence. We owe it to the American people to make sure that those who commit crimes get caught, those who are guilty get convicted and those who are convicted do their time.

That is why it is so important that no one be allowed to turn this into a partisan issue. This isn't a Democratic Crime Bill or a Republican Bill. It is an American Crime Bill, and I call on Congress to pass it without further delay.

1. Simon Ferro, Lawyer, Demo Activist
2. Alfre Fanjul, Businessmen, P10-Sun chairman
3. Paul Cejas, Chair Gov. Free Cuba Commission, Business
4. ~~Jorge~~ Mas Canosa, Chair CDF
5. Herminio San Roman, Lawyer Demo Activist
6. Gov. Lawton Chiles
7. Luis Laredo, Summit chief of staff
8. Rafael Penalven - Cuban Comm Activist - civic leader
- right hand person to
9. Luisa ^{Quica} ~~Carica~~ Toledo - NSSR
10. Julio Estorino - ~~Pres.~~ Fmr. Pres. Cuban Municipalities in Exile, ^{Ateneo Patriotico} ^{Unidad Cubana} ^{radio commentator} ^{civic/church leader}
11. Art Teele/M. Holifield - Lawyer, Co-Chair Summit Con
12. Guarione Diaz - Pres. Cuban American Community Council, Activist
13. Maira Elena ^{Torano} ~~Fornele~~ -

Chairman of ~~M...~~
Dade Cty

August 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Joan N. Baggett

SUBJECT: Cuba Response

We are still working out whether a meeting with Cuban-American community leaders here late this afternoon will elicit a positive response. In the meantime, we are moving ahead to get out as much accurate information and positive press as possible.

I need your immediate approval on the following:

1. Dennis Hayes, State Dept. Cuba desk and Ray Ruga, DOD Cuba desk will do a background briefing in the Roosevelt Room at 2:30 pm following the press conference with Florida press.
2. At 3:00 pm in the Roosevelt Room you would do a satellite teleconference with Miami stations.
3. Ray Ruga, DOD Cuba desk, who is Cuban-American would do Spanish radio feeds into the region on the policy.

The four points that need to be reacted to for a Jorge Mas Canosa meeting are the following:

1. Stopping charter flights to Cuba
2. Stop American dollars going to Cuba
3. Using C-130's to enhance communication on the island
4. Do Haiti-like blockade

Tony referred me to Halperin who indicated #3 is possible. Numbers 1 and 2 we could possibly consider if our current policy doesn't deter Castro. #4 should not be discussed.

August 19, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Joan N. Baggett

SUBJECT: Cuba Response

We are still working out whether a meeting with Cuban-American community leaders here late this afternoon will elicit a positive response. In the meantime, we are moving ahead to get out as much accurate information and positive press as possible.

I need your immediate approval on the following:

1. Dennis Hayes, State Dept. Cuba desk and Ray Ruga, DOD Cuba desk will do a background briefing in the Roosevelt Room at 2:30 pm following the press conference with Florida press.
2. At 3:00 pm in the Roosevelt Room you would do a satellite teleconference with Miami stations.
3. Ray Ruga, DOD Cuba desk, who is Cuban-American would do Spanish radio feeds into the region on the policy.

The four points that need to be reacted to for a Jorge Mas Canosa meeting are the following:

1. Stopping charter flights to Cuba
2. Stop American dollars going to Cuba
3. Using C-130's to enhance communication on the island
4. Do Haiti-like blockade

Tony referred me to Halperin who indicated #3 is possible. Numbers 1 and 2 we could possibly consider if our current policy doesn't deter Castro. #4 should not be discussed.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Paul Gejas

305-591-3311

(Todd 863.7157)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~**DATE:** August 19, 1994**TO:** DISTRIBUTION**FROM:** Luis Lauredo**RE:** CUBAN CRISIS - SUGGESTIONS / TALKING POINTS

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|---------|------------|------------|---|
| Post-it* Fax Note | 7671 | Date | 8/19/94 | # of pages | 2 |
| To | JOE VELAZQUEZ | From | L. LAUREDO | | |
| Co./Dept. | | Co. | SOS 94 | | |
| Phone # | | Phone # | 579-7641 | | |
| Fax # | 202/486-2983 | Fax # | | | |

I. BE AND TALK FIRM

II. ERODE THE "ATTRACTION" OF COMING TO U.S.A.:

- A. Unsafe seas/passage - Loss of lives
- B. Detain those who arrive
- C. Transfer arrivals to 3rd countries for processing:
 - 1. Guantanamo Base
 - 2. Panama Canal Zone

III. CONGRATULATE CUBAN-AMERICAN EXILE COMMUNITY OF MIAMI FOR MATURITY AND RESTRAINT SHOWN DURING THESE DIFFICULT TIMES

- A. "Do not allow Castro to use us"
- B. "Cuba does not need a mass exodus. It needs an exodus of one: Fidel Castro."

A country, a people, divided by one man.

- C. Solution is not exodus, but Cuba's return to democracy and economic reconstruction. Join the family of Hemispheric democracy.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
 ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
 INITIALS: JAM DATE: 6/14/98
 2016-0920-F

MEMORANDUM - CUBAN CRISIS

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 2

IV. TAKE THE OFFENSIVE -- STOP REACTING TO CASTRO

- A. Castro's actions are acts of aggression against U.S.A. Put Castro on notice.
- B. Take matter to U.N. Security Council & OAS:
 - 1) Human rights: Cuban government encouraging unsafe, inhumane migration -- disregard for life.
 - 2) Use International forums to highlight real problem -- lack of democracy in Cuba

V. INITIATIVES

- A. Suspend all cash transfers to Cuba
- B. Cancel all tourist visas from Cuba to U.S.A.
- C. Continue to allow humanitarian assistance to Cuba.
- D. Consider increasing legal immigration quota from 3,000 annually (current) to 15-20,000.

- VI. President's remarks on announcing initiatives or "change of policy" (or the perception that it is a change) must be accompanied by strong words condemning the Castro regime and urging the international community to be actively involved in pursuing a change in Cuba.

If proposed policy "changes" in fact more closely align U.S. Cuba and Haiti immigration policy, it should also more closely align U.S. foreign policy to Cuba and Haiti (i.e. active policy to return both countries to democratic regimes).

DRAFT**DRAFT STATEMENT**

For over three decades, the regime in Cuba has sought to divert attention from its repressive system by allowing, at times forcing, its own citizens to flee the island. In recent weeks, the Cuban people have again pressed the government for basic human rights and a more democratic system. The regime's response, as always, has been to try to create a safety valve for itself through uncontrolled emigration. In so doing, the regime willingly risks the lives of thousands of Cubans, and we must all regret that in recent days several individuals have lost their lives in the treacherous waters off Cuba.

The regime's actions are a desperate attempt to maintain a grip on power and to shift attention from its failed policies. The Cuban government is trying to export to the United States the crisis it has created and refuses to address.

Let me be clear: the United States will do everything in its power to ensure that Cuban lives are safeguarded and the current dangerous outflow is stopped.

To accomplish this, the Attorney General has announced that we will ***** JUSTICE ADD LANGUAGE ***** If necessary, we will detain Cuban refugees rescued at sea at Guantanamo Naval Base or other possible safe havens in the region.

To enforce this policy, I have directed the Coast Guard to continue its efforts to stop any boat leaving the U.S. to bring Cubans to our shores. The U.S. will detain, investigate, and, if necessary, prosecute anyone who takes to the seas to pick up Cubans. Vessels used in such activities will be seized.

I have also directed the State Department and the INS to take new steps to ensure that every possible avenue be made available for legal, orderly, and safe migration to the United States.

I want to compliment the Coast Guard, INS and Florida officials for their cooperation in protection and saving the lives of Cubans who seek to escape the Castro regime. We are resolved to continue safeguarding the lives of those Cubans put callously in harms way by the Cuban regime.

DRAFT**DRAFT**

Draft - unclear by anyone but me!

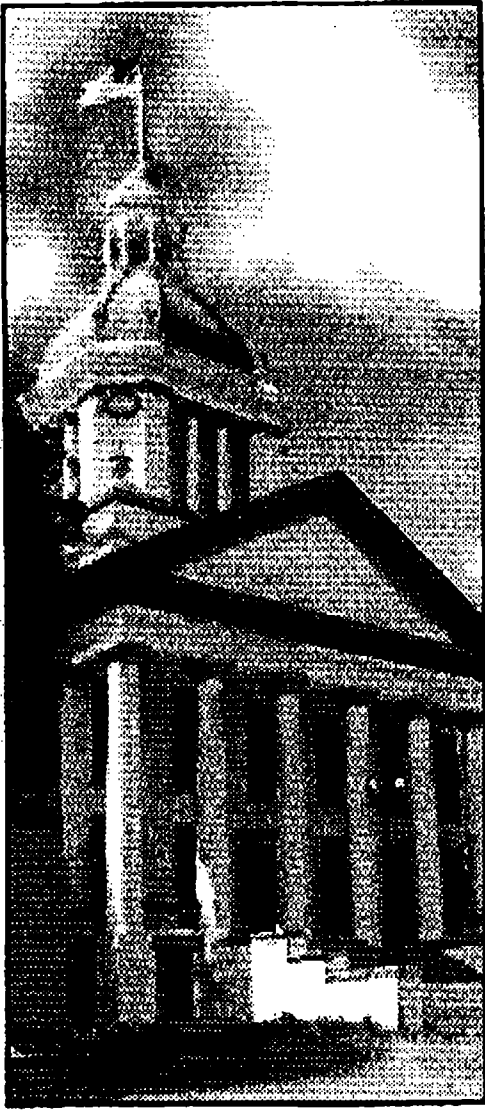
Dennis

2.

DRAFT

As I have noted, the cause of the outflow of Cuban migrants is a repressive government which denies its citizens freedom, economic security, and most especially hope. We have a long standing policy toward Cuba which we believe will promote a peaceful transition to democracy. There will be no change to this policy. We will continue to enforce a comprehensive trade embargo against Cuba. We will increase our efforts to get timely, objective news to information starved Cuban citizens through Radio and TV Marti. We will continue to bring the facts about the Cuban regime to international organizations and press for collective action to bring respect for human rights to the Cuban people. The democratic tide which has been sweeping through our hemisphere has can and will reach Cuba.

DRAFT



GOVERNOR'S CLIPS

Lawton Chiles, Governor

August 19, 1994

Daily Clips

Florida's Chiles Calls for U.S. Assistance Amid Swelling Tide of Cuban Refugees

Alarmed by reports that Cubans are massing by the hundreds on the island's north coast to set sail for the U.S., Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles declared an immigration emergency and asked the federal government to help the state cope with the swelling flood of Cuban boat and raft people.

In Washington, the Clinton administration's initial reaction to the influx of

*By Wall Street Journal reporters
Jose de Cordoba in Miami and Robert
S. Greenberger in Washington.*

Cubans was low-key. But U.S. officials hinted that more stringent options were discussed at a top-level White House meeting yesterday and could be announced today.

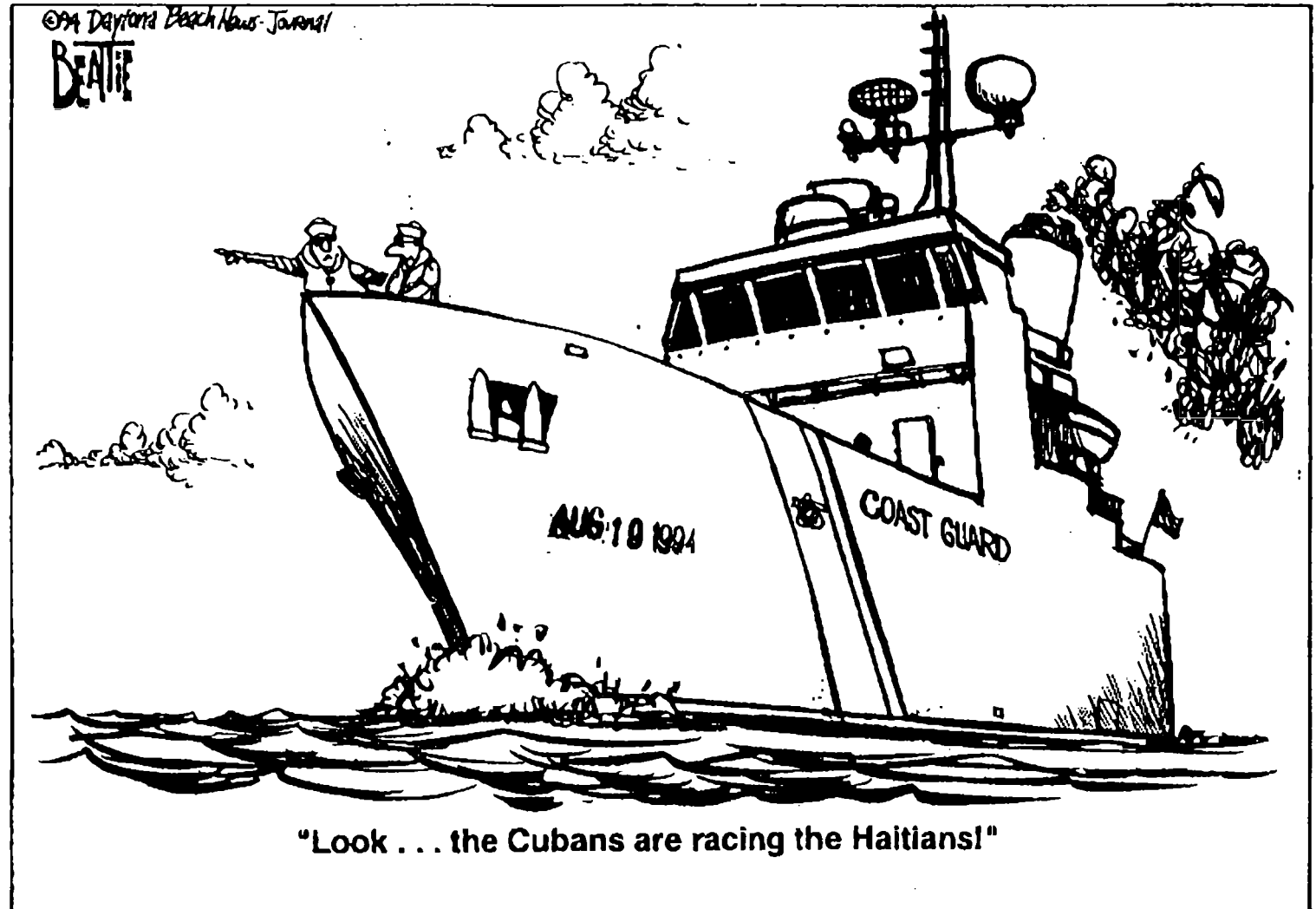
Officials were reluctant to disclose details, but measures to stem the flow could range from towing back Cuban rafters to putting Cubans in third-country "safe havens," as the U.S. now does with Haitian boat people.

But so far, Washington's only action has been Attorney General Janet Reno's announcement yesterday that the administration would increase to 86 from 26 the number of Immigration and Naturalization Service agents being sped to Key West, Fla., to deal with Cuban refugees.

Trying to avoid a sense of crisis, officials in Washington insisted the U.S. could easily absorb the number of Cubans expected in 1994. An official estimated that at current rates, a total of 20,000 Cubans could head here this year, but he added that the hurricane season is likely to hold the figure below that.

'Distant Shores' Plan

The U.S. has for years had a contingency plan, known as "distant shore," periodically updated by the administration, for dealing with an unmanageable level of emigration, one official noted. The plan involves such steps as moving boat people who arrive in Florida to other



U.S. states and sealing off the coasts. But "we are well below the levels that would trigger this kind of thing," an official insisted.

"It's a controlled Mariel," says Agustín de Cardenas, a 46-year-old university physical education teacher who arrived at a Cuban processing center in Miami 10 days ago after spending three days on a raft with six fellow refugees. "Whoever wants to build his raft and go, well, he can go."

During the 1980 Mariel boatlift, more than 125,000 Cubans came to the U.S., most on boats manned by their Cuban-American relatives. A number of them were criminals and mental patients hastily freed from Cuban prisons and institutions and sometimes forced to emigrate. So far this time, the people leaving Cuba appear to be a cross-section of the population, including professionals, workers and families—from toddlers to 90-year-old grandmothers.

The new flow of refugees, though well below Mariel levels, has been growing since Fidel Castro, reacting last week to a riot and a spate of boat hijackings, said his government would no longer restrain Cubans wanting to leave the country, unless the U.S. negotiated an immigration agreement and an end to its three-decade-old trade embargo on Cuba.

Confirms Castro's Orders

A Foreign Ministry official reached by telephone in Havana confirmed that Mr. Castro's orders that Cuban police and coast guard not do the work of the U.S. Coast Guard were being followed.

The number of Cubans picked up by the Coast Guard has climbed almost geometrically every day this week. On Wednesday, the Coast Guard picked up 537 people, the largest number since the 1980 boatlift. By 5 p.m. yesterday the number was 247. Nearly 7,000 Cubans have been picked up so far this year, about twice last year's total.

Luis Alvarez, sunburned and sporting a donated T-shirt, waits patiently as throngs of refugees threaten to overwhelm the staff at the main refugee processing center on the edge of Miami's Little Havana.

"All of Cuba is going to come here," says Mr. Alvarez, a 46-year-old taxi driver, rescued by the Coast Guard several days ago after spending 18 hours on a raft with 10 other people.

Mr. de Cardenas, the physical education teacher, says everyone in Cuba wants to leave the island before the U.S. government decides to clamp down. "Before the Americans stop it, they want to get out," he says.

One of Mr. de Cardenas's companion on the raft trip to the U.S., Pastor Suarez, a 32-year-old truck driver, says the recent Havana riots have underscored Mr. Castro's need to permit his disgruntled subjects to leave the island as a safety valve to Cuba's disastrous economic situation.

Asking for Freedom

"The people ask for freedom, and since Castro can't give freedom, the only thing possible is to leave," says Mr. Suarez. "If they stop people from leaving, then there will be demonstrations against the government."

Mr. de Cardenas says the U.S. is very generous to Cubans, and permits them to come in, unlike Haitians. It's precisely that difference in treatment, stemming from the 28-year old Cuban Adjustment Act, which allows Cubans who escape Cuba and arrive in the U.S. to stay, that has come under attack. Groups such as the Congressional Black Caucus have complained about this double standard, and the griping could grow louder if Cuba mushrooms into a high-profile issue.

This time around the newcomers might not be as welcome. Cuban Americans who sailed boats to Mariel to pick up relatives were the driving force behind the 1980 boatlift. Now, for diverse reasons, including the feeling that Mr. Castro is on the ropes and can only profit from another mass migration, there is little enthusiasm to sail again for Havana.

"Cubans have developed a lot stronger ties to the community," says Pedro Freyre, a lawyer who chairs the Free Cuba committee of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce. "They are balancing how much can the community put up with vs. 'I've got to get my brothers in here.'"

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WALT ST. JRL

PRESIDENT DENIES EMERGENCY MONEY ON CUBAN INFLUX

FLORIDA PLEA REBUFFED

Justice Department Chief Tells Gov. Chiles That Refugees Are Being Absorbed

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 — With hundreds of Cubans continuing to flee in rafts and rubber dinghies, Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida asked the Federal Government today to declare a state of emergency there but President Clinton denied the request.

The Governor pressed the Administration for millions of dollars in emergency Federal aid to deal with the more than 2,000 Cubans who have flocked to Florida so far this month. But Attorney General Janet Reno, who comes from Miami, insisted that the situation was under control and that the refugees were being easily absorbed. Miami already has a huge Cuban population.

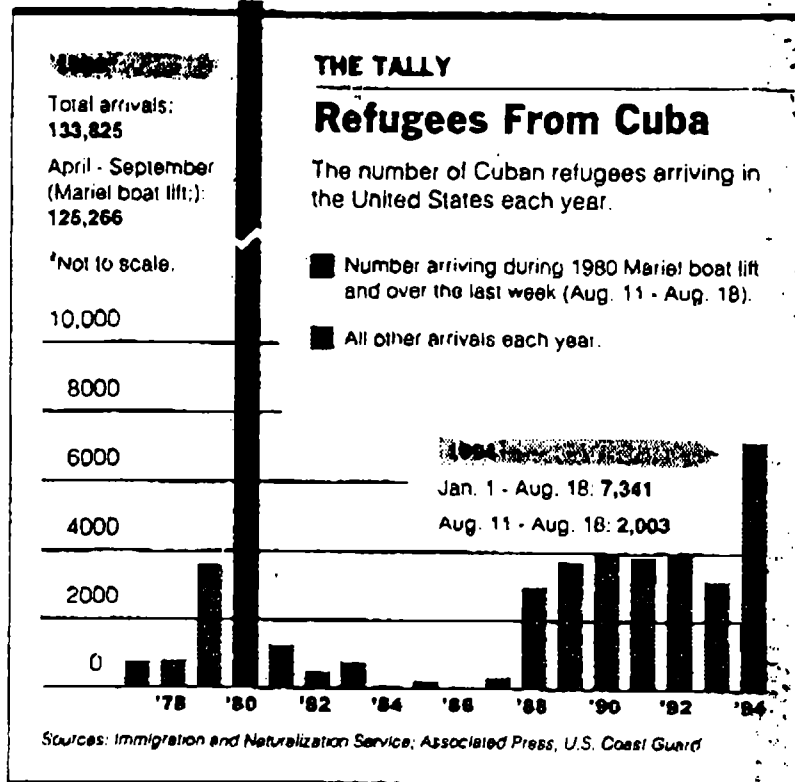
According to the Coast Guard, 401 fleeing Cubans had been picked up by 8 P.M. today, while 537 were picked up on Wednesday. That was the highest number on any single day since the 1980 Mariel boat lift, in which 125,000 refugees ultimately fled to the United States from Cuba. So far more than 7,000 refugees have fled Cuba by boat this year, the largest annual number since 1980.

The Federal Government's emergency plan for Florida would send additional Coast Guard or Navy boats to patrol the Florida Straits and release tens of millions of Federal dollars to the state to provide services for the refugees.

In resisting the pleas of Governor Chiles, President Clinton finds himself torn between domestic politics and foreign policy imperatives.

On one hand, the President wants to help Governor Chiles, a fellow Southern Democrat who faces a tough re-election race this November, possibly against former President George Bush's son Jeb.

In a mid-term election year when the Democrats fear major reversals, especially in the larger, more influential states, one of the last things the Administration wants is to lose the Governor's mansion in Florida, the fourth most populous state, which has 25 electoral votes.



With an eye to November, Mr. Chiles is insisting that the Administration declare a state of emergency, partly to show Florida voters that he has clout in Washington. He is also asking for a total \$75 million in emergency Federal funds to counter Republican charges that he is spending too much on social services for immigrants and others.

But diplomatic concerns are giving President Clinton a strong tug in the other direction. Administration officials said today that they were reluctant to declare a full-scale emergency because it would send a signal to Cubans that the door was open wide

for them to flee in their boats and rafts. At the same time, declaring an emergency would tell Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, that he had succeeded in unnerving the Administration.

Emergency at White House

After an emergency high-level White House meeting on the Cuba situation today, Administration officials said they were considering numerous contingency plans. These included increasing the number of Coast Guard vessels off Cuba and enabling more Cubans to gain refugee status by applying in Havana, rather than by taking to rafts. The Coast Guard now has a dozen cutters and 31 small boats patrolling the Florida Straits.

Pentagon officials said Navy personnel were trucking tents from Gulfport, Miss., to Homestead Air Force Base in Florida in case the wave of Cubans surged suddenly.

Administration officials say wretched economic conditions in Cuba are the underlying factor behind the exodus, but they add that the immediate reason for it is that Mr.

Castro has stopped prohibiting Cubans from fleeing in rafts, inner tubes and small boats.

According to Administration policymakers, Mr. Castro has permitted the recent wave of refugees in the hope that it would vex the Administration and pressure it to ease its trade embargo against Cuba. This would enable Cubans and Mr. Castro to breathe more easily at a time when the Cuban leader faces the most domestic dissent in years.

Senior American officials said today they had ruled out relaxing the embargo, which Mr. Castro asserts is destroying Cuba's economy and causing the wave of refugees.

Options List Prepared

A White House official said that Anthony Lake, the national security adviser, would soon give President Clinton an updated list of options on the Cuban situation.

One option under consideration, the official said, would be to stop granting blanket entry to virtually all Cubans who flee to the United States. Refuge is granted because the Cubans are fleeing from a Communist country.

Several officials said they doubted that the President would stop granting blanket entry, mainly because it would enrage many Cuban-Americans.

Another option under consideration would be to transfer fleeing Cubans to third countries or safe havens, a policy the Administration pursued to handle the flood of Haitians this summer. That option is also expected to meet resistance from Cuban-Americans.

In a news conference today in Key

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NY TIMES

NY TIMES

West, where the Coast Guard has taken most of the Cuban refugees, Governor Chiles declared an emergency situation within his state. He said the Florida National Guard, marine patrol and other branches of government would be used to respond to the wave of Cubans.

"These large numbers create an emergency situation for services and assistance," Governor Chiles said. "Already, this emergency creates a burden on local and state resources."

At a news conference, Ms. Reno treated Mr. Chiles's depiction of the situation as an exaggeration, saying the Administration was handling the problem "in an orderly way and without disruption." She said the Immigration and Naturalization Service was adding more than a dozen workers in Florida to handle the Cuban refugees.

"We do not believe that this current influx has been a burden yet on the community," she said. To buttress this point, she noted that 75 percent of the Cuban refugees who have arrived this year have been settled with relatives in Florida and 15 percent with relatives in other states, primarily New York and New Jersey. The other 10 percent, she said, have also been placed outside of Florida.

But Administration officials said they were analyzing the situation day to day and would not rule out putting an emergency plan into effect.

"We're watching it very closely, but to date we've been able to manage the situation and we expect we'll continue to be able to," said Dee Dee Myers, the White House Press Secretary.

Administration officials vow not to allow a replay of the Mariel exodus, in which an estimated 90 percent of the refugees were carried by boats belonging to Cuban-Americans from Florida.

The Coast Guard has been ordered to increase patrols to stop and seize boats heading to Cuba from Florida to pick up refugees.

"We are not going to permit another massive exodus," said Ms. Myers. "We will not allow Fidel Castro to dictate our immigration policy."

One senior State Department official said he doubted the flow of Cubans would grow to the same proportions as wave of Haitians last June. He said that since Cuba did not have free enterprise, it was harder for Cubans to build medium-sized boats to carry lots of refugees. That is why Haitian refugees often fled 50 or 100 to a boat, while the Cubans flee five or ten to a raft.

Attorney General Reno seized on the new exodus to indict Mr. Castro. "To divert the Cuban people from seeking democratic change, the government of Cuba has resorted to the unconscionable tactic of letting people risk their lives by leaving in flimsy vessels through the treacherous waters of the Florida Straits," she said.

"An uncontrolled exodus from Cuba will do nothing to address Cuba's internal problems. The solution to Cuba's problems is rapid, fundamental and far-reaching political and economic reform."

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CARAH THOMAS-MASKELL/The Associated Press

Cuban refugees Nancy Lopez, left, and Laura Lopez are greeted by their cousin Thursday in Miami, after arriving earlier in the week aboard a 23-foot boat.

Tallahassee Democrat

CUBA:

Chiles says Florida's safety is jeopardized by unchecked Cuban immigration

which Fidel Castro is trying to manipulate U.S. foreign and immigration policy," Graham said. "The actions by the attorney general indicate that this will not be tolerated."

Chiles has demanded more federal help to pay for housing, health care and other services for the thousands of refugees streaming into Florida in the largest migration since the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

But the Clinton administration earlier Thursday responded coolly to Chiles' request, insisting there was no crisis at hand.

In an interview before Reno's hastily called news conference, Chiles took a defiant stance.

"When (White House Press Secretary) Dee Dee (Myers) says that they are handling the situation that means that in these 15 or 30 minutes they are processing these people and turning them loose on my streets," Chiles said on CNN. "We are not going to stand for that."

The governor complained that the refugees are not receiving health screenings and said he would issue an executive order to quarantine them until they are checked out by doctors. He did not elaborate.

In declaring an emergency, Chiles authorized the Florida National Guard to activate its members to deal with the growing influx.

Part of the urgency is fueled by fear of a repeat of the 1980 Mariel boatlift that swamped Florida with 125,000 refugees in five months. Law enforcement, health services, schools and social agencies were overwhelmed.

Cubans in a ragtag flotilla of homemade rafts and leaky boats have been making the perilous 90-mile crossing in growing numbers since Aug. 5 when Cuban leader Castro threatened another Mariel after

Reno approves TALL. DEMOCRAT detention for Cuban refugees

Gov. Lawton Chiles says he is thrilled with the decision because it will send a strong message to Fidel Castro.

By John Pacontl
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
KEY WEST

As hundreds of Cubans landed in Florida and thousands more gathered along the Cuban shoreline, Attorney General Janet Reno announced for the first time Thursday that Cubans arriving by boat will be detained, effective immediately, rather than released to friends and relatives.

Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles, who earlier Thursday declared an immigration emergency, said he was delighted by the decision. He said it sends a strong message to Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

"This keeps Castro from being able to call the shots in regard to immigration policy," Chiles said. "It also allows us to make sure these people get the proper health screening, that other screening is

done. Right now, we don't know who is coming in. Castro could be sending agents."

Since 1966, Cubans arriving in Florida have been released to relatives or other sponsors in the United States upon their arrival, after being interviewed by immigration officials.

But the administration has been under pressure from a steadily increasing flow of refugees the past week to stem the tide.

The Coast Guard has rescued more than 2,000 Cuban refugees from the Straits of Florida in the past week. The guard picked up 547 Cubans on Wednesday, the biggest single day since the 1980 exodus, and 527 by late Thursday.

U.S. Sen. Bob Graham, D-Miami, also repeated Chiles' assertion that the announcement was a message to Castro and that it would allow for careful processing of the refugees.

"Clearly this indicates that the administration and president recognize that this situation has moved to a new stage, a stage in

Please see CUBA, 11A

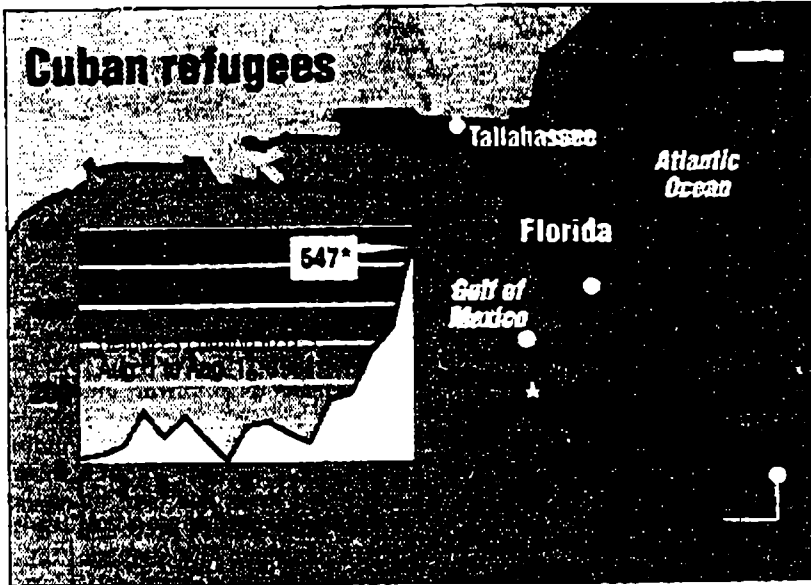
TALL. DEMOCRAT

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CHUCK FADELY/The Miami Herald

A Cuban refugee waves as he and his fellow passengers bail water Thursday from their sinking raft in the Straits of Florida.



SOURCES: Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Coast Guard, research by BRENNAN SINK Knight-Ridder Tribune

the worst rioting of his 35-year rule. Cuban journalists who spoke to The Associated Press by phone said refugees were setting off openly from beaches and harbors around Havana with no apparent interference from police. Forty-three rafts — often rope-bound contraptions made of inner tubes, canvas, even house doors — were intercepted Wednesday alone by the Coast Guard. One man died

trying to reach freedom, and another reached shore on a stretcher. A 91-year-old woman crossed with her son rather than be left behind. "Everyone was talking about leaving," Yamilka Santos Lopez, 23, said Thursday after arriving at the Cuban Transit Center, an exile-run program to help refugees find their relatives near Key West. "Lots of people were starting to build rafts or make plans to get together with

friends to go in boats." Until Reno's announcement, Cubans who arrive were briefly questioned by U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service agents at the Coast Guard base in downtown Key West and then taken by bus to the Cuban Transit Center. From there they go on to Miami. A new arrival at the center said Thursday he sailed with a group of 15 Cubans after hearing the Castro government was no longer stopping refugees from leaving. "Before, when we try (to leave), they take everything. But now Castro says, 'Go,'" said Pedro Gonzalez, who sailed with his wife, three sons, daughter, son-in-law and the family dog from Mariel.

The Coast Guard believes the number of refugees will peak at 1,500 refugees a day because of the limited number of boats available to make the trip from Cuba, said a U.S. government source who spoke on condition of anonymity. The U.S. government, through the Coast Guard and federal immigration agents, already handles the brunt of the influx in its initial stage. But Chile pleaded for activation of an emergency federal refugee plan that includes resettling refugees in other states.

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U.S. to detain Cuban refugees

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BY PETE TIMES



Times photo — RICARDO FERRO

Cubans picked up by the Coast Guard wait for Gov. Lawton Chiles to finish speaking so they can touch free land in Key West on Thursday.

■ Don Addis



■ Gov. Lawton Chiles says the refugees are creating a "true emergency" in Florida.

By NED SEATON
and DAVID DAHL
Times Staff Writers

Cubans arriving in Florida by boat will be detained rather than released into the community, the Clinton administration announced late Thursday.

Attorney General Janet Reno announced the new policy. Details about it will be disclosed by President Clinton today.

The decision came after a day when Gov. Lawton Chiles declared a state of emergency and demanded federal help with the largest wave of Cuban immigrants to hit Florida since the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

"There are hundreds of people, perhaps thousands, massing on the shores of Cuba," Chiles told a news conference held at the Key West Coast Guard station. "A true emergency exists for the state of Florida."

Since 1966, Cubans arriving in Florida have been released to relatives or other sponsors in the United States upon their arrival, after being

interviewed by immigration officials.

But the administration has been under pressure from a steadily increasing flow of refugees the past week to stem the tide.

Chiles wants the administration to implement an emergency immigration plan that would bring Florida federal help. He wants Navy ships sent to the Florida Straits, possibly to intercept the desperate Cubans who are boarding makeshift boats and rafts to take the treacherous 90-mile trip from their homeland.

But earlier Thursday the administration was cool to the governor's request, and no one at the White House would agree with his description of the situation as an emergency.

"I think clearly we've been able to handle the surge in Cuban migrants in an orderly fashion and we'll continue to do that," said White House spokeswoman Dee Myers.

An additional 86 Immigration and Naturalization Service agents were dispatched to South Florida this week. And a senior Pentagon official said Defense Secretary William Perry authorized shipment of excess military supplies to South Florida as a "prudent measure" in case the flow of refugees turns into

a flood. The items, including tents and cots, were being flown to Homestead Air Force Reserve Base.

Other than taking those steps, Myers would only say that White House officials met to discuss the situation Thursday and that they were evaluating Chiles' request.

"We're not going to permit another Mariel," the spokeswoman said.

That's exactly what Chiles wants to avoid. An estimated 125,000 Cuban refugees came to the United States in 1980 to escape Fidel Castro's communist regime. Many of the refugees were rescued by their Cuban-American relatives, who took boats to their former homeland.

The influx altered South Florida dramatically, swamping schools, public health programs and law enforcement. In the years since, state leaders often have argued that these immigration costs are the responsibility of the federal government. Washington hasn't entirely agreed.

Now, with a new, though much smaller, wave of Cuban refugees, Chiles doesn't want to get stuck with the tab again — especially when he's facing a tough re-election fight this fall.

Chiles' request

Gov. Lawton Chiles on Thursday appealed to President Clinton for a four-pronged federal response to Florida's refugee situation. The components of his request include:

- An increased naval presence in the Florida Straits to deter Cubans from taking to the seas.
- Some \$75-million to assist local communities affected by the refugee influx. This money presumably would go to communities such as Miami and Key West, where large numbers of refugees are coming ashore.
- U.S. Public Health Service officials to assist state health officials in the medical screening of incoming refugees.
- A second refugee processing center. Florida's existing processing center, the Krome detention center in west Dade County, is inundated with refugees. Sites mentioned as possible secondary facilities include Homestead Air Force Base and the Naval Installation on Boca Chica near Key West.

"This is not a manageable situation," Chiles said at his news conference.

He urged Cubans to stay in their homeland and declared: "The Castro government is clearly weakening and the day of freedom in Cuba is near."

As Chiles spoke, the 82-foot Coast Guard cutter *Point Baker* pulled up to the Key West dock, carrying 49 refugees and one small

dog on a leash. The refugees appeared to be in good condition, walking off the boat with no assistance.

The latest round of refugees apparently is arriving because Castro is opening Cuban ports in the wake of the worst rioting of his 35-year regime.

The Coast Guard has rescued more than 1,600 Cuban refugees from the Florida Straits in the past week, including 547 on Wednesday, the biggest single day since the 1980 exodus, and 369 by Thursday evening.

The Coast Guard believes the number will peak at 1,500 a day and then drop off, limited by the number of available boats and bad weather expected from Tropical Storm Chris, a U.S. government source told the Associated Press.

Forty-three rafts — often rope-bound contraptions made of inner tubes, canvas, even house doors — were intercepted Wednesday alone. One man died trying to reach freedom, and another reached shore on a stretcher. A 91-year-old woman crossed with her son rather than be left behind.

Under the 1960s-era Cuban Adjustment Act, any Cuban who reaches the United States gets permanent resident status automatically. The federal government processes the immigrants, with an emphasis on reuniting the immigrants with relatives.

Reno said about 75 percent of the new arrivals end up in Florida and about 15 percent in New York or New Jersey. The rest are being placed outside of Florida.

Chiles would like to bus the immigrants out of the state in 72 hours, but he wasn't getting a lot of help from the federal government. Customarily a close ally of President Clinton, the governor said, "I wouldn't be here this morning if everything was working the way it should be."

By day's end, Florida's con-

gressional delegation was joining Chiles in his demand for federal help.

Sen. Bob Graham, a Democrat who was Florida's governor during the Mariel boatlift and its aftermath, contacted Clinton administration officials Thursday evening. One target: Reno, herself a Floridian who was Dade County state attorney in the 1980s.

The Floridians want some of the nearly \$1-billion the state has been requesting from the Federal Immigration Emergency Fund. They also want help to guard against disease that could be spread by the new arrivals.

"There exists a public health threat to the residents of Dade County because the federal government has not yet established a mechanism for conducting medical screenings at the point of entry (in Key West)," Dade County Manager Joaquin Avino said in a letter to Reno on Wednesday.

"This is of great concern to us because there exists the real potential for a resurgence in transmittable diseases such as tuberculosis," Avino wrote.

Reno didn't offer a sympathetic ear to her home-state allies, however. She pointed out that the state already receives federal money for South Florida's hospitals and other needs. She told reporters the administration was handling the latest problem "in an orderly way and without disruption."

Furthermore, Reno argued the administration has taken a big step in avoiding a repeat of the Mariel boatlift. The Coast Guard is warning Florida boaters that they will be seized if they're headed to Cuba. Ninety percent of Mariel's influx resulted from Floridians traveling to Cuba to get relatives.

Chiles praised Florida's Cuban community for showing restraint in not attempting to haphazardly boat out into the straits to find friends or relatives.

ST. PETE TIMES

AUG 19 1994



This Cuban family was among those who escaped their homeland on rafts Thursday. They were picked up by the Coast Guard.

Times photo — RICARDO FERRO

Until more federal help arrives, Chiles said his declaration of emergency will draw people and resources from state agencies to implement Florida's immigration emergency plan.

Command posts will be set up in Key West and Tallahassee, Chiles said, to coordinate the Florida National Guard, the Marine Patrol, the Highway Patrol and several other state departments.

"Just as Florida prepares for and deals with natural storms that cross our shores or hurricanes, we're prepared to respond to this storm of immigration emergency," Chiles said.

Monroe County Sheriff Richard Roth said a \$38-million jail in Key West, opened just six months ago, would be used as a staging area for the refugees. The jail has room to hold about 2,000 refugees — temporarily, at least — in an area under the building.

At the state's Emergency Operations Center in Tallahassee, Joe Myers was preparing for what could be a one-two punch — the immigration wave and a possible blow from Tropical Storm Chris.

— Information from the Associated Press and Times staff writers Jennifer S. Thomas and Bill Mose was used in this report.

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Graham, Florida delegation join call for U.S. response

■ "If . . . Fidel Castro is consciously directing Cubans to leave, then the U.S. should interdict and return those refugees," says Sen. Bob Graham.

By JENNIFER S. THOMAS
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Democratic Sen. Bob Graham led a chorus of Florida lawmakers Thursday demanding a federal response to the most recent water-borne exodus of refugees from Cuba.

"It is imperative that the federal government do everything in its power to address what is fast becoming another Mariel situation," said Graham, referring to the 1980 boatlift that brought 125,000 Cubans to the United States.

Graham's request for a face-to-face discussion with President Clinton was turned down. Instead, he made his case to White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta in a phone conversation Thursday evening.

Earlier in the day, Graham expressed confidence that the president would respond quickly to Florida's refugee situation.

"I don't think he wants to relearn the lesson Jimmy Carter learned in 1980," Graham said. Carter was repudiated at the polls in November 1980, in no small part because of his handling of Mariel.

Clinton suffered his own political setback during the Mariel influx, when he was the governor of Arkansas. Several thousand Marielitos were detained at Fort Chaffee in Arkansas, and Clinton was forced to call in the National Guard to quell rioting. Arkansans' disapproval of Clinton's handling of the Cuban situation is often cited as a major reason for his defeat when he ran for re-election in 1980. Graham, who was governor of Florida during the Mariel crisis, did not face the voters in 1980.

Gov. Lawton Chiles has requested emergency aid, including a higher Navy profile in the Florida Straits, federal dollars for affected local communities, U.S. Public Health Service officials to help state health officials deal with the incoming refugees and the establishment of a second refugee-processing center.

Graham said that the Krome refugee detention center in west Dade County is filled to capacity with recent arrivals from Cuba and Haiti. Homestead Air Force Base, which is being prepared for partial closure, and the Navy base on Boca Chica near Key West, have been mentioned as possible sites for a processing center.

When asked if the government should continue to admit all Cuban refugees able to reach U.S. shores, Graham responded, "As long as we are dealing with people who are leaving of their own motivation, then I think our policy should remain the same."

But Graham added, "If the determination is made that Fidel Castro is consciously directing Cubans to leave, then the U.S. should interdict and return those refugees."

Fifteen members of the Florida House delegation and Sens. Graham and Connie Mack, R-Fla., signed a letter to Clinton, demanding that the administration shoulder the responsibility for processing, transporting and caring for the incoming Cubans.

Lawmakers pointed to the fiscal hardship that compelled Chiles in April to file a lawsuit against the U.S. government for the costs of providing services for illegal aliens.

"The state has repeatedly sought federal relief for the financial burdens of immigration on states like Florida," the lawmakers told the president. "Today's escalating crisis will only sharpen the dire need for this reimbursement."

They warned that the state was "neither able nor obligated" to continue shouldering the financial burden.

BY PETE JAMES

AUG 19 1994

COLUMNS

■ Bernard Aronson

Let's give Cuba incentives to move toward democracy

The recent, unprecedented street protests in Havana and Fidel Castro's subsequent threat to unleash another "Mariel Harbor" flood of refugees upon the United States should serve as a warning.

The United States is uniquely vulnerable to events 90 miles away in Cuba. But we have no real policy to influence them.

How can U.S. policy help ensure that the inevitable change coming to Cuba will be peaceful rather than violent and traumatic? Instead of trying to answer that question, we have been locked for years into a paralyzing impasse between advocates and opponents of the U.S. embargo.

It is time to transcend that debate and seek a new consensus about Cuba.

To do so, we must acknowledge first that there are honest, principled people on both sides of the embargo divide. Supporters believe that isolating the Castro regime and depriving it of hard currency are the surest and quickest routes to Cuban democracy. They fear that Castro would manipulate trade opportunities with the United States to enhance his international legitimacy while keeping his police state apparatus well fed and well equipped. They do not want to breathe oxygen into a dying dictatorship.

Opponents believe that flooding Cuba with goods, people and information would undermine Castro's dictatorship more effectively. They argue that dropping the embargo would focus international criticism on Cuban repression rather than U.S. policy.

What we should be seeking, instead of capitulation by one side or the other, is common ground between the two. A framework already exists on which a new consensus about Cuba could be constructed — the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act. The conventional wisdom is that the act merely tightens the embargo.

In fact, the act also opens up for the first time telecommunications and direct-mail services between Cuba and the United States. And it declares it "should be the policy of the United States to be prepared to reduce sanctions in carefully calibrated ways in response to positive developments in Cuba."

The challenge to U.S. policy — and the opportunity — is to give meaning to those words. The United States has never spelled out what specific steps it is prepared to take in response to which "positive developments in Cuba." We should do so now.

The executive and Congress should begin a bipartisan effort to define the specific steps the United States is prepared to take in response to peaceful democratic change. The Cuban-American community must be a full partner in such a negotiation. The administration would be wise to appoint someone well-trusted by the Cuban-American community, such as Rep. Robert Torricelli, author of the Cuban Democracy Act, to negotiate any final deal.

For its part, the United States should be prepared to place on the table: (1) withdrawal from the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay and relinquishing of U.S. base rights; (2) confidence-building measures to reassure the Cuban military that the United States would not take advantage of a democratic opening to intervene; and (3) a step-by-step relaxation of the provisions of the embargo in exchange for concrete steps by the Cuban government to move irreversibly toward democracy. As a sweetener, the United States should offer to a fully democratic Cuba immediate negotiations to join the North American Free Trade Agreement.

The steps Cuba would be required to take might include freeing political prisoners, halting violence against civilians by state-sponsored "rapid deployment brigades," on-site monitoring of human rights by the United Nations, constitutional reforms guaranteeing civil and political liberties and, ultimately, internationally monitored elections.

The United States also should engage Latin America and the Caribbean in this process. Latin and Caribbean democracies know that violent convulsion in Cuba will only divert progress from their agenda of attracting foreign investment and pursuing free trade with the United States. Were the United States to offer a credible set of incentives, the hemisphere's democracies could emerge as the strongest and most effective voices pressing Cuba to respond.

There is no guarantee that the Cuban government would do so. Initially the odds are that it would not.

Still, simply offering such a bipartisan initiative for peaceful democratization would shift the weight of international and internal pressure onto the Castro regime to justify why it refuses to take reasonable steps to reduce its own isolation and regain symbols of national sovereignty like Guantanamo Bay. And as social pressures inside Cuba grow, such an initiative — particularly measures to reassure Cuba that it faces no military threat — might make it less likely that the Cuban army will choose to be the ultimate enforcer of regime repression and terror at the expense of its fellow citizens.

Administration advisers will argue no doubt it is too risky to engage in negotiation over an issue as volatile as Cuba. Recent events in Havana prove the more dangerous course is to do nothing while the struggle for democracy in Cuba unfolds.

■ Bernard Aronson was assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs from June 1989 through July 1993. ■
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