

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Public Liaison

Series/Staff Member: Suzanna Valdez

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 5948

FolderID:

Folder Title:

Cuba Clippings 1994 [2]

Stack:

S

Row:

30

Section:

1

Shelf:

4

Position:

3

DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS

Fundado el
4 de Julio de 1953

Por la Libertad, la Cultura y la Solidaridad Hemisférica.



Miembro de la Sociedad
Interamericana de Prensa

AÑO XLII

NUMERO 298

Miami, Florida Viernes 23 de Junio de 1995

EDICION DE 24 PAGINAS — 2 SECCIONES

35 CENTAVOS EN MIAMI

**Revisa la CIA su política
sobre la violación de los
derechos humanos**

Página 8-A

**United Way inicia un
programa para los
refugiados en Guantánamo**

Página 1-B

**Murió Peter Townsend,
el gran amor imposible de
la princesa Margarita**

Página 3-B

**AL CERRAR
LA EDICION**

Arrestan a un ex coronel por denunciar a los Castro

Por ARIEL REMOS

Un teniente coronel retirado, hastiado por la mala situación y los atropellos de que ha sido víctima por discrepar del sistema, fue arrestado por la fuerza en su domicilio en La Habana, por agentes castristas.

El teniente coronel Nilvio Labrada Vicent decidió no soportar más en silencio el acoso y los atropellos de que lo hizo objeto la tiranía, colgó sus uniformes de militar y letreros contra Fidel Castro en el frente de su domicilio, botando al mismo tiempo a la calle los libros de marxismo y gritando que todo eso era una basura.

Colgó sus uniformes de militar junto a letreros contra los Castro frente a su casa y botó sus libros de marxismo gritando que todo era una basura

La información le fue suministrada por teléfono desde La Habana a Ninaska Pérez Castellón, directora de La Voz de la Fundación, que transmite diariamente a Cuba, quien logró comunicarse con el propio coronel Labrada Vicent, que se manifestó excitado y violento. En breve entrevista éste le

(Pasa a la Pág. 11-A Pág. 1)

Menoyo no escatima piropos para Castro

Por Alberto Míguez
(Especial para DIARIO LAS
AMERICAS)

MADRID.-- Tras casi cuatro horas de conversación con Fidel Castro en el Palacio de Convenciones de La Habana, el ex preso político y exiliado cubano, Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, encontró al dictador cubano "amable, muy franco, cordial y receptivo", según declaró a la periodista Victoria García de Radio Madrid de la cadena SER. La prestigiosa periodista mantuvo una larga

conversación con el dirigente de "Cambio Cubano" en la que éste no escatimó los piropos a quien fue su carcelero durante 22 años.

Menoyo dijo que como opositor al régimen se sentía muy complacido por el recibimiento de las autoridades cubanas y del pueblo de Cuba durante los días que permaneció en Cienfuegos y La Habana. Las conversaciones con las autoridades fueron "francas, abiertas y sin ningún

(Pasa a la Pág. 11-A Col. 1)

**Menoyo la
emprende
contra los
exiliados**

***Dice que Fidel Castro
tiene "voluntad de
cambio político"***

Miami Herald
12-2-94

WORLD NEWS

U.S. likely to allow release of families

Gradual action at Guantanamo

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ
Herald Staff Writer

The Clinton administration is expected to announce a plan this afternoon for the release of Cuban children and their families at the Guantanamo Naval Base and at a detention camp in Panama.

Instead of allowing the roughly 8,000 refugees into the country at once, the Clinton administration will announce that it will bring Cuban children and their caregivers into the United States incrementally, focusing first on cases that have a compelling humanitarian need.

"It's not going to be a blanket thing," said a State Department official. "It will be a gradual approach."

"There is a clear recognition there are pressing needs," the official said. "There are kids who are not only physically distressed but whose psychological [well-being] needs to be addressed."

The announcement comes one week before leaders from 34 nations converge in Miami for the Summit of the Americas. White House officials have expressed concern that the Cuban American community in

*'There is a clear
recognition there are
pressing needs.'*

ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL

Miami would seize on the event to highlight their concerns about the detention camps.

The administration has already paroled into the United States some 400 refugees from the base, including the infirm, the elderly and unaccompanied children.

Details of the plan were still being worked out Thursday evening. Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation, and Michael Skol, deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, were meeting to finish details of the release program.

The Cuban American community in South Florida expects to take an active role in resettling the refugees to offset taxpayer costs, said Francisco "Pepe" Hernandez, president of the Foundation.



Assistance to New Boatlift Building in Florida

Urban Americans Say This Isn't 1980 and a New Exodus Could 'Destroy Our Community'

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI, Aug. 10—As Fidel Castro threatens to unleash another mass exodus of refugees, this city's dominant Cuban American population is pleading with federal authorities not to allow a repeat of the Mariel boatlift of 1980, which brought 125,000 Cubans—and widespread crime and economic upheaval—to South Florida.

Cuban exiles here insist there is a world of difference between today and 1980, when the streets of Little Havana here were jam-packed with Cuban Americans pulling boats down to the Florida Keys for quasi-legal trips to rescue relatives from the communist-ruled island.

"Another boatlift could destroy our community," said Cesar Odio, Dade County's Cuban American city manager. "Mariel was a mess. . . . We cannot let it happen again."

In 1980, rescuing family members from Cuba was viewed as heroic. Today, it is widely seen as aiding the enemy by allowing Castro to get rid of his most disgruntled critics.

But more importantly, many Cubans here, who have created their own version of an economic miracle, believe another huge influx of their countrymen would prove too costly.

"It would be devastating for the economy. That's the big one. South Florida just can't take another 100,000 people," said Xavier Suarez, Miami's former mayor, a Cuban American who in 1980 drove some of the first bus loads of Cuban refugees from Key West to Miami.

So far, the U.S. Coast Guard reports no boats heading from the United States to Cuba, although rafts and hijacked vessels continue to pour out from the island toward the United States.

But "a slow-motion Mariel" continues. A record-breaking 5,279 Cubans have arrived in the United States on boats or rafts this year, including 116 in the last 24 hours. A plane load of 14 arrived on a stolen crop duster in the Florida Keys this morning.

In the last two weeks, four Cuban vessels, including passenger ferries and a Cuban navy boat, have been hijacked by Cubans desperate to leave Castro's island.

The 26 refugees who fled in the 30-foot Cuban navy boat arrived in Key West today after they were picked up by a Coast Guard cutter Tuesday in



Cuban refugees arrive yesterday at Coast Guard station in Key West in what has been termed a "slow-motion Mariel." ASSOCIATED PRESS

international waters. Cuban government officials in Washington initially had charged that the navy boat was hijacked and that a lieutenant was killed by the refugees, but Cuban diplomats today did not repeat the allegation, citing a need for more information from Havana.

The first refugee released, Ana Isa Bravo, told reporters in Key West that no one was murdered. All but one of the other refugees were released later.

Since widespread rioting erupted in Havana last week, South Florida has been seized by rumors, hopes and fears over a possible fall of Castro or another massive influx of refugees.

Gov. Lawton Chiles (D) and other state and federal officials have warned they will not permit another large boatlift. The U.S. attorney here said he would prosecute those who travel to Cuba to pick up refugees and would confiscate their boats. Many Cuban exiles applaud the strong message.

There is widespread belief here that Castro duped the United States during the Mariel boatlift by emptying prisons and hospitals and sending criminals and mental patients to Key West.

In the months after Mariel, thousands of refugees lived in tent cities under Miami's freeway underpasses

and at the Orange Bowl. While the majority of *Marielitos*, as they are called, were hard working immigrants, many were not, and Miami soon was engulfed in a crime wave.

Suddenly, the image of Cuban Americans as Latin-versions of Horatio Alger was replaced by the specter of cocaine-dealing sociopaths exemplified by the Tony Montoya character in the movie "Scarface."

The old-line, more affluent and more professional Cuban Americans who arrived in Miami in the 1960s were shocked by the *Marielitos*, who were darker-skinned, more working class and had grown up under Communism. In the first few years, Miami's school system, hospitals and social service providers were overwhelmed, although eventually the wave of immigrants was absorbed. Some 1,500 criminals from Mariel remain in federal prisons.

"This was not seen as a good experience for Cuban community," said Lizandro Perez, director of the Cuban Research Institute at Florida International University. "The Cubans here before 1980 were shocked by it and country was left with negative images."

Ramon Cernuda, a Cuban American publisher in Miami and spokesman for human rights activists in Cuba, said in 1980 there was little hope

for change in Cuba. Castro had the support and patronage of the Soviet Union and he was a leader of the nonaligned nations. His economy was strong.

"People thought it was a last chance to get their relatives out," Cernuda said. Now, he notes, Cuba's economy is in disarray, the Soviet Union has collapsed and Castro seems increasingly isolated.

Many Cuban exile leaders now want Cubans to stay on the island, agitating for change for what some people here refer to as the "Final Solution" in Cuba, the end of the Castro regime.

"They should stay in Cuba and Castro must be forced to deal with them," said Rafael Penalver, a Cuban American attorney and a negotiator during the 1987 prison riots by Mariel detainees in Georgia and Louisiana.

But Penalver and others fear that Castro is again trying to blackmail the United States by threatening a mass exodus.

"The objective of this whole turmoil is to get the U.S. to the negotiating table, to get the Clinton administration to negotiate a new immigration policy with Castro," Penalver said.

.S. Lets 25 Cubans From Hijacking Stay, Retaining 1

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 10 — The United States granted entry today to 25 Cubans who fled their island on a stolen Cuban boat, but a 26th refugee was detained pending further investigation.

In what has erupted into an angry dispute, Cuban officials insisted on Tuesday that all 26 should be returned, asserting that a Cuban navy lieutenant was killed when the boat was hijacked on Monday.

Coast Guard officials said tonight that they could not say if anyone had been killed in the hijacking. Earlier today, other Coast Guard officials said their interviews with the exiles indicated that the navy officer reported to have been killed was among the 26 on the boat and might have even

led the hijacking. These officials said the navy officer apparently pushed three other navy officers overboard near Mariel harbor and then took the boat to pick up some friends and relatives.

But late today, Coast Guard officials, as well as some Justice and State Department officials, backed off that version, suggesting that some of the exiles might have concocted a story to minimize any charges the hijacker would face.

1 Cuban Detained

Lemar Wooley, a spokesman for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Miami, said tonight that one of the 26 exiles, Leonel Macias Gonzalez, was being detained pending an investigation. Mr. Wooley declined to give details about why Mr. Macias

was being detained.

The 26 Cubans arrived in Key West shortly after noon today, 20 hours after a Coast Guard cutter reached their 30-foot boat on Tuesday, 60 miles southwest of the city. The cutter took the 26 Cubans aboard, concerned that the leaky, decrepit Cuban vessel would founder. It later sank, Coast Guard officials said.

It was the fourth Cuban vessel to be hijacked within two weeks, a development that has angered the Cuban government, which insists that Washington's accepting the defectors encourages more such criminal acts. Aggravating tensions between the two countries, rioting broke out in Havana on Friday when many Cubans, hearing rumors that a ferry had been hijacked, rushed to the harbor to flee, only to find that there was no

vessel to transport them.

Over the past decade, the United States has not returned exiles who hijacked Cuban boats, even when they used force, viewing the defectors as people who have justifiably used extreme measures to escape deplorable conditions and political persecution in Cuba.

Threatening Another Exodus

President Fidel Castro of Cuba warned last week that if the United States did not stop encouraging Cubans to flee by sea, Havana would "stop blocking the departure of those who want to leave the country."

His words worried United States officials, who feared a replay of the 1980 Mariel boatlift, when 125,000 Cubans, encouraged by Mr. Castro, fled to Florida. Many of those Cubans were transported in boats that Cuban-Americans took to Cuba to pick up their friends and relatives.

State Department officials said today that Mr. Castro had since assured Washington that he would not orchestrate another exodus. In interviews today, several officials said that if Mr. Castro did arrange a large-scale boatlift, the United States would consider massive interceptions. Under these plans, boats carrying Cubans to Florida would be turned back while boats heading from Florida to Cuba to fetch those hoping to flee would also be stopped.

In what some Cuban-Americans viewed as an effort to placate Mr. Castro, the State Department appeared to adopt a sterner attitude today toward Cuban boat hijackers.

Prosecution Considered

"Reported use of sometimes lethal violence by those taking over vessels to flee the island is a disturbing trend," said David Johnson, a State Department spokesman. "The use of violence in such acts places everyone at risk."

Anna Cobia, a Justice Department spokeswoman, said her agency was studying whether criminal prosecution would be warranted for any of the 26 Cuban exiles.

The Cubans were taken to an I.N.S. holding center for interviews by the immigration service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

One United States official said that if Cubans among the 26 are found to have committed violent crimes during the hijacking, they might not be accepted into the United States, but sent to a third country.

Any defector with a serious criminal record defectors would be returned to Cuba, the State Department said.

5,000 Refugees This Year

Just as some American officials backed off their initial version of events, the Cuban Interests Section in Washington also appeared to back off today about Havana's version of events.

Rafael Dausa, the director of political affairs at the interest section, declined in an interview to confirm that a navy officer was killed. He said, "We are engaged in a very detailed investigation of the facts."

According to the Coast Guard, the vessels have picked up 539 fleeing Cubans so far this month and 5.2 since Jan. 1. That compared with 3,656 picked up last year, making this year's total the highest since the 19 Mariel boatlift.

The Cubans on the hijacked boat were picked up at 4:15 P.M. Tuesday afternoon by the cutter Monhegan. Because that vessel was already carrying 60 Cubans picked up at sea, the 26 were transferred to the cutter Corregidor, which remained outside United States waters, until officials in Washington gave it the green light to proceed to Key West.

According to Jeff Hall, a Coast Guard spokesman, 116 other Cubans were picked up today in 11 different vessels. In addition, a Cuban pilot stole a crop-dusting plane today and flew along with 13 family members to the Florida Keys.

Serb vs. Serb, Belgrade vs. Bosnia

By STEPHEN KINZER

Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Aug. 10 — The two most prominent Serbian leaders are involved in a high-stakes confrontation so intense that it may result in a fall from power for one of them.

When the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, announced last week that he was ending all political and economic support for his Serbian allies in Bosnia, he effectively severed his ties with the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic.

He is demanding that Dr. Karadzic accept the latest international peace plan, knowing that United Nations diplomats are moving ahead with tighter sanctions that could have a devastating effect on Serbia's already crippled economy.

The only way the Serbs in Belgrade can avoid such sanctions, diplomats here say, is to persuade their Bosnian allies to accept the plan.

Scant Choice for Milosevic

"Milosevic has to get the Bosnian Serbs to sign the plan, and if this group won't sign it, he has to replace them," one European diplomat said. "Something dramatic has to happen, and given the fact that the U.N. sanctions are going to be imposed this week or next week, it has to happen quickly."

Not everyone here believes a confrontation between Mr. Milosevic and Dr. Karadzic will come so soon, but few doubt that it will come.

"There can't be two top guys," said Predrag Simic, director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics, an independent research center. "One of them has to go."

Mr. Milosevic, a veteran Communist apparatchik and shrewd behind-the-scenes operator, holds a strong hand. He controls not only the Yugoslav Army, the Serbian police and broadcast outlets, but also a far-flung network of party loyalists in Bosnia.

"Milosevic is not the sort of man who gets himself into a fight like this, without thinking it through and con-

vincing himself that he can win," said a foreign resident of Belgrade who closely observes politics here.

But Dr. Karadzic is not without weapons. He has been touch with militant politicians in Serbia, and on Monday he met with Patriarch Pavle, head of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

A key figure is the commander of the Bosnian Serbs' army, Gen. Ratko Mladic, perhaps the only figure in Bosnia powerful enough to depose Dr. Karadzic. General Mladic has not appeared in public in recent days, nor has he offered any reaction to Mr. Milosevic's decision last week to cut off supplies to his army. What he may be thinking or planning is a subject of heated speculation.

Counting on a General

General Mladic is known as a hard-line Serbian nationalist, and he has been unfailingly loyal to Dr. Karadzic during more than two years of war in Bosnia. Yet he has ties to Mr. Milosevic that go back much farther.

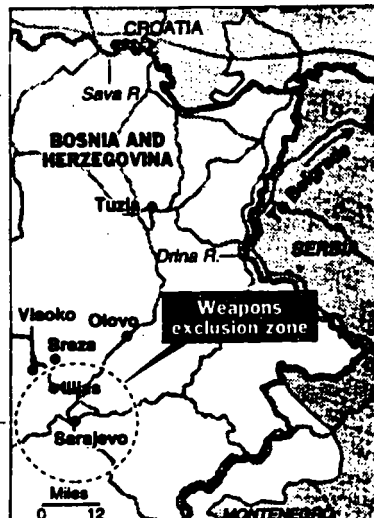
Some Milosevic supporters dare to hope that General Mladic will lead a coup to oust Dr. Karadzic. For their part, Karadzic loyalists have dreamed up more far-fetched possibilities. They imagine that the general will not only remain resolutely loyal to the Bosnian Serb leadership, but that he will go so far as to lead his army into Serbia itself and invite the Yugoslav Army to join him in overthrowing Mr. Milosevic.

The relationship between Mr. Milosevic and Dr. Karadzic is often compared to that between Dr. Frankenstein and his monster. Mr. Milosevic plucked Dr. Karadzic from obscurity several years ago and helped engineer his rise to power, but now finds he cannot control the figure he helped create.

Wide Fear of Sanctions

After Mr. Milosevic announced his decision to cut off aid, Dr. Karadzic responded like a man confident of his position.

"It seems to us that we have to grow up, to separate from our mother and to be older and adult," Dr. Kara-



Bosnian Government forces and Serbs are violating a weapons-exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

dzic said from his headquarters in Pale, Bosnia. "Now we are totally, totally alone. Only God is with us."

Every evening this week, Belgrade television has carried interview after interview with factory managers and others who say Serbia will face chaos and utter collapse if sanctions are not eased. They warn that more stringent border controls and closer restrictions on Serb-backed enterprises abroad may lead to a return to the shortages and hyperinflation that plagued Serbia last year.

If after such a publicity campaign sanctions are indeed tightened, many Serbs will be very angry, and the anger could spark serious discontent.

Diplomats at the United Nations have offered Mr. Milosevic a carrot as well as a stick. If he can secure Bosnian Serb support for the peace plan within a few days, they will begin easing sanctions; if he cannot, sanctions will probably be tightened.

Tainted Gifts to Mr. Espy

It is getting harder and harder to pick up a newspaper without finding fresh evidence that some public officials never learn. The latest example of the failure of senior government employees to avoid even the appearance of conflict of interest is the reported misbehavior of Mike Espy, President Clinton's Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. Espy runs a department that has long been cozy with the food producers and farmers it is supposed to regulate. President Clinton promised to end these snug relationships throughout the executive branch, but Mr. Espy appears not to have heard him. Instead, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, Mr. Espy accepted small favors from companies his department oversees while ignoring abuses in the poultry industry. Among his patrons is Tyson Foods, the big Arkansas chicken producer with strong personal and political ties to Mr. and Mrs. Clinton.

If these allegations are true, Mr. Espy has plenty of company. A full two decades after Watergate, which led to strict codes of ethical conduct, Washington still attracts people, elected and appointed, whose concern for the public runs second to their concern for the constituencies they are supposed to keep an eye on. No less dismaying is their apparent belief that even with the Whitewater investigations in full flower, and with the press on full alert for shoddy behavior, nobody will ever notice what they are up to.

Attorney General Janet Reno has now petitioned a Federal court to name an independent counsel to investigate whether Mr. Espy illegally accepted gifts and to determine whether they influenced his official behavior. This gives the Clinton

Administration the unusual distinction of dealing with two independent counsels simultaneously, the other being Kenneth W. Starr, who was named last Friday to examine Whitewater.

On their face, the allegations against Mr. Espy seem trivial. They involve the acceptance of tickets to a Dallas Cowboys football game from Tyson Foods, a basketball ticket to a Chicago Bulls game provided (allegedly at Mr. Espy's direct request) by Quaker Oats, lodging at a Tyson compound in Arkansas and a trip on a Tyson plane. There are also reports that Patricia Jensen, one of his top aides, as well as Patricia Dempsey, his companion, received similar favors from Tyson.

Ms. Reno's petition said no evidence had been uncovered to suggest Mr. Espy had accepted the gifts "as a reward for, or in expectation of, his performance of official acts." But her petition did not mention the potentially troublesome allegation raised by officials in Mr. Espy's own department that in March 1993 Ronald Blackley, then Mr. Espy's chief of staff, ordered them to stop work on proposals for tougher standards for poultry inspections opposed by Tyson and demanded that they erase these proposals from their computer files.

It will be the independent counsel's job to determine the truth about these reports and, if they are true, whether any laws and regulations governing the relationship between officials and the industries they regulate were broken. But this much can be said so far: Mr. Espy, who denies any wrongdoing and says he eventually paid for the tickets and the airplane flight, maintained openly chummy relationships that at the very least gave the appearance of improper conflict of interest. In this day and age, that is colossally stupid behavior.

Cubans, and Cuba Policy, Lost at Sea

American officials joined in the deserved condemnation when 32 Cubans who were attempting to escape their homeland drowned on July 13 after their ancient tugboat was bashed by a Cuban patrol boat. In Havana, this was followed by the hijacking of three passenger ferries by other Cubans attempting to flee, and by sporadic riots in which demonstrators shouted "Down with Fidel!"

Last weekend a furious Fidel Castro tried to reverse course, declaring he would stop putting obstacles "in the way of people who want to leave the country." It was easy to inveigh against Mr. Castro's restrictive immigration policy as long as he conveniently kept his unhappy citizens at home. Now he may be calling Washington's bluff, though at this point his intentions are far from clear. But his words prompted an instant denunciation by the State Department spokesman David Johnson, who called Mr. Castro's announcement a "ploy," a "cynical move" and "a replay of the Mariel boatlift."

In 1980, in an earlier bout over the same issue, Mr. Castro encouraged an exodus from Mariel harbor that dumped 125,000 Cuban refugees, including murderers and rapists, on Florida. Since then Mariel has been shorthand for the spiteful use of desperate people as political pawns. Mariel did Cuba no good, created a judicial and penal nightmare in the U.S. when some Mariel refugees were held in Federal jails, and set back by a decade hopes for more civil relations between Havana and Washington.

The U.S. is trapped in a self-made dilemma. Having demonized Mr. Castro for refusing to let Cubans emigrate, Washington now hopes he is only bluffing about opening the gates, causing another unmanageable tidal wave of new immigrants.

Successive Presidents, beginning with Dwight Eisenhower, have imposed punitive and unilateral economic sanctions against Cuba. But with the end of the cold war, Mr. Castro ceased to be a threat to U.S. security. The Soviet collapse exposed the folly of Cuba's lopsided dependence on sweetheart trade deals with the Communist bloc. Cuba's economy has crumbled. Yet the U.S. response to these new circumstances was the enactment in 1992, with candidate Bill Clinton's blessing, of stiffer trade sanctions, which even ban trade with Cuba's foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies.

These sanctions, the so-called Cuban Democracy Act, have indeed made life more wretched for ordinary Cubans, who now have economic as well as political reasons for fleeing their repressive police house. And each Cuban who makes it to Florida automatically qualifies for permanent residence under special cold-war legislation — a status denied Haitian refugees who also suffer from tyranny and poverty. Even hard-line anti-Castro Cuban exiles who clamored for the Cuban Democracy Act, now plead with their poor cousins back home to remain calm and stay put, rather than risk an angry political backlash in Florida.

America's Cuban policy has been frozen in the past, kept there by Presidents pandering to the most fanatical faction of the exile community in Florida. The humane and sensible way for the U.S. to avert a new Mariel is to ease sanctions, lift American curbs on travel to Cuba and permit more Cubans to immigrate legally, in return for a measure of political liberalization for the islanders. If deal along these lines were offered to Fidel Castro and if he scorned it, he would run the risk of opposition more serious than sporadic riots.

anything," said Mario Garcia Jr., 15, the son of a close friend of Lopez. "You get in a storm with no visibility and you always get scared."

After almost two hours, the plane approached an island chain, which they recognized as the Keys by the causeway connecting the islands. The staff at the Flight Department, which services private planes at Marathon Airport, saw the yellow plane coming toward them, flying low.

"We couldn't figure out what type of plane it was in the distance," said Maria Ballejos, who works as a receptionist at the Flight Department. "We figured out it was a Cuban plane when we saw the CU."

The plane flew low over the airport buildings, then turned and landed on the runway. The Flight Department staff ran up to the plane.

"They didn't want to get out. I guess they were afraid they didn't know what to expect," Ballejos said.

Eventually, the passengers came out and Ballejos took them into her office, to get out of the rain. "They just hugged me and they were crying," Ballejos said.

The newly arrived refugees waited for federal officials to process them, with the children getting their first tastes of the United States take-out from McDonald's and candy from the vending machines.

One of the day's most touching moments came early Wednesday afternoon at a hospital in the Keys.

Anaisa Bravo, 25, and her 2-year-old daughter, Soila, had been transferred there after the little girl fell aboard the Coast Guard cutter Courageous.

Bravo talked to reporters after doctors put three stitches in her daughter's head to repair a gash.

Soila became fidgety and hungry and pleaded with her mother. "Mama, leche," she said.

Almost reflexively, her mother replied, "There's no milk."

Transit Center director Arturo Cobo reassured her. "There is milk," he said. "There is plenty of milk."

Herald staff writers Nancy Klingener, Christopher Marquis and Andres Viglucci contributed to this report.

Castro was using this, as he has threatened to do, as a means of his own foreign policy trying to take control of our borders, yes, we would react to that."

Graham's remarks were the first to indicate that the Clinton administration might be willing to return significant numbers of Cuban refugees trying to reach the United States. Such a policy sparked widespread criticism when applied to Haiti, and probably would prompt fierce debate among Cuban Americans.

A State Department official who spoke on condition of anonymity confirmed that contingency plans for a Cuban exodus include the possibility of forcibly repatriating refugees. Such action would only occur in dire circumstances, he cautioned.

"That's so far down the road, it's dangerous to speculate on that," he said.

Specifics as to how the United States might actually return Cubans to a hostile government remained unclear Wednesday, as were many details of the federal emergency plan dubbed Operation Distant Shore.

The principal aim of the classified plan drafted over several years by up to 40 federal agencies is to avoid another 1980 Mariel boatlift, whose influx of 125,000 refugees overwhelmed South Florida services and sapped state coffers for years.

Yet, even as a growing number of U.S. and state officials, lawmakers and South Florida community leaders divulged and labored over pieces of the plan, it appeared to raise as many questions as it answered.

Would U.S. authorities arrest Cuban Americans trying to rescue relatives on the island? Can the U.S. handle Cuban and Haitian crises at the same time? At what point does the administration determine that a tolerable stream of rafters escaping Castro has turned into a torrent of boat people pushed out by him?

On this last point, one U.S. official said there is no specific number of refugees that serves as a tripwire. "We'll know an exodus when we see it," he said.

In Tallahassee, Gov. Lawton Chiles disclosed that Florida is prepared to pluck refugees off the beaches and hold them temporarily until the federal government picks them up and sends them to military bases outside Florida. Chiles hopes that can happen within 72 hours of their arrival in South Florida.

State Department spokesman Michael McCurry was deliberately vague on the plan Wednesday. "How we handle various situations or how we would deal with various scenarios is something for good reason we don't discuss publicly, because we don't want those measures to be defeated easily," he said. "But there is contingency planning under way."

Graham said U.S. intelligence personnel are focused "very closely" on Cuba. Rep. Robert Torricelli, D-N.J., chairman of the Western Hemisphere subcommittee, said the United States would remain generous to Cubans reaching this country, but would not allow Cuban Americans to fetch them. Helping refugees leave Cuba merely allows Castro to export his opponents, Torricelli said.

"It's important to remind people that U.S. law provides through the Cuban Adjustment Act that people who flee Cuba to the United States are welcomed to this country," Torricelli said. "That is not going to change."

But, he added: "What we are reminding people is that the laws of the U.S. prohibit the use of vessels leaving our ports to go to Cuba and take those that Castro would expel and bring them to the U.S. ... People who do this will be fined, with existing authority to seize their boats."

Torricelli, who discussed U.S. readiness with the Coast Guard on Wednesday, said: "There are more than enough assets now to enforce the law. There are 12 U.S. naval assets

PAGE P1 Miami Herald

U.S. to guard Florida Straits

Vessels prepared to head off any exodus from Cuba

Government will consider repatriating refugees

**By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
And TIM NICKENS**

Herald Staff Writers

WASHINGTON The Clinton administration has ordered 12 U.S. Coast Guard and Navy vessels to the Florida Straits and is prepared to repatriate Cuban refugees if a massive exodus begins, U.S. lawmakers said Wednesday.

The ships, whose precise whereabouts were not disclosed Wednesday, are being sent to the waters between the United States and Cuba as part of an effort to demonstrate resolve to Havana and dissuade Cuban Americans from sailing to Cuba to pick up relatives there, the lawmakers said.

But if Cuban President Fidel Castro follows through on a threat to unleash a U.S.-bound exodus of boat people, the U.S. vessels are equally prepared to intercept and return the refugees to Cuba, said Florida Sen. Bob Graham, a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, who has been briefed on U.S. plans for a Cuban immigration emergency.

"The first blockade is going to be the north-to-south flow," Graham said, alluding to Cuban Americans going to Cuba to pick up relatives. "But if it appeared as if

Coast Guard assets now on patrol. Upon notification, I've been assured by the administration, that number can be doubled in 24 hours. Within 36 hours, it could easily be doubled again."

Upon a determination that an exodus is under way, all U.S. ports near Cuba would be ordered closed, Torricelli said.

A Pentagon spokesman said he could not confirm Torricelli's assertion of a dozen ships patrolling near the Florida Straits. There are 13 naval vessels and Coast Guard ships of all kinds currently interdicting refugees from Haiti and enforcing a trade ban against that country, the spokesman said.

Any redeployment to Cuba could weaken the Haitian effort, the spokesman said.

PAGE 19A Miami Herald

Chiles: We're ready -- but we need feds' help

State fine-tuning strategy for dealing with refugees

By TIM NICKENS

Herald Capital Bureau

TALLAHASSEE Florida stands ready to provide stop-gap accommodations if the upheaval in Cuba brings a surge of new immigrants ashore, but the federal government must quickly assume control of the situation, Gov. Lawton Chiles said Wednesday.

At a briefing with dozens of officials at the state emergency operations center, the governor outlined the state's plan, which calls for providing food, shelter and emergency medical services for refugees for up to 72 hours after the refugees arrive.

The governor smiled, however, when asked if he believed federal authorities would meet the 72-hour goal. "I used to believe in the tooth fairy," Chiles joked.

Local, state and federal officials have been working on a contingency plan for months.

"It's now down to looking at a lot of details," Chiles said. "Compared to how ready we were for Mariel, we're light years ahead. Compared to the optimum, we'll never be where we need to get."

Under the state's plan, which is still being fine-tuned, local law enforcement officers will pick up refugees from the beaches and take them to temporary reception facilities. There will be between five and 10 of those in the seven-county area that includes Monroe, Dade, Broward, Palm Beach, Martin, St. Lucie and Indian River.

Eric Tolbert, bureau chief of the Department of Emergency Management, said the reception facilities likely will be schools or county jails. Florida Department of Law Enforcement Commissioner Tim Moore, whose agency is lining

up the facilities and will provide security along with federal officers, refused to identify them for security reasons.

Refugees are expected to remain in these temporary facilities for up to several hours. State officials say the refugees will be identified and screened for health problems or injuries that need immediate treatment.

They will be offered water but will not be fed. In four hours or less, the state Department of Corrections will be prepared to use at least 20 vans and buses including six 60-seat corrections buses to transport refugees from the reception facilities to Homestead Air Force Base, which will serve as a temporary staging facility.

Corrections officials are prepared to lease additional vehicles, and corrections officers would be on board to provide security.

If a flood of refugees appears imminent, 1,000 members of the Florida National Guard from 14 units around the state will be prepared to open the Homestead facility.

While there, the refugees would be fed, screened for health problems and further identified by name, age, gender and ties to other aliens in custody. Federal officials have agreed to transfer refugees from Homestead to military bases outside Florida, Chiles said.

Chiles and other state officials said they want refugees to remain at Homestead no longer than 72 hours, and they want the federal government to assume full responsibility within two weeks after the influx begins.

Chiles remains adamant that immigration is the federal government's responsibility and that Florida should not pay the cost of education and social services for refugees. But state officials acknowledge that Cuban refugees are likely to return to South Florida after they are released from the federal detention centers.

"If they are released from detention in Michigan," said Nancy Wittenburg, director of legislative affairs for the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, "it's very likely that at some point we are going to see them in Florida."

PAGE 19A Miami Herald

On Miami radio, the talk is of avoiding an exodus

By ANA ACLE CHASKO

Herald Staff Writer

Frank Ferrer, who himself came on the Mariel boatlift, spoke out on a Spanish-language radio program Wednesday, hoping to persuade people to believe that a second Cuban boatlift would be morally correct.

"We told them to take to the streets," Ferrer said on the Tomas Garcia Fuste show on WCMQ (1210 AM). "Now they are being jailed and we are just saying to leave them there."

He said he plans to sail to Cuba this weekend to pick up his relatives.

But if the listeners who called in are any indication, he will be traveling alone.

An overwhelming majority called in and rejected his message. Some even threatened him and urged him to go to Cuba and stay there. One woman said she hopes the sharks eat him up. A supporter said an exodus already is happening, with record numbers of rafters heading for Miami.

The scene inside the tiny, sound-proof studio room at Cadena Nacional in Coral Gables was a microcosm of the widespread feeling in much of the exile community.

Unlike 1980 when thousands of exiles sailed to Cuba and returned with 125,000 refugees, the community this time appears to be united against a second exodus.

In the streets of Little Havana and at a news conference of Cuban exile leaders, the refrain was the same: stay and resist.

"We call upon all our fellow exiles not to respond to the veiled threat of a new Mariel made by the dictatorship," said Orlando Gutierrez, of the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Directory. "Emigration from Cuba has been the means used by the Castro government to safely channel internal discontent, while the civic resistance represents the necessary means through which to overthrow it."

Gutierrez called a second Mariel an escape valve that would serve to prolong Castro's regime.

The group leaders also called for the military in Cuba to join the people's fight against Castro and supported a

national workers strike, if one were to begin.

"We want to save all the people in Cuba, not just a few families," said Roberto Rodriguez Aragon, of the Cuban Patriotic Council.

PAGE 19A Miami Herald

'A giant question mark over Miami'
Leaders prepare
for possible influx
By JOANNE CAVANAUGH
Herald Staff Writer

Talk of a possible Mariel II prompted hand-wringing Wednesday in Miami as community leaders plotted strategy, flipped through response plans and watched for tidbits of news from the Florida Straits to the White House.

"There is a giant question mark over Miami," said City Commissioner Victor De Yurre.

U.S. officials vow to prevent Fidel Castro from loosing another Mariel boatlift, yet South Florida is not waiting quietly. Even as they pray it doesn't happen, leaders here are scurrying to prepare for any big influx of Cuban refugees.

Police are reviewing surveillance and tactical plans. City Manager Cesar Odio is fielding calls from Brothers to the Rescue pilots and U.S. State Department sources.

Local marine patrols are watching for boats trying to leave Florida to rescue relatives or friends on Cuban shores. The U.S. Coast Guard would be called on to stop such missions.

"Technically, it's a federal responsibility," Odio said. "But we are here. We are on the front line. If something happens, oye, we have to be fast on our feet."

Despite federal response plans, Dade officials expect they would have to do a lot of the work.

"Everybody is nervous," said Kate Hale, director of Metro-Dade's office of emergency management. "If federal response is unable to come in immediately, we know it's us. We've been there before."

Some of the anticipated emergency needs: police security for possible street rallies or celebrations, food for masses of refugees in tent cities, local transportation, and health care.

In the first 72 hours of an influx, hundreds of police officers would work 12-hour shifts to handle any rallies along Calle Ocho. Police are also preparing for possible Haitian community demonstrations against U.S. immigration policy.

Police officers would direct traffic and set up any roadblocks. County buses could transport refugees to processing sites, such as Homestead Air Force Base, if set up there. Tamiami Park might be the site of a tent city.

No such short-term plans would address the long-term impact of a big influx. That worries some members of the community, including business leaders who met in downtown Miami Wednesday to discuss community response.

"Where are we going to get housing, school classrooms, teachers, doctors?" asked Bruce Jay Colan, co-chairman of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce's Cuba committee.

"Who is going to pay?"

Herald staff writers Gail Epstein and David Hancock contributed to this report.

PAGE 1B Miami Herald

Survey: Dade drug use
is on a steady decline
ALFONSO CHARDY
Herald Staff Writer

Drug use in Dade County is declining compared to large urban areas in the United States, figures from a federally funded survey show.

The Federal National Household Survey on Drug Abuse shows the greater Miami area stands out among large urban areas with a significant drop in the number of people believed to be using illicit drugs between 1991 and 1993. According to the survey, about 123,000 people used illicit drugs in 1993 in Dade County, compared with 164,000 in 1992 and 164,000 in 1991.

"The drop locally was 40 percent below the 1991 level, as compared to a 7 percent decline for the entire country," according to Information for Action, a newsletter published by the Front Drug Information Center, which participates in the annual survey. It polled 26,489 people across the country, including about 2,500 in the greater Miami area. The survey was conducted door to door during several weeks in 1993. The results come on the heels of preliminary figures released in July for six cities: Miami, Washington, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Denver. A look at those results, the number of Americans using illicit drugs held steady in 1993, bucking a 13-year trend of uninterrupted decline. The survey showed that 11 percent of Americans, 5.6 percent of the population age 12 and over, used illicit drugs in the month before being interviewed.

Poll organizers acknowledged that the figures from the survey may not reflect the reality of drug use among the general population because they don't include people in homeless households, military personnel, inmates or transients were not included. Even so, community anti-drug abuse workers said the survey shows a trend of achievement in Dade County.

"Miami is showing a steady, continuing decline in drug use while the rest of the nation stabilized in the last year," said James Hall, executive director of Upstream, a Miami-based drug research and information group.

"I'm proud of the fact that this community made a step forward in working together," said Sister Jean O'Laughlin, chairwoman of the Miami Coalition for a Drug Free Community and president of Barracuda.

"But we still have a long way to go." Those involved in the survey attributed the decline to a smaller number of new users, cessation of use by people able to stop on their own or with help from support and recovering addicts who are using fewer drugs, and community programs.

"The figures narrow down drug use to hard-core addicted users while the greatest declines being seen among former casual users and young people who are starting," Hall said.

Hall expressed confidence that even a general survey would show progress.

"We have a survey that may exaggerate the extent of what is a very clear trend of progress for greater drug control," he said. "The controversy in this may be over the extent of declining drug use, not whether it is declining."

DE P1 Miami Herald

**Cuban who hijacked boat detained
4 groups reach U.S. by sea and air
I'm no killer, hijacking leader says
'Hero' of escape held by U.S.**

**SUSANA BELLIDO, LIZETTE ALVAREZ
And FABIOLA SANTIAGO
Herald Staff Writers**

U.S. authorities Wednesday held in detention a Cuban coast guardsman who, according to other refugees, hijacked a vessel at the port of Mariel and may have shot a navy officer.

The odd saga of the hijacked boat got even odder when refugees from the hijacked boat were released in Key West Wednesday and gave their first press interviews.

According to their accounts, a young man identified as Leonel Macias Gonzalez, 19, masterminded the escape. Macias was being detained at Monroe County Jail by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Macias was confronted by a fellow crew member when he tried to hijack a pea-green boat to Florida on Monday, the refugees said.

None of them witnessed the incident at the port of Mariel because they were waiting at a nearby beach.

But Macias' girlfriend, Irenia Mesa, 15, said in a late night press conference that he told her a crewman had "fired at him twice and missed" when he tried to take control of the boat.

Macias returned the fire, she said. Two other people on the boat, navy recruits, jumped overboard when they realized he was headed to pick up people waiting at nearby Mariel beach, Mesa said.

"He said he's not a killer. He tried not to fire but that he did it in self-defense," Mesa said.

This latest version contradicts both initial Cuban and U.S. accounts of the hijacking. The Cuban government said a military man was killed and four others forced overboard in the incident. Later in the day, a U.S. Coast Guard official who interviewed all of the refugees flatly denied that account.

Now it appears some shooting may have occurred, but whether anyone was killed is an open question. The Cuban Interests Section refused to answer questions Wednesday at a press conference in Washington.

A refugee on the boat, however, made his feelings clear about Macias. "We feel bad if some one dies," said Robin Hernandez Portales, 30. "But this guy saved our lives, all 25 of us. He's a hero."

As authorities tried to sort out the story, dozens of more refugees made dramatic arrivals in South Florida. Among them:

A group of 17, including three children, who took over a government cargo boat by getting the crew members drunk and hinting about a gun.

A family of 14 who flew in a crop-duster to the Middle Keys.

A group of seven who sold most of their belongings, purchased a boat for 20,000 pesos and sailed from Matanzas. They waited until a popular Venezuelan soap opera was playing on television Monday night to leave.

"The whole country is determined to leave," said Freddy Diaz, 38, who planned the trip for months. "That's what everyone talks about on the streets, shamelessly. People have lost all fear."

By far, the most astounding story was the alleged hijacking. Late afternoon Wednesday, INS spokesman Lemar Wooley would not say why or for how long Macias is being detained. "It's under review," he said.

One of the refugees, Anaisa Bravo, said the group realized something was wrong when Coast Guard officers who

rescued their sinking boat segregated them from other refugees, and later transferred them from the cutter Monhegan to the Courageous. Other rescued refugees were brought to shore, but this group of 26 spent the night at sea while the U.S. government checked out the Cuban government's claims and decided what to do.

In an unprecedented, televised news conference at the Cuban Interests Section, Cuban officials refused comment on their hijack story, and lashed out at U.S. immigration policy.

Diplomat Alfonso Fraga renewed complaints that the United States encourages Cubans to leave the island. He complained that U.S. authorities in Havana grant only 2,000 to 3,000 visas a year, yet their pact calls for 20,000 a year.

Pressed about why he was unwilling to comment Wednesday when another diplomat readily gave out accounts of the alleged hijacking and killing on Tuesday, Fraga became angry and flustered. He refused to answer repeated inquiries.

Bravo, one of six women aboard the hijacked boat, said she had no idea her husband and relatives were planning to flee the island Monday. They said they were going to the beach.

When they got there, she noticed the group had a lot of supplies. Then people told her they were leaving. She was afraid. She doesn't know how to swim.

Macias was performing his usual duties when he took the boat, which is why it went undetected, she said. When everyone got aboard, Cuban patrol boats noticed them and gave chase. It rammed their boat once in the front, and officers brandished their guns but did not fire.

Those aboard the boat lifted their children, asking the officers not to shoot.

"We didn't think we'd ever get here," Bravo said. "We were more dead and drowned than here."

Another group that made it to South Florida on Wednesday had a more amusing tale tough to consider a real hijacking.

The group of 17, including three children and four women, made it to South Florida after they took over a government cargo boat by getting the crew members drunk and hinting about a gun.

The group was on a sightseeing trip aboard the 35-foot boat, which left Saturday out of Ciego de Avila province. Tomas Mora, 38, said the trip was arranged through the local police chief, whose daughter once dated Mora's 17-year-old son. The group included Mora's two sons, a daughter-in-law, a nephew and a brother-in-law.

Once at sea, they began sharing beer with the three-member crew. On Sunday, they told the captain to point the boat toward Miami. The captain laughed at first, they said, but he knew they had a gun although they said they did not threaten to use it.

He eventually steered the boat to the northeast. It ran out of fuel off the Bahamas and was spotted by a Brothers to the Rescue plane late Monday. A woman and a child were picked up by a helicopter and taken ashore for medical treatment. The others were brought to Marathon, taken to the Transit Center for Refugees in Key West for processing and released.

In the confusion of the crowded center, nobody was quite sure Wednesday about what happened to the crew. Some said they wanted to return to Cuba.

In another dramatic arrival, Jorge Lopez flew a 1967 Antonov crop-duster to the Middle Keys.

Lopez, who flew the plane for a living, went to work as usual early Wednesday morning. But instead of taking off to spray crops, he switched to a different, rarely used runway. Waiting in the bushes were his family and some close friends.

The weather was bad. Everyone on board was scared. "We didn't have radio. We flew without orientation or

116

Cuba Si, Fidel No

(c) 1994, The Baltimore Sun=

The following editorial appeared in Wednesday's Baltimore Sun:

The riot against the Fidel Castro regime last Friday in Havana brought protest to a new level of openness in Communist Cuba. Cuba is unraveling. Nothing works. The economy is creaking to a halt. People are desperate. There is a question how much longer this can go on.

But Castro will survive this week and next week. The orchestrated demonstration Sunday in support of his regime was more than ten times larger. Castro and the Communists he has kept in power since 1958 still monopolize power, communications and patronage in Cuban society.

His is not the only regime seeking to lure foreign investment capital while retaining a Communist monopoly of power.

China and Vietnam are doing the same, more successfully. U.S. investors are kept out by U.S. law, which gives advantage to Canadian, European and East Asian competitors, few of whom are taking it up. Mexican businesses, however, are jumping to the fore among those willing to risk Cuban conditions. And risk it is.

It is not American sanctions that are ruining Cuba. It is the ossification of the Cuban Communist system, along with withdrawal of former Soviet aid. Castro took over a growing economy that was rapidly enlarging the Cuban middle classes, and over 36 years dictated it into the ground.

The air of crisis in Havana grew with the hijacking of three Cuban ferry boats by refugees hoping to make Florida. None did. Yesterday, another boat was successfully hijacked. In threatening the U.S. with a repeat of the 1980 Mariel boatlift, which brought 125,266 Cubans to our shores, Castro is making mischief at Washington's expense.

Castro knows the Clinton administration does not want another wave of Cuban immigrants. He knows the Mariel boatlift added a decade to his own regime. He knows the U.S. is already leery of Haitian immigrants and could not handle a larger wave from Cuba. He knows that even the powerful Cuban American National Foundation no longer encourages Cuban migration here. And he knows that the Cuban Adjustment Act remains on the books, mandating that any Cuban who left the island illegally gets to stay here.

The Clinton administration shares an interest with the Castro administration in revising that act. But it could not rescue the Castro dictatorship even if it wished. Fidel's Cuba doesn't work. Fidel is what's wrong. Without him, communism would fall and Cuba would liberate itself.

Distributed by the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post
News Service=

national workers strike, if one were to begin.

"We want to save all the people in Cuba, not just a few families," said Roberto Rodriguez Aragon, of the Cuban Patriotic Council.

PAGE 19A Miami Herald

'A giant question mark over Miami'

**Leaders prepare
for possible influx**

By JOANNE CAVANAUGH

Herald Staff Writer

Talk of a possible Mariel II prompted hand-wringing Wednesday in Miami as community leaders plotted strategy, flipped through response plans and watched for tidbits of news from the Florida Straits to the White House.

"There is a giant question mark over Miami," said City Commissioner Victor De Yurre.

U.S. officials vow to prevent Fidel Castro from loosing another Mariel boatlift, yet South Florida is not waiting quietly. Even as they pray it doesn't happen, leaders here are scurrying to prepare for any big influx of Cuban refugees.

Police are reviewing surveillance and tactical plans. City Manager Cesar Odio is fielding calls from Brothers to the Rescue pilots and U.S. State Department sources.

Local marine patrols are watching for boats trying to leave Florida to rescue relatives or friends on Cuban shores. The U.S. Coast Guard would be called on to stop such missions.

"Technically, it's a federal responsibility," Odio said. "But we are here. We are on the front line. If something happens, oye, we have to be fast on our feet."

Despite federal response plans, Dade officials expect they would have to do a lot of the work.

"Everybody is nervous," said Kate Hale, director of Metro-Dade's office of emergency management. "If federal response is unable to come in immediately, we know it's us. We've been there before."

Some of the anticipated emergency needs: police security for possible street rallies or celebrations, food for masses of refugees in tent cities, local transportation, and health care.

In the first 72 hours of an influx, hundreds of police officers would work 12-hour shifts to handle any rallies along Calle Ocho. Police are also preparing for possible Haitian community demonstrations against U.S. immigration policy.

Police officers would direct traffic and set up any roadblocks. County buses could transport refugees to processing sites, such as Homestead Air Force Base, if set up there. Tamiami Park might be the site of a tent city.

No such short-term plans would address the long-term impact of a big influx. That worries some members of the community, including business leaders who met in downtown Miami Wednesday to discuss community response.

"Where are we going to get housing, school classrooms, teachers, doctors?" asked Bruce Jay Colan, co-chairman of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce's Cuba committee. "Who is going to pay?"

Herald staff writers Gail Epstein and David Hancock contributed to this report.

PAGE 1B Miami Herald
**Survey: Dade drug use
is on a steady decline**
ALFONSO CHARDY
Herald Staff Writer

Drug use in Dade County is declining compared to large urban areas in the United States, figures from a federally funded survey show.

The Federal National Household Survey on Drug Abuse shows the greater Miami area stands out among large urban areas with a significant drop in the number of people believed to be using illicit drugs between 1991 and 1993. According to the survey, about 123,000 people used illicit drugs in 1993 in Dade County, compared to 164,000 in 1992 and 164,000 in 1991.

"The drop locally was 40 percent below the 1991 level as compared to a 7 percent decline for the entire country," according to Information for Action, a newsletter of the Front Drug Information Center, which participated in the annual survey. It polled 26,489 people across the country, including about 2,500 in the greater Miami area. The survey was conducted door to door during several weeks in 1993. The results come on the heels of preliminary figures released in July for six cities: Miami, Washington, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Denver. According to those results, the number of Americans using illicit drugs held steady in 1993, bucking a 13-year trend of uninterrupted decline. The survey showed that 12.5 percent of Americans, 5.6 percent of the population age 12 and older, used illicit drugs in the month before being interviewed.

Poll organizers acknowledged that the figures from the survey may not reflect the reality of drug use among the general population because they don't include people in a household. Homeless people, military personnel, inmates or transients were not included. Even so, community anti-drug abuse workers said the survey shows a trend of achievement in Dade County.

"Miami is showing a steady, continuing decline in drug use while the rest of the nation stabilized in the year," said James Hall, executive director of the University of Miami-based drug research and information group.

"I'm proud of the fact that this community movement is moving forward in working together," said Sister Jeannette O'Laughlin, chairwoman of the Miami Coalition for Drug Free Community and president of the Barrios Unidos Foundation. "But we still have a long way to go."

Those involved in the survey attributed the decline to a smaller number of new users, cessation of use by people able to stop on their own or with help from support groups and recovering addicts who are using fewer drug treatment community programs.

"The figures narrow down drug use to hard-core addicted users while the greatest declines being among former casual users and young people who are starting," Hall said.

Hall expressed confidence that even a general survey would show progress.

"We have a survey that may exaggerate the decline, but what is a very clear trend of progress for greater Miami," he said. "The controversy in this may be over the rate of declining drug use, not whether it is declining."

North Korea Offers Plan On Reactors

Geneva Nuclear Talks Make Slight Progress

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

GENEVA, Aug. 8—A senior North Korean official said here today that his government is demanding "appropriate" compensation for canceling its construction of two nuclear reactors that Washington fears potentially could be used to produce large quantities of plutonium for nuclear arms.

Vice Foreign Minister Kang Sok Ju, the chief North Korean negotiator on nuclear matters, outlined the compensation demand after nine hours of talks here with senior U.S. officials. Both sides said today's sessions had produced only slight progress toward a nuclear accord.

The talks were part of a continuing effort to resolve a crisis over North Korea's nuclear program. North Korea, which the West suspects of trying to make atomic bombs, says its nuclear program is peaceful but has refused to allow U.N. inspections since March 1993. The negotiations here are expected to provide the first real indication of North Korea's nuclear intentions since the death of longtime ruler Kim Il Sung one month ago.

Kang said today that Pyongyang's demand for compensation was part of a detailed proposal that his government had developed over the weekend after hearing U.S. officials present their own plan for resolving the nuclear dispute Friday. Although certain issues were agreed upon, he said, there are "many points on which the two sides have differences."

Assistant Secretary of State Robert Gallucci, the chief U.S. negotiator, called the North Korean proposal "interesting" and "worthy of study and consideration."

But Gallucci agreed with Kang that key issues remain to be resolved, including urgent questions about the fate of roughly 8,000 fuel rods withdrawn from an existing North Korean reactor last June that could be used to produce enough plutonium this year for four to five nuclear weapons.

Kang revealed that the two sides are "trying to near agreement" on a way of prolonging the life of the fuel rods in a storage pond at the Yongbyon nuclear complex, thus easing

pressures to remove them from the pond for reprocessing, which would isolate the plutonium. He said "we can see whether we can have [a] good possibility of a breakthrough" when talks resume on Wednesday.

Neither Gallucci nor Kang indicated whether the North Korean proposal contained any major new elements. But the fact that Kang was able to detail what his government wants to get out of a nuclear deal with the United States indicates that the July 8 death of Kim has not substantially hindered decision-making in North Korea.

U.S. officials had initially wondered if North Korea would remain committed to the negotiations, which had begun the same day Kim died. They also had questioned whether Kang would get specific instructions from the country's leadership, given that Kim Il Sung's son and putative heir, Kim Jong Il, has not yet been formally named the new ruler.

Both of these questions seemed to be answered in the affirmative today as the discussion of competing proposals began to create the dynamic of a genuine negotiation here, one U.S. official said.

U.S. officials had initially described the negotiations as an opportunity for the first "broad and thorough" discussions between the two countries about North Korea's nuclear program and future economic and political ties between the countries.

But U.S. officials say two key issues have so far taken up the bulk of the negotiation: a U.S. demand that North Korea eliminate its existing reactors and a U.S. proposal that the 8,000 fuel rods be permanently withdrawn from North Korea.

Kang said that North Korea, for example, would agree to freeze its construction of the two reactors "provided that we will be given actually and technically" an alternative type of reactor that is less suited to the production of plutonium for nuclear arms. But he added that "there are lots of complications" surrounding this deal that have not been worked out.

U.S. officials told Kang that Washington is willing in principle to help arrange for construction of a new light-water type of reactor in North Korea that will replace the two reactors, which are known as graphite-moderated and are clearly meant for plutonium production. If completed, U.S. officials said, they could help North Korea make more than a dozen nuclear bombs annually.

But, as a key part of the deal, Washington is insisting that North Korea halt its construction of the graphite-moderated reactors long before a replacement reactor can be built. Kang's statement suggests, to the contrary, that the construction might be stopped only when the replacement is "actually" provided, which could defer any freeze for years.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1994 A19

Jay Taylor Playing Into Castro's Hands

Of all the ironies in American foreign policy today, our course on Cuba is the most paradoxical. Sharply deteriorating economic conditions have caused a surge in the number of Cubans fleeing illegally to the United States. We do everything we can unilaterally to worsen the economy and thus increase the flow. We also directly encourage the exodus by granting Cubans who arrive illegally or who are headed this way on the high seas resident status and resettlement assistance. At the same time, we have unfilled immigration and political refugee quotas for Cubans who wish to immigrate legally to the United States.

Even more incongruous is the scene at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, where each year tens of thousands of Cubans are refused visitors' visas to America. There is a high rate of turn-downs because it is apparent that most of the applicants are not bona-fide tourists: Their real intention is to remain in the United States. These disappointed visa seekers—or, for that matter, any Cubans who by hook or by crook can get to Florida—are automatically paroled into the country. A few who have hijacked vessels or airplanes to get here have been tried in U.S. courts, but, not surprisingly, none has been convicted.

When Fidel Castro tries to stop unhappy Cubans from fleeing his benighted land, we accuse him of human rights abuse. But when he threatens to open the floodgates if we continue to welcome unlimited numbers of undocumented Cubans, including those who have committed violent acts in the course of their departure, we warn of unspecified but ominous consequences. In 1980, when we tangled with him on the issue of refugees, he took us to the cleaners, dumping on Florida 120,000 Cubans he did not want—a combination of those most unhappy with the regime and thousands of prison and asylum inmates.

Should Castro declare another Mariel, it is not clear what chains we have left to pull. We already have a full trade embargo except for "adequate telecommunications" and humanitarian gifts. There would seem to be no way under international law or politically within the United States to justify military action against Cuba in such a situation. Latin America and most of the rest of the world would almost certainly be appalled if we did any such thing. If we closed down our office in Havana, we would be cutting off the flow of legal immigration.

By stopping the travel of Cuban Americans to the island and the sending of remittances, we could cut off an important source of foreign exchange for Castro. But after a round of such reprisals, Florida would probably have sustained more long-term damage than Cuba, and Castro could be perceived at home and abroad as having again taken our pants.

Of course, things are much worse in Cuba today than in 1980. Thus another Mariel could get out of hand and lead to widespread unrest. This is presumably what some people in Miami are hoping for. But events of the past few days have shown not only that there is great discontent in Cuba but also that Castro is determined to resist any effort to unseat him. Furthermore, it is apparent that he still has a disciplined military and police force, as well as a core of support in the population—perhaps 20 to 30 percent. It is also useful to remember that Castro, unlike Nicolae Ceausescu, Raoul Cedras or even Kim Il Sung, has strong nationalist credentials. He is probably more popular now in South Africa and Mexico than in Cuba, but his historical authority is still an asset in holding on.

In a purely rational world, we would end the refugee imbroglio by taking the necessary legislative steps to terminate the incongruous policy of granting residence status to almost any undocumented Cuban who arrives illegally. Given the political realities, this is not likely to happen in the near future. The administration, however, would be able to bear the domestic cost of seeking to negotiate with the Cuban government a new and extensive refugee program, with processing in Cuba by U.S. immigration officers. Some Miami leaders might even support such an approach. Under this arrangement, most Cuban rafters and other illegals would still be paroled into the United States, but we would deny parole to those who committed violent crimes or who skyjacked in the course of their departure.

Castro would probably be willing to carry out such an accord, as he has since 1987 with the Mariel Migration Agreement, which included a procedure for interviewing current and past political prisoners for refugee status in the United States.

More fundamentally, Washington should begin a serious policy review on Cuba. The principal question is whether our unilateral efforts to make the economic situation in Cuba as bad as possible are significantly weakening Castro or instead are increasing the flow of refugees, allowing Castro to blame Cuba's problems on Washington and Miami and enhancing the comandante's image.

The writer was chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana from 1987 to 1990.

Mariel II?

FIDEL CASTRO may yet dump another big batch of boat people on south Florida. It would be a cynical exploitation of human desperation to spite the United States. But Americans bring part of this possibility upon themselves. Regime repression is the first source of Cuban misery and flight, but the American embargo sharpens the pain. Washington limits legal migration to an ungenerous 5,000 or so. This puts a premium on illegal migration under a Cold-War refugee law admitting any arriving Cuban.

The current troubles began last month, when Cubans hijacked a tugboat; authorities rammed it, drowning 32 people. Other Cubans hijacked a ferry-boat and killed a policeman. These incidents fed into a protest demonstration last Friday in Havana rare in size (1,000-plus) and in that guns were part of the scene. The regime's response was predictably harsh.

President Clinton could stop boats from escaping Cuba and keep Miami-based boats from picking up passengers in Cuba (the 1980 Mariel tactic that Fidel Castro now threatens to repeat). But what to do with the people? To ignore Cubans fleeing communism would rightly offend many Americans. To admit them would risk overburdening parts of Florida. To admit them

while barring Haitians would suggest an invidious decision.

In fact, Mr. Clinton faces less a refugee question than a political question. There is an undeniable contradiction between squeezing the Castro regime and providing adequately for people who are victims of the squeeze, and of the regime. This is one of the principal considerations that have led us to think the embargo is outdated. It punishes innocent people and, by giving Fidel Castro a nationalist card, impedes political change.

Any political change, of course, Mr. Castro will seek to exploit. Reform to him means loosening up economically while retaining political power—the Chinese model. But he is not only a dictator but an aging dictator ruling by a dead doctrine over a people still capable of seeking its own liberation.

If Mr. Clinton has changed any of the anti-dialogue positions he took on Cuba during the 1992 election campaign, he has not let on. He needs to think anew. Scaling back the embargo could let the United States diminish rather than aggravate the desperation that feeds emigration. Meanwhile, Washington could explore with Havana ways to open wider the legal doors to leaving a captive country.

Lending Respectability to a Pariah

SINCE 1987, former Austrian president and United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has been barred from entering the United States as a private citizen, and has been ostracized by much of the West. His outcast status is well-deserved. During World War II, Mr. Waldheim served as a decorated intelligence officer in German Army units responsible for committing a series of atrocities and war crimes against civilians and prisoners of war. His duplicity about his wartime record only compounded the dishonor. Today this one-time uniformed servant of the Nazi onslaught in the Balkans wears a new mantle. It is one of legitimacy, bestowed by Pope John Paul II.

Last month, with little fanfare, in a ceremony at the Vatican Embassy in Vienna, Mr. Waldheim was awarded a papal knighthood of the Ordine Piano. It is said that the Vatican chose to bestow the honor upon Mr. Waldheim, a prominent Catholic from a mostly Catholic country, for safeguarding human rights when he served with the United Nations. But for the Vatican to have done that for this man was to fall victim to parochialism of the worst kind.

The papal honoree is the same man who, according to an Austrian government report

prepared by an independent panel of historians, knew about and did nothing to stop atrocities against Jews. He is the same man Attorney General Edwin Meese blocked from entering the United States because of evidence he provided intelligence and other support that enabled others to kill, torture and deport people to slave labor camps. This is the same Mr. Waldheim who has not brought himself publicly to own up to his past, let alone apologize for his complicity in the things done in German-occupied Yugoslavia and Greece. The pope, it is said, turns no sinner away, but to take in and honor as unrepentant a figure as Mr. Waldheim is to ask too much.

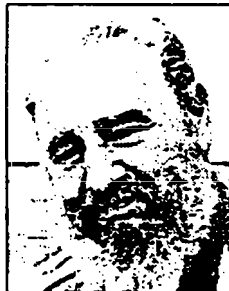
Yet this is not the first time Kurt Waldheim's diplomatic isolation has been breached by the Vatican; he has been received there twice before. It is tragic that this embrace comes on the heels of the recently signed agreement between the Vatican and Israel establishing diplomatic relations after a period of great tension. The pope's condemnation of antisemitism and racism has been strong in the past. To honor the likes of Kurt Waldheim ignores history and suggests a terrible blind spot.

WASHINGTON

U.S. ready to contain Cuban refugee threat

The Clinton administration is moving quickly to defuse the latest Cuban refugee scare and dispel fears that another Mariel-style mass exodus from the communist-ruled island might be unleashed on southern Florida.

The White House said Monday it rejects Cuban leader Fidel Castro's statement the United States encourages Cubans to leave their country illegally. It said it will not let him "dictate" U.S. policy.



AP
CASTRO: May allow mass exodus

White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers, commenting on threats by Castro to permit a mass exodus of refugees from Cuba to the USA, said the United States has drafted a strategy to deal with a surge in boat people but has seen no significant increase.

"Obviously we're keeping a close eye on it and making contingency plans to deal with any eventuality," Myers said. But it may be moot because the anxiety about a boatlift on Friday had faded by Monday. "It seems quiet at this

point," Myers said.

In Miami, Cuban exile leader Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of the influential Cuban-American National Foundation, says the Cuban problem "is not going to be solved by Cubans leaving the island and coming to the United States. The problem is going to be solved by exiling just one man ... and that man is (President) Fidel Castro."

Meanwhile, the U.S. Coast Guard in Miami said its ships picked up 230 Cuban refugees in the seas between Cuba and Florida over the weekend: 61 Cubans Friday, 115 Saturday and 54 Sunday. The people on makeshift boats and rafts left Cuba amid reports of unrest after three ferryboats were hijacked in nine days by Cubans hoping to reach the USA.

HEFLIN FINE: Sen. Howell Heflin, D-Ala., was released from a Birmingham, Ala., hospital after a pacemaker was implanted in his chest. Heflin, 73, left in "very good shape," says University Hospital spokesman Hank Black. He was hospitalized last week after complaining of chest pains.

PEYOTE OK: The House approved a bill protecting the religious use of the hallucinogen peyote by Native American tribes. While federal regulations have protected such use, the Supreme Court ruled in 1990 that the Constitution's religious freedom provisions do not provide that protection and that specific legislation was needed. A similar bill is pending in the Senate.

CUSTOMS EMPOWERED: Customs agents will be given more authority to conduct international drug-smuggling investigations, under an agreement announced by Attorney General Janet Reno and Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen. Customs agents doing drug work will no longer have to get authorizations for each investigation.

LOGGING BANNED: The House approved a measure that would permanently ban logging on 22,000 acres of forest preserve at Oregon's Opal Creek. The Clinton administration opposed earlier versions of the bill, but now supports it. It has not yet been introduced in the Senate.

Written by Erin Einhorn. Contributing: Juan Walter.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD



By Yusef Allan. AP
IN AQABA, JORDAN: Israel's Yitzhak Rabin, left, and Jordan's King Hussein after opening a border crossing.

Border crossing bolsters Israeli-Jordan peace pact

Israeli and Jordanian leaders have cemented their commitment to peace with the opening of a new border crossing and a cruise in the Gulf of Aqaba.

Negotiators from both countries follow up Monday's ceremonies with talks today on water rights, economic cooperation and border demarcation.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin took his first public steps on Jordanian soil and Jordan's King Hussein entered Israeli territorial waters during a cruise with Rabin.

The ceremonies on land and at sea cemented the declaration just two weeks ago by the two leaders that they were ending the 46-year state of war between the two neighbors.

The new border crossing is near Jordan's port of Aqaba and its Israeli neighbor Eilat.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, guest of honor at the border ceremony, ended a Mideast peace mission with a meeting with Rabin in Jerusalem. He said his talks with Israeli and Syrian leaders produced "good progress" but did not elaborate. Israeli-Syrian negotiations are stalemated over the Golan Heights, captured by Israel in 1967.

KOREAN TALKS: U.S. and North Korean diplomats reported slight progress in talks about opening North Korea's nuclear program to inspections. "There is still a long way to go," said U.S. negotiator Robert Gallucci. In exchange for inspections, North Korea is asking for diplomatic ties to Washington and a modern light-water reactor to replace its aging graphite-moderated reactor. It also will need help for its isolated, deteriorating economy.

BOSNIA WAR: Ethnic Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina feel vulnerable for the first time after being cut off by old patron Yugoslavia, a move that could cripple their mechanized army within months, said Lt. Gen. Michael Rose, the United Nations' top peacekeeper in Bosnia. Serbian-led Yugoslavia closed its borders with Serb-held Bosnia last week to stave off sanctions by the United Nations as punishment for the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to accept a new peace plan to end the civil war in the former Yugoslav republic.

ALSO: A dam burst following heavy rains in central Russia's Ural Mountains, washing away 140 houses and killing at least 10 people. ... The IRA shot dead a part-time British soldier in his butcher shop near Belfast, a day after Protestant extremists killed a pregnant Catholic woman.

86

Whitewater after the hearings

The Whitewater dike started to crumble last week. Even so, the broad general public remains uninterested — or at least that's the opinion of the New York Times, which quoted one man as saying, "It's no O.J." Fair enough, but it is certainly arguable that there is room for malfeasance short of double murder, the crime Mr. Simpson is accused of. The same holds for comparisons with Watergate. Just because a particular scandal is not (so far, anyway) the equal of the grandest political fiasco in the nation's history does not mean it doesn't matter. And the past week proved that Whitewater does matter: Even when Congress limited hearings to a paltry fraction of the issues that, jumbled together, make up Whitewater, much was revealed about the Clinton administration.

The Clinton team can't tell a straight story. This much is the universal, incontrovertible conclusion of everyone who watched the hearings. Did Roger Altman, Jean Hanson or Joshua Steiner lie to Congress? Depends upon how you define "lie." (And may depend, a lot, upon how new Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr defines lying.) But no one thinks the three came out and told the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Bobbing, weaving, ducking and dodging were the order of the day — and late into the night.

That artful manipulation of the facts was a manifestation of the culture of the administration. It's hard to find an instance in which Mr. Clinton applied no varnish to the truth. And now it appears that the same may hold for the first lady, who was caught last week in a monumental whopper. At her famous pink-sweater press conference Mrs. Clinton said her chief of staff, Margaret Williams, hadn't touched the Whitewater papers raided from Vince Foster's office; that the materials had been distributed directly to lawyers by then-White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum. It turns out, of course, that Ms. Williams spir-

ited the documents up to the first family's private quarters at the direct instructions of Mrs. Clinton. As Time magazine put it this week "Slick Willie, meet Slippery Hillary."

What the past week of Whitewater hearings proved was that there is a limit to the patience of those who have to wade through the tangled mire of half-truths and outright lies. The Senate was inspired to take a tough line with Deputy Treasury Secretary Roger Altman in no small part out of horror at the ludicrous spectacle Chairman Henry Gonzalez made of the House Banking Committee non-hearings. But beyond that, senators across party lines expressed their anger that they had been bamboozled. No one likes to be taken, especially senators on national television.

Journalists don't like to be taken either. The tiresome practice of parsing the administration's statements for evasions has taken its toll on the Washington press corps. Symbolic is the fact that Clinton cheerleader Sidney Blumenthal has been replaced as New Yorker Washington correspondent by Michael Kelly, whose recent blistering cover story in the New York Times Magazine all but declared that the president has no character. Much as Democrats on the Senate Banking Committee were fed up with all the waffling, even a press corps that had given the Clintons an easy time of it, out of essential political sympathy, may be ready to ask tougher questions and demand straight answers.

That means it's going to be much harder to perform the "artful duck." That's bad timing for the Clinton team. With a new independent counsel on deck, and the president's approval rating in the tank, the administration needs all the good will it can muster. But there is precious little left, it having been squandered in the team's mad dash to quash any and all negative stories in the press. Talk about your ironies.

Is Cuba next?

It is probably fair to say that the Clinton administration does not need a further complication in our policy toward the Caribbean, our policy being quite complicated enough as it is — mysterious even, some might say. But by the looks of it, complications could be coming our way, in the shape of a major upheaval in Cuba.

On Friday, Havana saw its first real manifestation of civil disobedience in years, when a crowd of hundreds rioted in the streets. A rumor that boats were available at the docks to carry people to the United States attracted the many to the harbor, and a fight broke out when the police showed up. In a country as tightly controlled as Cuba, such an outbreak is almost unthinkable.

Or it would have been unthinkable were it not that similar protests by people fed up with deprivation and oppression swept communist governments out of Eastern Europe in 1989. Once the thought of freedom takes hold in a population, we have seen, it can spread with fiery speed. Whether that is what is happening in Cuba now remains to be seen, but chances are the days for Fidel Castro's dinosaur government are numbered.

Mr. Castro, true to form, blamed Uncle Sam (who else?) for inciting his people to flee, and he issued a not so subtle threat: A repeat of the Mariel boatlift. The memory of the landing of some 125,000 Cubans on south Florida shores in 1980 — many sent forth from Cuba's mental institutions and prisons by Mr. Castro himself — is indeed enough to give Ameri-

can politicians palpitations. President Clinton himself no doubt vividly remembers the event; as governor of Arkansas he had to deal with a riot by Cubans housed at Fort Chafee in western Arkansas. Adding a potential Cuban migration to our current problems with the Haitian boat people is not a happy thought for the administration.

On NBC's "Face the Nation" on Sunday, White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta had to confront some of that unease. "When you were on the program last, I asked you to compare Haiti to Cuba," host Tim Russert posited, "and you said, 'Well, Cuba is not a problem.' It now is a problem, in a short span of 20-some days." Mr. Panetta insisted that the administration will resist any attempt to overwhelm American shores with Cuban refugees again. But, he added, "I don't think we have to face that right now because, frankly, things are calming down. Castro has backed off of his threat. We do think that the situation — both in Miami as well as in Cuba — is now calm. And the hope is that we can get back to the peaceful transition to democracy."

This sounds like wishful thinking. Let's hope that the administration's contingency plans are better thought out than Mr. Panetta's response. There is no "peaceful transition" to democracy in Cuba; that's the whole problem. The bottom line remains that whatever quandaries an *unpeaceful* transition could present for the United States, the Cuban people will be the big winners when they finally throw off the Castro government.

CUBA

Seek diplomatic aid; put Florida on alert

Growing numbers of Cubans desperately want to leave their homeland because its economy is in shambles. So what does Fidel Castro do? He blames the United States and threatens a repeat of the Mariel boatlift crisis of 1980 unless Washington does two things: issues more visas to Cubans and stops encouraging boat people to make their way to South Florida.

In truth, no one shifts blame more deftly than Mr. Castro. The clashes between Cubans and the police in Havana on Friday demonstrate the constant state of crisis in which his regime now finds itself. That only increases the need for the Clinton administration to pre-empt any further mischief by the dictator.

The administration took the right tack Friday night when it repeated a warning that it will not stand idly by as Mariel II unfolds. Now it needs to figure out exactly how it will keep that from coming to pass.

The administration must first enlist the diplomatic assistance of respected Latin American leaders to whom Mr. Castro has listened in the past. One possibility is Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari; the other is outgoing president Cesar Gaviria of

Colombia. Both individuals have been unusually frank with Mr. Castro about the need for fundamental reform in Cuba.

But even though the diplomatic option must be tried first, any sign that Mr. Castro is in fact encouraging a mass exodus must be met with the immediate implementation of an immigration emergency plan. Fortunately, one has already been drawn up by the state and federal officials in Florida. This would effectively mean closing all ports in the region, so that vessels would be prevented from actually making their way to Cuba to pick up friends and relatives. In 1980, up to 125,000 "Marielitos" inundated South Florida in a period of five months and placed an enormous strain on services.

After his series of flip-flops on Haiti, Mr. Clinton simply cannot afford to waffle on Cuba. Haiti is constantly on his mind, but so too should the cost of yet another Cuban influx. As for Cuba itself, if there is one lesson to be learned from the exodus of Cubans from that island since the Cuban revolution, it is that mass departures have only helped to shore up Mr. Castro. Whatever else it may do, the United States must not be a party to that.

ETHANOL VOTE

Tsk, tsk, Mr. Gore

On the surface, Vice President Al Gore cast what may have seemed like an innocuous tie-breaking vote in the Senate last week. He voted to break a legislative logjam: 50 senators had voted to require that 30 percent of oxygenated fuels in the reformulated gasoline that the Clean Air Act requires be introduced in 1995 be comprised of renewable fuels. But another 50 senators had voted to not require oxygenated fuels be partially comprised of renewable fuels. So into the breach stepped Mr. Gore, who voted for including renewable fuels in reformulated gasoline.

So, what's so wrong with that? you say. Sounds like a good environmental alternative.

If it only were so simple. Consider that the only renewable fuel used in reformulated gasoline is ethanol, a corn-derived fuel. That fact may not sound so bad either, except that an agreement was struck during the 1990 Clean Air Act negotiations that no fuels would be given special preference.

Dwayne Andreas, spreads money around political circles like seed corn. (The Democratic National Committee and Bill Clinton raised \$85,000 from Archer-Daniels-Midland and its subsidiaries during the 1992 election cycle.)

It does not seem merely coincidental that the ethanol industry receives a \$550 million annual federal subsidy. And thanks to Mr. Gore's vote, the new renewable fuel requirement will expand ethanol's swollen governmental pipeline.

Perhaps the special interest plug would be more acceptable if ethanol's use in reformulated gasoline was actually environmentally friendly. But the Sierra Club testified that the renewable oxygenate program could increase global warming and smog production. The Sierra Club also said that because of the intensive farming required to produce the extra corn, increased water pollution could also be expected. (The Environmental Defense Fund concurred with the Sierra Club's assessment.)

Of course in corn country, where some

Mr. Gore's vote may well be remembered in 1996. His vote may be one small step for Clinton/Gore, but in many aspects, it's one giant leap backward for America. Tsk, tsk, Mr. Gore.

makes the Gore vote eye-catching. It just so happens that the nation's primary ethanol manufacturer is the Illinois-based Archer-Daniels-Midland Corp., whose chairman,

Dallas Morning News 8/9/94

6A Miami Herald

Disturbance larger than reported
By PABLO ALFONSO
Herald Staff Writer

Friday's disturbances in Havana have led to the arrest of more than 500 people, according to Miami residents with contacts on the island. And nearly 100 people were injured, including anti-Castro demonstrators, police agents and government supporters, the sources said.

According to a report by the Coordinating Board for Human Rights Organizations in Cuba, quoting several anti-Castro sources, the information broadcast by the official Cuban media does not convey the true extent of the disturbances.

"The demonstrators who openly shouted anti-government slogans numbered at least 10,000 and not 700 as reported in Juventud Rebelde," the report said, referring to the communist youth newspaper. "Likewise, the number of people arrested ranges between 500 and 1,000, not 300 as reported Sunday on national television."

Some of the detainees were shown on TV and described as people with no jobs or with criminal records, the Reuters news agency reported.

Ramon Cernuda, a foreign representative of group, said in Miami that sources reached by his organization told of another outbreak of violence Saturday night, when several government supporters returning from an official rally were attacked with stones and bottles.

That incident took place on San Lazaro Street, between Belascoain and Prado. Several people were arrested.

"A tense calm hangs over Havana, backed by the presence on the streets of hundreds of police agents armed with rifles," the report said, citing reports from Moises Rodriguez, the group's spokesman in Havana.

Sources in the group said dozens of activists are being rounded up and taken to various police stations and to Villa Marista, headquarters of State Security.

Among the dissidents whose arrest was confirmed Monday are Jorge Omar Lorenzo Pimienta, president of the National Civil Rights Council; Heriberto Crespo Fresco, Alberto Rodriguez Garcia and Sara Campos Leon.

Also arrested were Rene Gomez Manzano and Jesus Faisel Iglesias, two lawyers who have been active in the defense of indicted activists and dissidents.

PAGE 11A Miami Herald

Going for broke
Experts: Federal spending must be curbed
DAVID HESS

Herald Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON America is on an almost certain course to financial disaster, a panel of budget experts agreed Monday.

Unless the president and Congress get a grip on spending for major social programs, the country could be bankrupt by early in the next century, the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlements and Tax Reform reported.

The problem is that the government is collecting about 19 percent of the gross domestic product in taxes but spending about 22 percent.

The commission 11 Democrats and 11 Republicans from the House and Senate and 10 private citizens was appointed by President Clinton as part of a deal with Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Neb., when Kerrey delivered the vital 50th vote to save Clinton's first budget.

The group has until December to figure out what to do and make recommendations to Clinton.

Among the problems the commission identified:

Social Security spending trends that could bankrupt the Social Security Trust Fund by 2029.

Medicare spending that could use up all the money in the Medicare hospital fund by 2001.

Spending on entitlements such as Social Security and Medicare that shrink to zero the money available for all other federal programs after paying interest on the federal debt.

Continued reduction of the pool of money available in the United States to finance private economic development, forcing living standards down and weakening the nation's competitiveness in world markets.

The possible answers are politically explosive. All involve squeezing benefits for senior citizens. How to get the powerful senior lobby to agree to cuts is the issue.

"Our task is almost unbelievably difficult," said the commission co-chairman, Sen. John C. Danforth, R-Mo. "It's easy to identify a problem; it's much harder to come up with a solution."

Commission member Peter G. Peterson said \$375 billion a year in federal benefits and tax breaks go to people whose incomes exceed the national median, which in 1990 was about \$29,900 per household.

"If we're serious about cutting spending and benefits," he said, "a little more emphasis must be put on the billions of dollars that go to people who earn above the median."

Kerrey acknowledged the political peril of taking on such issues.

"The perception is that we'll cut Social Security," he said. "The reality is, we will not. The perception is, we're going to whack every entitlement program. The reality is, we will not."

"The commission has acknowledged the good these programs have done," Kerrey said. "But the trend lines of spending are unsustainable. Unless we act, the beneficiaries of Social Security and Medicare will also be at risk."

154

ROBERTO SUAREZ
EDITOR

BARBARA GUTIERREZ
SUBDIRECTOR

TONY ESPETIA
SUBDIRECTOR ADJUNTO

ALVARO VARGAS LLOSA
DIRECTOR DE OPINIONES

ROYMI MEMBIELA-CORDOBA
DIRECTORA DE DESARROLLO
EMPRESARIAL HISPANO

ALBERTO VILAR
DIRECTOR
DE CIRCULACION

¡Esta vez no, Fidel!

■ Por considerarlo de especial interés para los lectores y en vista de los últimos acontecimientos ocurridos en Cuba, reproducimos el editorial de The Miami Herald publicado este lunes.

Fidel Castro no sólo dejó entrever la carnada sino que la exhibió como modelo de la última moda del despotismo. Obviamente, esperando provocar un Mariel II, amenazó en dos ocasiones el pasado fin de semana con abrir los puertos de Cuba y permitirle a cualquiera que quiera irse de Cuba que lo hiciera.

Pero su precavida audiencia —el gobierno norteamericano y la comunidad exiliada cubana del sur de la Florida— no tragó la carnada. Desde el gobierno de Clinton, hasta el administrador de la ciudad de Miami César Odio y la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, la reacción fue una sola:

Esta vez no, Fidel. Esta vez no.

Esa actitud de al mismo perro no lo cogen dos veces fue exactamente la correcta. Era y será hasta que Castro se vaya, la única respuesta apropiada a los esfuerzos desesperados de Castro para salvar a su régimen que se derrumba.

Presión, presión y más presión; ésa es la forma de acelerar la libertad de Cuba. Castro lo sabe. A él le encantaría abrir los puertos de Cuba y exportar a los detractores que multiplican sus manifestaciones en contra del gobierno. Esto aliviaría la presión sobre él y le permitiría al pueblo alguna clase de libertad. Cualquier medida de cualquier libertad. Al exportar a sus detractores, maximizaría su capacidad de hacer lo que sabe hacer mejor. Eso es, le permitiría perpetuarse en el poder, al costo de las libertades de los cubanos.

Pero la libertad de Cuba no debe, no puede medirse externamente por los que se van en busca de ella. No, la libertad de Cuba se puede medir sólo internamente, por el acceso del pueblo cubano a —y el ejercicio inherente

de— las libertades sociales y políticas que son razones *sine qua non* de un pueblo verdaderamente libre en unión consensual y democrática.

La represión de Castro no es consensual ni democrática. Es la maniobra de un hombre: Castro. Existe con un solo propósito: perpetuar su mandato. Durante 35 años ha mantenido el poder sometiendo a su pueblo a cualquier privación, cualquier dificultad y cualquier negación de la realidad necesaria para extender su control del poder.

De manera admirable, tanto el exilio cubano como Washington rechazan de igual manera la amenaza de Castro de abrir los puertos de Cuba a cualquiera que desee irse. Permitirlo sólo ayudaría a Castro.

Así que dejémoslo que amenace con abrir los puertos de Cuba. Dejémoslo que amenace, desde La Habana, con sojuzgar no sólo a Cuba sino a Miami y al gobierno norteamericano también. Él es, todos lo sabemos, un hombre sin moral, misericordia, o viabilidad. Esta pasada de moda, viejo, ha quedado expuesto como un fraude, un tirano y un falso profeta.

Un hombre expuesto de esta manera, merece sólo las respuestas que obtuvo el fin de semana. Del gobierno norteamericano: No permitiremos otro Mariel. De la comunidad exiliada: no participaremos en otro Mariel.

Y de cada uno de nosotros: Esta vez no, Fidel, esta vez no.

EL NUEVO HERALD

¿Otro



CARLOS ALBERTO MONTANER
Escritor cubano

¿E
puer
enco
Cuba
dos?
1980
para
termi
—11
súbit
en l
Perú
puer
120.0
sobre
Flori
form
de la
supe
Máxi
Casti
enfren

mas peligrosos es inten
y trasladándoselos a
resuelve los conflictos, j
en otra cosa y le brinda
presentar el desenlace o
ingeniosa victoria.

Tras los graves distu
La Habana el 5 de ago
amenaza con repetir la
Uno de sus más urgente
sentar ese claro enfrenta
blo y gobierno como o
lucha de la revolución
lismo vanqui. La culpa

The Miami Herald

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1994

CONTENTS COPYRIGHT © 1994 THE MIAMI HERALD

35 CENTS

With Cuba in crisis, S. Florida stays calm

'We've learned' since '80 exodus

■ DISTURBANCE EXTENSIVE, 6A

By **FABIOLA SANTIAGO**
And **MIRTA OJITO**
Herald Staff Writers

Cuban Miami focus: Monday on new hopes that unprecedented protests in Havana could hasten Fidel Castro's fall — and remained resistant to Castro's insinuations that he could open the gates of Cuba as he did 14 years ago.

Similar circumstances sent Cuban Americans heading south to the Port of Mariel to pick up relatives in 1980. But over the weekend, a strategy emerged in Miami, and by Monday, the message was clear: Not this time.

"We are more mature," said State Attorney Katherine Fernandez-Rundle. "We have learned from our mistakes."

Agreed City Manager Cesar Odio: "I don't think I had what it took in 1980 to say, 'Don't come.' But I'm willing to take the heat from the community now. We learned we cannot allow that to happen."

Others said it was the lack of resources of the most recent arrivals — the exiles who are more likely to want to bring their loved ones to a better life — that was grounding them.

Consuelo Castañeda, a 36-year-old Cuban artist who has lived in Coral Gables for 13 months, said fear of breaking the law — and not political maturity — is what's keeping a lot of Cubans like her from rushing to get relatives.

Castañeda would like to bring her mother from Cuba but wouldn't risk a Mariel-like experience, she said, because she doesn't have U.S. residency yet.

"You live in a country and you

adapt to its laws," she said.

She added, "First comes the human instinct and then the political considerations. People are going to try to get out, no matter what. And their relatives in Miami will want to help them, no matter what."

To ask people to stay in Cuba, Castañeda said, is a "very comfortable position to hold in exile, given that the ones suffering are the people on the island."

Memories of Mariel

To many, however, Miami has remained calm at least partly because of lingering memories of the Mariel boatlift and its aftermath:

The Orange Bowl as a tent city. The housing shortage. The crime wave resulting from Castro's emptying of prisons and mental institutions into U.S.-bound boats. Confiscated vessels and subsequent legal troubles.

Cuban exiles are "wiser," said Rafael Peñalver, a Miami attorney who has lobbied against the deportation to Cuba of Mariel detainees.

"We were bitten once and badly," he said. "We are not going to fall for that again."

Different Dade counties

Take a look at these two Dade counties.

The place is the same. Palm Avenue, Hialeah.

April 1980: From dawn to dusk, a caravan of cars towing boats heads south, down the one-way thoroughfare, past the Hialeah Race Track, bound for Key West and Mariel. Corner gas stations are packed. Horns honk incessantly. Streets are filled with people waving their goodbyes.

August 1994: It's a quiet, desolate Monday along the aging storefronts. Few, except the bus riders, roam the streets. The corner Amoco on 41st Street has few customers. Farther south, the legendary Mac & Dave's outdoor eatery is boarded up.

At Ricky's Records, 4040 Palm Ave., even the salsa music played low.

"It's not going to be the same again," said owner Jorge Diaz, as he fixed a door. "No way, we can't take another 100,000 peo-

ple. We've had enough. Imagine the unemployment, the problems."

Local, state politics

The lunchtime crowd at Versailles was talking local and state politics. Marlene Montaner, a lawyer who is running for county judge, made the rounds and introduced herself. Cuba was not a topic of discussion.

On Cuban radio, the talk was about the hope renewed by the reports of Friday's anti-Castro protests in Havana. Talk show hosts, callers and invited guests, hoping people in Cuba were listening, sent the same message: Stay and resist.

"No matter how much you want to reunite with your family, this [a boatlift] is not the way," said talk show host Bernadette Pardo.

A federal warning

Some credited the federal government's warning that it would not allow another Mariel — and would punish those who ventured to pick up relatives — as a contributing factor to Monday's calm.

"The federal government has also acted in a very mature and responsible way," Fernandez-Rundle said. "They are discussing things with us at a local level. They are planning with the local leadership. History has taught us that if we don't plan and communicate, it leads to irresponsible actions."

But, Peñalver added, the exile community's restraint has been largely spontaneous, and for a "noble cause."

"For a while now, people in Cuba have been talking about leaving, and we have been doing the same," Peñalver said. "What we have to do is think of the ways we can achieve a permanent change."

"The exiles are calm because they are saying, 'If we sacrifice now, we can reach a much greater goal,' which is the greater good of the Cuban people, permanent and total family reunification."

His advice: "Tighten the seat belts for Castro's downfall."

Herald staff writer Joanne Cavanaugh contributed to this report.

LA OPINION GRAFICA



¿Otro Mariel o la debacle final?



CARLOS ALBERTO MONTANER
Escritor cubano.

¿Estamos a las puertas de otro serio encontronazo entre Cuba y Estados Unidos? Pudiera ser. En 1980 Fidel Castro, para evadirse de una terrible crisis política —11.000 personas súbitamente asiladas en la Embajada de Perú— lanzó desde el puerto de Mariel 120.000 refugiados sobre las costas de la Florida. Esta táctica formaba parte de una de las más arraigadas supersticiones del Máximo Líder: para Castro, la manera de enfrentar los problemas peligrosos es internacionalizándolos

Ochenta mil permisos de entrada concedió el gobierno de Salinas de Gortari y 80.000 cubanos se fueron a vivir a México. No; no son los cantos de sirena de los gringos. Si mañana Australia otorgara un millón de visas otros tantos cubanos se irían a criar canguros a las antipodas del mundo. El problema es evadirse del manicomio cubano. Casi cualquier destino es mejor que ese universo de privaciones y violencias, sin mañana ni sueños, que Castro les entrega a los cubanos en cada desdichado amanecer, junto al triste consuelo de que el próximo día será inevitablemente peor.

¿Qué quiere Castro, en suma, con la amenaza de un "nuevo Mariel"? ¿Quiere, realmente, que le devuelvan esposados a los balseros que huyen? Por supuesto que no: quiere visas americanas para concederles a los cubanos la esperanza de largarse del país, ya que la revolución no tiene nada mejor que ofrecerles. Quiere una paz, en suma, de sus enemigos

día quedarse en ese país, objetivo que entonces no era nada difícil de lograr. Por el contrario: en aquellos años, y durante todo el siglo XX, la Isla recibió decenas de miles de inmigrantes, mientras los nativos parecían razonablemente arraigados en su patria. Lo que conduce a Washington a una inevitable conclusión: si de lo que se trata es de resolver permanentemente el problema migratorio cubano, lo que hay que hacer es abstenerse de contribuir al mantenimiento en el poder de quien lo ha creado y lo mantiene vigente desde hace más de tres décadas.

El poder de EU

¿Puede Castro lanzar otro Mariel? No creo que se atreva, y si lo hace probablemente sería su final. En 1980 Cuba formaba parte de un polo económico y militar que ya no existe. Hace 15 años enfrentarse a Castro era enfrentarse a la URSS. Hoy Washington posee un poder absoluto total. Si Castro estimula a los

O VARGAS LLOSA
R DE OPINIONES

BERTO VILAR
DIRECTOR
IRCULACION

¡del!

des sociales y políticas
sine qua non de un pue-
nte libre en unión con-
crática.
de Castro no es consen-
tita. Es la maniobra de
stro. Existe con un solo
rpetuar su mandato.
s ha mantenido el poder
u pueblo a cualquier prier
er dificultad y cualquier
realidad necesaria para
ntrol del poder.

a admirable,
xilio cubano
shington
de igual
amenaza de
abrir los
e Cuba a
a que desee irse.
o sólo ayudaría

emoslo que amenace con
tos de Cuba. Dejémoslo
desde La Habana, con
lo a Cuba sino a Miami y
rteamericano también. El
sabemos, un hombre sin
cordia, o viabilidad. Esta
toda, viejo, ha quedado

mas peligrosos es internacionalizándolos

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1994
The Washington Times

The courtier press doesn't understand this because it never did get the message of Ross Perot, which was not that Mr. Perot was ideal but that he was neither a career pol nor a courtier. The courtiers despised him and tried to discredit him in every way they could, while sparing Mr. Clinton the same tough treatment — then accused Mr. Perot of "paranoia" for thinking he had enemies.

Mr. Clinton is a politician in the full sense of the term. He has no visible life outside politics. He is palpably dishonest to boot. His quibbles — his denials that he really said what he seemed to all to be saying — are worse than his lies, because they insult our intelligence. And even those who think the government should quietly leave sodomy and abortion alone may nevertheless find it unseemly for a president to be vocally taking the side of lesbians and abortion clinics.

What it adds up to is that Mr. Clinton is devoid of dignity, and a figure like him couldn't have come along at a worse time in our national life. He promised "change," but he embodies everything the people really wanted changed.

So he only reveals his own incomprehension when he speaks of doing "the job I was elected to do," as if he had been given a popular mandate for more entitlement programs. What he doesn't comprehend is that he stands for an exhausted and obsolete style of politics, of what might be called the tradition of overturning tradition. He is the political counterpart of Madonna, offering only the monotonous irritation of perpetual novelty.

That isn't "change." It's more of the same. You wonder: Has this man ever stopped to ask himself at what point the country will have been taxed, regulated, supervised and coerced to the limit? Or does he foresee — oh Lord! — an infinite succession of future Bill Clintons, each piling his increment of new federal programs on our backs?

The only thing worse than his failure would be his success.

Joseph Sobran is a nationally syndicated columnist.

If you stop to think, there are plenty of reasons not to invade Cuba

I read with much perplexity Michael I. Krauss' July 21 Op-Ed, "Hey, why not invade Cuba?"

Honestly speaking, what this distinguished, but irresponsible professor of George Mason University states sounds like a joke. Mr. Krauss, who knows nothing about Cuba (I doubt he knows where it is), needs some advice.

I take for granted that everybody knows that Cuba is not Haiti and that the two countries are completely different. I do not intend to try to convince The Washington Times, which publishes such great quantities of anti-Cuban information, that Cuba and Haiti are different, but I thought it suitable to state two things:

First, a revolution was made in Cuba with the support of the overwhelming majority of its people. During the past 35 years, Cuba has been subjected to an inhuman economic blockade imposed by the modern world's longest-lasting superpower. Over those 35 years, Cuba has been the target of all kinds of acts of aggression, including the mercenary invasion of the Bay of Pigs. During this period,

U.S. government agencies have planned countless attempts of assassination against leaders of the Cuban revolution, especially Fidel Castro.

In spite of all of this, the Cuban revolution is still alive. We have to ask ourselves: What government in the world could have kept leading a country in spite of all the foregoing troubles, if it did not really have the support of a majority of its people? Mr. Krauss should think about that.

Has Mr. Krauss seriously thought how the noble American people would be affected by a military invasion of Cuba? It seems that he has not. Everything indicates that Mr. Krauss and others who harbor thoughts of invasion have forgotten the U.S. experience in Vietnam. The United States, as a result of its irresponsible and disgraceful aggression against Vietnam, brought on the death of more than 58,000 of its noble sons — not to mention the millions of Vietnamese who offered their lives in defense of their sovereignty and independence.

Since Mr. Krauss does not understand these facts — or simply does not want to recognize them — I must remind him and all the others who think as he does that Cuba is not Haiti or Panama or Grenada. Invading Cuba will not be like any of the easy fighting that the United States has done in this hemisphere.

ALFONSO FRAGA
 Chief
 Cuban Interests Section
 Embassy of Switzerland
 Washington

CTBA

WEEK
OF
Feb. 20, 1995

1

Cuba. Time to Talk

Well, why not open broad negotiations with the Castro regime?

The Clinton Administration was quick to rebuff Fidel Castro's proposal of multi-issue talks yesterday. Washington anticipated a propaganda session where Havana would offer to keep its unhappy citizens from leaving only if the U.S. promised to ease its economic embargo, halt anti-Castro radio broadcasts and maybe throw in the return of the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base to Cuba as well.

The Administration says immigration is the only issue it will talk about. Washington should respond more creatively, insisting that any discussion of issues between the two countries must also include democracy and human rights.

Fidel Castro has had his dictatorial way with Cuba for the past 35 years, brooking no dissent, turning neighbors into spies and driving many of his own people to risk their lives to get away. He blames the U.S. for troubles of his own making and would sooner see Cuba's economy collapse than make concessions to foreign demands.

If that kind of behavior disqualified a regime from negotiations, Washington would never have been able to reach out to Mao's China or Kim Il Jung's North Korea. Neither could it have talked with Syria about Mideast peace terms, Bosnian Serbs about cease-fire, or Haiti's generals about the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

In diplomacy, it is often more important for governments to talk to their enemies than to their friends. That is how Israel reached agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization. But for most of the past three and a half decades, Washington has never seriously considered talking to Havana.

It ought to consider such talks now. The Castro regime's present weakness makes this an especial-

ly promising moment to negotiate, if Washington plays its hand effectively.

Once a genuine menace as a Soviet outpost, Cuba has power to influence American politics that has outlasted the end of the cold war. Hundreds of thousands of Cuban émigrés are now U.S. voters and their most vocal leaders have made any dialogue with Cuba a domestic political taboo. The Administration is understandably reluctant to challenge that taboo. It does not need any new political problems. Yet its attempt to improvise unilateral responses to the refugee challenge is already damaging its own credibility and jeopardizing broader American interests.

For what good cause is the Administration preventing Cuban-Americans from helping their families stretch meager budgets with dollar payments? Has it not yet learned the importance of setting, and holding to, its foreign policy priorities?

The Cuban-American hard-liners from whom the Administration is taking its cues want to escalate internal tensions in Cuba rapidly in order to force an explosion, and perhaps a U.S. intervention, that would bring the Castro regime down in flames. The Administration itself is not prepared to go that far, nor is it clear that such an Armageddon scenario would serve Cuban democracy or America's best interests. Many Cuban-Americans also shy away from a confrontation that could turn their own relatives into sacrificial victims.

By agreeing to wide-ranging talks with Cuba now, and insisting on the broadest possible agenda, the U.S. may find it has some bargaining power to help Cubans struggling for democratic change. The alternative is to punish Cubans and embarrass the United States. That would not hurt Mr. Castro nearly so much as it would damage Mr. Clinton.

Justice Cracks Down on Redlining

The Justice Department dramatically sharpened its attack on discriminatory lending practices this week when it got Chevy Chase Federal Savings Bank, the largest in the Washington D.C. area, to agree to set up branches in black neighborhoods. Justice has gone after banks that discriminated against black loan applicants, but until the Chevy Chase case it had never used anti-discrimination laws to challenge where banks provided services or placed branches.

The new tactic deserves praise. As Attorney General Janet Reno observed, blacks are no better off if a bank shuns their neighborhood than if it rejects their loan applications. The purpose of anti-discrimination laws is to guarantee that qualified blacks have an equal shot at loans. At Chevy Chase they did not. According to Justice, the bank made 97 percent of its loans between 1976 and 1992 in white neighborhoods. It opened no branches where 90 percent of blacks in Washington D.C. live, nor did it open branches where 75 percent of the blacks in Prince George's County, Maryland, live.

Some banking spokesmen claim the law does not permit government to meddle in a bank's decision where to do business. But fair housing laws provide a wide berth to stamp out race bias by banks that provide mortgages; and the Community Reinvestment Act, which was not cited in Justice's suit, requires banks to meet the credit needs of all neighborhoods in a bank's service area.

Justice was also criticized for focusing on "brick and mortar" branches, which, the industry

says, become less significant as banking services are increasingly computerized. But in fact Justice did focus on service, not physical presence, and showed in graphic detail that Chevy Chase provided no service to black communities. Had it done so, the issue of branches would never have arisen.

The law does not compel banks to make unprofitable loans, but communities that Chevy Chase avoided include many high-income black families that qualified for loans from other lenders. Forty percent of black households in Prince George's County earn over \$50,000.

It appears that Chevy Chase's discriminatory practices did not harm the excluded neighborhoods. They seem to have been well served by other lenders. But whether Prince George's County and other areas around Washington D.C. were served by other lenders is irrelevant to Justice's action; the law does not permit discrimination even if it causes no harm.

Under the settlement, Chevy Chase will set up new branches and mortgage offices in the excluded neighborhoods and recruit blacks for loan-production positions. It will also spend \$11 million to set up special loan programs to provide mortgages at below-market rates in the excluded neighborhoods.

Chevy Chase denies any wrongdoing. The bank says it settled to avoid costly litigation. No matter. The agreement it signed this week sends a clear message to banks across the nation that racial bias, whether artful or naive, is intolerable and that the Justice Department will crack down hard.

AmH

Steve
Ben
Suzanna

Alex's had
shown for this
out to our Black Leadership
perhaps to Higgins as well -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-7-94

The Miami Herald

JOHN S. KNIGHT (1894-1981)

JAMES L. KNIGHT (1906-1991)

DAVID LAWRENCE JR., *Publisher and Chairman*JOE NATOLI
*President*ROBERTO SUAREZ
*President Emeritus*JIM HAMPTON
*Editor*DOUGLAS C. CLIFTON
*Executive Editor*MARTHA MUSGROVE and TONY PROSCIO
*Associate Editors*SAUNDRA KEYES
*Managing Editor*PETE WEITZEL
Senior Managing Editor

Not *this* time, Fidel!

Fidel Castro didn't just dangle the bait, he paraded it like a model showing off the latest fashion in despotism. Obviously hoping to provoke a Mariel II, he threatened twice over the weekend to open Cuba's ports and to allow anyone who wants to leave to do so.

But his wary audience — the U.S. government and South Florida's Cuban exile community — didn't bite. From the Clinton administration to Miami City Manager Cesar Odio to the Cuban American National Foundation, the reaction was unified:

Not *this* time, Fidel. Not *this* time.

That once-burned, twice-cautious attitude was exactly correct. It was, and will remain until he departs, the *only* proper response to Castro's desperate efforts to save his failing regime.

Pressure, pressure, and more pressure — that's the way to hasten Cuba's freedom. Castro knows this. He would love to open Cuba's ports and export his increasingly demonstrative detractors. This would relieve the pressure on him to allow his people some measure of freedom. *Any* measure of *any* freedom. By exporting his detractors, he would maximize his ability to do what he does best. That is, he would enable himself to perpetuate himself in power, at whatever cost to Cubans' freedoms.

NO MORE MARIELS

Admirably, Cuban exiles and Washington alike rebuff Castro's threat to open Cuba's ports to anyone who wants to leave. To allow that would help only Castro.

But Cuba's freedom ought not, must not, be measured externally, by those who flee in search of it. No, Cuba's freedom can be measured only internally, by the Cuban people's access to, and unhindered exercise of, social and political freedoms that are the *sine qua non* of a truly free people living in a

consensual, democratic union.

Castro's repression is neither consensual nor democratic. It is the handiwork of one man: Castro. It exists for one purpose and one only: To perpetuate his rule. For 35 years, he has held power by subjecting his people to any deprivation, any hardship, any denial of reality required to extend his hold on power.

So let him threaten to open Cuba's ports. Let him threaten, from Havana, to subjugate not just Cuba but Miami and the U.S. government as well. He is, we all know, a man without morals, mercy, or marketability. He is *pasé*, outdated, exposed as a fraud and a tyrant and a false prophet.

A man thus exposed merits only the response that he got over the weekend. From the U.S. government: We won't allow another Mariel. From the exile community: We won't participate in another Mariel.

And from each and all of us: Not *this* time, Fidel. Not *this* time.

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

AUG 08 '94 02:17PM P.3/23

O a c e arrestos por disturbios en La Habana

El régimen reprime a la disidencia

POR PABLO ALPONSO
Redactor de El Nuevo Herald

Decenas de miembros de grupos opositores y activistas de derechos humanos han sido arrestados en las últimas horas en La Habana y en ciudades del interior del país, como consecuencia de los disturbios ocurridos el viernes en la capital cubana, informaron desde la isla fuentes opositoras.

En una de las pocas comunicaciones telefónicas que se lograron establecer el domingo con disidentes en La Habana, el miembro del Partido Solidaridad Democrática (PSD), Carlos Millán Herrera, dijo que la policía y agentes de Seguridad del Estado han efectuado una amplia redada contra los opositores en toda la capital.

"Han apresado a casi todos los miembros del Ejecutivo de nuestra organización y de otros grupos", dijo Millán, que habló por teléfono con el activista Antonio Tang, en Montreal, Canadá.

Entre los arrestados figuran Elizardo San Pedro Marín, Héctor Palacios, Ileana Curra, Fernando Sánchez y Pastor Herrera Macurán, todos miembros del PSD.

Millán dijo que "hay una gran cantidad de disidentes detenidos", pero los problemas de transporte en La Habana dificultan las comunicaciones y por otra parte "a casi todos los disidentes reconocidos les han cortado los teléfonos".

Añadió que desde Santiago de Cuba se informó igualmente de numerosas detenciones de miembros del PSD.

"Con Camagüey y otras ciudades del interior no

VEA CUBA, 6A

36 PAGINAS

MIAMI, FLA., LUNES 8 DE AGOSTO DE 1994

~~El Nuevo Herald~~

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

Arrestados en Ciba decenas de disidentes

CUBA, DE 1A

tenemos comunicación", subrayó.

Rumores de incidentes en Santiago de Cuba y Camagüey circularon el domingo en Miami, pero según Milián esos informes no han sido confirmados en La Habana.

Milián dijo que en La Habana reinaba el domingo "una tensa calma y ambiente de represión", mientras que jeeps del ejército, con ametralladoras, patrullaban las calles.

"El transporte marítimo entre Regla, Casablanca y La Habana está suspendido desde el sábado", indicó.

El gobierno movilizó el domingo a miles de personas en una concentración en la Plaza de la Revolución convocada por la Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas para despedir el duelo de Gabriel Lamoth Caballero, de 19 años, uno de los dos policías que según fuentes oficiales fueron muertos esta semana cuando intentaron impedir el secuestro de una lancha. Buzos del Ministerio del Interior buscaban todavía el domingo el cadáver del otro policía, cuyo nombre no ha sido dado a conocer, en las aguas de la

bahía, según informó *Granma*.

En el acto se encontraban el ministro de las Fuerzas Armadas, Raúl Castro; el ministro del Interior, Abelardo Colomé Ibarra; y otros altos dirigentes del gobierno.

El general de división, Ulises Rosales del Toro, Jefe del Estado Mayor de las FAR, habló ante una multitud estimada por el régimen en 600.000 personas, y acusó a Estados Unidos de crear el caos como pretexto para una intervención militar en Cuba y de mantener una política migratoria "malévola e impúdica" respecto a Cuba.

Rosales dijo que "no habrá impunidad para los vándalos... recibirán la respuesta de acuerdo a sus actos".

En lo que pudiera interpretarse como un gesto conciliatorio, Rosales dijo que Cuba está dispuesta a buscar con Washington una solución al problema de la emigración ilegal hacia Estados Unidos.

"Si Estados Unidos está en disposición de discutir con Cuba soluciones serias, negociaciones honestas sobre esta cuestión, nosotros oponemos a la búsqueda conjunta de soluciones", expresó.

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

El Nuevo Herald

36 PAGINAS

MIAMI, FLA., LUNES 8 DE AGOSTO DE 1994

Soldado cubano deserta para no disparar contra el pueblo

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

Relata detalles de revuelta habanera

Por MANNY GARCIA y SUSANA BELLIDO
Redactores de El Nuevo Herald

Stock Island — Alberto Martínez sólo descaba el viernes un poco de gasolina para el motor de su lancha. Entonces en La Habana ocurrió lo impensable.

El pueblo cubano se enfrentó contra las fuerzas de Fidel Castro, y Martínez quedó atrapado en el tráfico, en medio del mayor disturbio desde que Castro tomó el poder hace 35 años.

"La gente volteaba los carros de la policía. La policía disparaba tiros al aire. Los agentes se pegaban unos con otros, paralizados por el miedo",

señaló Martínez, con lágrimas en los ojos y tristeza en la voz. "El pueblo ya estaba harto".

Martínez, de 48 años, e instructor de buceo, contó su historia el domingo por la mañana, momentos después de llegar al Centro de Tránsito para Refugiados Cubanos. Martínez y ocho miembros de su familia, entre ellos un hijo que desertó del ejército cubano horas antes del viaje, fueron rescatados el sábado.

Alberto Martínez vio todo lo que pasó el viernes al mediodía mientras conducía por La Habana tratando encontrar gasolina para el motor de fabricación casera de su embarca-

ción.

Martínez señaló que había una revuelta en cada esquina. Las ventanas de las tiendas para turistas fueron despedazadas por las piedras y hubo saqueos.

La airada multitud se dispersó por la ciudad. Cientos se reunieron en el parque cerca del Malecón, gritando: "Abajo Fidel. Estamos cansados. Esto es demasiado".

"Era la primera vez en mi vida que veía algo así", dijo Marcel Martínez, de 18 años, e hijo de Alberto.

La policía rodeó los vecindarios.

VEA SOLDADO CUBANO, 6A

Soldado dec de no i sparar e a s i pueblo

SOLDADO CUBANO, DE 1A

En un momento, una marejada humana comenzó a correr por una calle estrecha y atacó a la policía. Los agentes, tomados por sorpresa, comenzaron a disparar al aire. Varios vehículos militares se dirigieron apresuradamente hacia el área de los disturbios.

A unas cuadras de distancia, el otro hijo de Martínez, Douglas, de 19 años, y otros soldados recibieron instrucciones de prepararse para el combate esa tarde. Cada soldado recibió un rifle de asalto y 150 municiones, pero no recibieron instrucciones explícitas de cómo enfrentarse a la multitud. Los soldados sabían que si los movilizaban tendrían que disparar, señaló Douglas Martínez. "Estaba loco por irme de allí", dijo.

Muchos soldados también desertaron, añadió.

"Ninguno de mis amigos, incluyéndome a mí, queríamos

hacer nada. Era como ponerme en contra de mis hermanos, de mi madre", dijo.

Más tarde, en el Malecón, Martínez vio a miles de personas armadas con bates y piedras congregándose cerca del muro. La policía, armada con rifles, cercó el área. Desde allí se podía ver a una embarcación llena de personas que se disponía a abandonar la isla en dirección a Estados Unidos, dijo Marcel Martínez. Las embarcaciones de los guardacostas cubanos impidieron la salida de la lancha.

"La multitud siguió gritando, '¡Abusadores! ¡Sueltenlos!', dijo Martínez. La multitud se movió contra los agentes de la policía, poniéndolos contra el muro del Malecón.

De pronto, señaló Martínez, por lo menos dos de los agentes se enfrentaron a los manifestantes. Dos agentes de la seguridad

brincaron o fueron lanzados por encima del muro, dijo Alberto Martínez. Otros agentes comenzaron a disparar a la multitud o sobre sus cabezas.

"Parecía una guerra", dijo Alberto Martínez. "Parecía que Fidel se había caído. Pensamos que era el fin. La gente gritaba: 'Basta ya'".

Esa tarde, Alberto y Marcel Martínez llegaron en una motocicleta hasta las barracas militares y recogieron a Douglas, sargento del ejército, que le había informado a sus superiores que su padre había sufrido un infarto.

Al caer la noche, los disturbios se extendieron de La Habana a su vecindario, Guanabo. La gente del poblado también lanzaba piedras, desafiando a los soldados, y gritando: 'Abajo Fidel'".

En la casa, la familia de Martínez comenzó a preparar la lancha, mientras escuchaba el discurso de Castro por la televisión, en el que condenaba a los que se marchaban del país.

La familia Martínez esperó hasta que unos vecinos terminaran una partida de dominó, que otros dejaran de mirar por las ventanas, y que se fueran los borrachos que estaban en la playa a esa hora.

Salieron a medianoche: "Sin ninguna vergüenza, como si hubiéramos salido a comprar cigarros a la tienda de la esquina", dijo Douglas Martínez.

Remaron en silencio durante dos horas, luego encendieron el motor y se dirigieron al norte. Diez horas más tarde, un avión de Hermanos al Rescate logró avistarlos, y a otros muchos balseiros en el Estrecho de la Florida.

"Esto no es nada en comparación con lo que viene", dijo Alberto Martínez. "Todos quieren irse. Aquello se acabó".

Castro ha dado 'marcha atrás' a amenaza, dice Leon Panetta

Washington —(EFE)— El gobernante cubano Fidel Castro ha dado "marcha atrás" en su amenaza de permitir la libre salida de cubanos de la isla y provocar una nueva crisis como la del Mariel, en 1980, afirmó el domingo Leon Panetta, jefe de gabinete de la Casa Blanca.

"Las cosas están calmándose [en Cuba] y Castro ha dado marcha atrás a su amenaza", dijo Panetta en declaraciones a la cadena de televisión NBC.

Castro amenazó el viernes con provocar una nueva crisis de refugiados cubanos en Estados Unidos, horas después de los graves disturbios registrados en el centro de La Habana y que el gobernante cubano achacó a la política de Washington de alentar el secuestro de embarcaciones.

"No creo que tengamos que enfrentarnos a una situación similar por el momento", dijo Panetta refiriéndose al peligro de un nuevo Mariel, y agregó que "la situación tanto en Miami como en Cuba ahora es de calma".

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

Rebelión deja mar de rumores en Cuba y Miami

Exiliados claman por un alzamiento

■ Elementos leales a Castro, o bien aquellos que le temen, le brindaron su tributo a un policía que murió la semana pasada.

Por ANN DAVIS, MANNY GARCIA
y MARTIN MEERZ
Redactores de El Nuevo Herald

La comunidad cubanoamericana del sur de la Florida, avivó el domingo las brasas de rebelión que se han encendido en Cuba. En reuniones tras reuniones, los residentes llamaron a los cubanos a organizarse, movilizarse y luchar, así como a tomar en sus manos este momento y derribar del poder al presidente Fidel Castro.

"Todos tenemos un mismo pensamiento en la mente: libertad para Cuba", dijo Mena Mesa, mientras asistía en Coral Gables a un "guateque" tradicional cubano. "Ha llegado el momento de que

Oraciones en Miami. 1B.

el pueblo luche por la libertad".

Pero en La Habana, los elementos leales a Castro, o bien aquellos que le temen, le brindaron su tributo a un policía que murió la semana pasada defendiendo al régimen frente a un movimiento contrario al gobierno, que estalló súbitamente. Miles de personas se reunieron en la noche del domingo para protagonizar una manifestación en

VEA RUMORES, 8A

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

36 PAGINAS

El Nuevo Herald

MIAMI, FLA., LUNES 8 DE AGOSTO DE 1994

Revuelta enciende rumores en Cuba

RUMORES, DE 1A

apoyo a Castro.

Un corresponsal que reside en la capital cubana dijo a El Nuevo Herald que miles de personas esperaron durante tres horas el domingo, para desfilar frente al féretro de Gabriel Lamoth Caballero, de 19 años, uno de los policías que murió el jueves cuando un grupo de desafectos al gobierno secuestró una embarcación para llevársela a la Florida.

Este fue uno de varios sucesos que dieron lugar a los disturbios del viernes, el más violento incidente de ese tipo en la Habana durante décadas. Un diario cubano informó el domingo que 35 personas resultaron heridas durante los enfrentamientos en las calles, que duraron varias horas. Diez de ellos eran policías, según el informe.

Juventud Rebelde, el semanario de la juventud comunista cubana, dijo que la manifestación había sido realizada por "delincuentes comunes, gentes capaces de actos vandálicos y antisociales, cuyo objetivo es emigrar hacia Estados Unidos, animados por la política de ese país, que los recibe con los brazos abiertos".

El periódico del gobierno también afirmó ominosamente, que "importantes grupos de disidentes" involucrados en los disturbios, estaban en prisión, y serían juzgados y castigados "con severidad". Sin embargo, el diario no dio a conocer cifras.

En Washington, el gobierno del Presidente Bill Clinton continuó puliendo los detalles de un plan de emergencia en caso de que se produzca un éxodo masivo de refugiados por vía marítima. El viernes y el sábado Castro amenazó con permitir la emigración sin restricciones, con lo que alentó esperanzas entre algunos cubanos, pero provocó el temor en Estados Unidos de que se repita un éxodo caótico similar al del Mariel, en 1980.

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

Pero el domingo no se divisaron flotillas en el horizonte. El Servicio Guardacostas informó que ninguna embarcación norteamericana se había dirigido a la isla, pero dijo que rescató o vio a 42 refugiados cubanos que venían en cinco balsas u otro tipo de embarcaciones.

Mientras tanto, el jefe del equipo presidencial de Bill Clinton, abogó por la calma tanto en Cuba como entre la comunidad cubanoamericana.

"Estamos a favor de una transición pacífica hacia la democracia en Cuba", afirmó León Paretta en el programa *Meet the Press* de la cadena televisiva NBC. "Y pensamos que al final eso es lo que va a ocurrir allí".

Castro, que asistió el domingo a la toma de posesión del presidente colombiano Ernesto Samper, admitió en Bogotá que algunos cubanos estaban "insatisfechos y descontentos".

"Pero también debemos tener en cuenta el inmenso patriotismo de la mayoría de la población", dijo, "que comprende las causas de los problemas que hemos tenido, y se mantiene firme en la defensa de la patria, la revolución y el socialismo".

Castro dijo además que le "es indiferente lo que opine Estados Unidos sobre el tema de la inmigración; considero que su deber es de limitar la salida ilegal de Cuba, y con el bloqueo económico lo que hacen es impulsar la salida de ciudadanos del país".

En repetidas ocasiones el gobernante cubano ha dicho que la culpa de la crisis económica de la isla la tiene Estados Unidos. También alega que Estados Unidos está alentando la emigración ilegal de cubanos.

Según lo planificado, el mandatario cubano debía regresar a La Habana en la noche de domingo.

La Habana es una ciudad azotada por rumores, que en su mayoría revelan conmovedoramente la desesperación de muchos de los cubanos.

■ Rumor: Embarcaciones norteamericanas están ancladas a sólo 12 millas de la costa, esperando para recoger a quienes puedan llegar allí, y listas para llevarlos a la Florida.

■ Rumor: El Galeón, un barco en el que los turistas van a bailar y que navega frente al malecón, con sus luces parpadeantes e incitantes, es el próximo que será secuestrado. Y entonces quienes lo tomen, podrán venir bailando hasta Miami.

■ Rumor: Un barco chino descargará un envío de arroz para alimentarnos y cuando lo haga, podrá llevar polizones a Estados Unidos.

Sin embargo, ninguno parecía ser cierto, y el domingo la realidad fue aún más sombría.

Lamoth, que murió un día después de que los disturbios estallaran, recibió todos los honores de



Cubanos leales al régimen, o temerosos de las represalias, pasan el domingo junto al ataúd con los restos mortales del policía Gabriel Lamoth en la Plaza de la Revolución.

un héroe nacional, su cadáver fue expuesto en el edificio del Ministerio del Interior, frente a la amplia Plaza de la Revolución de la capital.

Una guardia de honor permanecía a su lado en atención. La bandera cubana fue colocada sobre el féretro.

Al otro lado de la ciudad, los buzos buscaban en la Bahía de La Habana el cadáver de un segundo policía que murió en el secuestro del jueves. Este incidente tuvo un mal final, con el regreso de los secuestradores y los pasajeros a La Habana, luego de que la embarcación se quedara sin combustible.

La ceremonia en honor de Lamoth fue pacífica. Pero afuera, algunos partidarios de Castro hablaban con rudeza, llamando al régimen a acabar con toda chispa de disidencia.

"Los policías tienen que ser más rigurosos", dijo una mujer que pertenece al Partido Comunista.

En el sur de la Florida, las expresiones también fueron igualmente fuertes, pero en sentido contrario.

Emilio Martínez, un hombre de 70 años que vive en Miami, instó a los cubanos a permanecer en su país y luchar por el derrocamiento de Castro. Otra oleada de cubanos en barcos hacia Miami, no resolverá nada, dijo.

"Dejémoslos hacer allá y luchar", afirmó Martínez. "Desde aquí nadie puede hacer nada. Esa es la única solución".

José Fra, de 60 años, que salió de Cuba en 1968 y ahora se encuentra retirado, dijo: "Tenemos que librarnos de Fidel de cualquier forma".

Mientras tanto José Manuel Valdés, de 58 años, que también vive en Miami, dijo que sus familiares en el vecindario de Mantilla, en La Habana, le dijeron que el domingo en la mañana un grupo de manifestantes recorrió las calles, lanzando piedras y rompiendo vidrieras de algunas tiendas.

No ha habido una confirmación inmediata del informe, pero Valdés dijo que está alarmado por el caos que hay en las calles.

"Nos sentimos muy mal porque el resto de mi familia está en Cuba", afirmó.

Sin embargo estaba optimista: "Creo que este es el principio del fin".

David Hancock, Rafael Lorente e Ivonne Pérez, redactores de El Nuevo Herald, contribuyeron en esta información.

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

6A

NOTICIAS

Cuba: el triste eco de la frustración

Podemos verlos desde aquí, parados junto al malecón habanero con sus pequeñas bolsas, sus abuelas y sus bebitos, y el mundo acabándose a su alrededor. Podemos escuchar sus gritos: ¡Libertad! Podemos ver y sentir los porrazos de las brigadas del gobierno, la represión y el caos, las vidrieras de las diplotiendas destrozadas, la confusión de los parientes y los rumores.

Los canales de televisión no tenían imágenes todavía. Pero habíamos estado escuchando las noticias que daba la radio sobre el estallido de ira desatado el



LIZ BALMASEDA

viernes a lo largo del Malecón, oyendo los relatos de los testigos desde La Habana, y los desesperados mensajes que se abalanza-

ban desde Miami hacia el oscuro golfo que separa nuestros mundos.

Y esta fue la más conmovedora de las imágenes: la gente en el Malecón, mirando hacia el horizonte tratando de adivinar barcos que vinieran de Miami. Esperando por nosotros.

"Dios, quiero alquilar un barco", se lamentaba en alta voz y con un tono de frustración mi amigo el pintor. "Allí tienen agallas para salir a la calle y pararse ahí, a esperar a que vayamos y los busquemos. ¿Y qué es lo que hacemos?"

Viajábamos en automóvil hacia el oeste, apenas unas horas después que las manifestaciones comenzaron el viernes en el Malecón, para ver a la disidente y poetisa cubana María Elena Cruz Varela, que se encuentra de visita en Miami.

Había establecido algo así como un centro de información en el lugar donde vive, llamando a amigos cubanos que son activistas de derechos humanos en Madrid y Berlín, insistiéndole a la mujer de Canadá que le pone las llamadas con La Habana. Pero era imposible comunicarse

LUNES 8 DE AGOSTO DE 1994
EL NUEVO HERALDO

de un pueblo

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

de un pueblo

con la capital cubana. La única alternativa dejaba con la única alternativa de despertar a sus amigos en Europa.

Durante toda la noche, en medio de nuestra vigilia en un lugar de las afueras de la ciudad, podíamos escuchar los ecos de algo familiar, que repetía la pregunta que nos consumía por dentro: ¿puede ser esto posible?

Fue como la electricidad de las primeras horas del Mariel, la adrenalina de aquellas referencias poco erradas de distantes revueltas y de los achaques de Fidel Castro. Y como siempre, había muy poca información, demasiados rumores, la común avalancha de oportunistas, y la imposibilidad de comunicar con La Habana.

La Habana pesca un catarro y Miami estornuda. Desafortunadamente, conocemos el asunto: el dominio obligatorio de las entrevistas hechas en la ventana de una cafetería, las exageraciones de la radio, la poco imaginativa visita de la televisión a la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, como si ellos tuvieran todo el privilegio de la opinión sobre Cuba.

Para la poeta, este asunto de ver a La Habana ardiendo desde aquí fue algo nuevo y frustrante. Finalmente pudo comunicarse con su madre en La Habana, a las 2 a.m. La conversación sólo aumentó su ansiedad.

La disuadimos de empacar las maletas y ponerle fin a su visita. Quería hacer lo que hubiese hecho si estuviera en su casa de regreso: salir a la calle con una vela, en una protesta improvisada, deshacerse de las alertas de la prensa, y desatar un fuego de verdad. Estaba preocupada por sus amigos disidentes, cuyas voces podían perderse en lo confuso de los sucesos.

"Ellos son los primeros blancos en momentos como éste, ustedes saben", nos dijo. Estaba preocupada por el destino del escritor Norberto Fuentes, que inició una huelga de hambre el miércoles al mediodía, porque el gobierno cubano no le permitía salir de la isla.

Ese día temprano, había logrado comunicarse en La Habana con Fernando Velázquez Medina, su consejero. Este le dijo que agentes de la seguridad del Estado había rodeado las casas de los disidentes de La Habana.

Cruz Varela supo que él y otros disidentes habían sido detenidos el domingo. Me llamó por teléfono para leer sus nombres, temiendo que los arrestos se perdieran entre las noticias de la asamblea convocada por el gobierno en la Plaza de la Revolución.

Cruz Varela y miembro del grupo disidente Criterio Alternativo, y la también integrante de la organización Níomara González fueron llevados a la estación de policía de Zanja y Gervasio. Ambos fueron encarcelados con Cruz Varela en 1991, después que una turba del gobierno la atacó, la arrastró por el cabello y le hizo tragar papeles de sus escritos.

Otro miembro, Gabriel Aguado Chavez, desapareció. Entre los arrestados también se encontraban Elizardo San Pedro Marín, el escritor David Buzzi, y René del Pozo, activista socialdemócrata.

Los cables noticiosos informaban sobre una "calma total" en La Habana. Una calma engañosa, según la opinión de Cruz Varela. "Es la calma que precede una tormenta irreversible", agregó.

En esta extraña calma, el régimen parece haber impuesto una ley marcial y un estado de sitio, evidenciado por las detenciones.

"Si supieran que detener a los culpables de los recientes eventos en La Habana, tendrían que detener a un solo hombre: al señor Fidel Castro, el principal instigador", aseguró.

"Y para colmo responsabiliza a Estados Unidos. ¿Qué tiene que ver Estados Unidos con que los cubanos no puedan vivir más en Cuba? Qué irónico resulta que todos quieran marcharse del lado del culpable. Si esto sigue, Castro va a quedarse solo".

Cruz Varela conoce el procedimiento. Tristemente, ella y otros que llegaron recientemente están aprendiendo la mecánica de los nuestros. Un amigo escritor de visita en La Habana, pasó el fin de semana escuchando la estación cubana Radio Rebelde. Encontró las diatribas tan surrealistas, que comenzó a transcribir las. El amigo no sólo halló admisiones de violencia, sino orgullo oficial en la represión.

El siguiente comentario lo hizo Juan Contino, secretario general de la Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas (UJC): "¡Por cada piedra del enemigo habrá miles de piedras revolucionarias! ¡Y cada botella del enemigo será enfrentada con miles de las nuestras!"

"Es una guerra", se lamentó mi amigo.

Por supuesto, podemos leer entre líneas.

De "valor viril" catalogó un tonto la presencia de Castro en el Malecón luego de los disturbios. Miramos el horizonte, no para buscar embarcaciones, sino porque creemos que ahí es donde está la respuesta, en una población que espera.

Examen de conciencia

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

EL NUEVO HERALDO

Por RAFAEL E. TARRAGO

Recuerdo un refrán común en Holguín, mi pueblo natal: "La culpa es muy limpia, nunca cae en el suelo". Cuando los cubanos nos ponemos a hablar de los males de nuestra patria siempre culpamos a algo o a alguien: a Fidel o a Batista; a los españoles o a los americanos; a los comunistas o a los "gusanos". Pocas veces se oye a un cubano que diga: "Todos somos culpables". Soy uno de éstos que reconoce haber contribuido al presente estado de cosas en mi patria; todo aquel que, como yo, abandonó el país, fue uno menos que estuvo opuesto a la imposición de un sistema tiránico. Todo el que calló ante una injusticia, o la causó, o se benefició de ella, tuvo parte en esa Revolución que comenzó contra la injusticia y luego se convirtió en su promotora. Por palabra, obra u omisión, todos somos culpables.

Cuando uno se pone a "echar pestes" del comunismo en Cuba debe recordar que "de aquellos polvos vinieron estos lodos". Es decir, que la Cuba precastrista dejaba mucho que desear políticamente, económicamente, y sociológicamente. Comenzando por la propaganda nacionalista, reacia a reconocer y apreciar las raíces del cubano, la cual presentaba unas situaciones esquizofrénicas e incomprensibles para cualquiera que reflexionara sobre ellas.

Apasionado político

El cubano, a pesar de penosas experiencias con caudillos e ideologías, desde 1868 no ha dejado de ser apasionado en su vida política. Aunque el cubano es individualista y mira por su interés antes que nada, tiende a apasionarse por una persona o por una idea, y entonces le da todo a ésta y hace cualquier cosa por ella. Lo mismo fue con Batista, y luego con Fidel. Recuerdo las turbas que pasaban frente a la casa de mis padres, gritando: "Si Fidel es comunista, que me pongan en la lista". Eso no es tradición española, al menos

no la del "guajiro" Pedro Crespo, de la comedia *El alcalde de Zalamea*, de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca, quien dice: "Al rey, la hacienda y la vida, pero la honra no, que la honra es cosa del alma y el alma sólo es de Dios".

Con tanta violencia por razones ideológicas, a menudo impulsadas por el afán de poder, lucro y venganza en la historia de nuestra patria, ¿para qué añadir más con nuestros rencores? Si amamos a nuestra patria debemos buscar el bien para ésta y no la satisfacción de nuestros intereses personales y nuestras pasiones. Recordemos que aunque en la Cuba precastrista la miseria no estaba tan generalizada ni las divisiones sociales eran tan marcadas como muchos creen, había lo suficiente como para que las doctrinas de Marx y Lenin encontraran seguidores como Fidel Castro, que las predicó como un remedio a la explotación del trabajador y a la desigualdad social.

Poder más limitado

En nuestra época democrática no basta con que los dirigentes tengan un alto sentido ético y crean en el deber, en la honestidad y en decir la verdad. En nuestra época todos tenemos que cultivar esas virtudes. Nunca va a haber perfección política ni en Cuba ni en ningún lado, pero los cubanos tenemos que desarrollar una noción del poder más limitada que la que hemos tenido en nuestra vida republicana si queremos construir una nación democrática en nuestra patria. Además, para que en Cuba haya democracia, los cubanos tenemos que aprender a entender que las opiniones diferentes a las nuestras no son un insulto, y a no considerar a nuestros oponentes políticos como los "malos". Nunca tendremos en Cuba una república estable hasta que los cubanos renunciemos al uso de la violencia para resolver nuestras diferencias y a la destrucción como medio de obtener nuestros fines.

RAFAEL E. TARRAGO es bibliotecario en la Universidad de Notre Dame, Indiana.

LOCALES

Plegarias y canciones por

Exilio los recuerda en misa y festín

Por MARIA A. MORALES
Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

Con plegarias y canciones, miles de cubanos en Miami recordaron el domingo a sus compatriotas en Cuba y oraron especialmente por los que participaron en la revuelta en La Habana el viernes.

"Vine a ponerle una ofrenda al Sagrado Corazón de Jesús para el pueblo cubano", dijo Nidia Beovides, matancera de 65 años, que asistió a misa en la iglesia St. Peter and Paul, en La Pequeña Habana. "Hoy más que nunca, lo necesita".

Entre 20,000 y 30,000 cubanos realizaron una manifestación antigubernamental sin precedentes en el Malecón de La Habana el viernes que dejó a decenas de heridos. La revuelta aparentemente surgió después que circularon rumores de que una flotilla había partido de Estados Unidos para recoger a los que querían irse de Cuba. Según informes oficiales el domingo por la noche, la capital cubana se mantenía en calma.

"Uno siempre pide por la libertad de Cuba", dijo Aracella

Hernández, feligresa de 82 años. "Lo que uno pide ahora es que no haya mayor derramamiento de sangre, y que el Señor ponga su mano sobre la situación del pueblo cubano".

En Coral Gables, cientos de cubanos, convertidos en un un mar de lino blanco, pamelas y abanicos de palma, se congregaron para celebrar un aniversario y recordar a sus compatriotas.

Bajo el lema de Guateque de Yuca y Palmas, el restaurante cubano Yuca celebró su 5to.

aniversario con música y comida bajo una enorme carpa blanca instalada a lo largo de la calle Giralda.

"Estamos celebrando pero a la misma vez recordando a nuestros hermanos cubanos", dijo María García Prieto, cubana de 52 años. "Se ve y se siente que el nivel de su desceperación pronto hará que eso allá estalle".

El guateque es una fiesta campestre cubana, celebrada tradicionalmente en el interior del país durante todo el año.



HILDA M. PEREZ / Especial para El Nuevo Herald

Aracella Hernández (izq.) y su amiga Nidia Beovides oran el domingo por sus compatriotas en la iglesia St. Peter an Paul.

los cubanos de la isla

LOS CUBANOS de la Isla

explicó Efraín Veiga, propietario de Yuca.

"Estamos celebrando una especie de Calle Ocho por todo lo alto", dijo Veiga, que invitó entre 1,000 y 1,500 clientes y amigos. "Para celebrar nuestro aniversario queríamos darle algo tradicional a nuestros amigos".

Entre 500 y 700 de ellos comieron lechón y tomaron ron entre las avenidas Ponce de León y Galiano, que fueron cerradas al tráfico, dijo el sargento W. K. Armstrong, de la policía de Coral Gables.

Mientras algunos bailaban o fumaban tabacos recién enrollados, otros se transportaron mentalmente en la costa haba-

nera.

"Mantenemos la cultura cubana porque estamos orgullosos de ser cubanos", dijo María de la Vega, de 41 años. "Ahora estamos pensando en este último enfrentamiento y pensamos que queremos regresar para ayudar al país".

Gloria Cabrera, de 62 años, lloró calladamente después de escuchar una versión a capela de la canción *Oyeme Cachita*, interpretada por la cantante Albita Rodríguez, y su grupo musical.

"Esta alegría aquí es sólo un rato", dijo Cabrera. "Por muy cómodo que uno esté aquí, a ninguno de nosotros se nos puede olvidar nuestra gente allá".

LUNES 8 DE AGOSTO DE 1994 / EL NUEVO HERALD

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

Exenta de impuestos Unidad Cubana

A pesar de las amenazas de acción legal, las autoridades de la Florida han declarado exenta a la organización Unidad Cubana de tener que cumplir un requisito que establece la necesidad de estar inscrita para solicitar dinero.

En una carta dirigida a la organización anticastrista de Miami, Clyde M. Chandler, analista del Departamento de Agricultura y Servicios al Consumidor, dijo a Unidad Cubana que la organización estaba sujeta a las disposiciones de la ley.

La razón, dijo Chandler, es que la organización aduce que solicita dinero de sus miembros y no del público en general.

Luis A. Figueroa, abogado de Coral Gables contratado por Unidad Cubana, descuartizó que el grupo estaba exento y presentó una declaración jurada en la división de servicios al consumidor. La oficina aceptó la declaración de Figueroa y el 22 de junio concedió la exención a la organización.

Alarma salva a rehén

Keith Smith trataba a su motocicleta mejor que a su novia, pero fue la negra y reluciente moto Ninja la que el domingo resultó su perdición, según la policía.

Smith mantuvo el domingo por la tarde a Cordell Dunbar, de 21 años, como rehén a punta de pistola en su apartamento del norte de Dade durante cinco horas. Fue capturado por la policía metropolitana cuando la alarma de su motocicleta comenzó a sonar, y éste abrió la puerta para ir a echarle un vistazo.

Familiares de Dunbar llamaron a la policía cuando Smith los amenazó con un arma después de que vinieron a visitarla el domingo a la 1:30 p.m., dijo la detective Stephanie Cohen. El incidente ocurrió en el 220 NW 177th St.

—LOCALES/ESTATALES—

Hermanos al Rescate evita que barco cubano capture a cinco balseiros

Por ELAINE DE VALLE
Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

En una especie de juego del ratón y el gato, entre el aire y el mar, un piloto de Hermanos al Rescate evitó que un barco armado cubano capturara a cinco cubanos en aguas internacionales.

Los refugiados, a bordo de dos balsas de neumáticos atadas entre sí con una cuerda, estaban 60 millas al sur de Cayo Hueso como a la 1:15 p.m. cuando un barco artillado cubano, de tamaño y velocidad nunca vistos anteriormente por los pilotos, comenzó a avanzar a gran velocidad hacia ellos.

Comunicándose entre sí y con los guardacostas estadounidenses por radio, la tensión de los pilotos aumentaba a medida que el barco cubano se acercaba a la balsa. Cuando estuvo a unas cinco millas, el piloto Rey Martin voló hacia un barco de 25 pies de eslora que se encontraba vacío y a la deriva, ya que sus 24 ocupantes habían sido rescatados poco antes, y comenzó a volar en círculos sobre el mismo.

"Vienen por él. Los tiburones vienen a buscar su presa", dijo Martin. Los pilotos dieron vivas. "Pensamos en todas las cosas legales que podíamos hacer y ellos se dirigieron hacia el barco seguro. Estoy seguro de que me maldijeron cuando llegaron allí y vieron que estaba vacío".

Mientras tanto, los cinco cubanos y la balsa fueron recogidos por un veloz barco que pasaba y transferidos en alta mar al guardacostas estadounidense Cutter Nantucket, sumándose al grupo que había sido rescatado poco antes.

El barco armado —un Zuk, unos 100 pies de eslora armado con torpedos— ha sido el más mayor y más veloz que los pilotos han visto a la caza de balseiros, dijo el piloto Steve Walton.

Contribuyó a la tensión momento la vista de las armas del barco artillado.

"Usualmente están cubiertos menos que se esté listo para entrar en acción o tratando de enviar un mensaje", dijo el piloto de Walton, Ivan Domawicz. "Creo que en mensaje 'Aléjense y ocúpense de sus asuntos', o básicamente 'Ustedes están haciendo esto porque nosotros se lo permitimos'".

El vocero del guardacostas estadounidense, teniente Ro Thompson, dijo que rescató 42 balseiros el domingo, incluidos los 27 avistados por Hermanos al Rescate. Otros 11 refugiados fueron avistados en las Anguila desde los aviones, dijo el piloto Carlos Costa, pero el domingo por la tarde no ha sido recogidos.

Otros cinco cubanos, fueron avistados el sábado en la isla Dog Rocks, perteneciente a las Anguila, todavía estancados el domingo por la tarde.

"Esos están en muy malas condiciones", dijo Costa. "Están realmente enfermos por la exposición al sol y la deshidratación".

El sábado, los Hermanos al Rescate avistaron 70 balsas, verdadero récord para ellos, el fundador José Basulto, grupo de rescate esperaba el mismo movimiento en alta mar para el domingo, después que guardacostas estadounidenses rescataran a 114 balseiros en incidentes por separado el sábado.

The Miami Herald

'Wimps' can change the world

In his July 29 Viewpoints Page column, *Here's a brief history of wimps*, Luis Aguilar Leon derives perverse pleasure in his inane labeling of historical figures. Any other objective is lost in his sophomoric rambling.

Nonviolence is a trait of "wimpiness"? Is a man who liberated a nation by advocating peaceful civil disobedience a wimp? Is a man who spent a third of his life in prison for his country's independence a wimp? Is a man who led by example and strived for religious harmony a wimp? Is a man who had the humility to admit his failures a wimp? I think not.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, revered as India's "Father of the Nation," was, is, and always will be an inspirational leader to millions in India and around the world.

Mr. Aguilar should wise up. Movie stars play fictional roles in make-believe plots. I am sure that Clint East-

wood would be glad to let him in on his secret — that in real life, he doesn't settle scores with a .44 Magnum.

LEO K. VIJAYASARATHY
Miami

★ ★ ★

Mr. Aguilar forgot to include two others who fit his definition of wimp: Martin Luther King Jr. and Jesus Christ. Like Gandhi and Jimmy Carter, they were nonviolent, and they cried on occasion.

But their nonviolence, like Gandhi's, was confrontational. They, and a lot of the saints, didn't get the "results" that men of action think is their due. Even so, I'm grateful for all of these. They taught that doing what's right doesn't always succeed, and that success may take a long time.

JUSTINE K. BUISSON
Miami

★ ★ ★

Wimps? It takes one to know one. People who desert their country and cry about it in exile fit the category.

MARGARET B. HARRISON
Miami

TV MARTI -- MIAMI
RESEARCH

FINAL EDITION

The Miami Herald

MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1994

CONTENTS COPYRIGHT © 1994 THE MIAMI HERALD

ANXIETY FROM AFAR: Echoes out of Havana have frantic,

We could see them from here, standing at the edge of Havana's seawall with their little sacks, all hell breaking loose around them.

We could see and feel the blows of the government brigades, the chaos and repression, the scramble of relatives and rumors.

The TV stations had no video yet. But we

had been listening to radio coverage of Friday's outburst along the *malecón* wall, to the eyewitness accounts and the frantic messages from Miami pitched into the dark gulf between our worlds.

And this was the most poignant of images: the people at the seawall, searching the horizon for boats from Miami, waiting for us.

"God, I want to charter a boat," my friend the painter moaned in loud, frustrated tones. "They have the guts to go out and stand there, waiting for us to come and get them. And what are we doing?"

Not chartering a boat. We were driving west, just hours after the clashes began on the *malecón* Friday, to see the visiting Cuban dis-

frustrating ring

ident poet Maria Elena Cruz Varela. She had set up a kind of information camp at her place, nagging the women in Canada who patches her calls through to Havana. But the line was jammed. That left her with the circuitous alternative of waking up fellow dis-

PLEASE SEE BALMASEDA,

FROM HAVANA, USUAL IS CALM ON THE STREETS

BALMASEDA, FROM 1A

dissidents in Madrid and Berlin.

All through the night in our suburban vigil we could hear the echoes of something familiar, repeating the question gnawing our insides: Could this be it?

It was the electricity of the first hours of Mariel, the adrenaline of those near-miss accounts of distant revolts and Fidel Castro's afflictions. And as always, there was too little information.

Havana gets a cold and Miami sneezes. Unfortunately, we know the drill: the obligatory sequence of cafe window interviews, the radio hyperbole, the unimaginative TV camps at the Cuban American National Foundation, as if there were a franchise on Cuban opinion.

Anxious conversation

To the poet, this business of watching Havana burn from here was new and frustrating. She finally got through to her mother at 2 a.m. The conversation only thickened her anxiety.

We talked her out of packing her bags and cutting short her visit. She wanted to do what she would do back home: hold up a candle in the street in an improvised protest, spread a

fire of truth. She worried about her fellow dissidents, whose voices could be lost in the blur of events.

"They are the first targets at times like this, you know," she told us. She worried about the fate of the writer Norberto Fuentes, who began a hunger strike Wednesday because the Cuban government won't let him leave. She knows the drill.

Earlier in the day, she had scored a call to her adviser in Havana, Fernando Velazquez Medina. He told her state security agents had encircled the homes of dissidents.

Arrested but not forgotten

On Sunday, she learned he and several others had been detained. She telephoned me to read their names, afraid their arrests would be lost in the news of the government-forced assembly at the Plaza of the Revolution:

Fernando Velazquez Medina and Xiomara Gonzalez, members of the dissident group *Criterio Alternativo*, were taken to the police station at Zanja and Gervasio streets. Both were jailed with Cruz Varela in 1991 after a government mob attacked her, dragged her by the hair and shoved her writings down her throat. Another member, Gabriel Aguado Chavez, had disappeared.

Also arrested were dissident Elizardo San Pedro Marin, writer David Buzzi and Rene del Pozo, a social democrat.

The wires were reporting "total calm" in Havana.

"This is the calm before an irreversible storm," Cruz Varela countered.

No. 1 culprit is still Castro

In this calm, the regime seems to be imposing an unofficial martial law, she told me.

"If you were to detain the culprits of the recent events in Havana, you would only have to arrest one man: Mr. Fidel Castro, principal instigator," she said. "Yet he blames the United States. What fault is it of the United States that Cubans can no longer live in Cuba? How ironic that everyone wants to go with the guilty party. If this continues, Castro will find himself perfectly alone."

Of course we can see through the rhetoric. "A manly valor," one fool on Radio Rebelde called Castro's hollow stride through the *malecón* — after the riots. We search the horizon, not because we wait for boats, but because we believe the answers lie in a population that waits.

TV MARTI — MARI
RESEARCH

Cuba: vigil of hope, worry

By ANN DAVEY, HANNY GARCIA
And MARTIN L. ARON
Herald Staff Writers

South Florida's Cuban-American community Sunday fanned the embers of rebellion in Cuba. In meeting after meeting, residents called on Cubans to organize, agitate, fight — but most of all, to remain in Cuba, seize the moment and topple President Fidel Castro.

"We all have one thought in our minds, freedom for Cuba," said Mens Mesa, attending a Cuban festival in Coral Gables. "There comes a time when the people must fight for freedom."

But in Havana, more than 250,000 people loyal to Castro — or fearful of him — rallied Sunday night in support of his regime. Once again, they heard a top military official threaten to open the floodgates of emigration.

At the same time, though, Gen. Ulises Rosales del Toro said Cuba was willing to discuss immigration policy with the United States. The Clinton administration had no immediate comment.

Earlier Sunday, thousands paid their respects to a policeman killed last week defending Castro's government against a dissident movement that suddenly flared into view.

A correspondent in Havana told The Herald that some people waited for three hours to file past the casket of 19-year-old Gabriel Lamoth Caballero, one of two policemen who died Thursday as dissidents hijacked a ferry to Florida.

The incident was one of several that triggered Friday's disturbances, the most violent to rock

The Miami Herald

FINAL EDITION

MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1994

CONTENTS OF FRONT • 10A THE EMBASSY • 12A

TV MARTI - MIAMI
RESEARCH

PLEASE SEE CUBA, 12A

CUBA, FROM 1A

Cuba's capital in decades. A Cuban newspaper reported Sunday that 35 people were injured, 10 of them policemen.

Juventud Rebelde, Cuba's youth communist weekly, reported that "important groups" of dissidents involved in the disturbances were in jail and would be tried and punished "with severity." It did not provide any numbers.

In Washington, the Clinton administration continued to fine-tune contingency plans in case a massive boatlift of refugees develops. Castro has threatened to allow unrestrained emigration, raising hopes among some Cubans but arousing fear here of a repeat of the chaotic Mariel boatlift of 1980.

No such flotilla appeared on the horizon Sunday. The Coast Guard reported no American vessels headed for Cuba, but said it rescued or sighted 42 Cuban refugees on five rafts or boats.

Meanwhile, President Clinton's chief of staff called for calm — both in Cuba and within Cuban-American communities.

"We are for the peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba," Leon Panetta said on NBC's *Meet the Press*. "And we think that, ultimately, is going to happen there."

"We've made very clear to Castro that he cannot dictate our immigration policy and we will not accept the threats that he's made."

Castro, who attended the inauguration Sunday of Colombian President Ernesto Samper, conceded in Bogota that some Cubans were "dissatisfied and discontent."

"But we must also take into account an immense patriotism in the immense majority of the population," he said.

The Cuban leader was scheduled to return late Sunday to Havana. It is a city swept by rumors, many of them poignantly revealing the desperation endured by many of his people.

Rumor: American boats are anchored just 12 miles offshore, waiting to pick up anyone who can get out there, ready to carry them to Florida.

Rumor: The Galleon, a dance ship that cruises off the waterfront Malecon, its lights twinkling and enticing, is the next to be hijacked. Then, you can dance your way to Miami.

Rumor: A Chinese ship will drop off a load of rice to feed us and then can take stowaways to the United States.

None of it seemed true, and the reality was far more grim Sunday.

Lamoth, killed a day before the disturbances erupted, was accorded all the glory of a national hero, his body lying in state at the Interior Ministry facing the city's vast Plaza de la Revolucion.

An honor guard stood at attention. A Cuban flag was draped across the casket.

Later Sunday, a huge crowd filled the plaza, waving flags and portraits of Castro, chanting revolutionary slogans, listening to speeches.

Rosales, chief of the military's general staff, asserted that the United States is seeking a pretext for a military invasion of Cuba. Rosales also repeated Castro's threat to open the ports to anyone who wants to leave or anyone who wants to pick up Cubans.

But he also offered an olive branch regarding immigration.

"If the United States is willing to discuss with Cuba serious solutions, honest negotiations regarding this matter, we won't be opposed," he said.

Across town, divers searched Havana Bay for the body of a sec-

The Miami Herald

MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1994

CONTENTS COPYRIGHT © 1994 THE MIAMI HERALD

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH



Associated Press

CASTRO IN COLOMBIA: With unrest occurring in Cuba, President Fidel Castro — gesturing as a protocol official passes — was in Colombia for the inauguration of President Ernesto Samper.

and policeman killed in Thursday's hijacking. That affair ended when the hijackers and passengers returned to Havana after the vessel ran out of fuel.

The ceremony honoring Lamoth was dignified, peaceful. But outside, some Castro loyalists talked tough, calling on the regime to smother all sparks of dissent.

"The cops just have to be more rigorous," said one man who has served the government for decades.

In South Florida, the talk was equally tough but polarized in the other direction.

Emilio Martinez, 70, of Miami, urged Cubans to remain in their country and fight for Castro's overthrow.

"Let them stay there and fight," Martinez said. "From here, no one can do anything."

Jose Fra, 60, a retiree who left Cuba in 1968: "We must get rid of Fidel any way we can."

Herald staff writers Elaine de Valle, David Hancock, Rafael Lorente and Ivonne Perez contributed to this report.

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

South Floridians keep a

Cuba vigil

TV MARTI — MIAMI
RESEARCH

Miami's exiles recall the best of their suffering land

by ANN DAVIS
and ELAINE DE VALLE
Miami Writers

Many coped by returning to their roots, attending traditional Cuban festivals. Some coped by searching the seas for refugees, in one case engaging in a cat-and-mouse game with a gunboat enforcing the will of Fidel Castro.

As varied as the people, South Florida's Cuban-American community celebrated the indomitable Cuban spirit Sunday. Their bodies were safely here in the United States, but their hearts, their — their souls — were with their countrymen in Cuba.

At a trendy upscale Coral Gables restaurant and at a remote ranch in Northwest Dade, festive gatherings reflected

In two worlds, one in Coral Gables, the other in Northwest Dade, festivals toasted the Cuban spirit.

people's hopes that the demonstrations in Havana marked a new era.

"It's wonderful to be here to remember customs and traditions that something might be about to happen," said Coral Gables Mayor Paul Vallen.

In Coral Gables, Yaca restaurant celebrated an anniversary by sponsoring a Cuban fair. Among the entertainers was Marcelo Martinez, 73, of Southwest Dade, who sang:

*Yo recuerdo con orgullo, de mi pueblo
sufrido y ilustre. Camp el desastre que*

existe, del muro del Malecón.

"I remember an occasion, of a sad and suffering people; Like the disaster that exists now, on the Malecón."

Large numbers of Cubans, arriving from all over the world, are finding their way to the United States, and the numbers in the United States are increasing. Finding refugees in the Florida Straits.

At one point, a Brothers to the Rescue pilot diverted a Cuban gunboat, preventing it from capturing five Cubans in international waters. The refugees,

aboard two inner tubes tied together with rope, were about 60 miles south of Key West when the Cuban boat started heading straight toward them.

When the Cuban vessel came within five miles, pilot Rey Martin flew toward a vacant 25-foot boat, from which 24 Cubans had been picked up earlier Sunday. He circled it, as if marking a significant spot. The gunboat headed that way.

"They left for it," Martin said. "The pilots cheered. 'The boat went for the left. We thought it was a mistake. They could do and they left for the dummy boat.'"

The five refugees were picked up by a passing speedboat and transferred at sea. When last seen, they were in the protection of the Coast Guard.

By MARY GARRA
And ANA MARIA DELGADO
Herald Staff Writers

KEY WEST — Alberto Martinez just wanted a little gas for a boat motor Friday. Then the unthinkable happened in Havana.

The Cuban people fought back against Fidel Castro's forces, and Martinez was stuck in traffic, caught in the biggest disturbance since Castro took power 35 years ago.

"People flipped police cars. The police fired into the air. Officers were side by side, frozen in fear," Martinez said, tears in his eyes, a catch in his voice.

Martinez, 48, a scuba instructor, told his story Sunday morning, moments after arriving at the Transk Center for Cuban Refugees on Stock Island. He and eight family members — including a son who deserted the Cuban army hours before the trip — were rescued Saturday.

★ ★ ★

Alberto Martinez saw it all Friday afternoon as he drove through Havana looking for fuel to power a homemade engine for his raft.

There was a melee on every corner, Martinez said. The windows of tourist stores were shattered by rocks; folks looted freely.

The angry crowd was scattered about town. Hundreds gathered in the park near the boardwalk, screaming. "Down with Fidel. We're tired. This is too much!"

"First time in my life I saw something like that," said Marcel Martinez, 18, Alberto's son.

Police blocked off neighborhoods. At one point, a human wave ran down a narrow street and attacked police. Officers began shooting into the air.

Preparing for combat

Blocks away, Martinez's other son, 19-year-old Douglas, and his army company were told to prepare for combat. The soldiers knew they were expected to shoot if mobilized, Douglas Martinez said. "I couldn't wait to get out of there," he said.

Many soldiers deserted, he said.

"None of my friends.

including me. I wanted to do anything, because that was like going against my brothers, against my mother," he said.

Later at the Malecon, on the city's waterfront, the elder Martinez saw thousands of people, scores armed with bats and rocks. The crowd could see a boat full of people trying to leave, said Marcel Martinez. Cuban border patrol vessels stopped it.

"The crowd kept yelling. 'Bullies! Let them free!' the father said. They moved in on the officers, pressing them against the seawall. "You could see the fear in their eyes. They were frightened and shaking," the father recalled.

Over the seawall

Suddenly, he said, at least two officers began fighting with demonstrators, and two security officers jumped or were thrown over the seawall.

"It looked like a war," Alberto Martinez said. "It looked like Fidel had fallen. We thought it was over. People shouted 'Enough already. We've had it.'"

That evening, Alberto and Marcel Martinez rode a motorcycle to the barracks and picked up Douglas, the army sergeant, who had told his superiors that his father had had a heart attack.

By nightfall, the disturbance had spread from Havana to their neighborhood, Guanabo.

At home, the family prepared the raft while listening to Castro on television, who was condemning those who fled.

The Martinezes waited for neighbors to finish an outdoor game of dominoes, for the neighborhood snitch to quit peeking out of her window, for the drunks on the beach to drive away.

They left at midnight: "Without any shame, as if we were going to the corner store to get cigarettes," Douglas Martinez said.

They rowed in silence for two hours, then cranked the motor and headed north. Ten hours later, a Brothers to the Rescue plane spotted them — and many other rafters — in the Florida Straits.

"This is nothing compared to what's coming," Alberto Martinez said. "Everyone wants to leave. It's over."

As turmoil erupts, family sees chance it looked like Fidel had fallen'

SEE THE HERALD, MONDAY, AUGUST 6, 1984

TV MARTI — JAMAICA
RESEARCH

Miami company used RTC employee in bid presentation

RTC, FROM PAGE C1

RTC action stemmed from a contract awarded last summer to a joint venture known as METEC to manage the consolidation of four city offices in Atlanta. METEC is a venture of Miami's Tecton Inc., whose chairman is former Florida secretary of state George Firestone, and A.

META, having received permission from the RTC Ethics Office, said in its bid that it would hire RTC employee J. A. Federico if awarded the contract. The company submitted his resume as part of its bid package.

The agency had been shrinking its staff and had sent notices to contractors encouraging them to hire employees, Toranzo said.

Months after the contract was awarded, however, the agency ethics officer, Arthur J. Kusinski, provisionally suspended META for having J. A. Federico respond to questions on the company's behalf during an oral presentation for the bid, while Federico still an RTC employee. (Federico since left the agency.)

This conduct evidences a lack of business integrity and business honesty, the ethics officer wrote in a letter to Toranzo last month.

Lawyer for META, however, re-

sponded in a letter to the agency that Federico's status as an RTC employee was made clear, that he never was a META employee and that he only appeared at the presentation because the RTC called the meeting to meet with the people who would fill key positions in the performance of the contract. "Mr. Federico was at that meeting effectively at the behest of the Atlanta RTC," wrote attorney Bruce M. Levy of the Washington, D.C., firm of Da-

vid & Hagner.

In any event, Levy continued, when META was told that the Atlanta RTC office had concerns about Federico's inclusion in the bid proposal, he was removed from the proposal more than three months before the RTC awarded the contract.

In the settlement agreement, Kusinski acknowledged that META had asked permission to submit Federico's resume as part of its bid. But had the

company asked permission to have Federico participate in any meeting between the agency and the company, the RTC would not have allowed it, he said.

META, with 1992 revenues of \$15.45 million, this month was ranked the 134th biggest Hispanic-owned company in the country by Hispanic Business magazine. The company is managing more than \$373 million in RTC assets, the magazine said.

TELEFAX MESSAGE

**U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
301 4TH ST., SW - ROOM 255
WASHINGTON, DC 20547
PHONE (202/619-5217)
FAX (202/205-0792)**

**FROM: LULA RODRIGUEZ, DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL VISITORS**

DATE: 8/12/94

TO: Suzanna Valdez

SUBJECT: News clips

Area lawyer tapped for utilities board

Will leave high CANF post

By DAVID HANCOCK And TIM NICKENS
Herald Staff Writers

Gov. Lawton Chiles has named Joe Garcia, an administrator with the Cuban American National Foundation, to the state's Public Service Commission, which regulates utilities statewide.



Garcia

Garcia, who will resign his foundation job, succeeds Luis Lauredo of Key Biscayne. Lauredo stepped down to help coordinate the Summit of the Americas conference of hemisphere leaders who will meet in Miami this December.

"Joe Garcia has the background and experience to make well-informed decisions on extremely complex issues facing the PSC," Chiles said in a statement. "The people of Florida will be well served by him in his new post."

The five-member PSC regulates utilities and sets electric and telephone rates. Commissioners earn \$92,727 annually. Garcia will serve a term ending Jan. 1, 1998.

Lauredo was the first Hispanic to serve on the commission. While on the PSC, Lauredo encouraged utilities and the commission to hire more His-

PLEASE SEE PSC, 8B

Miami lawyer named to state utilities pane

PSC, FROM 1B

He prodded utilities to be more attentive to customers who don't speak English, and he insisted that arcane utility jargon be translated into more understandable explanations.

Garcia said Monday that he will work to continue Lauredo's efforts in making the workings of the PSC more understandable and accessible to all sectors of the population.

"It's important that people know exactly what government does for them," he said. "You're there to serve the best interests of the entire state of Florida."

Garcia heads the Cuban American National Foundation's Exodus Fund, which uses private money to resettle thousands of Cuban refugees from developing countries. He lost a Metro Commission runoff election last year to Miguel Diaz de la Portilla. He is a 1991 graduate of the University of Miami School of Law, and has a UM bachelor of arts in politics and public affairs. Before joining the foundation, Garcia worked for the Salvadoran American Foundation coordinating

panics.

Garcia will resign his job with the Cuban American National Foundation.

fund-raising efforts for humanitarian-relief campaigns.

Garcia, who is registered as an independent voter, praised Chiles for picking a Hispanic and a resident of South Florida. He noted that 70 percent of revenues collected in the state come from regulated utilities in Dade, Broward and Palm Beach counties.

"The governor wants the government of Florida to look like the people of Florida," he said. "We need to make sure minorities are represented in the whole picture."

Although he will resign from the foundation, Garcia expects to keep his residency in South Florida.

"If I go too long without arroz con frijoles, I go through withdrawal."

A good fit for the PSC

What does the Public Service Commission most need right now? More diversity? A better geographic balance?

Those were some of the issues in a recent debate about the future of the state agency that regulates electric rates, intrastate phone service, and private water, sewer, and gas firms. What prompted it was an unexpected vacancy: Luis Lauredo of Key Biscayne, reappointed in January to a four-year term, announced his resignation in April.

In the ensuing discussion of the PSC's needs, one point should have been clear: What the five-member body urgently needed was a fifth member — right away. It didn't happen. For nearly three months the PSC operated shorthanded while the appointment process ran its

MIAMIAN JOE GARCIA
After being shorthanded
for nearly three months,
Florida's regulators of
utilities get help.

course. Now, finally, the panel will be at full strength again. Yesterday Gov. Lawton Chiles named Joe Garcia of Miami to fill the vacancy.

Mr. Garcia, 30, has served since 1988 as executive director of

the Cuban American National Foundation's Cuban Exodus Relief Fund, which resettles refugees from third countries.

The naming of this South Florida Cuban American ensures that the PSC will retain some geographic and ethnic diversity. That's welcome at an agency dominated by Tallahassee insiders. A Miami native, he received a law degree at the University of Miami. He does not practice law; the degree, he says, was to prepare him for public service. Now he has a chance to serve the whole state. May he do so with distinction.

Deadly violence by refugees a dilemma for U.S. officials

PROSECUTION, FROM 1A

Castro's tyranny need our help and compassion, but the reported use of sometimes lethal violence by those taking over vessels to flee the island is a disturbing trend," he said.

Second incident in a week

Tuesday's incident marked the second time in a week that efforts to flee the island resulted in fatalities. At least one Havana policeman was killed when would-be refugees tried unsuccessfully to hijack a Havana ferry last week.

"This is pretty dramatic," said Jorge Dominguez, a Cuba specialist at Harvard. "There are all these guns in the hands of government opponents."

No refugee who has participated in a boat hijacking has ever been prosecuted in U.S. courts. Nor has one ever been returned to Cuba to face charges there.

But there are signs that U.S. authorities are at least considering a tougher stance.

Five people who arrived in Florida last week on board a hijacked tugboat remain in federal custody while prosecutors review the case, presumably to determine whether any crimes were committed.

Strong signal advocated

And administration advocates of prosecuting Cubans who hijack or kill to reach the United States are arguing that it is necessary to send a strong signal to would-be refugees that such behavior will not be tolerated.

The debate appears to pit State Department diplomats against officials in the White House and Justice Department.

"Our feeling is: We're a nation of laws," said one State Department official, who favors prosecuting hijackers. "We condemn senseless violence, and we are very concerned by it, because it seems to be happening more and more."

For years, he noted, Cubans have reached the United States without resorting to deadly force. If U.S. officials turn a blind eye to the recent bloodshed, they risk inviting a more violent response from the Castro government, he said.

Justice Department and White House officials insist that they support prosecution if a case can be made against suspects under U.S. law.

"The legal tools are there to



THREATENS NEW EXODUS: Fidel Castro.

prosecute," said Justice Department spokeswoman Ana Caba. "If it merits prosecution, prosecution will take place."

As a signatory of the 1988 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, the United States could press charges against Cuban ship hijackers, just as it can prosecute airplane piracy under a similar convention, Cobain said.

But privately, some U.S. officials concede that such action is politically unpopular, and given sentiments in South Florida, would be unlikely to result in a conviction there.

Cuban community concerns

Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, a Miami Republican whose opinion on prosecution was sought by U.S. officials, sent a letter to Attorney General Janet Reno warning that the Cuban American community would not look kindly on efforts to press charges against Cubans who resort to violence in efforts to flee.

"Filing criminal charges against people who are in the act of seeking freedom in Cuba would be a development of the utmost seriousness, and I think the administration should beware of falling into that trap," said Diaz-Balart.

The Cuban-American lawmaker compared the violence to efforts by East Germans to break through the Berlin Wall during the Cold War. "Would we prosecute that?" he said.

Moreover, there may be legal obstacles to prosecuting refugees for alleged crimes that took place

"This is pretty dramatic. There are all these guns in the hands of government opponents."

JORGE DOMINGUEZ,
Harvard University Cuba specialist

outside U.S. territory, experts say.

The main one is a matter of jurisdiction. Experts say it's legally difficult, if not impossible, to prosecute someone in U.S. courts for a killing committed in Cuban territory.

Even hijacking charges would not necessarily

1 copy for

Suzanna

terrorists and hostage-takers, it would be clear. The problem here is, you're not dealing exactly with that situation. The people were not intending to harm anyone, but to escape to freedom."

Another option: Returning refugees to face murder or hijacking charges in Cuba.

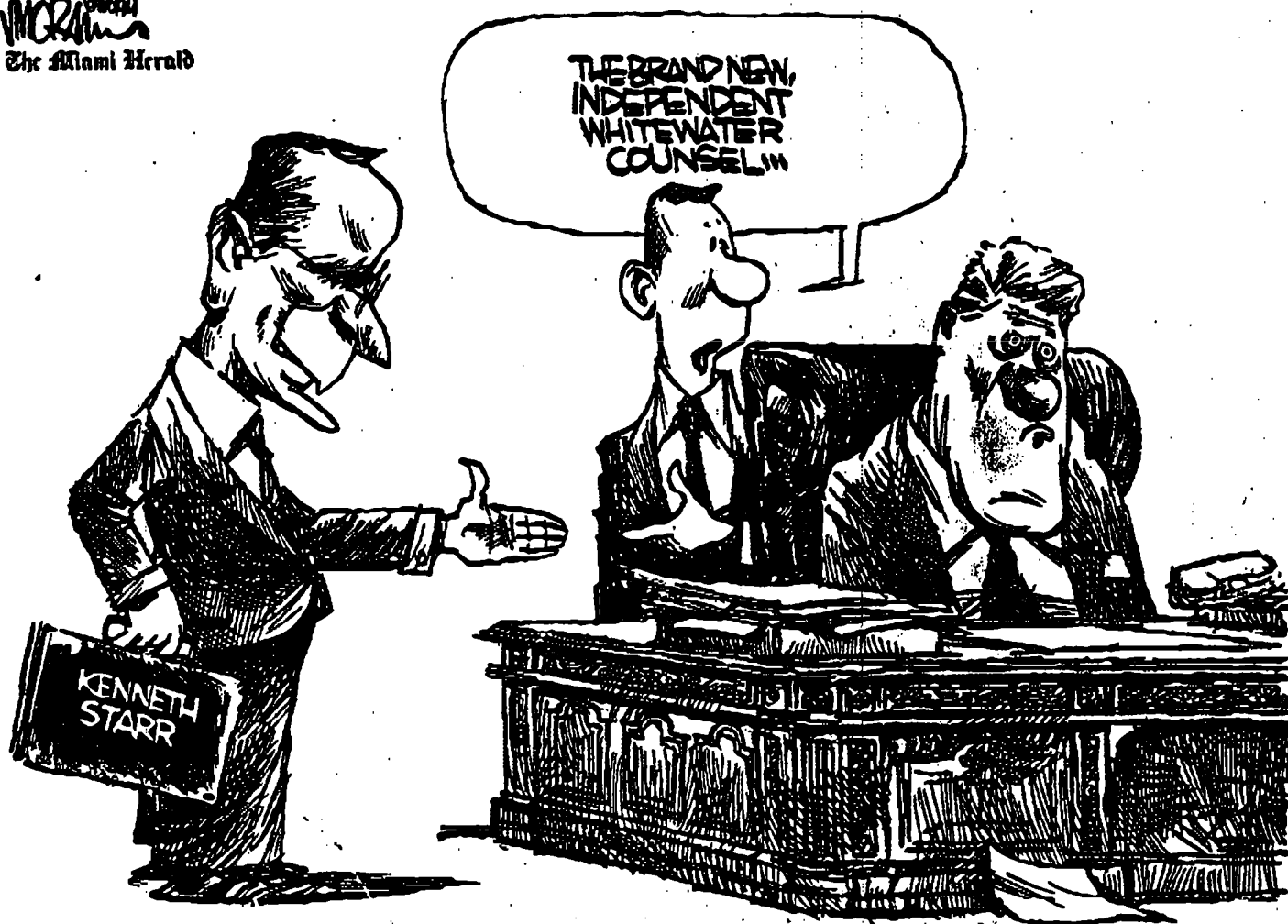
No extradition treaty

Though no extradition treaty exists between the United States and Cuba, experts say the State Department can negotiate a special agreement with Castro's government to send any suspects back.

At least one prominent Cuban-American suggests that many in the exile community believe murder and violence is going too far and could accept some prosecutions or deportations.

"We as a community cannot condone such violence," said Rafael Penabaz, a Miami activist and attorney. "The United States should make it clear that putting people's lives in danger is not an acceptable means of searching for freedom. I think the community would understand that."

McRae
The Miami Herald



THE READERS' FORUM

DAILY BUSINESS REVIEW

NEWSPAPER OF ENTERPRISE, REAL ESTATE AND LAW

FORMERLY PALM BEACH REVIEW

RTC suspends management company Retroactive action amounts to costly reinstatement

BY TONY DOKIS
REVIEW STAFF

A Miami asset management company that is one of the Resolution Trust Corp.'s most active contractors was suspended from RTC work for using an agent-employee to represent it in a bid presentation.

In a settlement reached with the federal agency June 8, Maria Elena Torano Associates (META) agreed to the retroactive, 29-day suspension from RTC contracting and was forced to withdraw a pending bid that could have earned it \$1 million in fees. META, one of the biggest Hispanic-owned companies in the country, had been excluded from agency

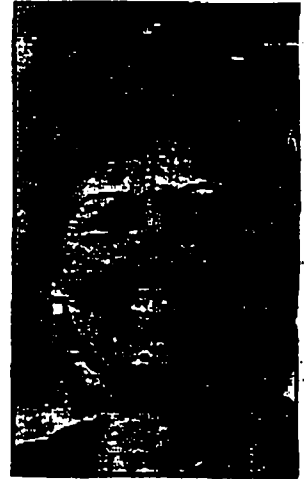
AGENCIES

work since May 10, pending completion of the disciplinary proceedings.

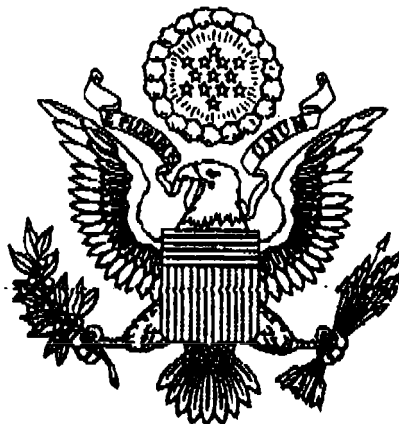
The company president, Torano, denied wrongdoing and said Wednesday that her company had the agency's encouragement and permission for its actions. The retroactive suspension amounted to a reinstatement, but an unfair and expensive one, she said.

"In the RTC, the accuser is prosecutor, is judge, is jury, is all one individual and his people," she said. "After the fact, you hear you have been excluded and why. Then you get to present your case."

SEE RTC, PAGE C6



Maria Elena Torano:
'In the RTC, the accuser is prosecutor, is judge, is jury, is all one individual and his people.'

TELEFAX MESSAGE

**U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
301 4TH ST., SW - ROOM 255
WASHINGTON, DC 20547
PHONE (202/619-5217)
FAX (202/205-0792)**

**FROM: LULA RODRIGUEZ, DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL VISITORS**

DATE: 8/12/94

TO: Suzanna Valdez

**SUBJECT: Article from EL Sol about
President Clinton.**

PAGE #1 OF 3

Fundado el
17 de Abril
de 1969

El Sol de Hialeah

Hialeah,
Ciudad que
Progres

El Primer Periódico Latino de la Ciudad de Hialeah

Año III / No. 1384

Jueves, 11 de Agosto de 1994

Reta Clinton a Castro



Bill Clinton

El presidente Bill Clinton ha reaccionado vigorosamente a la sinuosa actitud del tirano de Cuba, Fidel Castro Ruz, de querer culpar a Estados Unidos por la crisis que está enfrentando en estos momentos.

El Departamento de Estado le hizo saber al régimen de fuerza imperante en La Habana que no puede, ni podrá dictar la política migratoria de Washington. El presidente Clinton mantiene ese criterio, al igual que todos los dirigentes de su Administración. Y hay algo más: el manten-

imiento del embargo sigue siendo la base de la política de esta Administración ha-

cia Cuba.

Desde La Habana, el tirano Castro trata de presentar la

crisis de su desobierno como una crisis de la política
PASA A LA PAGINA 2

Reta Clinton a Castro

(Viene de Primera)

migratoria de Estados Unidos. Ese esquema no es cierto y la Administración Clinton no lo acepta.

Culpar a Estados Unidos de los males internos de Cuba ha sido la farsa que ha montado el desgobierno de La Habana para tratar de transformar sus derrotas en victorias. Actualmente ese desgobierno ha tratado de repetir el procedimiento, pero ha fracasado. La posición del presidente Clinton es inquebrantable hacia Cuba y no hay señales en la isla que aconsejen el cambio de esa posición. El presidente Clinton ha declarado, en más de una ocasión, su rechazo a la idea de mejorar las relaciones entre los dos países, mientras prevalezcan las actuales condiciones. La ausencia de libertad, democracia y respeto a los derechos humanos no permite un acercamiento entre Cuba y Estados Unidos.

Por otra parte, los analistas del Departamento de Estado en Washington contemplan como la tiranía cubana está perdiendo el control de la situación, y eso es un factor de suma importancia en la evaluación de cualquier tipo de política hacia Cuba. Se sabe que tradicionalmente Estados Unidos sitúa el control del orden público como un requisito primordial para el reconocimiento de cualquier gobierno o la mejora de sus relaciones con ese gobierno.

Todas las amenazas del tirano de Cuba no han hecho variar la firme posición del presidente Clinton hacia Cuba, expresada y reiterada desde sus días de campaña electoral en 1992. La actitud del actual Presidente de Estados Unidos no es defensiva, sino ofensiva, no es una tregua, sino un reto. Ese mensaje claro y contundente ya lo están percibiendo en los más altos niveles de La Habana.

THE RELATED GROUP OF FLORIDA
2828 Coral Way, Penthouse Suite
Miami, Florida 33145

F A X C O V E R S H E E T

This FAX contains 2 including this cover sheet. If you have any problems in receiving it, or if it is incomplete, please call (305) 460-9900.

DATE : May 8, 1995
ATTENTION : Ms. Suzanna Valdéz
COMPANY : The White House
FAX : (202) 456-6218
SENT BY : Office of Jorge M. Pérez

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

I POLICY

Exiles, key GOP legislators vow to fight Clinton's Cuba policy

by **CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS**
and **DON BOHANNON**
World Staff Writers

WASHINGTON — Stung by the Clinton administration's secret immigration deal with Cuba, key members of the Republican-controlled Congress are seeking to wrest control of Cuba policy from the president.

A battle is unfolding that pits the administration — including senior policymakers who favor easing of sanctions toward Havana — against Capitol Hill Republicans and Cuban exile leaders who want to move in the opposite direction.

Administration critics are threatening to pass new laws to limit the president's options on Cuba, orchestrate public pressure to overturn his new policy on Cuban refugees, and summon administration officials before congressional hearings.

The clash is being fueled in part by the Cuban-American lobby, whose leaders accuse the administration of betrayal in striking an accord with President Fidel Castro's government. Under the agreement, U.S. authorities will intercept and forcibly return Cuban boat people to the island but allow most of the 21,700 refugees held at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base to enter the United States.

End of alliance

Signaling the end of an uneasy alliance between the administration and the Cuban American National Foundation, Chairman Jorge Mas Canosa angrily vowed to seek a legal ban on all contacts between senior officials of the U.S. and Cuban governments.

"The administration must be blocked, through congressional action, from reaching secret accords with the Castro dictatorship," Mas Canosa said in a television interview Thursday.

Meanwhile, Rep. Ileana Ros-

Lehtinen, R-Fla., the first Cuban-American member of Congress, said she has received the green light from House Speaker Newt Gingrich to use legislation to thwart the new repatriation policy by cutting off its funding or other means.

"He's given us the go-ahead and has assured us that, when we are ready, he will bring it to the floor," Ros-Lehtinen said.

In addition, backers of a bill sponsored by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and Rep. Dan Burton, R-Ind., are vowing to push the embargo-tightening legislation through Congress over the objections of the administration.

Clinton officials complain that the current version of the bill, which seeks to curtail foreign investment in Cuba, violates international law, antagonizes U.S. trade partners and restricts the president's ability to conduct foreign policy.

But Jose Cardenas, Washington spokesman for the Cuban American National Foundation, a promoter of the bill, suggested that administration views are irrelevant. "The bridge has been burnt," he said. "I don't think there's any mood for compromise."

'Irreparable' damage

Some administration officials fear they are being dragged into a fight. President Clinton, they assert, does not advocate lifting the U.S. embargo on Cuba and has not agreed to soften U.S. policy toward Havana.

And they say Clinton does not relish war with Cuban Americans, whom he has long courted to bolster his chances of winning Florida in a re-election bid next year. Said one White House official, "The president feels he's worked very hard to win the Cuban-American vote."

But some in Congress disagree. "The damage done by the

administration is close to irreparable," said Steve Vermillion, foreign policy aide to Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, a Miami Republican.

The immigration policy shift was announced Tuesday after secret talks between Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff and longtime Cuban diplomat Ricardo Alarcon.

Showdown with Congress

Within the administration, advocates of taking measured steps to engage Cuba in a process of reforms voice excitement over the future of U.S. policy on Cuba. For the first time, they say, the president has stared down the powerful Cuban-American lobby.

"It shows U.S. policy can be rented out by a strong lobby, but it can't be owned by it," said one senior State Department official who praised Tuesday's action.

As the showdown with Congress looms, some U.S. officials predict they may find unusual allies among Republicans who view Cuba as essentially an immigration problem.

Meanwhile, the administration critics are organizing.

"It's immoral to send these people back to Cuba," said retired U.S. Army Col. Orlando Rodriguez, a Cuban-American veteran of the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam. "We cannot become Castro's policemen. We cannot compare an illegal immigrant coming into the United States for a job with a Cuban fleeing from Communist tyranny."

Another critic, Otto Reich, former U.S. ambassador to Venezuela in the 1980s, said Friday that the opposition will probably compel the administration to back down yet again — just as it did when it reversed its vow not to admit a single Guantanamo refugee to the United States.

Rights groups appalled by Cuban prison sentences

The New York Times

12/5 4 1

Prospects Now for U.S.-Cuba Thaw ①

Are Fading

By TIM GOLDEN

Special to The New York Times

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 4 — Three months after an agreement between the United States and Cuba to stop a flood of refugees raised expectations of a thaw in the countries' relationship, the prospects for quick, significant change are fading.

Cuba's hopes for a weakening of political support for Washington's tough economic sanctions against the island were shattered by the sweeping Republican victories in the Congressional elections.

The hopes of American officials that new free markets for farm products and other items in Cuba might portend broader changes by President Fidel Castro are starting to dissolve in the absence of steps toward political reform.

The dialogue between Havana and Washington, having turned almost cordial after their migration agreement on Sept. 9, is growing harsher in tone, and American officials say they expect tensions to increase.

"Things probably will get nastier before they get better," one Clinton Administration official said. "You cannot say what would have happened if the Republicans hadn't won so big, but there's no question that the picture has changed."

In a move that Cuban officials have warned could jeopardize the migration accord, the Clinton Administration confirmed on Friday that it would drop its policy of denying direct entry into the United States to the nearly 32,000 refugees detained at the American military bases in Panama and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

As many as 8,000 children and parents who had formerly been required to return to Havana to apply to emigrate will now be considered for asylum on what Washington says are humanitarian grounds.

American officials, who reversed themselves after Cuban-American groups threatened embarrassing protests during the hemispheric summit meeting that begins in Miami on Dec. 9, say they are confident that Cuba will not retaliate by unleashing a new flood of refugees. Casting the parole of families as an exception, they say they will begin to build more permanent housing for refugees at Guantánamo Bay.

But Cuban officials appear to be reading the shift as a sign that the political distance established between the Democratic Administration and conservative Cuban-American

cans by the migration pact is narrowing once again.

Under the immigration deal, Cuba agreed to stop the exodus of refugees in return for a promise of at least 20,000 visas each year for Cubans wanting to emigrate to the United States.

The agreement was widely seen as favoring the Clinton Administration, which resolved its immigration problem while refusing even to discuss lifting the United States economic embargo against Cuba, which Cuba's Government blames for the exodus.

Senior Cuban officials acknowledged that the pact would satisfy only a fraction of the people who might wish to leave. They said they accepted it in the hope that by ending the three-decade American policy of automatically admitting Cuban refugees, it would discourage those

**'Things probably
will get nastier
before they
get better.'**

tempted to flee on hijacked boats or homemade rafts.

By normalizing one aspect of their relationship with the United States, the officials added, a precedent might be set for improvement in other areas.

The strategy was a return to the kind of incremental approach that Cuba took years earlier in trying to end American pressure directed at policies ranging from Cuba's ties to the Soviet Union to its support for Latin American guerrillas.

It also seemed to jibe with the policy articulated by the Clinton Administration at the height of the refugee crisis. If Mr. Castro moved to open up the island's politics and economy, officials said, the United States would respond with "carefully calibrated" steps.

But before, during and since the talks, Cuban leaders have insisted that they will never change their political system to meet conditions that the United States chooses not to set on its relationships with Communist countries like China and Vietnam. To many analysts of United States-Cuba relations, that made it even more likely that improvement

would depend on small steps, not big ones.

A first such step came when Cuba dropped its longstanding insistence on a high surcharge for collect telephone calls and the Federal Communications Commission authorized American companies last month to begin direct-dial telephone service to the island.

In another move to increase the flow of information, Clinton Administration officials said they might soon authorize American news organizations to set up bureaus in Cuba and allow Cuban reporters to work in the United States.

Cuban officials have not said whether they would welcome American reporters. But they have long said such access would depend on the reciprocal treatment of Cuban journalists.

Despite having tightened restrictions on Cuban-Americans wishing to travel or send money to relatives in Cuba, Clinton Administration officials say they are considering moves to ease travel to the island by American students and academics, and to improve mail service between the countries. Officials say there is some support in the Administration for talks with Cuba on issues like cooperation against drug trafficking and the renewal of a treaty on hijackings.

But the same officials say such measures may now depend even more now on the political climates of Washington and Florida.

Until last month, a small but growing number in Congress from both parties were calling for a reconsideration of American policy. Now, the louder voice and closer scrutiny are likely to come from conservatives like Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican who is expected to take over as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee next month.

Similarly, as Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida grappled over the summer with the exodus of refugees, he weighed the political power of the state's Cuban-Americans against a new and potentially stronger constituency: voters opposed to rising immigration. But while Mr. Chiles won re-election with little Cuban-American help, the Democrats' hold on the state is precarious enough to give pause.

"There is only one Democratic governor in the eight largest states in the country, and that's in Florida, so I don't think Clinton is going to do

Con't

(2)

Cuba
Com'it

anything about Cuba that could get him on the wrong side of the Florida Democratic Party," said Peter Hakim, the president of Inter-American Dialogue, a policy research organization in Washington. "He may have to worry about getting the nomination now."

Some American officials say there is still a chance that the Administration might respond to economic changes in Cuba, depending on how far they go. They speculate about a possible backlash against Cuban-American groups, which have remained bitterly critical of Administration policy despite winning a series of concessions. Other officials say any real shift in policy hinges on political moves that Cuban officials have shown no readiness to make.

"The missing piece there is any kind of movement forward in terms of democracy and human rights," one State Department official said. "Our position is that Fidel has to take the first step now."

Cuban officials say they remain confident that pressure for change in American policy will build in the longer term.

They note that only Israel stood with the United States in October as more than 100 countries voted in the United Nations to condemn the American embargo. They have also begun to more aggressively court American business executives as a political counterweight to Cuban-Americans, telling them that the embargo is allowing Canadian, Mexican and European businesses to snap up the best investments in Cuba.

But at the same time they seem to have put aside the optimism with which they announced the migration accord in September.

"Those agreements are not enough for us to begin talking about a solution to the problems in the relationship of the United States with Cuba," the vice president of Cuba's Council of Ministers, Carlos Lage, said recently. Referring to the embargo, he added, "They are not even enough to conclude that this is the beginning of the end."

Miami Is Set to Embrace Summit of the Americas

By MIREYA NAVARRO
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, Dec. 4 — On the streets, they are resurfacing and planting palm trees. In the neighborhoods, they are putting the finishing touches on protests and demonstrations, including one that is expected to draw more than 100,000 people to the Orange Bowl.

In city offices, about 800 workers have been briefed about being good hosts. And for three days, seven photographers at the Dade County morgue will take pictures of world leaders instead of bullet wounds.

But when President Clinton and 33 Latin American heads of state gather here this weekend, starting next Friday, for the first Western Hemisphere summit conference in nearly 30 years, Miami will have more at stake than being a good host.

Better known for hurricanes, upsurges of Cuban refugees and "Miami Vice"-like urban violence, officials here say the Summit of the Americas provides a chance to spotlight the city as a growing center of international commerce.

Experts on Latin American affairs say the conference, which will deal mainly with the economic integration of the Americas, is crucial to a city heavily dependent on trade. Closer to many Latin American and Caribbean capitals than to Washington, Dade County, Miami's metropolitan area, handles about a quarter of the annual \$80 billion in United States exports to Latin America.

"It's not just a nice place to have a party," Ambler H. Moss, director of the University of Miami's North-South Center and a former United States Ambassador to Panama, said of Miami. "It's a place whose future depends on the success of the party."

The summit conference is welcome here as the official sign that the city has arrived. In announcing why Miami was picked for the site of the meeting, the President praised its efforts "to build a genuine multi-

cultural, multiracial society that would be at the crossroads of the Americas and, therefore, at the forefront of the future."

It is also a city, Mr. Clinton said, whose economy is already integrated with that of most of Latin America. International businesses like shipping, banking and travel employ about 40 percent of Dade County's work force, officials here say.

The city itself is increasingly Latin American, serving as both refuge and playground for its hemispheric neighbors — in good times they come to shop and buy condominiums; in bad times they move in. Hispanic residents make up about half of Dade County's population of 2 million; more than half a million of them are of Cuban descent, but many now are from Venezuela, Peru or Colombia.

The conference is by far the biggest event ever held in the Miami area, bigger than any of six Super Bowls or visits by Pope John Paul II in 1987 and Queen Elizabeth II of Britain in 1991. Preparations are now in full throttle to both work with trading partners and to show off.

There are plans for pre-summit business conferences and the deployment of 2,000 volunteers at information booths. Beautification projects have been under way for months, including about \$15 million in landscaping and road improvements.

"We want Miami to look like the Garden of Eden before the apple," said Arthur E. Teele Jr., chairman of the Dade County Commission.

The conference is also one of the largest field operations for the Secret Service, "perhaps only rivaled by the 45th anniversary of the United Nations in New York," said Jack Kippenberger, the special agent in charge of Miami.

Half of the nation's 2,000 Secret Service agents are expected here for the conference, including technicians and counter-sniper specialists. They will be complemented by 5,000 local and state law-enforcement offi-

cers, host committee officials said.

Aside from security, the biggest headache will be transporting 34 leaders and their entourages, national delegations ranging from 70 to 200 people and a contingent of more than 5,000 reporters, photographers and television technicians, local officials said. The agenda calls for trips by air, land and water in Miami, Miami Beach and Coral Gables.

As the leaders come and go, many Dade County residents are likely to be caught in unexpected traffic jams. For security reasons, they are not being told the precise time of arrivals, departures or motorcades, and what specific areas to avoid.

But many are already caught up in the spirit of the gathering, with a number of Hispanic communities planning dinners and other celebrations in honor of their countrymen.

A center of Latin American trade looks forward to more of the same.

Others will try to draw attention to a cause of a grievance.

There are demonstrations planned by Haitians upset about the accumulation of trash in their neighborhood, and by advocates for the homeless angry about what they say is the neglect of the estimated 8,000 homeless people in Dade County. The American Civil Liberties Union has filed a lawsuit to prevent police sweeps of the homeless before and during the conference.

Cuban exiles expect to meet with some of the visiting leaders, and plan to march on Saturday through the Little Havana district to the Orange Bowl to press their anti-Castro message. Cuba was the only Latin

American country excluded from the conference.

Organizers of the Cuban march, who expect about 100,000 people to participate, have promised local officials a calm gathering, with no angry signs or strident speeches that could embarrass the President.

A source of contention between Cuban-Americans and the Federal Government is the more than 20,000 Cuban refugees still being held in American detention camps in Panama and the naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

"We know the summit is important for the United States and Florida," said Juan Gonzalez, one of the organizers. "We won't do anything against the summit."

How important the conference turns out to be for the economic development of Florida and Miami remains to be seen. State and local officials say trade with Latin America is already a growth market, but any free-trade accords after the conference could markedly accelerate this growth and expand Florida's role in hemispheric trade the way the North America Free Trade Agreement is doing for Texas.

"Because of decisions that are being made in the private sector, within 10 years we're going to have a hemispheric common market," said Lieut. Gov. Kenneth H. (Buddy) MacKay of Florida. "The summit is adding impetus to that."

But a more immediate expected benefit is a change in image. Tourism in Florida saw a downturn this year, attributed largely to several highly publicized killings of tourists. But Miami officials hope to steer attention to the city's more positive features with events like a huge beach party in Miami Beach on Thursday for the visiting journalists.

"Very few communities ever have an opportunity to redefine their image," Commissioner Teele said. "For too long, the negative connotation of 'Miami Vice' has plagued our city."

FINAL EDITION

The Miami Herald

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1994

CONTENTS COPYRIGHT © 1994 THE MIAMI HERALD

Elated exiles prepare to greet their loved ones

First of 10,000 detainees could arrive next week

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ
Herald Staff Writer

Thousands of Cuban rafters will complete their long journeys to South Florida beginning next week, this time arriving in planes sponsored by the U.S. government or the Miami exile community.

The Clinton administration is expected as early as today to lay out details of planned releases from Guantanamo and Panama of up to 10,000 Cubans — about 3,000 children and their relatives.

U.S.-CUBA PACT CALLED ILLEGAL

■ A conservative immigration reform group says U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno has no authority to parole Cubans into the United States, 13A.

Two planes a week are scheduled to fly to Miami on a regular basis until all children and their immediate relatives — parents, siblings or guardians — are out of Guantanamo and Panama, said Miami City Manager Cesar Odio, who was briefed Wednesday.

Flights could begin as early as next week if all goes as expected and many refugees will be here by Christmas.

"We expect the children with the families right away," Odio said.

Odio said he wants to defray taxpayer costs for refugee flights by raising money in the exile community in Miami. Family members here may also be asked to pay for their relatives' air fares.

The refugees will live — at least temporarily —

Elated exiles awaiting loved ones

CUBANS, FROM 1A

with family or sponsors in the United States.

Thinking ahead

— In South Florida, relatives of the Guantanamo Cubans were elated. After three months of waiting and worrying about conditions in the camp, they can now turn their attention to their relatives' homecoming. They are already thinking ahead: more mattresses, more food and, somehow, more space.

"I always had hope," said Marina Diaz, who has a stepson and grandson in the camp. "We will take care of them. The little that we have we will share with them. I have a small house. But we will make room. We will all fit here, at least for a while."

Diaz said her grandson — 4-year-old Yasel Navarro Diaz — was born with a weak liver and glandular problems, a condition doctors had closely monitored in Cuba. But at the base, Yasel never got the medical treatment he needed. Just this week, a gland in his throat swelled up.

"The child doesn't eat anything," Diaz said. "He is very thin. And he cries. It's really bad. What they are going through there with their kids can't be good."

"For me, this is the best thing they could do," Diaz added.

Some Miami exiles are just happy to know they did not mislead relatives when they told them to stay put and not give up.

"They were waiting and waiting to see what would happen to them," said Eloisa Mendigutia, 41, who has a 6-month-old niece at the base. "We kept telling them to hold on. We had hope in this president."

Some 20,000 Cuban rafters will remain in the Guantanamo and Panama camps, set up this summer after Fidel Castro unleashed a massive exodus in retaliation for U.S. policies. Though U.S. authorities, citing concerns about encouraging another exodus, insist the remaining refugees won't be

paroled into the United States, powerful Cuban Americans are pressing for their freedom as well.

Anger in Little Haiti

In Little Haiti, news of the decision to begin releasing more thousands of Cubans from the base stirred confusion and anger, underscoring once again the disparity in treatment between Haitian and Cubans.

For Lucienne Aristide, children are children — regardless of their birthplace. Her son Ronald, 12, has been at the base since July. He arrived alone.

"I don't feel good," said Aristide, who left Haiti on a boat in April. "I miss him. I cry every time I talk to him."

"All children are the same," she added. "I would like all of the kids to be let out of the base, not just the Cubans."

Haitian refugee activists say that Haitian children are stuck on the base for only one reason: The Haitian-American community lacks the political muscle of its Cuban counterpart.

"I think ultimately what's going on is that if you have political clout you are able to persuade officials in Washington to do the right thing, and if you don't have clout, you're not able to," said Cheryl Little, an immigration attorney for Florida Rural Legal Services. "The Haitians shouldn't be punished simply because they don't have the kind of clout the Cubans do."

The Haitian Refugee Center is suing the federal government, demanding the release of 230 unaccompanied minors at the Haitian camps and access to Guantanamo, among other things.

Steve Forester, an attorney at the refugee center, said the Haitian community does not begrudge the Cubans their success. Haitian simply feel they have a legal right to benefit from the same policy.

"We think it's wonderful that Cubans are being paroled into the United States," he said. "Our gripe is with the the Clinton administration that thinks the white color of the Statue of Liberty doesn't apply to black Haitians."

PLEASE SEE CUBANS, 14A

FINAL EDITION

The Miami Herald

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1994

COPYRIGHT © 1994 THE MIAMI HERALD

Graham says Clinton bungled rafter exodus

BY TOM FIEDLER
Miami Herald Political Editor

President Clinton's impending decision to grant U.S. entry to as many as 10,000 Cuban families now being detained at the Guantanamo Naval Base drew a friendly fire Wednesday from Florida U.S. Sen. Bob Graham, a fellow Democrat.

Graham, long considered a Clinton friend and ally, faulted the president's evolving policy toward the Cuban rafters as both untenable and without an easy solution.

He also suggested that Clinton brought the problem on himself in August by failing to confront Cuban President Fidel Castro directly when the rafter exodus began and treat it as an act of war. Such a confrontation might have incited public protests against the dictator, leading to his demise, Graham said.

"That moment, at least for now, is lost. And you don't get many opportunities like that," he said.

Administration officials said Tuesday that the 3,000 children and their families — for a total of up to 10,000 Cubans — now detained in tents at Guantanamo will soon be allowed into the United States, with most expected to come to Miami.

In an interview with The Herald's editorial board, Graham said he was uncomfortable with the latest decision. The senator said by allowing some of the refugees to come into the United States, Clinton leaves himself with three problems:

■ He will have committed "a partial breach" in the agreement he reached with Castro in September promising to allow entry only to 25,000 Cubans each year who applied for visas through the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. In return, Castro shut down the rafter exodus.

■ It would still leave some 25,000 adult refugees in the "hellish" camps with no hope of getting to the United States. "And that's not a tenable situation," he said.

■ It could invite new action from Castro, including another rafter exodus.

"I don't think there are any easy ways out of this box," Graham conceded.

But the senator said the most pragmatic solution would be for Clinton to let the Guantanamo refugees apply for a chunk of those 25,000 visas, although this entails disregarding the earlier vow not to let them in.

In the interview, Graham showed no sympathy for Clinton's plight, saying the president bungled the policy from the beginning. He said Clinton should have been willing to accept rafters who could make a legitimate claim to refugee status.

FINAL EDITION

The Miami Herald

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1994

CONTENTS COPYRIGHT © 1994 THE MIAMI HERALD

U.S. again deporting Haitians

Moratorium ends for illegal residents

By ANDRES VIGLUCCI
Herald Staff Writer

After a yearlong moratorium, U.S. immigration authorities have quietly decided to resume deporting Haitians who entered the country illegally, saying the restoration of democracy to Haiti now makes it safe for them to go home.

In the Miami immigration district, which covers all of Florida, that means 1,358 Haitians face deportation.

The decision could have far broader impact if it signals a belief by U.S. officials that political violence in Haiti has decreased to the point where the country is generally safe.

That view could make it harder for 14,800 Haitians who have applied for asylum in Florida to demonstrate a "well-founded fear of persecution," the legal standard for obtaining refuge in the United States.

Some immigration judges and INS trial attorneys already are taking a tougher stance when reviewing asylum claims, asserted Cheryl Little, an attorney for Florida Rural Legal Services in Miami. She cited several recent cases in which judges turned down asylum claims by noting the return of democratically elected Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service suspended the deportation of Haitian aliens in October of last year, citing turmoil in their homeland. During the past year, the moratorium was extended when the international embargo halted all flights to Haiti.

INS officials decided to lift the moratorium following

HAITIANS, FROM 1A

Following the U.S. military occupation that restored President Aristide and the subsequent resumption of flights, said agency spokesman Lemar Woolley.

The agency made no public announcement of the change. Word got out after a Haitian immigrant was detained at the Krome Detention Center this week for deportation after he visited INS offices in Miami for a routine inquiry.

The INS said the decision affects those who have final deportation orders from an immigration judge — which means they have exhausted all legal appeals to stay.

"Now that Aristide has returned to power, there is no

reason to not deport those with final orders," Woolley said.

Advocates urge caution

Advocates for Haitian refugees criticized the deportations, saying it's premature to resume them.

"There is still repression in Haiti, much of it in rural areas, but in some parts of Port-au-Prince as well," said Steve Forster, attorney for the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami.

"There are still people being killed. It just makes more sense to continue the moratorium for a reasonable period of time to see if repression significantly diminishes."

INS is pledging to proceed cautiously. Before anyone is deported, the case must be

reviewed and approved by INS headquarters in Washington, D.C., Woolley said.

The unusual measure is meant to ascertain whether any deportee faces danger in Haiti. Also, some might have earned the right to legal U.S. residency — by marrying a U.S. citizen or resident, for instance — since their case was last in court.

INS officers will not go looking for the deportees, but will detain them as the cases come to the agency's attention — if they are arrested or get into a car accident, for instance.

"We're not going to start rounding them up in the street," Woolley said.

Before the moratorium, about 200 Haitians a year were deported from Florida.



ARISTIDE LEAVING THE PRIESTHOOD

■ After years of tension between President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the Catholic Church, Aristide will leave the priesthood, 14A.

PLEASE SEE HAITIANS, 14A

BOB GRAHAM
FLORIDA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0903

COVER SHEET FOR FAX

TO Suzanna Valdez

FROM Allen Roth

NUMBER OF PAGES 3
(INCLUDING COVER)

PLEASE CALL TO CONFIRM _____
RETURN TO SENDER _____

CONTACT PERSON _____

TELEPHONE: 305-536-7293, FAX: 305-536-6949

DATE 11-17-94 COMMENTS F41

Elated exiles awaiting loved ones

CUBANS, FROM 1A

with family or sponsors in the United States.

Thinking ahead

In South Florida, relatives of the Guantanamo Cubans were elated. After three months of waiting and worrying about conditions in the camp, they can now turn their attention to their relatives' homecoming. They are already thinking ahead: more mattresses, more food and, somehow, more space.

"I always had hope," said Marina Diaz, who has a stepson and grandson in the camp. "We will take care of them. The little that we have we will share with them. I have a small house. But we will make room. We will all fit here, at least for a while."

Diaz said her grandson — 4-year-old Yasel Navarro Diaz — was born with a weak liver and glandular problems, a condition doctors had closely monitored in Cuba. But at the base, Yasel never got the medical treatment he needed. Just this week, a gland in his throat swelled up.

"The child doesn't eat anything," Diaz said. "He is very thin. And he cries. It's really bad. What they are going through there with their kids can't be good."

"For me, this is the best thing they could do," Diaz added.

Some Miami exiles are just happy to know they did not mislead relatives when they told them to stay put and not give up.

"They were waiting and waiting to see what would happen to them," said Eloisa Mendigutia, 41, who has a 6-month-old niece at the base. "We kept telling them to hold on. We had hope in this president."

Some 20,000 Cuban rafters will remain in the Guantanamo and Panama camps, set up this summer after Fidel Castro unleashed a massive exodus in retaliation for U.S. policies. Though U.S. authorities, citing concerns about encouraging another exodus, insist the remaining refugees won't be

paroled into the United States, powerful Cuban Americans are pressing for their freedom as well.

Anger in Little Haiti

In Little Haiti, news of the decision to begin releasing more thousands of Cubans from the base stirred confusion and anger, underscoring once again the disparity in treatment between Haitian and Cubans.

For Lucienne Aristide, children are children — regardless of their birthplace. Her son Ronald, 12, has been at the base since July. He arrived alone.

"I don't feel good," said Aristide, who left Haiti on a boat in April. "I miss him. I cry every time I talk to him."

"All children are the same," she added. "I would like all of the kids to be let out of the base, not just the Cubans."

Haitian refugee activists say that Haitian children are stuck on the base for only one reason: The Haitian-American community lacks the political muscle of its Cuban counterpart.

"I think ultimately what's going on is that if you have political clout you are able to persuade officials in Washington to do the right thing, and if you don't have clout, you're not able to," said Cheryl Little, an immigration attorney for Florida Rural Legal Services. "The Haitians shouldn't be punished simply because they don't have the kind of clout the Cubans do."

The Haitian Refugee Center is suing the federal government, demanding the release of 230 unaccompanied minors at the Haitian camps and access to Guantanamo, among other things.

Steve Forester, an attorney at the refugee center, said the Haitian community does not begrudge the Cubans their success. Haitian simply feel they have a legal right to benefit from the same policy.

"We think it's wonderful that Cubans are being paroled into the United States," he said. "Our gripe is with the the Clinton administration that thinks the white color of the Statue of Liberty doesn't apply to black Haitians."

Media Clips

Publication MI9 - HER

Date 11-17-94

Page 3 of 10

MLR EPR ; NWW

es
greet
ones
tainees
week

ll complete their
beginning next
sponsored by the
ile community.
pected as early
ed releases from
10,000 Cubans
t 3,000 children
r relatives.
planes a week
duled to fly to
on a regular
til all children
immediate rel-
- parents, sib-
uardians — are
antanamo and
said Miami
nager Cesar
o was briefed
ly.
could begin as
ted and many

families right

ayer costs for
he exile com-
ere may also
fares.
mporarily —

CUBANS, 1A

E a et ex

prepare to their loved

First of 10,000 det
could arrive next v

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ
Herald Staff Writer

Thousands of Cuban rafters will
long journeys to South Florida
week, this time arriving in planes sp
U.S. government or the Miami exile

The Clinton administration is ex
as today to lay out details of planne
Guantanamo and Panama of up to

— about
and their

U.S.-CUBA PACT CALLED ILLEGAL

■ A conservative
immigration reform
group says U.S. Attor-
ney General Janet
Reno has no authority
to parole Cubans into
the United States, 13A.

Two p
are sched
Miami o
basis unti
and their i
atives —
lings or gu
out of Gua
Panama,
City Mai
Odio, who
Wednesday
Flights c

early as next week if all goes as expect
refugees will be here by Christmas.

"We expect the children with the fi
away," Odio said.

Odio said he wants to defray taxpa
refugee flights by raising money in the
munity in Miami. Family members he
be asked to pay for their relatives' air

The refugees will live — at least ten

PLEASE SEE C

Suit calls U.S.-Cuba pact illegal

By PAUL ANDERSON
Herald Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The 2-month-old U.S.-Cuba immigration agreement is illegal because Attorney General Janet Reno doesn't have the authority to parole 20,000 or more Cubans into the United States each year, according to a lawsuit filed Wednesday by a conservative immigration reform group.

A Justice Department spokeswoman disputed that claim and said planning for a proposed visa lottery in Havana will continue.

"This accord sets a very dangerous precedent," said Dan Stein, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which filed suit in U.S. District Court in Washington.

"Congress sets the immigration quotas and laws, not the attorney general," said Stein. "We think the American people — and the residents of South Florida in particular — need to be protected against lawless and unreviewable power by the attorney general."

"She cannot use her parole authority to admit an unlimited number of migrants under her own immigration programs," Stein said.

FAIR said it was acting on behalf of its 1,400 members in Dade County. The group believes most of the additional Cuban immigrants will settle in greater Miami and that will "injure... a community already reeling from the impact of large-scale legal and illegal immigration."

Justice Department officials, including Immigration Commissioner Doris Meissner, said Wednesday that they could not immediately respond to details of the lawsuit.

When the agreement with Cuba was announced on Sept. 6, Meissner and other officials compared the parole plan for Cubans to similar programs that allowed large numbers of Vietnamese boat people and Soviet Jews to enter the United States.

But FAIR contends that, under 1980 revisions to the Immigration and Nationality Act, "the only lawful use of parole is the temporary release of individual aliens into the United States for emergency medical care and similar purposes. Congress has declared that parole is not for the immigration of classes or groups outside the limit of the law."

A hearing date on FAIR's request for an injunction was not immediately set.

Media Clips

Publication MIA-HER

Date 11-17-94

Page 4 of 10

MLR ERR MGS NNN



FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO:	Rich	PHONE:	
FROM:		PHONE:	
DATE:		TIME:	
NUMBER OF PAGES:	14 Color	524 Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510	

COMMENTS: Per your request

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING PAGES TO THE PARTY LISTED ABOVE.

If there is a problem in transmission, please call (202) 224-3041

Elated exiles prepare to greet their loved ones

First of 10,000 detainees could arrive next week

By MARTHA L. JONES
Miami Staff Writer

Thousands of Cuban refugees will complete their long journeys to South Florida beginning next week, this time arriving in planes sponsored by the U.S. government or the Miami exile community.

The Clinton administration is expected as early as today to lay out details of planned releases from Guantanamo and Panama of up to 10,000 Cubans — about 3,000 children and their relatives.

U.S.-CUBA FACT CALDER SAYS

A conservative immigration reform group says U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno has no authority to parole Cubans into the United States, CIA.

Two planes a week are scheduled to fly to Miami on a regular basis until all children and their immediate relatives — parents, siblings or grandsons — are out of Guantanamo and Panama, said Miami City Manager Cesar Otero, who was briefed Wednesday.

Flights could begin as early as next week if all goes as expected and entry refugees will be here by Christmas.

"We expect the children with the families right away," Otero said.

Otero said he wants to defray taxpayer costs for refugee flights by raising money in the exile community in Miami. Family members here may also be asked to pay for their relatives' air fares.

The refugees will live — at least temporarily —

PLEASANT GARDEN, FLA

Elated exiles awaiting loved ones

Continued from 1A

with family or sponsors in the United States.

Thinking ahead

In South Florida, relatives of the Guantanamo Cubans were elated. After three months of waiting and worrying about conditions in the camp, they can now turn their attention to their relatives' homeliving. They are already thinking about more suitcases, more food and, sometimes, more space.

"I always had hope," said Marina Diaz, who has a stepson and grandson in the camp. "We will take care of them. The little that we have we will share with them. I have a small house. But we will make room. We will all fit here, at least for a while."

Diaz said her grandson — 4-year-old Yasiel Navarro Diaz — was born with a weak liver and glandular problems, a condition doctors had closely monitored in Cuba. But at the base, Yasiel never got the medical treatment he needed. Just this week, a gland in his throat swelled up.

"The child doesn't eat anything," Diaz said. "He is very thin. And he cries. It's really bad. What they are going through there with their kids can't be good."

"For me, this is the best thing they could do," Diaz added.

Some Miami exiles are just happy to know they did not mislead relatives when they told them to stay put and not give up.

"They were waiting and waiting to see what would happen to them," said Elena Mendigutza, 41, who has a 6-month-old niece at the base. "We kept telling them to hold on. We had hope in this predicament."

Some 10,000 Cuban exiles will remain in the Guantanamo and Panama camps, not up this summer after Fidel Castro unleashed a massive exodus in retaliation for U.S. policies. Though U.S. authorities, citing concerns about encouraging another exodus, insist the remaining refugees won't be

paroled into the United States, powerful Cuban Americans are pushing for their freedom as well.

Anger in Little Haiti

In Little Haiti, news of the decision to begin releasing more thousands of Cubans from the base stirred confusion and anger, underscoring once again the disparity in treatment between Haitian and Cuban.

For Luciano Aristide, children are children — regardless of their birthplace. His son Ronald, 12, has been at the base since July. He arrived alone.

"I don't feel good," said Aristide, who left Haiti on a boat in April. "I miss him. I cry every time I talk to him."

"All children are the same," she added. "I would like all of the kids to be let out of the base, not just the Cubans."

Haitian refugee activists say that Haitian children are stuck on the base for only one reason: The Haitian-American community fears the political muscle of its Cuban counterpart.

"I think ultimately what's going on is that if you have political clout you are able to persuade officials in Washington to do the right thing, and if you don't have clout, you're not able to," said Cheryl Little, an immigration attorney for Florida Rural Legal Services. "The Haitians shouldn't be punished simply because they don't have the kind of clout the Cubans do."

The Haitian Refugee Center is using the federal government, demanding the release of 120 unaccompanied minors at the Haitian camps and access to Guantanamo, among other things.

Steve Forester, an attorney at the refugee center, said the Haitian community does not begrudge the Cubans their success. Haitians simply feel they have a legal right to benefit from the same policy.

"We think it's wonderful that Cubans are being paroled into the United States," he said. "Our grief is with the Clinton administration that thinks the white color of the Statue of Liberty doesn't apply to black Haitians."

Mercia Clips

Publication: MIA - WER

Date: 11-17-94

Page: 3 of 10

UID EDO DATE NAME

11-17-94 11:39 AM FROM SENATOR BOB GRAHAM TO CLIPS ALL OFFICES

P04

Misplaced Fears About the Fed

The Federal Reserve's decision this week to raise interest rates in order to ward off inflation was, as expected, criticized from all corners. Manufacturers warned that higher interest rates would drive up costs and drive away consumers. Labor unions predicted layoffs. Politicians feared disgruntled voters.

The Fed, these critics argued, ought not to slow down the economy when inflation is low, seven million Americans cannot find jobs and tens of millions more cannot find work that pays good wages. Besides, they complained, driving up interest rates amounts to an unfair assault on vulnerable workers and an unseemly giveaway to rich bondholders.

Economic forecasting is primitive, so no one can prove the critics wrong. Perhaps the rate hike of three-quarters of a percentage point — the sixth rise this year and the largest in more than a decade — is unnecessary. Worse, it may be unwise, possibly tipping the economy into recession about the time the 1996 Presidential campaign gets under way. But the Fed presumably took all these factors into account and, after carefully sifting the data, has settled on a prudent course.

One indication is the unanimous vote. The policy was approved even by Alan Blinder — recent Clinton appointee, unapologetic liberal and self-proclaimed “inflation dove” who, as an academic, opposed tight monetary policies more often than almost all his colleagues. What Mr. Blinder and the other Fed members noted was that the economy grew more than 4 percent over the past year. That pace is well above the rate, 2.5 percent, that most economists believe the economy can sustain. The 2.5 figure comes from adding growth due to increases in the labor force (1.0 percent) to growth due to productivity gains (1.5 percent).

The Fed also noted that its five previous rate hikes have not slowed the economy very much.

Even the automobile sector, which should react quickest to rate hikes, is still expanding. The economy is creating about 200,000 jobs a month, which exceeds the number of entrants into the labor force so that unemployment has steadily fallen.

Indeed, the economy is operating close to capacity. Factory output is at record levels. Further growth will not produce many more jobs but could generate more inflation. If the Fed were to sit back and wait for inflation to spurt, it would then have to clamp down hard. That is what it did in the early 1980's, triggering the worst recession since the Depression. Chairman Alan Greenspan is committed to imposing modest restraint now in order to ward off harsh restraints later.

The charge that Mr. Greenspan's policy is unfair is weaker still. True, higher rates will drive up the cost of car loans and home mortgages. But the impact on families will be less feared: many of them will profit from higher interest payments on bank savings accounts, retirement and pension funds. Nor is the rate hike undiluted good news for wealthy bondholders; bond prices fall when interest rates rise.

American workers, especially low-paid ones, are understandably restless and apprehensive. Their wages have stagnated for two decades. But the villain is not the Fed but weak productivity. The biggest threat to vulnerable families would be for the Fed to let inflation rise, victimizing pensioners and others living on fixed incomes, and then tackle it by throwing the economy into recession. Unemployment hits low-paid workers hardest.

That would be worse than unfair. It would be cruel. So far Fed policy has produced steady, if unspectacular, growth without a pickup in inflation. That is no small achievement. Indeed, the muted responses to the announcement by Lloyd Bentsen, the Treasury Secretary, and Laura Tyson, head of the Council of Economic Advisers, indicate that, as much as they hope for robust growth, they recognize that the Fed is proceeding responsibly.

Fine-Tuning the Jeffries Case

The Supreme Court has called for more litigation in the Leonard Jeffries case, offering an opportunity to leap above past administrative squabbles and focus on the core issue: Can the City University of New York remove Professor Jeffries from his administrative post as chairman of the school's black studies department solely because of his racist speech? Or would such a demotion violate his First Amendment rights to free speech?

Professor Jeffries had enjoyed his chairmanship for two decades when, in 1991, he delivered an off-campus speech denouncing “rich Jews” as slave traders and conspirators with the Mafia in Hollywood to defame African-Americans. The university did not disturb the professor's tenure but it did take away his department chairmanship, a special credential. He sued, persuading lower courts that even this sanction violated his constitutional rights, and the courts ordered him reinstated.

There is no question that Professor Jeffries has every right to profess even the most hateful and wrongheaded opinions without losing his tenured position on the faculty. His right to speak out in his professorial role is protected by the Constitution and the principles of academic freedom.

But the university argues, with good reason, that it should not be compelled to retain in a leadership position a person who espouses views contrary to the university's principles and its vision

of its role in society. “This case challenges the authority of university administrators to decide who may speak for the university,” school officials told the Court. Thus the state will argue, with justice, that it need not bestow chairmanships on teachers whose public utterances display racist ignorance and a mortifying disrespect for the scholarship for which the university is supposed to stand.

In ordering a new appeals court hearing, the high court also injected another element — its own latest pronouncement on the free-speech rights of public employees. That came in a decision last May in which the Court said that a nurse in a public hospital could be dismissed if her complaints about her superiors caused the officials reasonable fear of harm to efficiency and morale. That decision went too far in strengthening the hand of institutions against dissenting employees and should not be applied unreservedly to the academic workplace.

The proper outcome in the Jeffries case can be defined clearly. Tenured faculty members should be protected, no matter how unpopular or heinous their utterances. The intellectual vitality of American campuses depends on this essential freedom of expression. But the university does have an equal right to determine who is fit to serve in leadership positions and represent the university's values to the public.

Our Season of Discontent

By Jamie Malanowski

By now the post-election interpreting is over, and, surprisingly, nearly everyone got it wrong. The pundits say the Republicans romped because they were the party of smaller government and lower taxes and were tougher on crime, and because Newt Gingrich was a brilliant strategist. Well, when haven't they been the party of smaller government and lower taxes and been tougher on crime? And Newt Gingrich has been around for years without being a genius. Why were things so different in 1994?

The answer is simple: it's the baseball strike, stupid.

Look at the facts. As analysts have pointed out, the electorate was displaying a palpable anger and disgust, and the voting bloc that most strongly swung Republican was middle-class, middle-aged white men. Now, more than anything else this year, what put the middle-class, middle-aged white man in a bad mood? The economy? The economy was in pretty good shape. The collapse of the health care plan? Please. It was the baseball strike.

Don't forget, baseball was having a terrific year. Many teams were still contending, and this year for the first time there would have been six division champs and two wild cards. In other words, fans of eight teams would have had something to cheer.

Jamie Malanowski, a senior editor of Esquire, is co-author of "Loose Lips," a revue that will open Off Broadway next month.

Add the fans of teams that contended but fell just short, and you'd have had a whole bunch of American guys feeling something between happy and hopeful all the way until spring training next year.

Moreover, several players were threatening to break hallowed records, giving all fans a chance to get excited. Instead, action was halted just as the blood of the middle-aged male fan was about to boil. And interrupting the male as his blood is about to boil creates a cranky, surly fellow. No one stood to gain quite as much from this mess as the frequently cranky Bob Dole and the famously surly Newt Gingrich.

Think how things might have been different. First, if it weren't for the strike, many voters would have ignored the campaign until the World Series ended. Instead, voters had nearly three months to stew over their discontents.

Second, imagine Dan Rostenkowski leading Chicago South Siders in

Why did the G.O.P win? It was the baseball strike, stupid.

their cheers for the division-winning White Sox. Or Ann Richards, daily benefiting from how the sub-.500 play of the Texas Rangers reflected on the administrative abilities of the team's co-owner, her opponent George W. Bush. Or Mario Cuomo joining the Series-winning Yankees in a ticker-tape parade up the Canyon of Heroes. Pataki who?

Once you understand the significance of the strike, certain events take on a greater clarity. In September, nothing helped the G.O.P. more

than the broadcast of Ken Burns's series "Baseball," which was awash in boatloads of nostalgia. Since nostalgia has always been a Republican sentiment, the series enhanced the G.O.P.'s appeal.

More important was Mr. Gingrich's Contract With America, which was announced at just around playoff time, when fans were not only irascible but confused. Accustomed to spending that time of the year tuned into baseball, they didn't know what to watch instead. They opened their TV Guides, where the Republicans had placed an advertisement, and saw that the G.O.P. wanted to end the marriage penalty and give tax credits for children. In other words, candy.

In retrospect, this election was decided not when Bill Clinton got Ira Magaziner involved in health care reform but when he failed to get Labor Secretary Robert Reich involved in a strike settlement before the World Series was canceled. Meanwhile, while most pundits are asking if this was a watershed election, I prefer to focus on something else: was it a plot?

The other day, a week after the voting, the baseball owners announced a new proposal. It doesn't include the hated salary cap, and it could have been made long before the strike. But that might have preserved a Democratic Congress, which was threatening to end baseball's cherished antitrust exemption. Is it possible the owners threw the season just to elect a Republican Congress? How would that be for a November surprise? []

The Children of Guantánamo

What a difference three months make. Lawton Chiles, a Democrat, has been safely re-elected as Governor of Florida. Fidel Castro is again preventing his people from setting out in rafts, and a U.S.-occupied Haiti is no longer sending forth masses of terrified refugees. As a result, the refugee question has cooled as a political issue in Florida and the Clinton Administration is testing the waters for another refugee policy U-turn.

For 28 years Cuban refugees arriving in the U.S. were automatically admitted under a double standard that distinguished them from other people fleeing government oppression and economic collapse. But in August the Clinton Administration began intercepting Cubans at sea, taking them to the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base and proclaiming that they would never be admitted to the U.S.

Pressed by Cuban-American groups, Mr. Clinton is considering allowing Cuban families with children under 17 quarantined at Guantánamo to enter the U.S. on humanitarian grounds. That category includes close to a third of the 24,000 Cubans housed at the base.

Humanitarian treatment of refugees is in the best American tradition. But admitting the Cuban families would raise a serious issue of fairness. There are 230 Haitian children under 17 housed at the same Guantánamo base. Are their families not also entitled to humanitarian consideration?

One crucial difference, of course, is that a repressive Haitian government is no longer in power, while one is in Cuba. But under law, the Haitians at Guantánamo are in exactly the same situation as the Cubans. Both groups said they feared going home. They still say so. Washington refused to uphold or even properly hear their claims, because

certifying those claims would have allowed them to come to the U.S. Instead it said: If you feel unsafe you may stay at Guantánamo, but you may not come to the U.S. Both groups have lawsuits opposing this policy. Mr. Clinton is ready to relax that rigidity for the Cubans but not the Haitians.

Under existing policy, Haitians and Cubans can voluntarily agree to return home and apply for visas to the U.S. from there. In that case, the Cubans would have much better odds of getting admitted. Under the agreement reached between Washington and Havana in September that ended the flow of raft people, opportunities for Cubans to win legal admission to the U.S. were greatly expanded. Up to 26,000 Cubans will be allowed in next year.

Yet while many of the Haitians formerly housed at Guantánamo have voluntarily returned to Haiti since the military regime was ousted, very few Cubans have done so. The simplest, most humane solution would be a one-time admission of all Cuban and Haitian families now at Guantánamo. But it is also possible for the Administration to make a principled distinction between Haitians, who can now return to a much freer country than they left, and Cubans, who still cannot. However, the long history of the political and racial double standard applied to Cubans and Haitians puts a special burden on the Administration. If it makes a distinction now, it must convincingly show that it is following fair and objective standards — that it is not simply reacting to the political power of Cuban-Americans, and the powerlessness of the Haitians.

The conditions now prevailing in Cuba and Haiti are obviously different. But the humanitarian issues raised by Cuban and Haitian children in Guantánamo are not.

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

TO: : Susana Talley
COMPANY : _____
FAX No. : (202) 456-6218

FROM : Jorge L. Bolanos
COMPANY : _____
ADDRESS : 5870 S.W. 8th Street, Suite 7
Miami, Florida 33144

PHONE No. : (305) 261-2600
FAX No. : (305) 262-8802
DATE : 12/22/1994 TIME : 3:00 A.M. (P.M.)
No. OF PAGES: 3 (INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

COMMENTS : _____

CONFIDENTIALITY NOTE:

The information contained in this facsimile message is legally PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION intended only for the use of the addressee named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copy of this telecopy is strictly prohibited. If you have received this telecopy in error, please immediately notify us by telephone and return the original message to us at the address above via the United States Postal Service. We will reimburse any cost you incur in notifying us and returning the message to us. Thank you.

DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS

Por la Libertad, la Cultura y la Solidaridad Hemisférica.

NUMERO 143 Miami, Florida Miércoles 21 de Diciembre de 1994 EDICION DE 32 PAGINAS, 2 SECCIONES 35 CENTAVOS IVA

**Intento de
na ley sobre la
en Nicaragua**

**Más de 3000 estudiantes
obtuvieron su grado
universitario en EU**

**Democracia y justicia
condición de la paz
entre los colombianos**

Alertan de maniobra pro-Cuba en el Consejo de Seguridad

Por ARIEL REMOS

Los congresistas republicanos de origen cubano Lincoln Díaz-Balart e Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, advirtieron en una carta al Presidente Bill Clinton que uno de los miembros de su Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Nacional, Morton Halperin, hace esfuerzos "para lograr la implementación

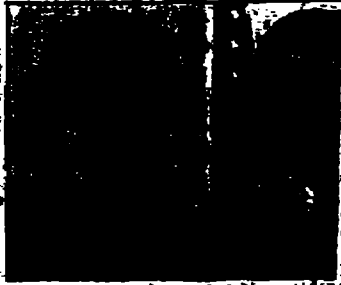
de iniciativas políticas...que beneficiarían a la dictadura comunista de Cuba", y lo instan a mantenerse "firme en el mantenimiento de nuestras sanciones contra la dictadura cubana" y a "resistir las presiones de los que pretenden otorgar ayuda al moribundo régimen totalitario de Castro".

Los congresistas cubanoamericanos, Ros-Lehtinen y Lincoln Díaz-Balart, advirtieron a Clinton contra maniobra de Morton Halperin.

Los congresistas dicen al Presidente haber recibido "informes profundamente preocupantes desde dentro de su gobierno" sobre las actividades del señor Halperin, "cuya designación a

una posición importante del Departamento de Defensa tuvo que ser retirada por insistencia del Senado controlado por el Partido

(Pasa a la pág. 15-A Col. 1)



ROS-LEHTINEN DIAZ-BALART

Alertan de maniobra pro Cuba en Consejo de Seguridad

(Viene de la pág. 1-A)

Demócrata lo confirmaba".

Efectivamente, a principios de 1993 Halperin había sido escogido para desempeñar el cargo de Secretario Adjunto para Democracia y Derechos Humanos, pero su designación fue tan controversial, que fue retirada por el Presidente Clinton. Una de las graves acusaciones que se le hicieron a Halperin fue la de querer socavar y destruir las agencias de inteligencia y seguridad nacional del país, contando en su haber la defensa en los años 70 de Daniel Ellsberg, el famoso revelador de los documentos secretos conocidos como los "Papeles del Pentágono", referentes a la Guerra de Vietnam, y una recensión favorable al libro del renegado ex agente de la CIA, Phillip Agee, que se unió a los comunistas para destruir la CIA mediante su libro "Dentro de la Compañía: Diario de la CIA" que publicó con la ayuda del régimen comunista de Cuba.

Los congresistas Díaz-Balart y Ros-Lehtinen dicen en su carta al Presidente Clinton que "A través de su carrera, el señor Halperin ha demostrado parcialidad en sus juicios relacionados con amenazas provenientes de la Cuba castrista. Por ejemplo, después de las incursiones armadas de Castro en Angola y Etiopía, el señor Halperin escribió incorrectamente que todas las acciones que la Unión Soviética y Cuba han llevado a cabo en Africa, han sido consistentes con los principios del Derecho Internacional. Los cubanos han intervenido solamente cuando han sido invitados por un gobierno y han permanecido solamente a petición de ellos".

Advierten después al Presidente que las sanciones que él estableció el pasado 20 de agosto como consecuencia del problema migratorio surgido por la marejada de bacheiros que produjo haberse hecho el dictador el de la vista gorda; estaba sufriendo efectos y estaba provo-

cando "numerosos síntomas" que señalaban "el colapso inevitable de la tiranía comunista".

Subrayan después que "Cualquier gesto como los que el señor Halperin intenta lograr en estos momentos de creciente brutalidad represiva por parte del régimen totalitario de Castro, sería una forma de complicidad con ese régimen contra el pueblo de Cuba", y citan algunas de las medidas que propulsa el señor Halperin:

1. Autorizar a empresas de EE.UU. a financiar y vender irrestrictamente a Castro medicinas, equipos médicos y suplementos, y alimentos.

2. Suprimir las prohibiciones establecidas por el Presidente Clinton el 20 de agosto evitando vuelos alquilados y envíos de dinero a la Cuba castrista.

3. Autorizar transacciones financieras y viajes para los denominados intercambios académicos, culturales y científicos, exhibiciones y eventos de organizaciones supuestamente religiosas.

4. Disminuir restricciones de viajes para facilitar visitas de ciudadanos estadounidenses a Cuba, así como permitir viajes turísticos y de negocios.

5. Autorizar el establecimiento de representaciones de información periodística de Cuba en EE.UU., y de EE.UU. a Cuba, eliminando las regulaciones para informar sobre las transacciones financieras y las actividades relacionadas de esas representaciones en Cuba comunista y de Cuba comunista en EE.UU.

6. Comenzar "negociaciones" con el gobierno cubano para supuestamente resolver las reclamaciones estadounidenses por las confiscaciones comunistas y otras medidas similares, así como de todas las cuales aboga el señor Halperin.

POR SU LIDERAZGO A Favor De La Libertad de Cuba



Nuestro Agradecimiento al Presidente Menem

Asociacion Interamericana de Hombres de Empresa

Albert Air Conditioning, Inc.
Alberto Perez, President

All American Containers, Inc.
Remedio y Fausto Diaz Oliver

Amaro Travel Consultants, Inc.
Norma Amaro, President

Associated Insurance Brokers, Inc.
Jose M. Alvarez, President

A.V.G. Corporation
Maria Elena Artalejo Gutierrez, President

Balado National Tires
Manuel Balado, President

Wilfredo & Marilyn Borroto

Bello's Tires Center, Inc.
Jose Elias Bello, President

Ing. Frank Bolanos

Business Men's Insurance Corporation
Leonardo Maceiras

Camilo Muebles, Inc.
Luis Lopez, President

Car/Fer Construction Corporation
Carlos G. Carreras, President

Gustavo E. Casado

Color Plus
Abilio Leon, President

Century Group
Sergio Pino, President

Cosmo Trading, Inc.
Octavio Marante, President

Octavio A. Descalzo

Luis Hernandez Enterprises
Luis Hernandez, President

Home Equity Mortgage Corporation
Ana Maria Davide, President

Mariana Herrera C.P.A.

Metro Ford
Lombardo Perez, President

Mena Travel Agency, Inc.
Carlos Mena, President

Midway Ford
Dasca Villamanan

Mila Promotions, Inc.
Pablo Mila, President

M.T.E. Information Services, Inc.
Armando Calienes, President

Northwestern Meats Inc.
Elpidio Nunez, President

Oscar Baisman & Associates
Oscar Baisman, President

Margarita Baisman

Juan Pino

Silmar Enterprises
Manuel Rodriguez Juarez, President

Rivero Funeral Homes
Leopoldo E. Rivero, Chairman

Tessi Garcia & Associates
Tessi Garcia, President

Texaco Stations
Eloy Gonzalez, President

The Lastra Group, Inc.
Aldo Lastra, A.I.A., President

Transworld Services, Inc.
Juan de Miguel, President

Zubi Advertising
Tere Zubizarreta, President

Advent Group, Inc.
Ricardo Fernandez

American Investment Mortgage Company
Eliseo Ferrer, President

Arturo Aballi, Esquire

Borges Distributors, Inc.
Julio Borges, President

Sr. Manny Gonzalez

Oswaldo D. Delgado

Fraga & Feito Architects Planners, Inc.
Jose Feito, Architect

I.A.C. Advertising Group
Ana Maria Fernandez Haar, President

Mefex International Corporation
Rolando Fongon, President

Nilo Gomez Novelties, Inc.
Nilo Gomez, President

Palmetto Carpet
Manuel Hernandez, President

Pan American Assurance Agency
Max Alcorta, President

Leonardo Rodriguez

Rafael E. Rodriguez, P.A., C.P.A.
Rafael Rodriguez, President

Raymar Construction Company, Inc.
Max E. Borges, Jr. President & CEO

Gonzalo J. Sanchez

Sanson, Kline Jacomino & Company C.P.A.'s
Eugenio Sanson, Partner

Terra Bank
Justo Legido, President

The Washington Economic Group Inc.
Jose Villamil, President

West Coast Video of Miller Square
Angel Alonso, President

DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS

Por la Libertad, la Cultura y la Solidaridad Hemisférica.

Miembro de la Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa

NÚMERO 128

Miami, Florida Sábado 3 de Diciembre de 1994

EDICIÓN DIARIA - 3 SECCIONES

15 CENTAVOS EN MIAMI

**Ortega está
ahí guardando
en un hospital**

Página 6-A

**Cubanos se preparan para
acoger a familias de
Guantánamo y Panamá**

Página 1-A

**Se pagan las inces
de la Casa Blanca por el
Día Mundial del SIDA**

Página 5-A

Explican funcionarios de Clinton medidas para liberar a balseros

(Más información en la
Página 1-B)

Por HORACIO RUIZ PAVON

El gobierno del presidente Bill Clinton ha actuado conforme a la tradición humanitaria de Estados Unidos al anunciar hoy la libertad gradual de milles de menores de edad junto a sus familias más cercanas que se encuentran detenidos en Guantánamo y Panamá, pero al mismo tiempo está comprometido a no permitir una nueva ola de refugiados cubanos a través del Estrecho de la Florida, señalaron dos altos funcionarios del Departamento de Estado que visitaron DIARIO LAS AMÉRICAS este viernes a las 12:00.

"Esta no es una concesión; es un paso lógico para una nación generosa como la nuestra", afirmó el principal funcionario político en asuntos latinoamericanos.

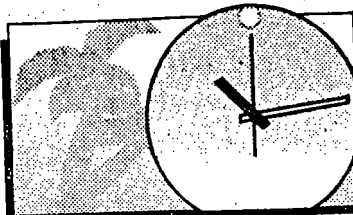
A su lado, el coordinador de la Oficina de Asuntos Cubanos, Dennis K. Hayes, afirmó que "quienes hemos estado en los campamentos tenemos un fuerte sentimiento personal en favor de los refugiados, pero también debemos pensar en los 11 millones de personas que viven en Cuba".

La procuradora de Justicia Janet Reno anunció en Washington, D.C., la nueva extensión de las excepciones por razones humanitarias que hasta ahora han permitido la libertad de un medio millar de balseros cubanos detenidos en el mar durante el verano. Miles más podrán salir gracias a las nuevas medidas, pero el número exacto por el momento no puede estimarse.

"No todos los menores de edad y sus familias pueden calificarse. No es cierto que 20.000 familias vayan a ser trasladadas de la no-



El día de hoy, el doctor Horacio Aguirre, a la derecha, conversa este viernes con los funcionarios del Departamento de Estado de Washington.



AL MOMENTO

Multada firma por volar a Cuba

Cuando un LearJet de Aero Ambulance International despegó para volar a Cuba en mayo, la compañía dijo al gobierno de Estados Unidos que iba a recoger a un ciudadano alemán enfermo que venía a recibir tratamiento en la Florida.

Pero la explicación fue un ardid. En lugar de una misión humanitaria, la compañía hizo una demostración de su equipo médico de emergencia a 75 personas en el Aeropuerto de Varadero, en la costa norte de Cuba. Cuando el avión regresó a Miami, la compañía dijo a los inspectores de Aduana que el paciente había muerto.

Cuando autoridades federales se enteraron del ardid, nadie quiere decir cómo, no quedaron muy divertidos.

Confiscaron el avión y acusaron a la compañía de hacer una declaración falsa al Departamento del Tesoro. Según un embargo comercial de Estados Unidos a Cuba, es ilegal negociar con el gobierno de Fidel Castro.

El lunes, la compañía se declaró culpable ante el magistrado federal Barry Seltzer en Fort Lauderdale. Aceptó pagar una penalidad civil de \$50,000.

"Es la penalidad más alta en la historia de las regulaciones que controlan los valores de Cuba", dijo el fiscal federal Kendall Coffey.

Es posible que reciba una multa hasta de \$200,000 cuando se le imponga sentencia en una fecha posterior, añadió.

El abogado miamense Patrick O'Brien, que representa a la compañía, declinó hacer comentarios. "Nada de lo que yo diga ayudará a mi cliente", indicó.

ARMANDO A. SANTELICES, M.D., P.A.
GENERAL SURGEON

December 14, 1994

Ms. Susan Valdes
The White House
Washington, D.C.

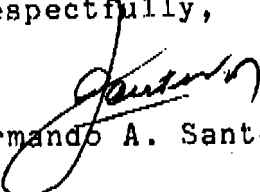
Dear Ms. Valdes,

This article which was published in the Miami Herald today is a follow-up to yesterday's.

Television newscaster this morning reported a team of Cuban Lawyers planning to go to Atlanta, Georgia on Monday to plead their case with a Federal Judge.

Hopefully we can be functional before this happens. Wouldn't want them to think it was a result of the lawyers' pressure.

Respectfully,


Armando A. Santelices, M.D.

AAS:vc

CC: Lula

Panama camps simmer with rage and despair

First riot won't be last, many warn

By **TIM JOHNSON**
Herald Staff Writer

EMPIRE RANGE, Panama — If the graffiti on the bathroom walls can be believed, the next uprising by Cuban refugees here may be only hours away, and Alcides Barrera is frightened.

Agitators are trying to stir up trouble at the camps, just days after a bloody rampage, he said, and "we are all going to pay for this."

The Cuban refugee camps in Panama, once centers of good cheer, are now homes to shattered hopes and roving patrols of soldiers in riot gear.

Bloody riots last week left 221 U.S. troops injured — a toll higher than in the occupation of Haiti — and refugees say further trouble is inevitable.

Most of the 8,480 refugees at the camps appear to be opposed to violence, but desperation is growing, and some are pressing for a new revolt.

"If our problems aren't solved within one month, you will see even worse troubles," said Julio Daniel Perez, 25.

U.S. forces patrolled the four camps on Tuesday carrying shotguns and riot batons, said Brig.

Last week's bloody revolt left 221 U.S. troops injured — a toll higher than in the occupation of Haiti.

Gen. James Wilson, the camp commander. Armored cars were posted at the perimeters.

Wilson has banned journalists from the camps. But U.S. officers allowed a reporter to speak to refugees visiting relatives at a special military tent.

"The Americans have treated us well here. We can't complain," said Jose Leiva Rivera, a 27-year-old metalworker. "What has happened is that there are good people and bad people. There are

PLEASE SEE CUBANS, 18A

