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Associated Press

HAPPY ENDING FOR 32 REFUGEES: Cuban refugees who had been detained in Panama, including unaccompanied minors and

the chronically ill, board a commercial plane at Howard Air Force Base near Panama City for the trip to Miami and a new life.

Refugees fear more trouble in Panama camps

CUBANS, FROM 1A

many convicts and thugs."

Barrera, a truck driver, said he believes Cuban President Fidel Castro sent infiltrators among the more than 34,000 rafters who fled their homeland over the summer "to create trouble in the camps."

He said infiltrators may be responsible for the graffiti in the latrines that say another revolt is planned for Thursday, he added.

"People are afraid because everyone will be lumped together" and treated as agitators, dimming hopes that refugees will make it to the United States, he said.

During rioting last week, refugees at two of the camps damaged at least 25 vehicles, set tents afire and pelted soldiers with rocks. About 1,000 escaped briefly, and more than 20 are still missing. Two died swimming across the Panama Canal.

Agitators isolated

In early morning raids this week, troops pulled out about 585 agitators and placed them in a heavily guarded temporary camp, Wilson said.

"Each individual case is specifically reviewed through the use of witnesses and videotapes to determine the extent of the person's participation," he said.

Cubans who took part in the uprisings



Associated Press

SYMPATHY: Sila Trujillo comforts Omalda Gonzales, distraught after visiting friends.

So far, 22 refugees have said they are willing to do that, Wilson said.

Demerian President Ernesto Perez

Cuba, where many of the refugees originally were housed, but that indefinite confinement is eating at them.

"This is a concentration camp," said Julio Perez, the tough-talking young man who said new riots might break out. "We are prisoners here. We left a very big prison to come to a smaller prison."

Another refugee, Jorge Luis Dominguez Rodriguez, said treatment by the U.S. troops had been unpleasant at Camp Two. Last week's riots were most severe at camps One and Two.

Army Rangers arrived at the camp before dawn last Thursday and whacked people awake with batons, he said.

"It began at 4 in the morning," he said. "They shouted, 'Get up!' Then, pow! pow! pow!"

Deny maltreatment

U.S. officers deny that they have treated the refugees poorly.

"If you look at the number of soldiers injured and the number of Cubans injured, that gives you an idea of the restraint they used," said Thomas, who said about 30 Cubans were injured.

U.S. military personnel said they were discouraging further rebellions by equipping guards with riot gear and sending them into the camps.

el Nuevo Herald

POR DENTRO

PRESIDENTES FIRMAN
PACTO DE MERCOSUR 5B

MARINO REGRESA HOY A
LA ACCION IC

BALAGUER BUSCA APOYO
EN CONGRESO 3A



CLARK: ORANGE BOWL
HA DE SER EN MIAMI 1B

PAGINAS

10

* MIAMI, FLA., SABADO 6 DE AGOSTO DE 1994

SUPLEMENTO THE MIAMI HERALD

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Opositores chocan con piedras y palos contra policías

Revuelta en el Malecón



Amenaza Castro con otro Mariel

Por CYNTHIA CORZO
y PABLO ALFONSO
Redactores de El Nuevo Herald

Miles de cubanos que gritaban consignas antigubernamentales se enfrentaron el viernes con piedras y palos a la policía a lo largo del Malecón habanero, informaron desde la isla agencias de prensa, disidentes y fuentes diplomáticas.

Según las fuentes, de 20,000 a

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Según las fuentes, de 20.000 a 30.000 cubanos se habían congregado a lo largo de cuatro kilómetros del Malecón antes de que estallaran los incidentes, aparentemente guiados por rumores de que una flotilla había partido de Estados Unidos para recoger a quien quisiera irse de Cuba.

Horas después de los disturbios, el gobernante cubano Fidel Castro dijo que podría permitir otro Mariel si Estados Unidos no castigaba a quienes huían en embarcaciones de la isla.

"Si Estados Unidos no cambia su política nos veremos en la obligación de no obstaculizar a ninguna embarcación con esas características", afirmó Castro en un encuentro con periodistas cubanos transmitidos por la radio y televisión cubanas.

En lo que constituye uno de los más graves desórdenes ocurridos durante el gobierno de Fidel Castro, miles de manifestantes atacaron varias tiendas dedicadas a

s el viernes en La Habana.

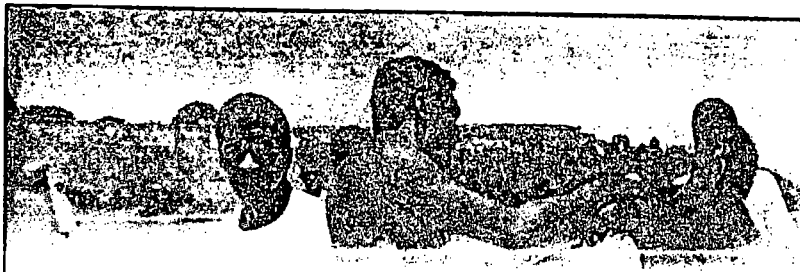
Agence France Presse

VEA REVUELTA, 13A

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le EU de que

"Si Estados Unidos no cambia
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NOTICIAS

Miles protestan en La Habana

REVUELTA, DE 1A

turistas extranjeros y un hotel situado cerca de la entrada de la bahía de La Habana. La policía abrió fuego y dejó varios heridos graves. Según fuentes opositoras en la isla, hubo tres muertos, entre ellos dos policías, aunque esto último no ha podido ser confirmado por medios independientes.

“Los opositores, que gritaban consignas contra el gobierno, se desplazaron en un área de unos cuatro kilómetros, entre el Parque Antonio Maceo y la Alameda de Paula”, informó desde La Habana la agencia mexicana Notimex.

El incidente ocurrió apenas 24 horas antes que el gobernante cubano Fidel Castro debiera partir para Bogotá, Colombia, para asistir a la toma de posesión del presidente Ernesto Samper.

Rafael Dausá, vocero de la Sección de Intereses de Cuba en Washington D.C., negó rotundamente los incidentes en declaraciones formuladas a El Nuevo Herald.

“La Habana está en completa calma” subrayó. “Eso es totalmente falso”.

La agencia francesa de prensa AFP dijo que los incidentes fueron especialmente violentos en las inmediaciones del hotel Deauville, en Galiano y Malecón, y en varias calles comerciales del centro de La Habana y de La Habana Vieja.

La multitud enardecida tiró piedras y botellas contra las vidrieras de varias tiendas, incluida la diplotienda situada en lo que antes era Almacenes Ultra, explicó Valdés Rosado. También rompieron cristales en el Hotel Deauville.

supuesta flotilla”, dijo Dick Lobo, director de la Oficina de Transmisiones a Cuba, que incluye a Radio y TV Martí.

En La Habana, se dijo que una lancha rápida entró al Malecón y fue perseguida por una lancha Griffin de la Marina cubana, explicó María Valdés Rosado, presidenta del Movimiento Cubano Demócrata Cristiano, en conversación telefónica a través de Antonio Tang Báez en Canadá.

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Centenares de personas descendieron por las calles Galiano y Neptuno, rompiendo los cristales de las tiendas y coreando: "Libertad, libertad", añadió AFP.

Los incidentes comenzaron poco después del mediodía cuando la policía intentó despejar el Malecón, invadido por miles de cubanos, que llegaron al puerto desde donde en los últimos días han sido desviadas hacia Miami tres lanchas que viajan entre La Habana y pueblos del interior de la bahía.

"En toda el área del Malecón se reunieron entre 20 y 30,000 personas aproximadamente", afirmó Josie Schumache, portavoz del Departamento de Estado en Washington, D.C.

Los actos de violencia duraron aproximadamente dos horas y hacia las 5 p.m. se había recuperado la calma en la zona del Malecón, de acuerdo con informes de la AFP.

Una fuente diplomática occidental dijo desde la capital cubana que la multitud comenzó a congregarse en la zona del malecón respondiendo a rumores que indicaban que una flotilla de barcos había partido de Miami con rumbo a La Habana para recoger a los que quisieran salir de la isla.

"Nadie sabe exactamente cómo surgió ese rumor", afirmó la fuente.

Aproximadamente a las 5 p.m., del viernes la emisora Radio Martí comenzó a difundir cada media hora un mensaje del Departamento de Estado negando ese rumor.

"Ciertamente estamos poniendo en el aire ese mensaje que niega el rumor sobre la

enardecida tiró piedras y botellas contra las vidrieras de varias tiendas, incluida la diplotienda situada en lo que antes era Almacenes Ultra, explicó Valdés Rosado. También rompieron cristales en el Hotel Deauville.

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"La gente corrió por Galiano hasta el Malecón. Malecón estaba lleno", dijo Valdés Rosado. "Había mujeres con niños en brazos en los arrecifes".

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"Gritaban consignas de 'Libertad', 'Basta ya' y 'Abajo Fidel'", dijo Valdés Rosado.

Agregó Félix Pereda, de la organización Amor Cristiano: "Desde las 2:30 p.m., el pueblo se ha tirado a la calle. Es una rebelión cívica, pacífica".

Las calles de Neptuno, Galiano, Infanta, San Rafael, San Lázaro, Malecón y Belascoain, según informes desde Cuba, están colmadas de personas. El tránsito se ha paralizado. Más de 300 policías han sido destacados en la zona.

Según el disidente Eugenio Rodríguez Chaple, que fue testigo ocular los policías le pedían a los ciudadanos que se unieran a las Brigadas de Respuesta Rápida. Pero los manifestantes se negaban y gritaban: "Abajo Fidel", "Asesino".

PARA INFORMACION

La policía de Miami ha establecido una línea de teléfono para información pública: 579-6111.



Un grupo de los enfrentados



La policía contra el g

OTAN ataca posición

BOSNIA, DE 1A

este del Monte Igman. "Los blancos fueron alcanzados y destrui-

mana.

En respuesta, el gobierno de Yugoslavia (integrada por Serbia y Montenegro) rompió relaciones





Amenaza Castro con permitir éxodo masivo

CASTRO, DE 1A

para impedir la llegada a la isla de embarcaciones procedentes de Estados Unidos para recoger a familiares en Cuba.

"Se producirá una situación grave si el comandante habla de eso esta noche en los mismos términos en que lo hizo hoy por la tarde", declaró Sullivan, según citó Castro.

Explicó que el diplomático norteamericano se refería a declaraciones formuladas por él a corresponsales extranjeros, que le preguntaron qué medidas Cuba estaría estudiando para poner fin a los secuestros de embarcaciones.

Sullivan dijo que eso será un problema para Estados Unidos, pero que habrá problemas también para nosotros", dijo Castro.

Rechazó categóricamente las advertencias de Sullivan y reiteró que "o se toman medidas o nosotros suprimimos la vigilancia". Agregó que Cuba estaría dispuesta a negociar con Estados Unidos la situación creada por las salidas ilegales del país, y lamentó tener que "violiar las normas de la diplomacia" al hacer pública una conversación oficial de esa naturaleza, pero, según dijo, la misma implicaba una amenaza intolerable.

"Está de más añadir que no nos asusta cualquier amenaza", subrayó.

Castro dijo que quienes asaltaron la tercera lancha que salió el jueves por la noche de Regla dieron muerte a dos policías.

"Los asesinos están a bordo de esa lancha a 10 o 15 millas de nuestras costas", afirmó.

Acusó a Estados Unidos de alentar los incidentes ocurridos el viernes en La Habana.

En Miami, las autoridades reaccionaron inmediatamente a las declaraciones de Castro. César Odio, administrador de la Ciudad de Miami, informó el viernes por la noche que el Departamento de Estado solicitó a las autoridades locales que ayudaran a mantener la calma entre los exiliados cubanos y evitaran que éstos salieran hacia la isla a recoger familiares.

"Lo que no queremos ahora es que la gente vaya a caer allá", dijo Odio. "Eso es un peligro para la gente".

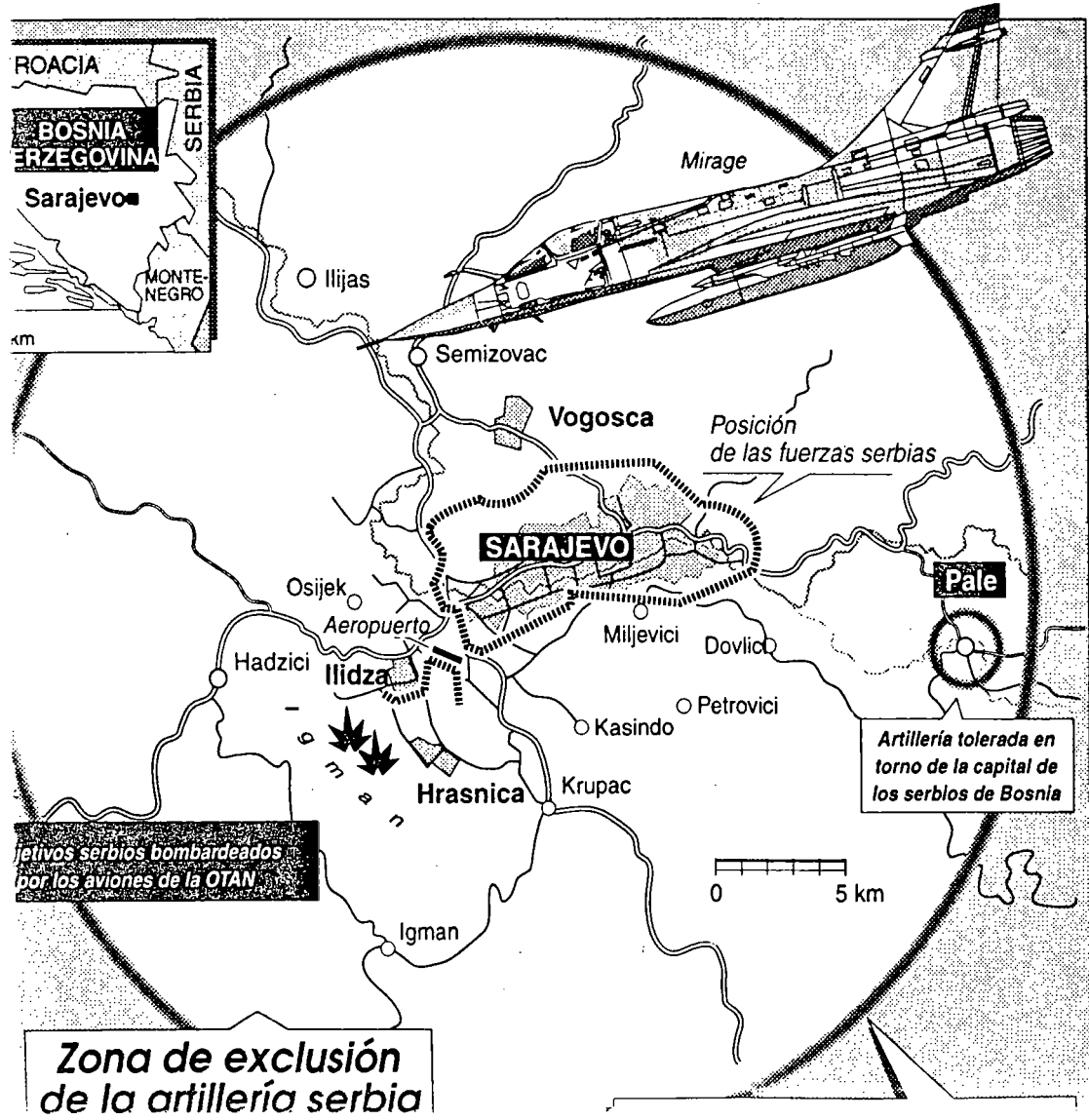
Líderes de las principales organizaciones de exiliados también comentaron las declaraciones de Castro.

Jorge Mas Canosa, presidente de la junta directiva de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, dijo que otro Mariel no era la solución.

"No le hagan juego a Castro con otro Mariel", dijo Mas Canosa. "La solución consiste en la libertad de Cuba y para ello el que se tiene que ir de Cuba es

cía cubana obliga a subir a un vehículo a dos hombres que participaban en las manifestaciones el gobierno.

es de los rebeldes serbios



The Miami Herald

SUNDAY, AUGUST 7, 1994

CONTENTS COPYRIGHT © 1994 THE MIAMI HERALD

2.50 30

THE BEGINNING

Thousands of residents of Havana stand and watch in front of the Hotel Deauville, which was looted by Friday crowds drawn to the waterfront by rumors a ferryboat would take them to Florida.



2 FULL PAGES OF COVERAGE

- Hijacked ferry is towed back, Cuba says, 18A
- Self-restraint and hope among exiles, 19A
- Illegal immigration from Cuba outnumbers legal immigration, 19A

Associated Press

'We won't allow a Mariel'

The plan: blockade, arrests

By FABIOLA SANTIAGO
Herald Staff Writer

They call it Operation Distant Shore: a massive blockade by U.S. Navy ships lined up in the Straits of Florida between Key

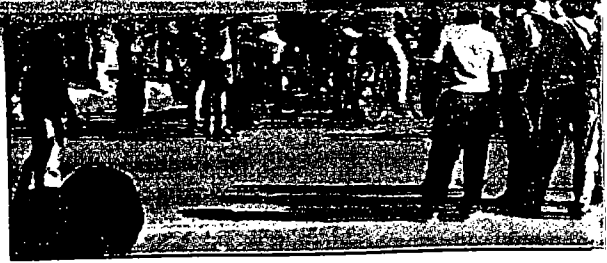


Miami, U.S. on Cuba alert

By MIMI WHITEFIELD,
SUSANA BELLIDO
And MARTIN MERZER
Herald Staff Writers

Top federal officials sharpened a confidential plan to blockade the Florida Straits, and Miami police mapped contingency prep-

front of the Hotel Deauville, which was looted by Friday crowds drawn to the waterfront by rumors a ferryboat would take them to Florida.



'We won't

The plan: blockade, arrests

By **FABIOLA SANTIAGO**
Herald Staff Writer

They call it Operation Distant Shore: a massive blockade by U.S. Navy ships lined up in the Straits of Florida between Key West and Havana.

Its aim: to keep boats in Cuba from reaching South Florida shores — and to stop Miami boats from going to Cuba to pick up refugees.

This is the heart of the U.S. government's plan in case of a massive, Mariel-style influx. If Cuba opens the floodgates in Havana, the U.S. government has a secret plan that includes a blockade of ships, the detention of refugees, and the arrest and prosecution of people going to Cuba to pick up relatives.

Drafted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and revised in April, the plan calls for:

- High-seas interdiction of boats carrying refugees.
- Detention of people trying to enter illegally until immigration proceedings can take place, and until a decision is reached about admission, resettlement or



RESCUED: Marcel Martinez Mora, Douglas M. Luis Falcon Izquierdo, Jose Fernandez Luc

PLEASE SEE THE PLAN, 18A

WOW!

Yes, we really did *believe* in Woodstock

Once upon a time, we *believed*. That tomorrow would be better than today.

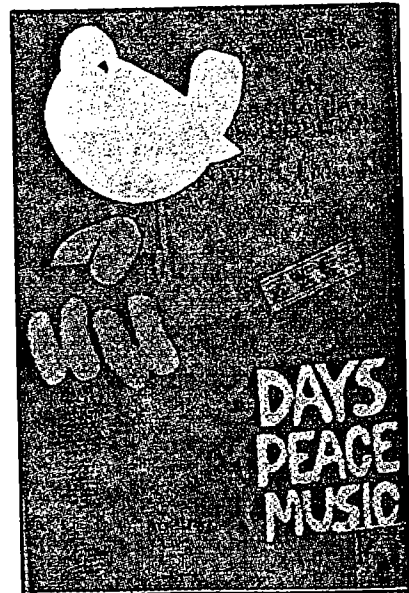
That freedom and justice for all were attainable.

That peace was possible.

And some people, still young enough to think they knew it all, further believed it was within the

power of rock music to validate their faith and change the world.

The notion that music should — or even could



TRUTH: The original Woodstock delivered just what the poster promised — peace, music.

were convinced that the key to a better future was somehow, mystically, right there, half-hidden in

Learn the College

By **FABIOLA SANTIAGO**
Herald Staff Writer

South Florida has a reputation for them: a place from which they have turned to

Women's studies, a relationship, selected by school, improve

explore a degree of a degree

Camp Some firm company psychology courses



Associated Press

2 FULL PAGES OF COVERAGE

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allow a Mariel'



CANDACE BARBOT / Herald Staff

Miami, U.S. on Cuba alert

By MIMI WHITEFIELD, SUSANA BELLIDO And MARTIN MERZER
Herald Staff Writers

Top federal officials sharpened a confidential plan to blockade the Florida Straits, and Miami police mapped contingency preparations Saturday as President Fidel Castro again threatened to unlock Cuba's immigration gates for the first time in 14 years.

At every level, authorities expressed determination to prevent a repeat of the chaos that surrounded the Mariel boatlift, which carried 125,266 Cuban refugees to South Florida during five turbulent months of 1980.

"We will not allow another Mariel boatlift to happen," Miami City Manager Cesar Odio said.

There were no signs that it would. Although the situation was fluid, an edgy calm prevailed in Cuba and South Florida, where Cuban Americans heeded impassioned calls for restraint from a wide range of community groups and government officials.

The Coast Guard said Saturday night that no American boats

Martinez Mora, Jorge Cardoso, Laritza Sosa Cardoso, Leandro Alvarez Galvani, Hugo, Sandra Galvani Alberto Cesar Rodriguez, Alberto Martinez Tejeda. Story, 19A.

PLEASE SEE CUBA, 18A

a ning to live ir own lives ege liberates women

OLA SANTIAGO
aff Writer



COIN FLIP?



There's legislation afoot to scuttle the dollar bill for

U.S. plan: Block boats, detain Cubans

THE PLAN, FROM 1A

"removal."

■ Criminal prosecution and seizure of the boats and boat owners attempting to bring in refugees.

"The emergency plan, in development since Mariel, is going to a state of readiness if it's necessary," Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., said Saturday from Washington. "We are much better prepared today than we were in 1980 to respond to a Castro initiative to shift his domestic problems into a mass exodus aimed at Florida."

The plan was coordinated by the U.S. Attorney General's office with Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles and 40 federal agencies. It provides a framework for the "support actions" of federal, state and local law enforcement

agencies.

Reno can activate plan

Attorney General Janet Reno, in consultation with other officials, can declare an immigration emergency and activate the plan. A host of "special federal powers and resources" would then be put in effect, according to a copy of an executive summary obtained by The Herald. A federal source confirmed its authenticity.

Graham would discuss the emergency plan only "in general terms."

"The U.S. government is serious about not facilitating Castro attempts to relieve his self-imposed domestic pressures or to put lives at risk," he said.

Would Miami Cubans be arrested if they took boats down there to pick up relatives, as they did during Mariel?

"Yes," Graham said firmly.

'The U.S. government is serious about not facilitating Castro attempts to relieve his self-imposed domestic pressures or to put lives at risk.'

SEN. BOB GRAHAM

"I don't think they would have put it in the plan nor have put as much emphasis on that part of the plan" if they weren't serious about arrest and prosecution, Graham said.

Asked about the angry reaction that arrests could generate in Miami, Graham said: "That is true, but if people understand that this will contribute to the goal we all share to replace this dictatorial regime with a free,

democratic government in Cuba, it is one of the additional pains that has to be suffered."

'Feds' in control

Under the plan, the federal government clearly calls the shots.

Unlike the Hurricane Andrew emergency, when the county directed the efforts of state and federal agencies, the Cuba situation is a matter of federal policy,

county officials said.

"They would be the lead agency on the whole thing," said Kathleen Hale, Metro-Dade's director of emergency management. "We would not be the ones calling the shots."

Miami INS spokesman Lemar Wooley said he could not comment on the plan. "Everything relating to the emergency plan has been confidential from day one," he said. "Yes, there is a plan, obviously."

Wooley said INS was not taking special measures this weekend and had not placed people on emergency alert. "We'll be keeping an eye on the situation, but as far as we're concerned, when there's something to do, we'll deal with it," he said.

For now, he said, the situation is in the hands of the State Department.

City of Miami officials, however, were not relying on the federal government.

City Manager Cesar Odio was jittery. He worried that the administration would not do enough to keep Miami from getting hit with another massive wave of refugees. He called a meeting with police administrators at 11 a.m. Saturday to discuss a response plan.

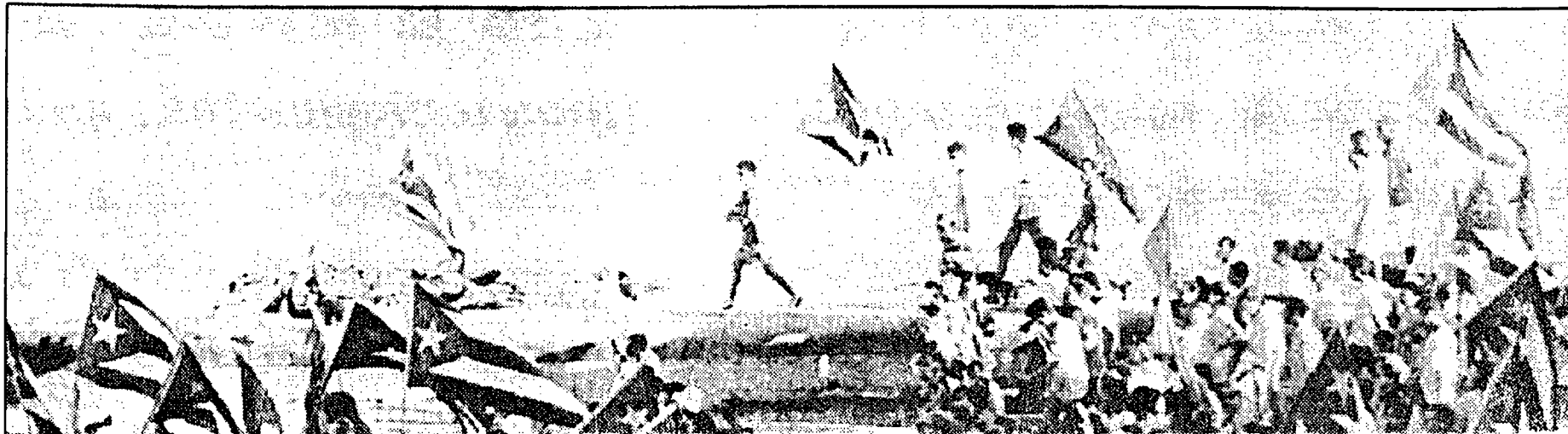
"It's dangerous," Odio said. "Unless the administration tells Castro he can't do this, we are going to be in danger."

"This time," he said, reflecting on Mariel, "it could be worse because conditions are worse in Cuba."

Herald staff writers Alfonso Chardy, Joanne Cavanaugh and Dexter Filkins contributed to this report.

Miami, U.S. on Cuba alert

CUBA, FROM 1A



Miami, U.S. on Cuba alert

CUBA, FROM 1A

were known to be headed for the island.

Still, everyone remained on high alert as Cubans — without aid from Florida — continued to flee in astonishing numbers. The Coast Guard rescued or sighted 130 people on at least 13 rafts and boats Saturday — numbers that approached post-Mariel records.

"The situation in Havana is very hot," said Emilio Fernandez, 29, a doctor who reached the Transit Center for Cuban Refugees on Stock Island. "Discontent in Havana is now like an open spigot. You can't control it."

A heavy police presence was obvious in Havana one day after running street clashes, sporadic rock-throwing and other bold acts of defiance rocked downtown Havana.

Scattered incidents erupted again before dawn Saturday, but troops and government sympathizers later staged pro-Castro demonstrations along the waterfront Malecon boulevard, complete with flags and speeches.

No unrest was reported as darkness settled over the city Saturday night. But large crowds were expected in Havana's Plaza de la Revolucion today for the funeral of one of two police officers killed Thursday when hijackers commandeered a ferry for passage to Florida.

Late Saturday, Castro arrived in Colombia for today's inauguration of President Ernesto Samper. Castro's travel abroad suggested a sense of security with the Cuban political climate; on the other hand, he brought along 70 security agents.

And Castro again repeated his threat to permit — even encourage — a mass exodus.

Either ... or

"We cannot be the United States' border patrol," he said Saturday night. "Either they take measures to stop stimulating illegal departures from the country or we give instructions to our people to leave."



COUNTERDEMONSTRATION: Government supporters march through Havana on Saturday to protest the public unrest of the past few days.



WHAT THEY SAID

"For Americans, this is a time not to panic and not to be engaged in activities that..."



staff writers Alfonso Chardy, Joanne Cavanaugh and Dexter Filkins contributed to this report.

surprising even themselves. Miami's Cuban exiles displayed an abundance of self-restraint and patience Saturday — along busy Hialeah streets, over popular Cuban airwaves and, most importantly, across the expanse of ocean separating one home from the other.

Despite threats from President Fidel Castro to spark another Mariel boatlift following riots in Havana, Cubans here took a collective deep breath and held it. There was no frenzied rush to the marinas. No panic in the streets.

Only an outpouring of excitement and hope — maybe this time, things will be different.

"These are demonstrations that show desperation," said Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, who spent the day gauging the aftermath of the disturbances. "The struggle is entering a different stage — mass participation."

The message from leaders of the exile community was blunt. Stay home. Stay calm. Don't take Castro's bait, which would do no more than create an escape valve for his regime and increased pressure on the U.S. government.

Taping a message for a short-wave radio station broadcast to Cuba, Cuban American National Foundation chairman Jorge Mas Canosa said that "a repeat of Mariel can't happen."

"We won't permit the exiles to dance to the music of Castro," he said. "Castro wants to turn this into an immigration problem. This is a political problem."

He also prodded Cubans on the island to follow a course of civil disobedience. He urged them not to report to work or university classrooms Monday, it to make their presence felt in the streets of Havana.

By Saturday's end, it appeared the exile community heeded the official advice: other boatlift was no solution.

said Cesar Odio, Miami's city



CHUCK FADELY / Herald Staff

MAKING PLANS: Miami city manager Cesar Odio, left, and Police Chief Don Warshaw, leave a meeting Saturday morning about what to do if there is another mass exodus from Cuba.

manager: "I'm very proud of the community."

For Maria Elena Cruz Varela, the dissident poet who left Cuba on a special visa just months ago, it felt odd to watch tragedy and outrage unfold in Havana from a distance. She has felt the crush of repression intensely at her home in Havana, where she was once thronged by a mob and forced to eat her own writing.

Friends gathered at her house — "general headquarters," she called it — all day Friday and Saturday.

"I was expecting it," said Varela, who has permission to stay until at least November. "I was convinced something was going to happen at any moment."

At Stock Island in Key West, a popular jumping-off point during the Mariel crossing, fishermen geared up for the first day of lobster season. All of them knew of Castro's threat to open the island's harbors and allow out disgruntled Cubans. But none had been approached by exiles offering money for a quick boat ride to Cuba.

Even with an offer, many of the fishermen, among them Cubans with relatives on the island, said they wouldn't venture into Castro's waters.

"I've been here for 33 years," said Antonio Diaz, 61, who brought 90 people over from Cuba during Mariel. "What am I going to go look for over there? I'm not going to look for people anymore."

Fishing boat captain Rick LaFlair lost a 60-foot boat to U.S. Customs last time around. If another exodus develops, he wants a clear go-ahead from the government.

"This time if there's something that's gonna happen, it will be done according to the law," he said.

A mate aboard the lobster boat Kazan, Roberto Curbelo, said he would be cautious about sailing south, even though two of his grown daughters still live in Cuba. "I love them," said Curbelo, who arrived in Miami during the 1980 boatlift. "You don't know what will happen once you get there. They could shoot you, arrest you and take

your boat."

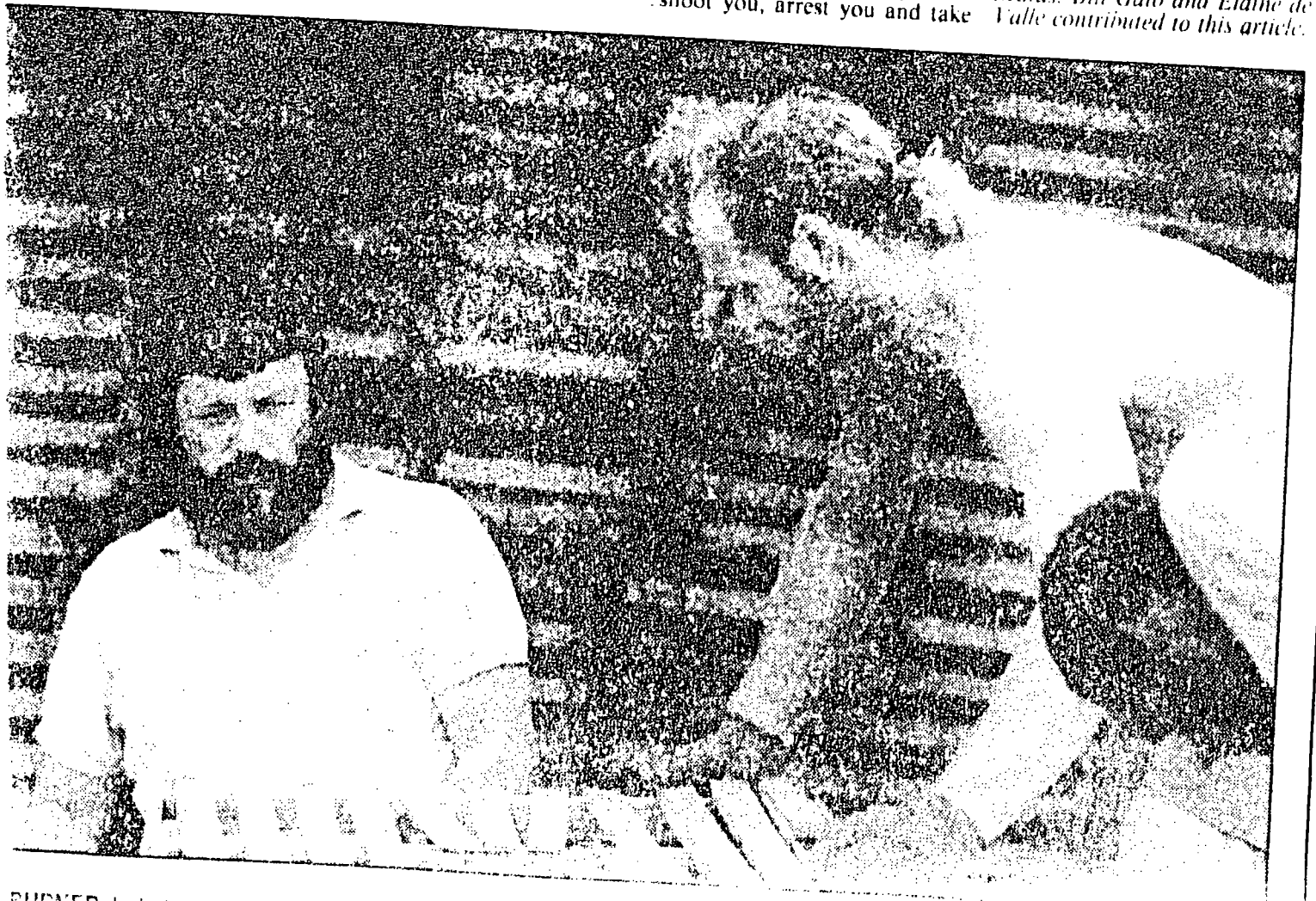
At the Miami police department, Odio, Miami Police Chief Donald Warshaw and Fire Chief Carlos Jimenez pored over contingency plans. They braced for chaos, but the streets stayed quiet. No special units were called out.

About 30 members of Cuban Unity, an umbrella group of grass-roots exile organizations known for its anti-Castro protests on Miami streets, met to formulate their own game plan, chief among them taking advantage of Castro's apparent vulnerability.

Unless Cuban Americans organize effectively, Castro could succeed in triggering another Mariel and getting the United States to negotiate with him on his terms, said Andres Vargas Gomez, Unity president.

"Another Mariel would just prolong the situation in Cuba," he said.

Herald Staff Writers Fabiola Santiago, Gail Epstein, Alina Maras, Bill Gato and Elaine de Valle contributed to this article.



By SUSANA BELLIDO,
MANNY GARCIA
And LIZETTE ALVAREZ
Herald Staff Writers

Surprising even themselves, Miami's Cuban exiles displayed an abundance of self-restraint and patience Saturday — along busy Hialeah streets, over popular Cuban airwaves and, most importantly, across the expanse of ocean separating one home from the other.

Despite threats from President Fidel Castro to spark another Mariel boatlift following riots in Havana, Cubans here took a collective deep breath and held it. There was no frenzied rush to the marinas. No panic in the streets.

Only an outpouring of excitement and hope — maybe this time, things will be different.

"These are demonstrations that show the desperation," said Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, who spent the day gauging the aftermath of the disturbances. "The struggle is entering a different stage — mass participation."

The message from leaders of the exile community was blunt. Stay home. Stay calm. Don't take Castro's bait, which would do no more than create an escape valve for his regime and increased pressure on the U.S. government.

Taping a message for a short-wave radio station broadcast to Cuba, Cuban American National Foundation chairman Jorge Mas Canosa said that "a repeat of Mariel can't happen."

"We won't permit the exiles to dance to the music of Castro," he said. "Castro wants to turn this into an immigration problem. This is a political problem."

He also prodded Cubans on the island to follow a course of "civil disobedience." He urged them not to report to work or university classrooms Monday, but to make their presence felt on the streets of Havana.

By Saturday's end, it appeared the exile community heeded the official advice: Another boatlift was no solution.

Said Cesar Odio, Miami's city



MAKING PLANS: Miami city manager Cesar Odio, left, meeting Saturday morning about what to do if there is

manager: "I'm very proud of the community."

For Maria Elena Cruz Varela, the dissident poet who left Cuba on a special visa just months ago, it felt odd to watch tragedy and outrage unfold in Havana from a distance. She has felt the crush of repression intensely at her home in Havana, where she was once thronged by a mob and forced to eat her own writing.

Friends gathered at her house — "general headquarters," she called it — all day Friday and Saturday.

"I was expecting it," said Varela, who has permission to stay until at least November. "I was convinced something was going to happen at any moment."

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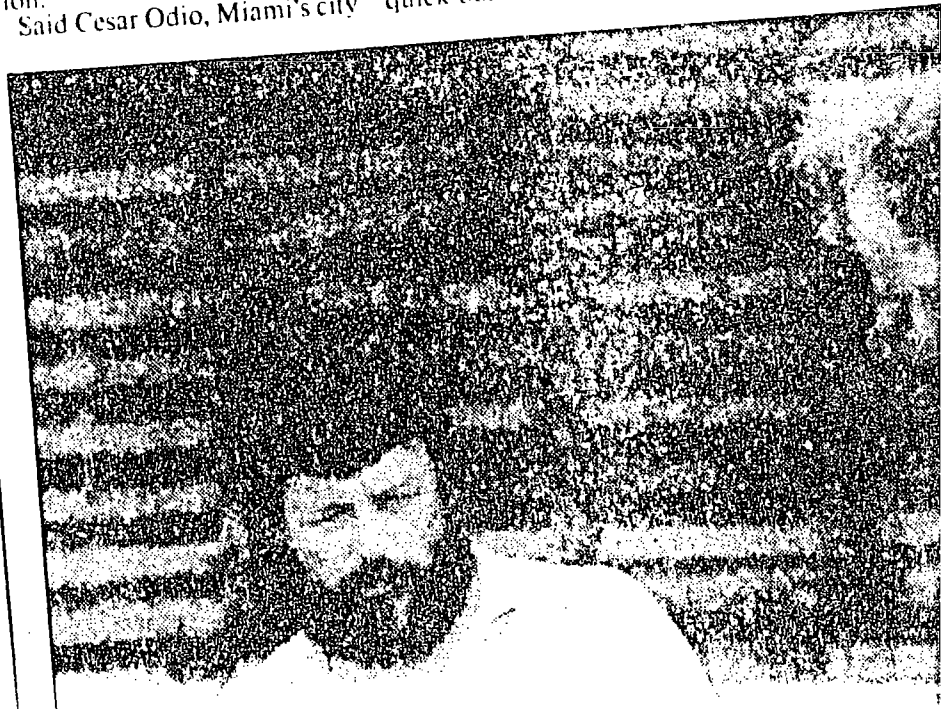
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"I've been here," said Antonio Diaz, who brought 90 people to Cuba during Mariel. "I'm not going to look for anyone anymore."

Fishing boat LaFlair lost a 6-foot U.S. Customs launch. If another exodus wants a clear government.

"This time if anything that's going to be done by law," he said.

A mate aboard boat Kazan, R. said he would be sailing south. One of his grown sons in Cuba. "I don't know if you get shot you, or





ANXIOUS: In Key West, Sylvia Calderin, left, waits with Yamila Alvarez Lopez for word of Calderin's daughter on the ferry there. MARICE COHN BAND / Herald Staff

For exiles, it's wait and see

By **SUSANA BELLIDO,**
MANNY GARCIA
And **LIZETTE ALVAREZ**
Herald Staff Writers

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MAKING PLANS: Miami city manager Cesar Odio, left, and Police Chief Don Warshaw, leave a meeting Saturday morning about what to do if there is another mass exodus from Cuba. CHUCK FADELY / Herald Staff

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*Herald Staff Writers Fabiola
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MARICE COHN BAND / Herald Staff

...and lost a 60-foot boat to U.S. Customs.

Cuban government, U.S. officials
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were even prosecuted.

In 1980, three Cubans who
seized a fishing vessel at knife-
point, tied up the skipper and
sailed to Florida were charged
with kidnapping. Five months

Protesters' only choice: flee in raft

By BETTY CORTINA
Herald Staff Writer

The package dropped from the
sky like a gift from heaven. It was
a two-way radio wrapped in a
box that floated when it hit the
water.

The nine rafters desperately
waved their hands in the air, a
woman held up her 15-month-
old baby. One man grabbed the
radio and said his name: Alberto
Martinez Tejeda.

"Hola, Alberto," pilot Carlos
Gartner responded. "Is everyone
OK?"

Through tears Martinez Tejeda
tried to talk: "Everyone is fine,
but I am worried about the baby,
that's the one that has me wor-
ried."

Gartner assured them they
would all be safe now. He called
Martinez Tejeda *hermano*.

Brothers to the Rescue spotted
the raft 25 miles north of Havana
at about 11:30 Saturday morn-
ing. The rafters had been idling
for hours, after their homemade
engine broke down.

Their odyssey started Friday
afternoon, at Havana's famous
seawall, the Malecon.

After throwing rocks at store
fronts and protesting in the name
of freedom along with thousands
of Cubans, they realized they
could never go home again.

So they slipped a homemade
boat into the water and floated
away.

"People had seen us at the pro-
test and they were going to come
looking for us," said Martinez
Tejeda. "It was time to leave."

Martinez Tejeda and some of
his companions on the raft had
tried leaving the island four
times in recent months — each
effort thwarted by Cuban border
patrols.

Friday they tried again. Two
boats tried to stop them, but they
got away.

"We couldn't wait anymore,"

Mariel exodus was the influx of
more than 10,000 Cubans into
the Peruvian Embassy after
Cuban guards had been removed.

Cuban officials also blamed
Washington for those incidents.

"If the United States were giv-
ing visas, these things wouldn't
be happening," Jose Luis Ponce,
a Cuban government spokesman,
said at the time.



CANDACE BARBOT / Herald Staff

SEARCHING: Pablo Morales
scans the sea looking for rafters.

Martinez Tejeda said. "I can't
even believe we had to do this."

A friend picked them up and
drove them to Guanabo, a beach
town on the northern coast of
Cuba, just east of Havana.

They waited for darkness, and
then pushed their bright orange
boat — made of foam, rubber,
wood and spare pieces of metal
— into the water. A relative
called Brothers to the Rescue in
Miami to give a description of
the boat. The refugees came with
a Miami phone number, and the
baby. There were six men and
two women.

The Florida Straits were busy
Saturday. Brothers sent up four
planes and found 11 groups —
65 people.

"That's at least twice as many
groups as we normally get," said
Jorge Lares, of Brothers. "And
we expect it to get worse tomor-
row."

Martinez Tejeda and his com-
panions were picked up by the
U.S. Coast Guard about 3 p.m.

"Liberty is coming straight
toward you now, *mi hermano*,"
the Brothers pilot assured him
over the radio. "It's coming from
the north."

Martinez Tejeda tried to talk
as he sobbed.

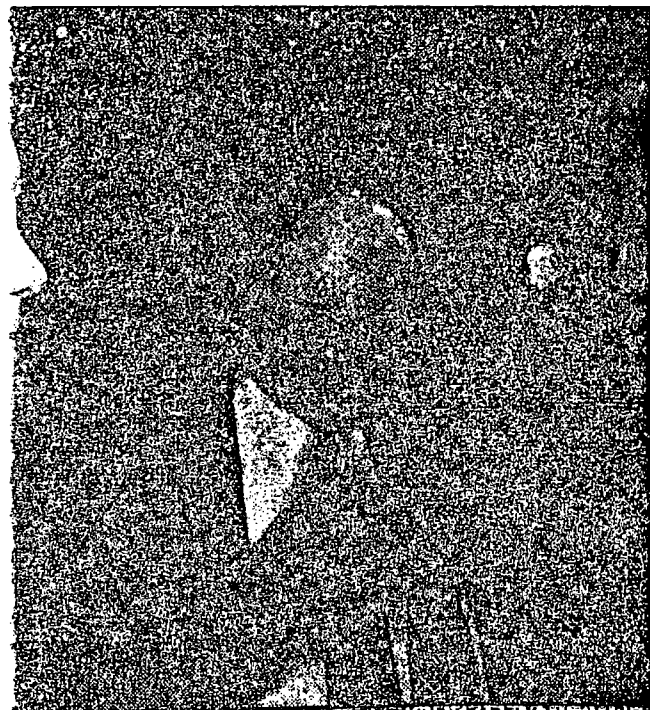
"I know I'm a man and men
don't cry, but I can't take it," he
said. "All we want is freedom.
That's all."



MARICE COHN BAND / Herald Staff

word of Calderin's daughter on the ferry there.

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CHUCK FADELY / Herald Staff

ar Odio, left, and Police Chief Don Warshaw, leave a boat if there is another mass exodus from Cuba.

With an offer, many of the men, among them with relatives on the island they wouldn't venture here for 33 years." Odio Diaz, 61, who 90 people over from Mariel. "What am I going to look for over there?"

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More Cubans arrive illegally than legally

By MIMI WHITEFIELD,
AMINDA MARQUES GONZALEZ
And ELAINE DE VALLE
Herald Staff Writers

Cuban President Fidel Castro's veiled threat to start another Mariel boatlift was the latest and most worrisome volley in a bitter war of words with Washington over immigration that goes back many years.

The issue: The United States is reluctant to grant visas to Cubans who want to immigrate legally, yet embraces illegal immigrants and almost never prosecutes even those who hijack boats and planes to reach U.S. shores.

The dispute reached crisis proportions as the number of Cubans arriving in the United States on rafts, boats and hijacked planes so far this year appeared to be outstripping the number arriving legally.

In the first six months of the fiscal year that began Oct. 1, the United States approved 1,175 immigrant visas for Cubans who wanted to join relatives in the United States, and 2,079 visas for former political prisoners, dissidents and their relatives — a total of 3,254 legal immigrants.

That was ahead of the previous year's rate — 3,138 — were approved for the year that began Oct. 1, 1992 — yet fell far short of the multitudes who wanted to abandon the communist-ruled and all-but-bankrupt island.

U.S. State Department figures obtained Saturday showed that the number of visas issued to Cubans who wanted to visit relatives in the United States — not political refugees — dropped sharply from 1,175 in 1992 to 1,175 in 1993.

While the U.S. State Department said it arrived at the figure, the number of Cubans arriving illegally on rafts, boats and other conveyances soared to 4,972 so far this year — a record. All are allowed to stay and become U.S. residents after a year.

Worse still in the eyes of the Cuban government, U.S. officials seldom prosecute those who hijack boats or airplanes to flee the island. No Cuban hijacker has ever been convicted, and few were even prosecuted.

In 1980, three Cubans who seized a fishing vessel at knife-point, tied up the skipper and sailed to Florida were charged with kidnapping. Five months

RUMOR HOTLINE

The city of Miami has established a Rumor Control Hotline for people concerned about the situation in Cuba. The number is 579-6660. It will operate all day today.

later, while a crowd of spectators from Miami's exile community applauded, they were acquitted.

More recently, the U.S. Attorney decided not to prosecute 13 Cubans who hijacked a 100-foot freighter, forcing the crew at knife-point to sail from Mariel to Key West in April 1991.

U.S. Attorney Kendall Coffey said his office is looking into the possibility of filing charges in two recent cases involving the hijacking of Havana ferries. "It's under consideration," he said. "I can't make any comment."

"You really have to look at the specific circumstances of each case," he said, noting that in the cases of two Cuban pilots who diverted commercial flights to Miami, prosecutors did not press charges because pilots technically cannot "hijack" their own planes.

That argument does not persuade Fidel Castro, who sees it as U.S. coddling of criminals for political value.

If you sealed a plane, steal a boat, hijack a ship, it doesn't matter if the pilot or captain is Cuban. It's a crime. It's a crime. It's a crime.

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The hijackers were viewed with uneasiness by Havana-based diplomats because the event that sparked the 1980 Mariel exodus was the influx of more than 10,000 Cubans into the Peruvian Embassy after Cuban guards had been removed.

Cuban officials also blamed Washington for those incidents.

"If the United States were giving visas, these things wouldn't be happening," Jose Luis Ponce, a Cuban government spokesman, said at the time.

Protesters'





RATION: Government supporters march through Havana on Saturday to protest the public unrest of the past few days.



Reuter

Cuba's Union of Communists leader Juan Contini, center, leads a demonstration through the streets of Havana on Saturday to protest the recent unrest.

it has ferry hijackers

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Still, many people struggled to weigh the significance of these events and the mixed signals they generated. The regime seemed too weak to prevent open defiance in the streets of the capital, yet so strong that Castro was able to walk through the same area within hours.

In the Cuban-American community, many allowed themselves to believe that maybe — just maybe — this augured the beginning of the end.

"This is what we have been waiting for," said Andres Vargas Gomez, former Cuban ambassador and newly elected president of the exile group Cuban Unity. "It's the beginning of a final social rupture, the result of the continued oppression of the people of Cuba."

Some observers expected South Floridians to immediately launch a flotilla to pick up Cuban friends and relatives. But from Capitol Hill to Miami City Hall to the offices of the Cuban American National Foundation, leaders counseled restraint.

Do not attempt any rescue missions to Cuba, they said. Such action will only aid Castro and his regime, they said. You will be breaking U.S. law, they said.

"For Americans, this is a time not to panic and not to be engaged in activities that would help Castro relieve the pressure, such as attempting to take a boat to Cuba," said Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla.

Most fishing boat captains in Key West, the likely departure point, said they would heed that advice and would not risk their lives or boats in such an enterprise. Not yet, anyway.

"He's hanging on by a hair," Eduardo Diaz, 48, captain of the Kazan, said of Castro. "What needs to happen is for Fidel to fall. Then we can sail over in peace."

But the northbound story was quite different. Unusually large numbers of Cubans were spotted at sea Saturday by the Coast Guard and Brothers to the Rescue, the airborne operation that searches for refugees.

Herald staff writers Pablo Alfonso, Lizette Alvarez, Joanne Cavanaugh, Elaine De Valle, Gail Epstein, Dexter Filkins, Manny Garcia, Alina Matos, Fabiola Santiago and News Vreeland contrib-

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"Castro wants to see how long he can prolong himself and he wants to blackmail the United States. He also wants to create a safety valve. . . It's important for the U.S. not to fall into this blackmail."

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"Too many calls."

— An operator named Isabel with Globalfon, a communications firm in Canada that arranges phone calls from Miami to Cuba, explaining why all the lines to Cuba were busy Saturday.

"The situation in Havana is very hot. . . It's not like before where people would only talk in the secrecy of their homes. Discontent in Havana is now like an open spigot. You can't control it."

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by Castro's whims. The community isn't getting sucked into reacting in a way that Castro wants it to react."

On Friday, hundreds of Cubans converged on Havana's Malecon, most responding to rumors that a boat would arrive to carry them to Florida. No boat arrived, and they soon engaged in an anti-government demonstration notable for its boldness and, eventually, its violence.

Dozens of people chanted anti-government slogans, carried signs saying "Assassin" and "Down With Fidel," threw stones at police, smashed shop windows.

On ground, in air

Police and pro-government groups clashed with the demonstrators. Helicopters hovered overhead. Police fired shots in the air and pointed their weapons at people watching from balconies. Several injuries and many arrests were reported but not confirmed by Cuba.

Some Havana residents expressed shock over the ferocity of the daytime disturbance. Though some protests have occurred in recent years, especially last summer, they were generally small, less violent and conducted under cover of darkness.

One Central Havana resident counted 15 trucks filled with Interior Ministry police wearing full anti-riot gear and stationed along a short stretch of the Malecon during the disturbance.

"Violence is the difference," said another woman who lives near the waterfront. "People were just — *flabbergasted* is the word — at what was

days, ran out of gasoline and drifted 12 miles north of the capital. Cuban authorities towed it in after refusing to negotiate on the hijackers' demand for more fuel.

President Fidel Castro said Friday night that two police officers were killed in the hijacking, which was watched by thousands on Havana's seaside Malecon drive Thursday.

State media have so far identified only one of the dead, 19-year-old Gabriel Lamoth. A meeting has been called in Havana's Plaza de la Revolucion today to pay last respects to Lamoth.

The hijackers are in detention and the passengers safe, the radio said, without saying how many people were involved.

going on in the streets."

Later, Castro toured the area and bitterly criticized the United States. He said the United States provoked the demonstration by welcoming all Cubans who take to the seas. He threatened to permit unfettered emigration of anyone who wants to leave.

Many local and federal officials took him at his word.

"I think he will do it because it will take the pressure away from him for what is happening in Cuba," Odio said. "OK, you don't want to be here? Then go! I think he will do it."

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Miami, U.S. on Cuba alert

CUBA, FROM 1A

were known to be headed for the island.

Still, everyone remained on high alert as Cubans — without aid from Florida — continued to flee in astonishing numbers. The Coast Guard rescued or sighted 130 people on at least 13 rafts and boats Saturday — numbers that approached post-Mariel records.

“The situation in Havana is very hot,” said Emilio Fernandez, 29, a doctor who reached the Transit Center for Cuban Refugees on Stock Island. “Discontent in Havana is now like an open spigot. You can’t control it.”

A heavy police presence was obvious in Havana one day after running street clashes, sporadic rock-throwing and other bold acts of defiance rocked downtown Havana.

Scattered incidents erupted again before dawn Saturday, but troops and government sympathizers later staged pro-Castro demonstrations along the waterfront Malecon boulevard, complete with flags and speeches.

No unrest was reported as darkness settled over the city Saturday night. But large crowds were expected in Havana’s Plaza de la Revolucion today for the funeral of one of two police officers killed Thursday when hijackers commandeered a ferry for passage to Florida.

Late Saturday, Castro arrived in Colombia for today’s inauguration of President Ernesto Samper. Castro’s travel abroad suggested a sense of security with the Cuban political climate; on the other hand, he brought along 70 security agents.

And Castro again repeated his threat to permit — even encourage — a mass exodus.

Either ... or

“We cannot be the United States’ border patrol,” he said Saturday night. “Either they take measures to stop stimulating illegal departures from the country or we give instructions to our border patrols to absolutely not impede the comings or goings of vessels.”

Back in the United States, Attorney General Janet Reno and other top administration officials attended a White House meeting led by Samuel Berger, the deputy national security adviser.

They discussed their response to developments in Cuba and reviewed a plan under development by the federal government for the past 13 years.

Called Operation Distant Shore, the classified emergency plan lists duties for 40 federal agencies that would respond to a Mariel-like crisis. It includes a blockade by U.S. warships of the passage between Key West and Cuba and the arrest of any refugee trying to enter the United States through that route.

Not implemented

The plan was not activated Saturday, and no warships were on the move. A State Department official said vigilance — not action — was the order of the day. For now.

“We have no interest in overreacting,” said the official, who requested anonymity. “It’s a serious situation, and we’re closely monitoring it, but circumstances at the moment don’t warrant unusual actions.”

“We believe that the [Cuban-American] community has taken an extremely farsighted view of the situation in not allowing itself to be buffeted about by Castro’s whims. The community isn’t getting sucked into reacting in a way that Castro wants it to react.”

On Friday, hundreds of Cubans converged on Havana’s Malecon, most responding to rumors that a boat would arrive to carry them to Florida. No boat arrived, and they soon engaged in an anti-government demonstration notable for its boldness



COUNTERDEMONSTRATION



PRO-GOVERNMENT: of the youth movement

Cuba says and failed

From Herald Wire Service
HAVANA — people trying to returned to Havana passengers and the state news media
State radio said third to be hijacked days, ran out of gas north of the capital it in after refusing ers’ demand for n
President Fidel that two police o hijacking, which

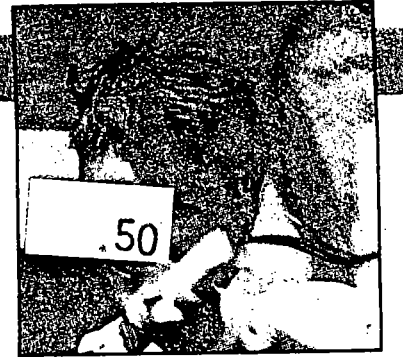
el ^{Nuevo} Herald

POR DENTRO

DIPLOMATICOS SE VAN
DE HAITI 3A

ATAQUE DEJA MUERTOS
EN EL SALVADOR 4A

MERCOSUR PACTA
UNION ADUANERA 6B



IVANISEVIC VA A FINAL
EN AUSTRIA 1D

64 PAGINAS

9

DOMINGO 7 DE AGOSTO DE 1994 / EL NUEVO HERALD

SUPLEMENTO THE MIAMI HERALD

No tolerará ni otro Mariel ni uso de fuerza

EU lanza advertencia



Balaguer



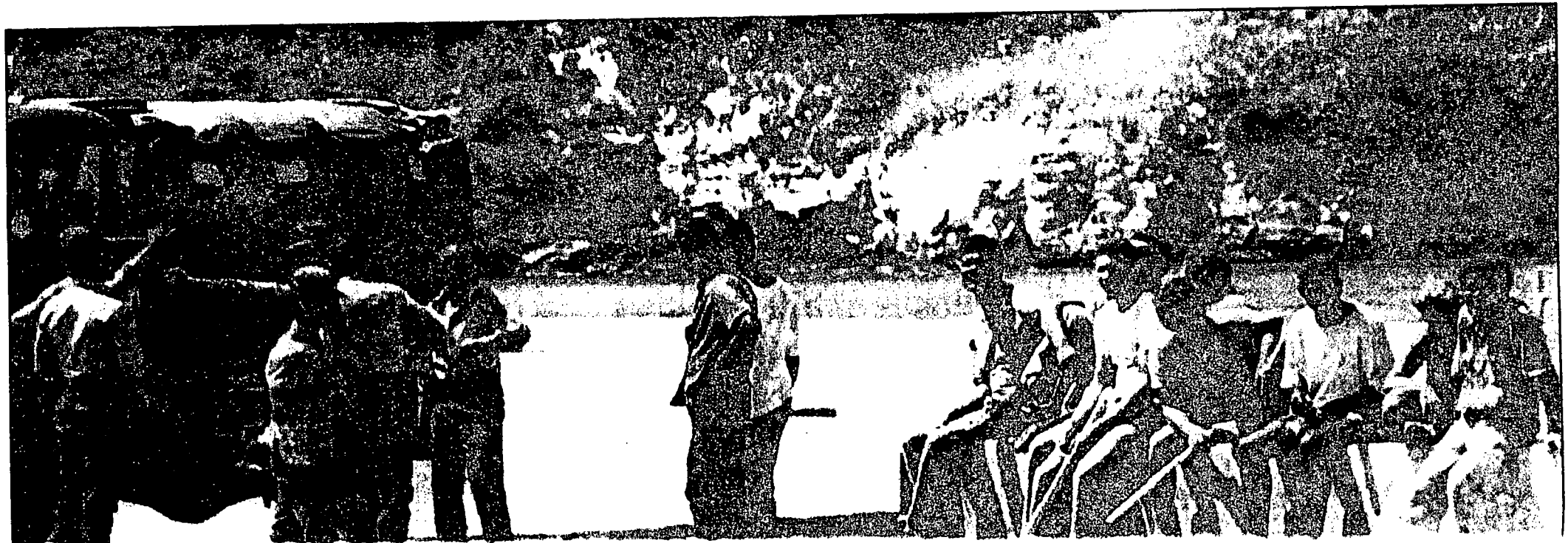
Peña Gómez

Balaguer repetirá comicios

Votación será
antes de 2 años

Servicios cablegráficos combinados

Santo Domingo — El presidente Joaquín Balaguer aceptó el sábado la celebración de nuevas elecciones en República Dominicana, las cuales se celebrarían en un plazo máximo de dos años.



Balaguer repetirá comicios

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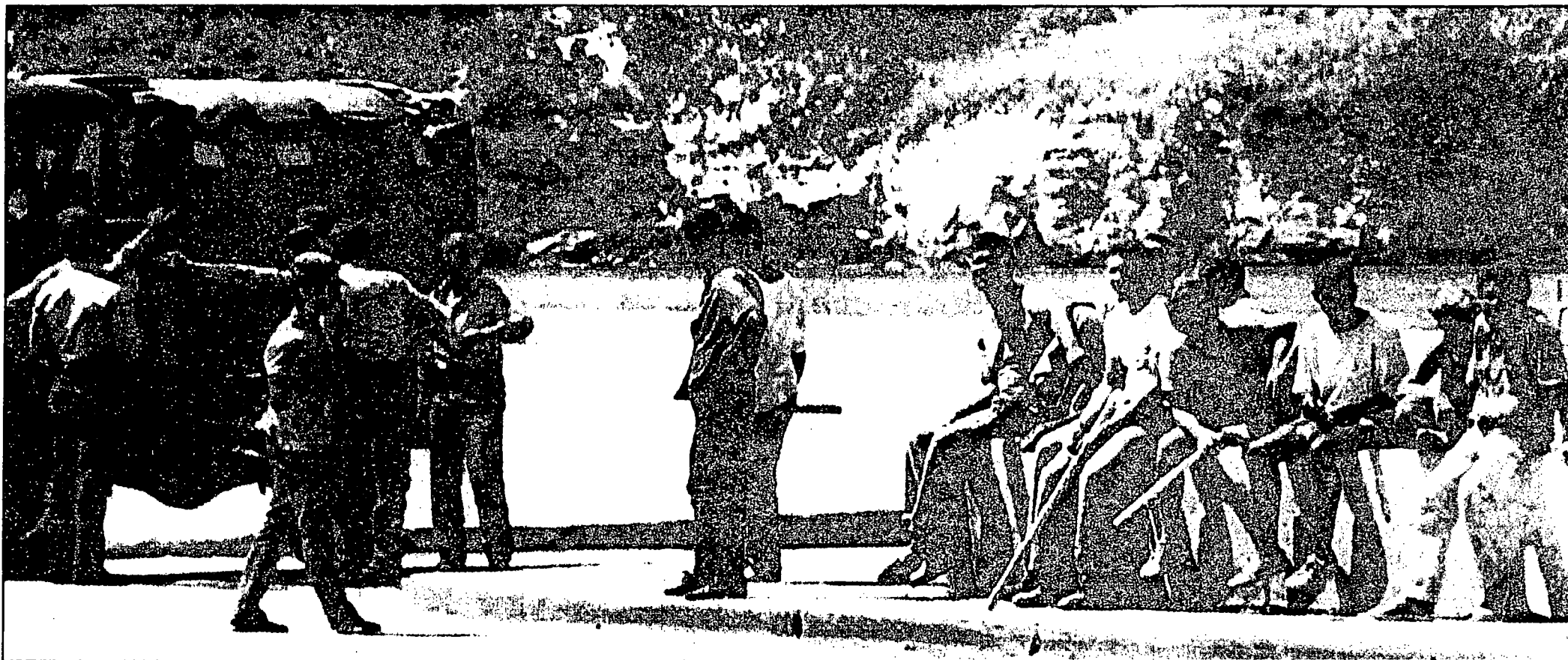
Servicios cablegráficos combinados

Santo Domingo — El presidente Joaquín Balaguer aceptó el sábado la celebración de nuevas elecciones en República Dominicana, las cuales se celebrarían en un plazo máximo de dos años, en el marco de un acuerdo con la oposición política del país.

Al hablar ante la prensa extranjera en su despacho de la Casa de Gobierno, Balaguer, de 87 años, dijo que el acuerdo para nuevas elecciones deberá estar firmado por los partidos políticos antes de que el Senado y la Cámara de Diputados se reúnan en Asamblea Nacional la próxima semana para proclamar constitucionalmente a los ganadores de los comicios generales de mayo.

El líder del opositor Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD), José Francisco Peña Gómez, rehusó el sábado hacer comentarios hasta hoy pero dijo que se reuniría con la cúpula del PRD esta noche para examinar lo dicho por Balaguer.

"Para la solución de la crisis poselectoral, yo he acogido la propuesta de varios sectores del país de que se celebren nuevas elecciones,



Policías y grupos de civiles armados con estacas vigilan el Malecón después de la revuelta del viernes. La Habana vivió el sábado un día de tensa calma.

Agence France Presse

Plan contra éxodo incluye arrestos y bloqueo naval

Por FABIOLA SANTIAGO
Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

Le llaman Operación Costa Distante: un bloqueo masivo por medio de barcos de la Marina de Estados Unidos alineados en el Estrecho de la Florida entre Cayo Hueso y La Habana.

Su objetivo: evitar que embarcaciones procedentes de Cuba lleguen a las costas del sur de la Florida e impedir que barcos de Miami se dirijan a la isla a

MAS DE LA CRISIS



Fuerte control policíaco en el Malecón

Por PABLO ALFONSO
Redactor de El Nuevo Herald

Estados Unidos advirtió el sábado a las autoridades cubanas de "abstenerse de emplear la fuerza contra su propio pueblo" y rechazó las amenazas del gobernante Fidel Castro de organizar un éxodo masivo a este país.

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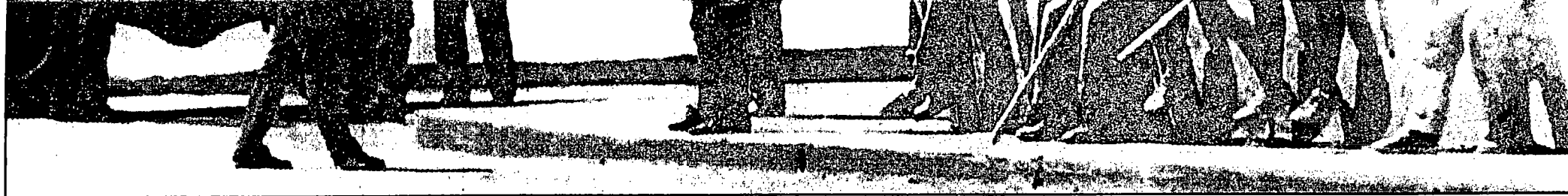
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"Para la solución de la crisis poselectoral, yo he acogido la propuesta de varios sectores del país de que se celebren nuevas elecciones, que ha sido también la que ha hecho la Organización de Estados Americanos [OEA] y es también la que sustenta el Departamento de Estado", dijo Balaguer, quien adelantó que no participará en esos comicios.

El mandatario agregó que para celebrar las nuevas elecciones, la oposición tendría que firmar un pacto a tales fines antes de la reunión de la Asamblea Nacional del próximo jueves donde se examinarán las actas de elección enviadas por la Junta Central Electoral, para pro-

VEA DOMINICANA, 6A



Agence France Presse

Policías y grupos de civiles armados con estacas vigilan el Malecón después de la revuelta del viernes. La Habana vivió el sábado un día de tensa calma.

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Este es, en esencia, el plan del gobierno de Estados Unidos, en caso de que se ocurra una afluencia masiva similar a la del Mariel.

Si Cuba abre las puertas en La Habana a una salida de ese tipo, el gobierno norteamericano tiene un plan secreto que incluye un bloqueo por medio de barcos, la detención de los refugiados, así como el arresto y enjuiciamiento de las personas que vayan a la isla a buscar a sus familiares.

El plan, concebido por el Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización (INS), y sometido a revisión en abril, contempla:

■ Impedir el paso en alta mar a barcos que traigan a refugiados.

■ Detener a las personas que traten de entrar ilegalmente hasta que puedan realizarse los procedimientos de inmigración, y que se llegue a una decisión en cuanto a admitir, reubicar o enviar de vuelta a quienes salen de la isla.

VEA PLAN DE CONTINGENCIA, 17A

MAS DE LA CRISIS



CANDACE BARBOT / El Nuevo Herald

Un grupo de balseros es avistado el sábado por Hermanos al Rescate. A la derecha se observa una mujer con un niño. El grupo salió después de participar en la revuelta. Más, en 1B.

■ La lancha de Regla, que por segunda vez había sido desviada hacia la Florida, fue capturada el sábado por naves guardafronteras de Cuba. 16A.

■ Aunque tres agencias internacionales tienen corresponsales en Cuba, ninguna de las informaciones que enviaron el viernes llevaba el nombre de su autor. 16A.

■ Todo parece indicar que el número de cubanos que llega a Estados Unidos en balsas, botes y aviones secuestrados, superará este año la cifra de los que llegan legalmente. 17A.

■ Mientras las calles de La Habana vivían una tensa calma el sábado, muchos en Miami permanecieron a la expectativa. 1B.

Fuerte control policíaco en el Malecón

Por PABLO ALFONSO
Redactor de El Nuevo Herald

Estados Unidos advirtió el sábado a las autoridades cubanas de "abstenerse de emplear la fuerza contra su propio pueblo" y rechazó las amenazas del gobernante Fidel Castro de organizar un éxodo masivo a este país.

"Estados Unidos ha afirmado repetidamente que no permitirá a Fidel Castro dictar nuestra política de inmigración o crear una repetición del éxodo del Mariel", afirmó el portavoz en funciones del Departamento de Estado, David Johnson.

En una conferencia de prensa celebrada el viernes en La Habana, Castro responsabilizó a Estados Unidos por los disturbios ocurridos ese día en la capital cubana, los cuales, según dijo, son provocados por la política norteamericana que alienta las salidas ilegales de la isla. Castro amenazó con permitir la salida masiva de cubanos y autorizar que residentes en Estados Unidos viajen a recoger a sus familiares.

Johnson dijo que el gobierno estadounidense está "profundamente preocupado por las recientes afirmaciones de Castro", y subrayó que el gobernante cubano debe "estudiar cuidadosamente todas las implicaciones de su instigación".

"Instamos a los ciudadanos de Cuba y a sus

VEA CUBA, 16A

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Congreso

Expectativa en Miami por los disturbios en Cuba

Por IVAN ROMAN
Redactor de El Nuevo Herald

En las tiendas, en las cafeterías y en sus casas, los exiliados cubanos inmersos en su rutina diaria el sábado, le hicieron caso a sus líderes y al gobierno estadounidense.

A pesar de la advertencia del gobernante cubano Fidel Castro el viernes de un posible éxodo cubano a Estados Unidos, los exiliados no salieron en barcos a Cuba para emprender otro puente marítimo como el de Mariel-Cayo Hueso de 1980, en que vinieron unos 125,800 cubanos.

Mientras en las calles de La Habana se vivía una

tensa calma el sábado, muchos en Miami practicaron la moderación y permanecieron a la expectativa de la estela de la revuelta del viernes en la cual de 20,000 a 30,000 personas gritaron consignas antigubernamentales en El Malecón y calles aledañas.

"Todo está tranquilo, gracias a Dios", afirmó el administrador de Miami, César Odio. "No hay ninguna actividad fuera de lo normal. Queremos asegurar que tenemos la cooperación plena de nuestros ciudadanos para no ir allá".

Funcionarios en Washington estuvieron pendientes de la situación en La Habana y Miami el sábado. Repetían la advertencia a Castro de que no

permitirían que tratara de imponerle a Estados Unidos una política migratoria hacia Cuba al amenazar con otro Mariel.

"Todo parece calmado en La Habana", manifestó Martin Judge, portavoz del Departamento de Estado. "No tenemos información alguna de gente viajando en una de las direcciones".

Y aunque los exiliados parecieron no tragar lo que algunos líderes catalogaron como la carnada de Castro, la violencia en La Habana reavivó el debate sobre el embargo económico estadounidense hacia la isla y sobre si el derramamiento de sangre es la única forma de conseguir un cambio político en Cuba.

"Si hay otro Mariel, entonces los que se quedan allá siguen pasando hambre y no se resuelve nada", explicó Margarita Mestre, cubana residente en Hialeah de 69 años, quien tiene a cinco hermanos y muchos sobrinos en Cuba. "Si la gente ya está muriendo lentamente, que se acaben de caer los que caigan y que vivan los que puedan para acabar con aquello".

Josefina González, que vive en Kendall, dijo que Estados Unidos también es responsable por la violencia al incitar la salida ilegal por balsa y otras vías mientras demora las visas para la gente que quiere

VEA EXILIADOS CUBANOS, 4B

Campaña por ciudadanía cobra auge entre colombianos

Platos típicos dan sabor a los trámites

Por KARIN BRAEDT
Especial para El Nuevo Herald

Gustando de mondongo y sancocho, entre otros platos típicos colombianos, decenas de hispanos esperaban pacientemente el sábado para llenar planillas de ciudadanía estadounidense, tomarse fotos e imprimir sus huellas digitales.

"En las próximas elecciones me voy a dar el gusto de votar", dijo Loyda Cruz, natural de Colombia de 62 años que iba acompañada de su hija.

En un ambiente poco usual, alrededor de 100 hispanos, principalmente de origen colombiano, aprovecharon el sábado la campaña de solicitud de ciudadanía e inscripción



Arriban balseros ligados a disturbios

Por BETTY CORTINA
Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

Luego de que el viernes por la tarde en el Malecón habanero lanzaron piedras contra la vidriera de una tienda y protestaron en nombre de la libertad, un grupo de cubanos se dio cuenta de que tal vez nunca podrían regresar a casa.

Fue por eso que lanzaron al agua una embarcación hecha artesanalmente, y se alejaron de la costa.

"La gente nos había visto en la protesta e iban a ir a buscarlos", dijo Alberto Martínez Tejeda. "Era el momento de irse".

Tejeda y algunos de sus compa-

Silvia Calderín (fig.), de visita en Estados Unidos, espera el sábado en Cayo Hueso noticias de su hija, que viajaba a bordo de la lancha Baraguá que no llegó a su destino.



Fuerte vigilancia policial controla el Malecón habanero

CUBA, DE 1A

familiares en Estados Unidos a permanecer en calma y no participar en esta maniobra del gobierno cubano", dijo Johnson.

Las amenazas de Castro se produjeron después que miles de manifestantes se enfrentaron a la policía y a simpatizantes gubernamentales en las calles de La Habana, voceando consignas contra el gobierno y destruyendo las vidrieras de establecimientos que venden sus productos en dólares.

Patrullas de policías y grupos progubernamentales ocuparon el sábado toda la zona del Malecón habanero y las calles aledañas en previsión de nuevos desórdenes, mientras la radio difundía comunicados de respaldo al gobierno

mayores que ha enfrentado el gobierno de Castro en más de 35 años, son una clara expresión del descontento popular ante las dificultades que atraviesa el país y la incapacidad de las autoridades para solucionar la crisis económica y política, indicaron dirigentes de organizaciones políticas del exilio.

"Castro está tratando de convertir esto en un problema migratorio y no lo es. Se trata de un problema institucional, de la incapacidad del régimen que se soluciona con la salida de Castro del poder", afirmó Jorge Mas Canosa, presidente de la junta de directores de la Fundación.

En una alocución difundida el sábado por La Voz de la Fundación, Mas Canosa dijo que las protestas "pudieran marcar el

Por PABLO ALFONSO
Redactor de El Nuevo Herald

La lancha de Regla que en menos de dos semanas fue desviada en dos ocasiones por cubanos que querían escapar de la isla hacia Estados Unidos, no llegó esta vez a su destino.

La embarcación Baraguá fue capturada el sábado, aproximadamente a 12 millas de las costas de la isla, por naves guardafronteras cubanas. Los promotores del desvío y los pasajeros fueron llevados de regreso a La Habana, informó la prensa cubana.

Durante una conferencia de

prensa celebrada el viernes por la noche en La Habana, el gobernante cubano Fidel Castro dijo que los secuestradores de la lancha habían dado muerte a dos policías en la zona del puerto de Regla y tomado a los pasajeros como rehenes.

El Noticiero Nacional de Radio cubano informó que la embarcación secuestrada el jueves por la noche se quedó sin combustible y se mantuvo a la deriva durante día y medio, cuando fue abordada por los guardafronteras cubanos.

En la información no se dieron

otros detalles sobre las circunstancias en que murieron los policías ni los nombres de los supuestos responsables.

Para hoy se ha convocado una movilización de las "organizaciones de masas" en la Plaza de la Revolución, en torno al sepelio de los policías, uno de ellos identificado como Gabriel Lamoth Caballero, de 19 años.

"Al rendir tributo al joven policía, el pueblo ofrecerá, una vez más, muestras de su apoyo a la Revolución y al Comandante en Jefe Fidel Castro, y reiterará su decisión de defender la Patria a cualquier precio", comentó la

Agencia de Información Nacional.

Varios de los pasajeros a bordo de la embarcación, que fueron entrevistados por la radio cubana cuando regresaron al puerto habanero, afirmaron que habían sido amenazados por los autores del desvío, quienes portaban pistolas.

Castro había dicho que los secuestradores amenazaron con hacer volar el barco, o matar a los niños, en caso de intervención de dos unidades de los guardafronteras que custodiaron a la lancha hasta que se quedó sin combustible.



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Por PABLO ALF...
Redactor de El Na

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La vigilancia era la norma el sábado en La Habana, que aunque tensa parecía en calma.

Cientos de miembros de brigadas de trabajadores, al que pertenece el Contingente Blas Roca, participaron la víspera en la dispersión violenta de los manifestantes y permanecían en grupos compactos en distintos sectores de la capital cubana.

Armados de bastones, palos y tubos, algunos con los cascos blancos de los obreros de la construcción, seguían vigilando, como lo habían hecho toda la noche, las zonas donde se produjeron violentos choques con pedradas, botellazos y disparos que dejaron algunos heridos graves.

En el hotel Deauville, cuyos ventanales volaron en pedazos, frente al Malecón, unos 200 trabajadores se mantenían en guardia, no lejos de dotaciones de policía cuya presencia era más discreta.

Los alrededores de la Sección de Intereses de Estados Unidos, también situada frente al mar, a menos de dos kilómetros del sector de los disturbios, eran igualmente objeto de redoblada vigilancia.

En viejos camiones patrullando la Habana Vieja y Centro Habana, algunos enarbolaban banderas de Cuba o del Movimiento 26 de Julio, fundado por Fidel Castro en los años 50.

Otros gritaban consignas de apoyo "a Fidel y a la Revolución".

Para hoy, el gobierno ha convocado a las organizaciones de masas a una concentración en la Plaza de la Revolución, que en el pasado ha sido escenario de concentraciones multitudinarias de respaldo al régimen.

En el evento no participará Castro, quien llegó el sábado a

mayores que ha enfrentado el gobierno de Castro en más de 35 años, son una clara expresión del descontento popular ante las dificultades que atraviesa el país y la incapacidad de las autoridades para solucionar la crisis económica y política, indicaron dirigentes de organizaciones políticas del exilio.

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Carlos Alberto Montaner, presidente de la Unión Liberal Cubana, uno de los grupos que integran la Plataforma Democrática Cubana, dijo que las amenazas de Castro de un nuevo Mariel "son impracticables" si Estados Unidos mantiene su firme posición de impedir el éxodo masivo de cubanos desde la isla.

Las protestas protagonizadas en La Habana, dijo Montaner, son consecuencia de la grave situación interna y de la falta de expectativas ante un futuro mejor.

"Es predecible que este tipo de protestas continúe. Lo que estamos viendo es un desplazamiento de la albanesa o a la alemana, donde el comunismo desaparece como consecuencia de una estampida final", subrayó.

Según Marcelino Miyares, presidente del Comité Cubano por la Democracia, la amenaza de Castro de permitir un éxodo masivo pudiera responder a una estrategia para forzar negociaciones con Estados Unidos.

"Creo que está creando un conflicto para precipitar una negociación directa con Estados Unidos y que dejaría a los exiliados fuera de ella", comentó. "Es algo que no podemos permitir".

Sin embargo, Miyares se mostró poco confiado en que el gobierno cubano pueda controlar a la población de la isla si realmente comienza a producirse un éxodo masivo.

"Los incidentes del viernes reflejan que la situación de Cuba se puede ir del control de todo el mundo y producir un conflicto civil, un baño de sangre", subrayó.

En el verano del año pasado se registraron en La Habana incidentes aislados en que los mani-

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Por PABLO

Redactor de...
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En el evento no participará Castro, quien llegó el sábado a Bogotá, para asistir hoy a la toma de posesión del nuevo presidente de Colombia, Ernesto Samper. Castro llegó al aeropuerto militar bogotano a las 7:15 p.m., en un avión de Cubana de Aviación, acompañado por 70 agentes de seguridad y 100 funcionarios e invitados.

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Rodríguez habló por teléfono el viernes a través del Noticiero Telemundo, brindando información de las protestas. Valdés se comunicó igualmente con medios de prensa en Miami para informar de los disturbios.

Fuentes disidentes en la isla informaron que también fue arrestado Gabriel Aguado Chávez, miembro de Criterio Alternativo, cuyo paradero aún se desconoce, según dijo en Miami la escritora disidente María Elena Cruz Varela. Estas fuentes indicaron que se ha desatado una ola de arrestos en La Habana y que los familiares se congregan alrededor de las estaciones de policía, precisó Varela.

Las protestas del viernes, las

integrar la Plataforma Democrática Cubana, dijo que las amenazas de Castro de un nuevo Mariel "son impracticables" si Estados Unidos mantiene su firme posición de impedir el éxodo masivo de cubanos desde la isla.

Las protestas protagonizadas en La Habana, dijo Montaner, son consecuencia de la grave situación interna y de la falta de expectativas ante un futuro mejor.

"Es predecible que este tipo de protestas continúe. Lo que estamos viendo es un desenlace a la albanesa o a la alemana, donde el comunismo desaparece como consecuencia de una estampida final", subrayó.

Según Marcelino Miyares, presidente del Comité Cubano por la Democracia, la amenaza de Castro de permitir un éxodo masivo pudiera responder a una estrategia para forzar negociaciones con Estados Unidos.

"Creo que está creando un conflicto para precipitar una negociación directa con Estados Unidos y que dejaría a los exiliados fuera de ella", comentó. "Es algo que no podemos permitir".

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"Esta vez ha sido a plena luz del día, sin temor a las fotografías o las películas de vídeo, a pecho descubierto", afirmó Ramón Cernuda, representante en el exterior de la Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Derechos Humanos. "Esto significa que se ha roto el dique del miedo en la sociedad cubana. Cuando un grupo tan nutrido da claras muestras de desobediencia civil, estamos ante un nuevo evento de cambio".

Ricardo Bofill, presidente del Comité Cubano Pro Derechos Humanos, dijo que los incidentes del viernes son la culminación de una serie que ha venido ocurriendo en otras ciudades del interior en los últimos meses.

"Evidentemente, lo ocurrido es una clara manifestación contra el gobierno. Cuando el Mariel, hubo mítines de repudio contra los que se iban pero no gente gritando contra el gobierno", afirmó.

Castro ha rechazado todas las ofertas que se le han hecho para buscar una salida pacífica de la crisis cubana y está cosechando esos frutos, dijo.

"Ha dejado de escuchar a la Iglesia, a la oposición, a gobiernos extranjeros", apuntó. "Parece que ha llegado el momento en que se acabó el tiempo para una solución pacífica".

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familiares en Estados Unidos a permanecer en calma y no participar en esta maniobra del gobierno cubano", dijo Johnson.

Las amenazas de Castro se produjeron después que miles de manifestantes se enfrentaron a la policía y a simpatizantes gubernamentales en las calles de La Habana, voceando consignas contra el gobierno y destruyendo las vidrieras de establecimientos que venden sus productos en dólares.

Patrullas de policías y grupos progubernamentales ocuparon el sábado toda la zona del Malecón habanero y las calles aledañas en previsión de nuevos desórdenes, mientras la radio difundía comunicados de respaldo al gobierno firmados por las organizaciones oficiales y los sindicatos controlados por el régimen.

La vigilancia era la norma el sábado en La Habana, que aunque tensa parecía en calma.

Cientos de miembros de brigadas de trabajadores, al que pertenece el Contingente Blas Roca, participaron la víspera en la dispersión violenta de los manifestantes y permanecían en grupos compactos en distintos sectores de la capital cubana.

Armados de bastones, palos y tubos, algunos con los cascos blancos de los obreros de la construcción, seguían vigilando, como lo habían hecho toda la noche, las zonas donde se produjeron violentos choques con pedradas, botellazos y disparos que dejaron algunos heridos graves.

En el hotel Deauville, cuyos ventanales volaron en pedazos frente al Malecón, unos 200 trabajadores se mantenían en guardia, no lejos de dotaciones de policía cuya presencia era más discreta.

Los alrededores de la Sección de Intereses de Estados Unidos, también situada frente al mar, a menos de dos kilómetros del sector de los disturbios, eran igual-

mayores que ha enfrentado el gobierno de Castro en más de 35 años, son una clara expresión del descontento popular ante las dificultades que atraviesa el país y la incapacidad de las autoridades para solucionar la crisis económica y política, indicaron dirigentes de organizaciones políticas del exilio.

"Castro está tratando de convertir esto en un problema migratorio y no lo es. Se trata de un problema institucional, de la incapacidad del régimen que se soluciona con la salida de Castro del poder", afirmó Jorge Mas Canosa, presidente de la junta de directores de la Fundación.

En una alocución difundida el sábado por La Voz de la Fundación, Mas Canosa dijo que las protestas "pudieran marcar el inicio del fin de Castro", de la misma manera que incidentes similares provocaron la caída de los regímenes comunistas en Europa Oriental.

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Reuter

‘Qué nos importa los que se quieran ir’

Por PABLO ALFONSO

Redactor de El Nuevo Herald

Fragmentos de la conferencia de prensa del gobierno cubano, tras el desfile del 6 de agosto, transmitida por la radio y la televisión cubanas.

■ "Si había algunas piedras y algunos disparos, yo quería también tener mi cuota de piedras y disparos. Uno quiere estar allí donde están los combatientes. Es un hábito".

■ "Ellos [los imperialistas] quieren que haya una balacera, que haya muertos, para utilizarlos como

conducir al país a un baño de sangre".

■ "Lo de hoy está asociado a eso, a esos disturbios. Incrementando la oscuridad, la oscuridad de estos miembros [miembros que se refieren a la policía] que hoy".

■ "Los Estados Unidos no han cumplido los acuerdos migratorios con Cuba, pero reciben a cualquier cubano que se monte en una balsa, en cualquier cosa. A ellos no les importa los que se puedan ahogar en el camino".

■ "A Cuba no le queda nada por hacer con vistas a facilitar las sali-

dos Unidos. De esa forma nosotros nos hemos convertido en los guardafronteras de Estados Unidos".

■ "No nos da igual que se vayan, pero que se vayan con dignidad, con honor, con respeto".

■ "Los guardafronteras no vieron nada que ver [con el hundimiento del remolcador "13 de Marzo"], llegaron allí unos minutos después que se produjo el accidente".

■ "Nos han acusado incluso de almacenar cadáveres. ¿Cómo se puede acusar de semejante cosa a

cadáveres? El 13 de Marzo fue un accidente, no fue un asesinato".

■ "El gobierno cubano no tiene nada que ver con el accidente del remolcador '13 de Marzo'".

■ "Si Estados Unidos no toma medidas rápidas y eficientes para que cese el estímulo a las salidas ilegales del país, entonces nosotros nos sentiremos en el deber de darle instrucciones a los guardafronteras que no obstaculicen ninguna

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En viejos camiones patrullando la Habana Vieja y Centro Habana, algunos enarbolaban banderas de Cuba o del Movimiento 26 de Julio, fundado por Fidel Castro en los años 50.

Otros gritaban consignas de apoyo "a Fidel y a la Revolución".

Para hoy, el gobierno ha convocado a las organizaciones de masas a una concentración en la Plaza de la Revolución, que en el pasado ha sido escenario de concentraciones multitudinarias de respaldo al régimen.

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Por PABLO ALFONSO

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Fragmentos de la conferencia de prensa del gobernante cubano Fidel Castro del 5 de agosto, transmitida por la radio y la televisión cubanas:

■ "Si había algunas piedras y algunos disparos, yo quería también tener mi cuota de piedras y disparos. Uno quiere estar allí donde están los combatientes. Es un hábito".

■ "Ellos [los imperialistas] quieren que haya una balacera, que haya muertos, para utilizarlos como instrumentos de propaganda, subversión y, finalmente, intervención en nuestro país".

■ "La estrategia imperialista es crear el máximo de descontento en nuestro país, dividir a la población y

conducir al país a un baño de sangre".

■ "Lo de hoy está asociado a eso, a esos estímulos, incrementando la osadía, la audacia de esos elementos lúmpens que llevaron a cabo la provocación de hoy".

■ "Los Estados Unidos no han cumplido los acuerdos inmigratorios con Cuba, pero reciben a cualquier cubano que se monte en una balsa, en cualquier cosa. A ellos no les importa los que se puedan ahogar en el camino".

■ "A Cuba no le queda nada por hacer con vistas a facilitar las salidas de los que quieren. ¿Qué más se nos puede pedir a nosotros?".

■ "Hemos invertido enormes recursos para evitar las salidas ilegales, para cumplir las leyes internacionales, las nuestras y las de Esta-

dos Unidos. De esa forma nosotros nos hemos convertido en los guardafronteras de Estados Unidos".

■ "A nosotros qué nos importa los que se quieran ir, si no ponemos ninguna objeción, ninguna traba. Damos todas las facilidades".

■ "Los guardafronteras no tuvieron nada que ver [con el hundimiento del remolcador 13 de Marzo]. Llegaron allí unos minutos después que se produjo el accidente".

■ "Nos han acusado incluso de almacenar cadáveres. ¿Cómo se puede acusar de semejante cosa a esta revolución, que no tiene un sólo antecedente de esa naturaleza en su larga historia?".

■ "Lo que hicieron [los imperialistas] a raíz del accidente del remol-

cador 13 de Marzo fue lanzar la consigna de violar la ley, de robarse cuanto barco puedan aquí".

■ "Si quieren establecer una ruta entre Regla o Casablanca y Miami, nosotros la podemos establecer sin necesidad de esos riesgos, de que secuestren las embarcaciones".

■ "Si Estados Unidos no toma medidas rápidas y eficientes para que cese el estímulo a las salidas ilegales del país, entonces nosotros nos sentiremos en el deber de darle instrucciones a los guardafronteras que no obstaculicen ninguna embarcación que quiera salir de Cuba, no voy a decir de un barco secuestrado, y de no obstaculizar la salida de embarcaciones que quieran venir de Estados Unidos aquí a recoger familiares".



Motín en La Habana es el 3ro en un año

El viernes fue la tercera vez en un año que los delicados temas de inmigración suscitan motines en Cuba

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Agence France Presse

Civiles de las brigadas de acción rápida, armados con palos, montan guardia el sábado en el Malecón habanero en previsión de nuevas protestas.

Los corresponsales prefieren el anonimato

De la Redacción de El Nuevo Herald

Aunque tres agencias internacionales de noticias tienen corresponsales en Cuba, ninguna de las informaciones que enviaron el viernes sobre los motines antigubernamentales que sacudieron a La Habana llevaba el nombre de su autor.

Los periodistas colocan sus nombres al comienzo del reportaje para mostrar su participación personal en la información y la redacción de las noticias, y la

mayoría estaría ansiosa por poner sus nombres en una como la de los motines en Cuba.

Sin embargo, la agencia británica de noticias Reuter, la francesa Agence France Presse y la española EFE no transmitieron noticias firmadas por sus autores hasta el viernes por la madrugada, mucho después que el gobernante cubano Fidel Castro admitió públicamente los disturbios.

Un redactor ejecutivo de una de las agencias dijo que no sabía por qué las primeras noticias que

salieron de Cuba no tenían autor, pero especuló que los despachos habían sido demasiado cortos para llevar el nombre del periodista.

En el pasado, los corresponsales extranjeros que viven en Cuba han acordado entre ellos cómo manejar ciertas noticias que son delicadas a fin de no enfurecer al gobierno cubano. La Habana ha expulsado a más de una docena de corresponsales extranjeros desde la década de 1960.

La Habana es e 3'o en un año

El viernes fue la tercera vez en un año que los delicados temas de inmigración suscitan motines en Cuba.

Los incidentes anteriores fueron:

■ **El 11 de febrero**, falsos rumores de que la Sección de Intereses de Estados Unidos en La Habana otorgaba visas a todos los cubanos que deseaban viajar a Estados Unidos atrajo a varios centenares de personas. Ochenta y dos fueron arrestados después que la multitud se extralimitó y se enfrentó a la policía cubana.

■ **En Cojimar**, población pesquera al este de La Habana, una noche de julio de 1993, la policía cubana disparó contra una lancha rápida que había llegado a recoger a un grupo de cubanos que huían. Mató a tres personas e hirió a varios más.

Al circular informes de que había mujeres heridas y de que la policía disparaba a los niños, los airados residentes se reunieron en la playa, lanzaron piedras a la policía y gritaron consignas contra el gobierno de Fidel Castro.

—MIMI WHITEFIELD

son atendidos por sus abuelas porque sus padres murieron o han desaparecido. Estar ocupados los mantiene fuera de problemas y les da algo más en qué pensar, como ir a la universidad.

estudien. Podemos decir que saquen A [en sus calificaciones], pero estos muchachos están tratando de sobrevivir".

No todos están luchando con la pobreza o con hogares deshechos. La trabajadora social Rosie

vando sus horas de composición, vestidos con jerseys Sonics, minifaldas y gorras de béisbol vueltas en cualquier dirección menos hacia delante. La mayoría son negros o hispanos y están dirigidos hacia cuatro escuelas secundarias de Dade este otoño: Northwestern, Norland, Miami o Southridge.

Las reglas son elásticas. No usar audifonos en clase. Respetar a los otros. Dos jóvenes fueron expulsados este verano por pelear, pero se les permitirá regresar al programa en el otoño.

Los jóvenes pasan por experiencias nuevas casi todos los días. En noviembre, el grupo

Es música de iglesia dijo la maestra Vance explicando cómo una extendía hasta casi la de canto.

Constantemente esc respondiendo pregu expresar su opinión, lo tes sorprenden a algu tros con su perspect vida.

En una clase de semana pasada, se les estudiantes escribir dramática, que prese problemas, experimen los "afronorteameric drama tenía que terr una solución positiva.

Cubanos siguen de cerca situación en La Habana

EXILIADOS CUBANOS, DE 1B

salir legalmente.

"La forma de lograr cambio en Cuba no es a la cañona", manifestó González, quien llegó hace 19 años a Estados Unidos y cuyos padres están en Cuba. "Es con apertura, como hicieron en los países socialistas. Las cosas no se pueden ver en blanco y negro".

Funcionarios de 40 agencias federales y locales ultimaron detalles del plan Operación Costa Lejana concebido para interceptar una ola masiva de refugiados cubanos. Todas las agencias policiales locales también están sobre aviso para que puedan implementar el plan de contingencia si fuese necesario.

La secretaria de Justicia, Janet Reno, informó a la representante republicana de la Florida, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, que estará en su puesto de mando todo el fin de semana para estar pendiente a los acontecimientos en Cuba y en Miami, según Mauricio Tamargo, portavoz de Ros-Lehtinen.

Joe Pena, director de la oficina de Miami del gobernador Lawton Chiles, dijo que están en contacto constante con el Departamento de Defensa, que ha informado de unos posibles "trastornos" durante el fin de semana en La Habana.

De igual modo reaccionaron muchos en el exilio cuando escucharon las declaraciones de Castro, quien enfatizó que la violencia en La Habana se debía a la incitación estadounidense a que los cubanos salgan ilegalmente del país.

"El lo que quiere es meterle miedo a Estados Unidos con la posibilidad de otro Mariel para llevar a Washington a la mesa de negociación a base de otro chantaje", explicó el abogado cubano Rafael Peñalver.

Pescadores en Stock Island, en los Cayos, que preparaban las trampas el sábado para el primer día de la temporada de langostas, dijeron que nadie había llegado para alquilar sus botes para recoger familiares en Cuba.

Varios de ellos, incluyendo algunos que aún tienen familia en Cuba, dijeron que no irán a la isla en estos momentos porque temían perder sus botes o tener complicaciones a manos de los agentes de Aduanas de Estados Unidos, como pasó cuando viajaron a Cuba durante el Mariel.

Roberto Curbelo, un marinero sobre un barco langostero Kazan, dijo que tiene dos hijas en La Habana, pero que pensará bien lo que hace.

"Las amo", dijo Curbelo, de 52 años, quien llegó a Cayo Hueso durante el éxodo del Mariel. "Pero no sabes lo que pasará una vez llegues allí. [Los Guardacostas cubanos] pueden dispararte, arrestarte y llevarte el barco. Fidel ha perdido la cabeza. A estas alturas, hará cualquier cosa".

Exiliados en Miami reaccionaron con júbilo al escuchar la noticia y ver las imágenes por televisión de la revuelta del viernes. Muchos se preguntaban si esto podría ser el primer paso del tan anhelado final del gobierno castrista.

"Ya era hora de que hubiera despertado la gente allá", afirmó Sarah Canales, cubana de Hialeah de 64 años, quien tiene cinco hermanos en Cuba. "Todo el mundo está contento. Tiene que haber más protestas. Uno siente que vaya a caer gente, pero aquello hay que acabarlo".

Además de cautela y moderación, los sucesos en La Habana también provocaron mucha emoción. Demasiado emoción para Juan Pérez, alias Cirilo, un desamparado que a veces duerme en el Parque José Martí de La Pequeña Habana.

Al entrevistarle un periodista el viernes por la noche, Pérez se emocionó tanto que sufrió dolores en el pecho y una ambulancia lo tuvo que llevar al Hospital Jackson Memorial. Lo dejaron salir el sábado por la madrugada.

"Se emocionó mucho al hacerle la entrevista. Le dije que lo cogiera suave", dijo su amigo José Rodríguez Horta. "¿Qué cubano no quiere que se acabe aquello, chico?"

Los redactores de El Nuevo Herald Susana Bellido y Manny García contribuyeron a esta información.

Aulas ofrecen seguridad

MUJERES, DE 1B

más, hay un nuevo giro: más mujeres asisten a la universidad a tiempo parcial —66.8 por ciento al Miami-Dade—, mientras trabajan y crían a sus hijos. Además, un creciente número sobrepasa los 25 años.

Una mujer que se matriculó en la Universidad St. Thomas, luego de un divorcio problemático, señaló: "En la universidad encontré algo que nunca había sentido cuando estaba casada: autoestima. El conocimiento es poder. Algunos hombres no quieren que las mujeres tengan

poder".

Los sicólogos y señalan que es precisar sentido de poder e incia lo que amenaza y algunos hombres que la han abandonado o e tando de abandonar. En dos dos meses, dos es prometedoras, Carme guez, de 36 años, y Smith, de 24, fueron a por ex compañeros er del Miami-Dade Co College.

"No se limitan a s decir: 'Esto es así'", di peuta familiar Evalina refiriéndose a los asesin

ARCIA, Lilia E., de 76 años, natural de Cuba. Servicios el lunes a las 11 a.m. Flagler Memorial. Funeraria Caballero-Woodlawn, Coral Gables.

BARQUIN, Juan R., de 59 años, natural de Las Martinas, Cuba. Servicios el lunes a las 9:30. Vista Memorial. Funeraria Bernardo Garcia-Brake, Miami.

COROALLES, Marilys, de 54 años, natural de Cuba. Servicios el lunes a las 11 a.m. Woodlawn Park North. Funeraria Caballero-Woodlawn, Coral Gables.

GALLO, Fernando, de 89 años, natural de Cuba. Servicios realizados. Funeraria Rivero, Hialeah.

GARCIA, César, de 72 años, natural de La Habana. Servicio realizados. Funeraria Bernardo Garcia-Brake, Westchester.

GARCIA, Miguel A., de 43 años, natural de Miami Lakes. Servicios el lunes a las 11 a.m. Vista Memorial. Funeraria Vista.

GOMEZ, José Ernesto, de 39 años, natural de La Habana. Servicios reali-

zados. Funeraria Rivero, Hialeah.

GONZALEZ, Angela, de 64 años, natural de Cuba. Servicios realizados. Funeraria Rivero, Hialeah.

GRADAILLE, Roberto de 61 años, natural de La Habana. Se servicios el lunes a la 1 p.m. Woodlawn Memorial. Funeraria Bernardo Garcia-Brake, Hialeah.

GUILLOIS, Dulce Mari. 61 años, natural de Cuba. Se servicios el lunes a las 9 a.m. Vista Memorial. Funeraria Caballero-Woodlawn, Miami.

MARICHAL, Tammy Marie, de 51 años, natural de Miami. Servicios realizados. Funeraria Caballero-Woodlawn, Miami.

MARTIN, Jaime, de 63 años, natural de La Habana. Servicios realizados el lunes a las 10 a.m. Dade South Memorial.

ORACION A ESPIRITU SANTO

Espíritu Santo. Tú que me aclaras que iluminas todos los caminos que yo alcance mi ideal. Tú que me das el don Divino de perdonar y de olvidar. Tú que me hacen y que en los instantes de mi vida estás conmigo. Quiero en este corto diálogo agradecer por todo y confirmar una vez más que nunca quiero separarme de Ti, porque sea la ilusión material. Descontigo y todos mis seres queridos Gloria perpetua. Gracias misericordia para conmigo y la (La persona deberá rezar la oración durante 3 días seguidos sin interrupción. Dentro de los 3 días alcanzada la gracia por más de una vez. Publicar en cuanto se alcanza la gracia.) Gracias por el favor recibido.

A.L.L.

ORACION PARA LOS CASOS MAS DIFICILES

Ante Ti vengo, con toda la fe de mi alma, a buscar tu sagrado consuelo, en mi difícil situación. No me desampares; en las puertas que se han de abrir en mi camino, sea tu brazo poderoso el que las abra para darme la tranquilidad que ansio (3 peticiones difíciles). Suplica que te hace un corazón afligido por duros golpes del cruel destino que lo han vencido siempre en la lucha humana, y que si tu poder divino no intercede en mi favor sucumbo por falta de ayuda. Brazo poderoso, asistente, ampara y conduceme a la gloria celestial. Gracias dulce Jesús. (Se reza por 15 días esta oración para los casos más difíciles, empezando el viernes, mande a publicar antes de los 8 días).

Jose L. Vega

PARA INFORMACION

La Ciudad de Miami ha establecido una línea de control de rumores para personas preocupadas por la situación en Cuba.

El número es 579-6660. Estará en funcionamiento durante todo el domingo.



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El Malecón fue campo de batalla

El Malecón fue el viernes escenario de batallas campales entre opositores del régimen y policías ayudados por integrantes de contingentes civiles. A la izquierda, partidarios de Castro recorren una calle. A la derecha, un policía se enfrenta a un joven que intenta huir, mientras otros observan, en una de las muchas escenas de represión de la jornada.

Fotos de Reuter



Plan de contingencia bloquearía éxodo cubano

PLAN DE CONTINGENCIA, DE 1A

■ Procesar judicialmente a los dueños de embarcaciones que intenten traer a refugiados, incluida la confiscación de las embarcaciones.

"El plan de emergencia, en desarrollo desde el Mariel, estará listo para ponerse en práctica si es necesario", dijo el sábado desde Washington el senador demócrata Bob Graham, de la Florida.

"Estamos mucho mejor preparados hoy, comparado a como lo estábamos en 1980, para responder a una iniciativa de Castro de convertir sus problemas internos en un éxodo masivo hacia la Florida", señaló.

El plan fue coordinado por la Fiscalía General de Estados Unidos junto a Lawton Chiles, Gober-

gente comprende que esto contribuirá al objetivo común de que ese régimen dictatorial sea sustituido por un gobierno libre y democrático en Cuba, esto se consideraría como uno de los dolores adicionales por los que se tiene que pasar".

Según el plan, se ve claramente que el gobierno federal es quien estará al frente del asunto.

A diferencia del caso del huracán Andrew, en que el Condado de Dade se ocupó de la situación de crisis e informaba a las agencias estatales y federales de lo que se necesitaba, la situación de Cuba es asunto de política federal, dijeron funcionarios de Dade.

"Esas agencias estarán al frente de todo", dijo Kathleen Hale, directora de control de asuntos de emergencia del Condado de Dade. "No seremos nosotros quienes

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Plan de contingencia bloquearía éxodo cubano

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El plan fue coordinado por la Fiscalía General de Estados Unidos junto a Lawton Chiles, Gobernador de la Florida, y a 40 agencias federales. Ofrece una estructura de base para las "acciones de ayuda" por parte de las instituciones de cumplimiento de la ley, tanto a escala nacional, como estatal y local.

La secretaria de Justicia, Janet Reno, en consulta con otros funcionarios, podría declarar una emergencia de inmigración y activar el plan. Un sinnúmero de "poderes especiales federales y de recursos", podrían ponerse a funcionar, según una copia de un informe ejecutivo que obtuvo El Nuevo Herald. Su autenticidad fue confirmada por una fuente federal.

Graham sólo discutió el plan de contingencia "en términos generales".

"El gobierno de Estados Unidos está adoptando una posición firme en cuanto a no facilitar los intentos de Castro de aliviar las presiones internas que él mismo ha creado, o de poner en peligro vidas humanas", dijo.

Los cubanos que viven en Miami serían arrestados si viajan en embarcaciones a la isla para recoger a sus familiares como lo hicieron durante el Mariel?

"Sí", respondió Graham con firmeza.

"No creo que eso lo hubiesen incluido en el plan ni le hubieran dado tanto énfasis a esa parte", si no fueran a asumir una posición seria en cuanto al arresto y procesamiento judicial, afirmó Graham.

El objetivo, agregó, es "evitar un éxodo masivo al negarle a Castro esa oportunidad".

Cuando se le preguntó acerca de la reacción de ira que los arrestos podrían provocar en Miami, Graham expresó: "Es cierto, pero si la

gente comprende que esto contribuirá al objetivo común de que ese régimen dictatorial sea sustituido por un gobierno libre y democrático en Cuba, esto se consideraría como uno de los dolores adicionales por los que se tiene que pasar".

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Por su parte, Lemar Wooley, portavoz del INS de Miami, dijo que no podía ofrecer comentarios acerca del plan. "Todo lo que tiene que ver con el plan de emergencia ha sido confidencial desde el principio. Sí, existe obviamente un plan", agregó.

Wooley dijo que el INS no tomó medidas especiales este fin de semana y que no había situado a personal en estado de alerta o de emergencia. "Estaremos al tanto de la situación, pero puesto que estamos preocupados por lo que pueda ocurrir en caso de que haya algo que hacer, nos ocuparemos de ello".

Por ahora, la situación está en las manos del Departamento de Estado, indicó.

Sin embargo, funcionarios de la ciudad de Miami no se atuvieron a esperar solamente por las acciones del gobierno federal.

César Odio, administrador de la Ciudad de Miami, estaba nervioso y preocupado porque la administración no hacía demasiado por evitar que Miami sufriera las consecuencias de otra oleada masiva de refugiados.

Odio convocó a una reunión con los administradores de la policía el sábado, a las 11 a.m., con el propósito de discutir un plan de respuesta.

"Es peligroso", dijo Odio. A menos que el gobierno le diga a Castro que no puede hacer esto, vamos a estar en peligro", añadió.

"Esta vez", dijo reflexionando sobre la situación del Mariel, "podría ser peor, debido a que las condiciones en Cuba están empeorando".

Alfonso Chardy, Joanne Cavanaugh y Dexter Filkins, redactores de The Herald, contribuyeron a esta información.

Ellegan más cubanos a EU como

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Llegan más cubanos a EU como balseros que por vías legales

Por MIMI WHITEFIELD
Redactora de *El Nuevo Herald*

Las veladas amenazas del gobernante cubano Fidel Castro de empezar otro puente marítimo del Mariel fueron la última y más preocupante salva en una amarga guerra de palabras sobre asuntos de inmigración entre La Habana y Washington.

El tema: Cuba sostiene que la renuencia de Estados Unidos de conceder visas a los cubanos que desean emigrar legalmente o visitar Estados Unidos suscita una oleada de salidas ilegales de la isla.

Parece que el número de cubanos que llega a Estados Unidos en balsas, botes y aviones secues-

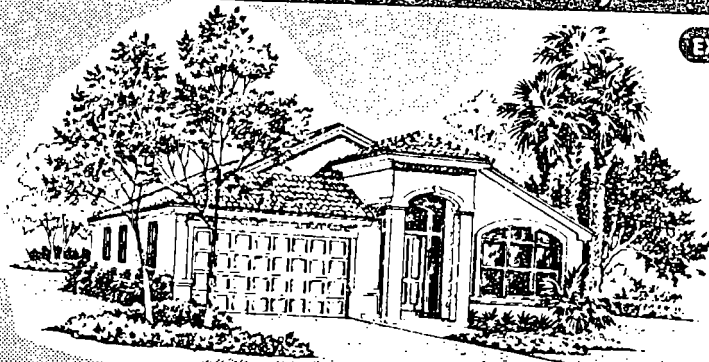
trados este año superará el número de los que llegan legalmente.

Un funcionario del Departamento de Estado dijo que el éxodo se origina "en la incapacidad de Cuba de suministrar libertad o seguridad económica a su pueblo".

El gobierno cubano insiste en que Estados Unidos ha aceptado recibir hasta 20,000 inmigrantes cubanos anualmente.

"Cuba siempre ha interpretado mal el acuerdo de 1984, que no garantiza un número determinado de visas anuales", dijo el sábado un vocero del Departamento de Estado. El acuerdo sólo incluye a los familiares cercanos de los cubanoamericanos.

Pre-apertura de Lo que usted esperaba... Lujosas residencias



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U.S. warns Cuba against Mariel repeat

Castro can't 'dictate' policy

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

AT

The State Department put Cuban President Fidel Castro on notice yesterday that the United States will not tolerate a repeat of the 1980 Mariel exodus that dumped 125,000 Cuban refugees on the shores of South Florida.

Washington will "do whatever is necessary to prevent a replay," acting State Department spokesman David Johnson told reporters.

"We would do whatever was necessary in order to take account of whatever contingencies might come up," Mr. Johnson said. "I'm not in a position to spell those out for you, and I don't plan to."

Another State Department official, when asked whether the phrase "any means necessary" was a hint at possible military action, said, "We're not going to get into any questions of specificity."

The Mariel exodus quickly became a political hot potato, and it played a major role in President Carter's loss of Florida in the 1980 election campaign.

Thousands of Cuban exiles chartered fishing boats to bring their relatives and friends from Mariel, Cuba, to Key West, Fla. The refugees included thousands of mental patients and criminals released from prisons and institutions by Mr. Castro.

Some of the Cubans later rioted at Fort Chafee in western Arkansas, creating a politically damaging situation for Bill Clinton, who was governor at the time. His gubernatorial re-election defeat was blamed, in part, on the riot.

Mr. Castro, responding to unrest in his island nation last week, blamed the trouble on the United States for encouraging a recent exodus of Cuban refugees, and he threatened to allow free emigration to America.

[Last night in Bogota, Colombia, Mr. Castro repeated his threat to flood the United States with Cuban emigrants unless Washington changed its policy on accepting them.

["Those who want to leave the country can do so — that is not denied. But the United States doesn't receive these people," he

said at a news conference for invited Colombian reporters, a transcript of which was carried by the Colprensa news agency. "It only receives those who hijack boats, those who commit acts of piracy."

["Either they adopt quick and efficient measures or we will remove the obstacles so that those who want to leave Cuba do so," he said. "We have no reason to keep watch so that they don't go off in boats of one type or another to the United States," he said.]

But Mr. Johnson stressed yesterday that the United States is "not going to permit Castro to dictate our immigration policy or to create a replay of the Mariel boatlift."

"We've made very plain over the last several months... that we had active and ongoing contingency plans to deal with any type of issue which might arise," he said.

At the White House, Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers also took a tough line on preventing another mass dumping of refugees in the United States by the Cuban government.

"Our policy is very, very clear," Miss Myers said, adding that Mr. Castro "will not dictate our immigration policy."

"Obviously, we're keeping a close eye on it and making contingency plans to deal with any eventuality, but it seems quiet at this point," she said of the Cuban situation.

At a White House meeting Saturday, senior administration officials discussed a plan under development by the federal government for the past 13 years that lists the duties of various agencies responding to a Mariel-like crisis.

One administration official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, told the Associated Press that one of the options included a blockade by U.S. warships of the passage between Key West and Cuba. But he said President Clinton had made no decisions on that idea.

The controversy follows serious rioting in downtown Havana last Friday by thousands of people who were angered when rumors that

there were ships to take them to the United States proved false.

A government-controlled newspaper reported Sunday that 35 persons, including 10 policemen, were injured in the clashes.

In Miami yesterday, Florida officials announced a statewide drill to prepare for a potential immigration emergency if Cuba unleashes a flood of refugees upon U.S. shores.

Gov. Lawton Chiles said state agencies would rehearse the state's emergency refugee plan tomorrow.

"I'm unaware of any incident of this size having taken place before, and... we draw the conclusion that this is due to the Cuban government's unwillingness to reform

politically and economically," Mr. Johnson said.

But U.S. officials in Havana believe the unrest has ended, he added.

"Our own people at our interest section in Havana, through direct observation of conditions on the ground, came to [the] conclusion that the incident of Friday afternoon was not followed by similar activities the following day, and that... the situation had calmed down," he said.

Mr. Johnson said U.S. and Cuban officials met through the weekend at the U.S. diplomatic interest section in Havana to discuss the issue.

"The United States and Cuba have held periodic talks on migration issues since 1984. The most recent series was in December of this past year, and we expect these talks to continue," Mr. Johnson said.

The number of people leaving Cuba illegally has increased dramatically this year amid an economic crisis on the communist-ruled island.

The U.S. Coast Guard picked up 230 Cuban refugees in the seas between Cuba and Florida over the weekend, officials said yesterday.

A spokesman in Miami said the Coast Guard has rescued or assisted in the rescue of 5,154 Cubans so far in 1994, compared with a total of 3,656 in 1993 — which had been the highest number since the Mariel exodus.

Mr. Castro last week announced one of the island's poorest sugar-cane harvests in decades.

He said the country's sugar harvest for 1993-94 will be 4 million tons, down from a disastrously low 4.2 million tons last year.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

see CUBA, page A12

Aug 9, 1994

Demonstrations could signal start of major unrest in Cuba

By Diego Ribadeneira Boston Globe

MIAMI The violent demonstrations that rocked Cuba over the weekend are the most serious challenge yet to the 35-year rule of Fidel Castro and could signal the start of a period of severe unrest, analysts and eyewitnesses said Monday.

"It really did look like the revolution had begun," said Alberto Martinez, who was caught in the maelstrom in Havana Friday afternoon while driving through the city in search of gas to power a homemade engine for a raft he used to flee Cuba. "It was pandemonium."

Martinez and eight of his family members were plucked from the sea on Saturday by the U.S. Coast Guard and brought to Key West. They were among 230 Cuban refugees the Coast Guard rescued over the weekend in the Florida Strait that separate Cuba from the United States.

Never before have so many people as many as 10,000 by some accounts openly challenged the Castro government and so brazenly defied the country's oppressive security forces. Although the demonstration was partly triggered by rumors that ships were taking people who wanted to leave the island, the protest evolved into a show of disgust with Castro.

Demonstrators shouted "down with Fidel," "liberty" and "enough is enough."

Martinez said he was stunned by the boldness of the demonstrators. "I cannot remember something like this happening in the past," he said.

A nervous calm prevailed over Havana Monday afternoon as hundreds of soldiers, police and armed pro-Castro civilian patrolled the streets of the Cuban capital, according to Cuban media reports monitored here.

Cuban authorities reacted forcefully to the unprecedented rebellion, launching a campaign against leading human rights activists in which several dozen were arrested, according to human rights groups in Miami with sources in Cuba. About 300 people were arrested during Friday's riots, which were concentrated along the Malecon, Havana's famed seaside boulevard, and in working-class neighborhoods in the city's colonial district.

Meanwhile, reports reaching here from Cuba indicated that more than 200 people were injured in the uprising, much higher than the 35 people reported hurt by Cuban newspapers.

"It is our opinion that the situation is extremely tense," said Ramon Cernuda, a leading Cuban dissident in Miami and a director of one of the largest human rights groups in Cuba.

Cuban human rights activists are an important source of information about events in Cuba because all the local media is controlled by the communist government.

"Despite the massive government display of force, there is the potential for further violence unless the government proposes formulas for economic, political and social reform," Cernuda added.

"The hole in the dike is getting bigger," said Ricardo Bofill, president of the Cuban Committee for Human Rights, another major human rights group in Miami with members in Cuba.

The Castro regime has placed the blame for the unrest on the United States, accusing the U.S. government of fomenting turbulence in order to have an excuse to invade. "The logical close of this strategy to destroy the revolution would have to be the direct intervention of U.S. forces in Cuba," the official trade newspaper, *Trabajadores*, said in an editorial Monday.

Castro has threatened to unleash a mass exodus to the United States by not stopping Cubans from leaving the island and allowing exiles to travel to Cuban in boats and

pick up relatives. Castro's threats have revived fears of a second Mariel boatlift, which in 1980 flooded south Florida with 125,000 Cubans, including criminals and mental patients, in just a few months. That exodus was sparked by the takeover of Peru's embassy in Havana.

The United States has drafted a plan to deal with a mass Cuban migration, which includes using naval ships to block the waters between Cuba and Key West. The Clinton administration, reacting to accusations by Castro that the United States encourages illegal migration from Cuba, said it would not let the Cuban leader dictate U.S. immigration policy.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

In South Florida, leading Cuban exile groups were virtually unanimous in opposing a second Mariel boatlift because they said it would buy the Communist regime more time by ridding the island of Castro's opponents. Many imprisoned dissidents choose to stay in jail rather than accept government offers of freedom if they leave Cuba. The dissidents say they want to be freed in the same manner Nelson Mandela was in South Africa and be allowed to take an active and public role in politics.

The tumult in Cuba has been the talk of the Cuban community, with many wondering if this was the beginning of the end for Castro. How and when Castro will fall is a constant topic of discussion in south Florida. During the weekend, Miami city officials opened a rumor hotline and prepared contingency plans to deal with a huge influx of refugees.

Cuba has suffered a virtual economic collapse since the disintegration of the former Soviet Union removed vital subsidies. Cubans have had to endure shortages of food, medicine and transportation, while the government has acknowledged that it has no easy answers for the country's grave financial crisis. Last week, Castro announced one of the country's worst sugar harvests in decades. Sugar is a key source of income for Cuba.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

A growing number of Cubans choose to risk death by making the dangerous ocean crossing to Florida in order to escape the privations at home. This year the Coast Guard rescued or helped rescue 5,154 Cubans, compared with 3,656 last year, according to Coast Guard figures. Human rights activists say half of the Cubans who attempt the crossing perish at sea.

Last Thursday, a group of Cubans hijacked a tugboat in Havana in an attempt to flee to the United States. They were forced to turn back when the ship ran out of fuel. Two Cuban policemen were killed in the hijacking. On Sunday, thousands paid their respect to one of the policeman, Gabriel Lamoth Caballerio, whose body was laid in state in the Interior Ministry facing the city's large Plaza de la Revolucion. About 600,000 Cubans participated in a pro-government rally on Sunday night, shouting pro-Castro slogans, according to the government.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

One of the most ominous traits of the anti-government demonstrations was that they were spontaneous and involved mostly younger Cubans, Cernuda said.

"This is an act of civil disobedience by youths who see no future with Castro," he said.

"Vaclav Havel wrote that the beginning of the end of Communism is when a small shopkeeper refuses to put up a sign in support of the government and gets away with it," said Frank Calzon, director of the Washington office of Freedom House, an international human rights organization. Havel was the leader of the peaceful revolution that brought down communism in the former Czechoslovakia. "Then the next day another shopkeeper does the same. What happened in Cuba is a very serious problem for Castro. It has a tremendous psychological impact."

136

Young rafters' buddy slips overboard

BY SUSANA BELLIDO

Herald Staff Writer

KEY WEST As refugees arrived here around the clock Wednesday, they poured out stories of frightening and deadly voyages in flimsy, homemade rafts. Three young men, spotted by Brothers to the Rescue, told how they lost their best friend, Alexis Moreno, 25.

The four, friends from the Alamar neighborhood in Havana, set out for Florida on a raft Saturday. They ran into storms right away.

On Monday, things turned worse. They wrung saltwater out of the cooked hamburgers they had brought with them and ate them for lunch. Soon after, Moreno had a stomach ache, fever and a rash. He started talking about life in Cuba. He quit making sense.

At one point, Moreno jumped overboard. But his friends managed to get him back on the raft. They put a life jacket on him, and one of them tied himself to him.

That evening they saw lights on the horizon. They figured it was Cuba and started rowing in that direction. They hoped to save Moreno, who was deteriorating.

"We tried to go back," said Lizardo Hernandez, 23.

"A human life was at stake."

But they were going against the current. Exhausted, the four nodded off. That's the last they saw of Moreno, who somehow untied himself and took off his life jacket.

"He took the opportunity that we'd fallen asleep and he jumped into the water," Mario Franquis, 24, said. "We couldn't see him well. It was so dark."

But they heard him speak incoherently at a distance.

"I'm going back to Cuba," Franquis recalled Moreno said. "I'm going down to get some cigarettes. ... Where do they sell coffee? ... My house is right around the corner."

Then his voice started to fade away.

"We're going to save you," the men yelled to him.

And they heard him scream, "Let go, let go, you bastards!"

His three friends figure it could have been sharks.

In Mariel, few expect another boatlift

Special to The Herald

MARIEL, Cuba Gazing across the glittering green bay of Mariel, the gray-haired woman recalled the wild days in 1980 when this sleepy town became the bridge for tens of thousands of Cubans fleeing their homeland.

"All this was full of boats," she said, a sweep of her arm taking in the bay fringed by lush greenery, gray-and-yellow port cranes and the squat beige towers of a concrete plant. "It was beautiful."

As Cuban President Fidel Castro threatens to permit another untrammelled rush of emigration, and Florida authorities worry about another massive boatlift, people in Mariel dream of another mass exodus.

"People can't wait to get out of here," the woman said under her breath.

"That one, that one and that one," said an elderly woman in the main plaza, pointing to young men whizzing around on bicycles. "They're going to leave tomorrow."

Word has spread around Mariel that Cuban authorities are permitting people with boats to simply leave for Florida. One man said authorities even checked some boaters' papers to make sure they owned the craft, then let

them go.

"You don't see people in the street because they're out looking for ways to leave," he said.

Each day, several craft set out for Florida, he said. Most contain young, single men. But few people appear to expect a more massive exodus anytime soon.

"Last time, 125,000 people left. If there was another Mariel, seven or eight million would go," said a truck driver. "But the U.S. doesn't want us."

With the severe economic crisis caused by the end of massive Soviet subsidies, Mariel is suffering like the rest of Cuba. Many people here no doubt would set sail for South Florida's shores.

"I earn 10 pesos a day," the truck driver said.

"But a pound of rice costs 40."

"We're hungry," said a tall, white-haired woman standing in the leafy plaza in the center of town, near a sign proclaiming, "The revolution did, does and will belong to the streets!"

"We lack everything. I used to weigh 220 pounds. Now look at me," she said, lifting an arm to show folds of flesh hanging loosely.

The government still has its supporters. Red-white-and-blue Cuban flags hang from many front porches. And several people expressed irritation at the killing of a sailor allegedly by Cubans who hijacked a ship last week in Mariel to sail to Miami. The government later organized a service here for the slain man.

But even government supporters acknowledge discontent.

"The problem is not the revolution. It's not socialism. It's not Fidel," insisted a young bank employee sitting on the front porch of a small concrete bungalow. "It's basic necessities."

As if to underline the point, his father-in-law asked the young man's wife to fetch some coffee for a visitor. She shook her head silently. No coffee.

On a muggy Sunday, Mariel's bay is peaceful. The chirping of birds echoes across the water. The docks are silent, with only one ship waiting, some distance away.

"This is a peaceful country town," says the father-in-law of the government supporter. He tells a visitor how he, a peasant, fought with Castro's forces in the late 1950s.

"Life has improved with the revolution," he says.

"There's free health care and education. Blacks and whites are equal that wasn't true before."

But just hours later, a number of people from the town would head on foot to La Boca, another village on Mariel Bay. There, they have heard, people are swarming onto a giant foreign oil ship that will take them to the United States.

In fact, hundreds of people do climb on board. But they wind up disembarking after a two-day standoff with local authorities.

The latest wave of Mariel refugees won't make it to Miami. Not this time.

Phony doctor admits defrauding Medicare of \$1.4 million

By TOM DUBOCQ

Herald Staff Writer

For three years, Abdul Jaleel Wahab cheated the government, collecting \$1.4 million in Medicare payments through a Miami Beach company that claimed to provide visiting doctors to homebound patients.

Wahab, a Key Largo resident, got the money by

Cuban Exodus Nearing Florida Emergency

Continued From Page A1



Cuban refugees try to cross the Straits of Florida to Key West.

cers to pick up refugees and take them to temporary reception centers, and then to Homestead Air Force Base south of here for relocation out of state. The plan is meant to support a Federal response for the first 72 hours of the emergency.

But the officials said there was no particular number of incoming refugees to be reached before putting the plan into effect.

"There's no magic number; it varies from county to county," said Eric Tolbert, bureau chief of the Division of Emergency Management in the Florida Department of Community Affairs. "We're very closely monitoring the situation and we're very concerned about the high numbers of people coming into Florida," he said, "but at this point it is being handled" by local and Federal officials.

In Dade County, where most Cuban refugees have historically settled, officials were more worried about long-term effects. On Tuesday they asked Attorney General Janet Reno for emergency immigration money for housing, health care and public safety from a \$35 million Federal fund that is expected to increase soon to \$75 million. The officials say they can document costs of at least \$100 mil-

lion since 1990 because of increases in immigration.

State officials, who have also asked for Federal aid, put the cost to Florida at \$1 billion.

As they arrive in increasing numbers, the refugees say they risked dehydration and sharks to escape repression and misery in Cuba. Many said they were prompted to flee by a Cuban Government crackdown on black market activities, which they say they relied on to eat.

Today the Coast Guard brought in a body on a raft found off Miami. Lieut. Comdr. Jim Howe, a Coast Guard spokesman in Miami, said a pleasure boat spotted the raft that was carrying one dead man and a male companion who survived the trip but was later hospitalized.

Refugees said today that despite the risks, many in Cuba are scrambling for metal parts and other supplies to make the 90-mile journey across the Florida Straits to Key West.

A group of 28 Cubans from Villa Clara province said each person in the group of four families and a few friends played a role in making a 22-foot boat in three weeks — one man stole aluminum irrigation pipes from the sugar cane field where he worked to fashion the boat's hull, another bought or traded gathered spare parts to and rebuilt the boat's engine from a 1956 Ford.

In another group, 23-year-old Gilberto Izquierdo and four companions bought materials in Cuba's black market to build a raft over a period of three months, and then watched Alamar Beach in Havana to figure out the rhythms of police vigilance. The group finally took to the seas last week and made it to Florida last Sunday, three days into their risky voyage and Mr. Izquierdo's third attempt in ten months to leave for good.

Mr. Izquierdo, who has moved in with an uncle here, said he paid 10 times as much for some materials for the raft than when he tried his first trip.

Most refugees stay with relatives, said workers with the United States Catholic Conference, which helps resettle them. Those who are alone are put into motels until they get their working papers in order. Most are relocated out of state to good job markets that offer work in hotels and restaurants, in construction and auto mechanics.

Today some of the new arrivals who had been moved into motels in Miami spent the time contacting out-of-state relatives by telephone, watching television or simply sitting out near the street. Some seemed fascinated by the volume of traffic.

Mr. Izquierdo said his uncle had lined up a job for him marking merchandise at a clothing store. He will be working, he says, by the time he is due to stand trial in Cuba next Tuesday for one of his previous escape attempts.

"They can wait for me all they want," he said.

**GIVE A CHILD A CHANCE:
GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND**

Cuban Influx Rises And Florida Nears Emergency Action

By MIREYA NAVARRO
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, Aug. 17 — Nearly 500 Cuban refugees were picked up off the Florida coast today, nudging state officials closer to declaring an immigration emergency that would include the mobilization of the National Guard and state workers to shelter, medically screen and transport large groups of people to relocation centers.

The Coast Guard said 465 Cubans had arrived or were about to reach shore by late afternoon, compared with 339 on Tuesday, 282 on Monday and 170 on Sunday. The daily numbers have steadily risen since the beginning of the year and are now the highest since the 1980 Mariel boatlift, which brought 125,200 Cubans to the United States in five months.

More than 6,400 Cuban refugees, mostly small groups aboard makeshift crafts, have now made it to the United States since January, compared to 3,656 for all of 1993. Among those passing through the Transit Home for Cuban Refugees on Stock Island today was a 91-year-old woman who left Cuba with 16 others in a raft three days earlier.

A senior State Department official today attributed the exodus to a policy shift by Cuba's leader, Fidel Castro.

"The reason this increase is happening is Castro has changed his policy on rafters," the official said. "He's still stopping big boats, but not

rafters. He's stopping boats that are assets of value to Cuba. But he's not stopping people from leaving in rafts. This is a policy decision he took a week and a half ago."

But the official said the current influx was not Mariel II or a slow-motion Mariel.

"The principal characteristic of Mariel was a bunch of people took boats from Florida and picked up people in Cuba," the official said. "There is no sign at all of that happening."

Rafael Dausa, director of political affairs at the Cuban Interest Section in Washington, denied that there has been a change in policy by Havana but warned that unless the United States took measures to stop the refugee flow itself, "we will be in the position of not putting any obstacles" to the departures.

Among the measures he wants the United States to take, he said, are the lifting of the economic embargo on Cuba and transmission of radio stations in Miami to the island.

While in a state of alert, both Federal and state officials said on Tuesday that they could still manage without putting into action emergency plans that include blocking vessels and mobilizing thousands of National Guard and state law-enforcement officers to transport large numbers of refugees to processing centers.

Gov. Lawton Chiles called for "an expanded presence" of the Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service in South Florida and a "comprehensive test" of the Federal plan to deal with a possible major influx.

Ana Cobian, a spokeswoman for the Justice Department, said that more personnel from both agencies had already been deployed, and that it was adequate for the current needs. She declined to describe the extent of the increase in personnel.

State officials were poised to activate an emergency plan that would dispatch thousands of national guardsmen and law-enforcement offi-

Falwell Pulled Off Air Over Clinton Attack

LYNCHBURG, Va., Aug. 17 (AP) — A television station pulled the Rev. Jerry Falwell off the air after viewers complained that his sexually explicit discussion of allegations against President Clinton crossed the line from religion to politics.

The station, WTLV-TV in Jacksonville, Fla., suspended Mr. Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour" on Monday and threatened to cancel it if Mr. Falwell continues to focus more on politics than religion, said the station's president and general manager, Ken Tonning.

Complaints had mounted in recent weeks, and the station acted after a Jacksonville mother, Cathy Corby, told the station that Mr. Falwell's show had prompted her 9-year-old son to ask "what oral sex was."

"I asked him where did he hear about that, and he said he heard it on Jerry Falwell's show on television," Mrs. Corby said. She said she then tuned in herself and heard Mr. Falwell explicitly describe sexual acts related to a sexual harassment claim against Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Falwell's spokesman, Mark DeMoss, said on Tuesday that people had objected only because Mr. Falwell's message is conservative. He said he did not know of any other stations pulling the program, which originates here.

Mrs. Corby, her husband, Michael, their two children and eight friends picketed WTLV-TV on Sunday over what they called a political soapbox masquerading as a religious program.

Poll reflects Clinton setbacks

Fla. asks help with growing Cuban influx

By Carrie Dowling
USA TODAY

AI

Florida officials, reeling under a near-record influx of Cuban refugees, are turning to the federal government for help.

"The situation is reaching critical proportions," said Gov. Lawton Chiles Wednesday.

He asked Washington "to immediately alleviate the burden on local and state taxpayers."

Congress Tuesday raised the Immigration Emergency Fund to \$75 million from \$35 million.

The Coast Guard picked up 465 Cubans in 43 groups Wednesday, the biggest one-day total since the Mariel boat-

lift in 1980.

"We're getting them out of rowboats, homemade rafts, inner tubes, basically anything that can float," says U.S. Coast Guard spokesman Luis Diaz.

Among those rescued Wednesday: Alejandra Castillo, 91, who came because her son was leaving. "I wasn't going to

be left behind," she says.

The influx comes two weeks after Cuban President Fidel Castro threatened to protest U.S. immigration policy by opening his ports to all who want to leave.

Jose Basulto, the leader of a volunteer group that searches for Cubans in the Florida Straits, says several emigres have told him Cuban security made no effort to stop them.

The Clinton administration says it will not tolerate a tide of refugees like that in 1980.

Cuban refugees, unlike the Haitian boat people, are granted asylum on the assumption they are fleeing communism.

Disapproval rating up as Altman quits

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

AI

President Clinton Wednesday accepted the resignation of his deputy Treasury secretary for his role in Whitewater — another blow in a week in which his disapproval rating reached an all-time high.

The resignation of Roger Altman, a longtime Clinton friend, comes at a critical time:

► Senate Republicans Wednesday took their first successful whack at Majority Leader George Mitchell's health-reform bill.

► Prospects for a crime-bill agreement became iffy again with reports the GOP is making new demands for broader cuts.

Meanwhile, a new USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll shows for the first time in his presidency, a majority disapprove of the job Clinton is doing.

Fifty-two percent are dissatisfied, while only 39% approve.

A week ago, he was at 43% approval-48% disapproval.

On a positive note, approval of Clinton's handling of the crime issue, the nation's No. 1 concern, jumped in the past month from 29% to 42%.

In the poll, 46% favor passage of the crime bill before Congress, with some changes primarily in the "prevention" programs; 29% are opposed.

Also, 56% would be angry if Congress fails to pass a crime bill; 26% would be relieved.

And Clinton did persuade three House members to change their minds and allow the bill to come to a vote, a move blocked last week.

But the fate of health-care reform remains uncertain as Congress begins to sense growing public unease.

Senate Republicans Wednesday got to Mitchell's bill, deleting penalties on employers who break rules on the kind of health plans they must offer.

And the poll shows:

► 48% opposed to Democratic reform bills, up 2 points in a week; 39% favor them.

► 48% worry their health care will be worse if a bill passes; 32% say it will be worse if a bill doesn't pass.

► 62% say some kind of reform is preferable to none.

The poll of 1,011 adults, taken Monday and Tuesday, has a margin of error of three points.

► Crime votes missing, 4A
► Poll results, 6A

Appendix ruptures, health coverage linked

By Tim Friend
USA TODAY

AI

A person with no health insurance or on Medicaid is more likely to have a ruptured appendix than someone who has private insurance.

A study in today's *New England Journal of Medicine* focuses on ruptured appendix rates because they're a good marker for access to medical care, researchers say.

Having a ruptured appendix depends primarily on the

time it takes from the appearance of symptoms to being treated with surgery, says Dr. Paula Braveman, University of California, San Francisco. That period depends on a person's access to care.

She says the study shows "these people (uninsured or on Medicaid) are less likely to get care for a potentially life-threatening situation."

Researchers analyzed the medical records of all 96,587 Californians, ages 18 to 64, hospitalized from 1984 to

1989 for acute appendicitis.

Uninsured and people on Medicaid had 50% higher rates of rupture than others. And, surprisingly, people with traditional fee-for-service had 20% higher rates than people insured by an HMO.

This pattern of risk, Braveman says, most strongly suggests that people delay care for acute appendicitis because they can't afford to pay the doctor or hospital, including the 20% co-payments in fee-for-service plans.

Pope plans visit of 'hope' to Sarajevo despite danger

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

AI

Pope John Paul II will visit Sarajevo next month — potentially the most dangerous trip of his 16-year papacy.

The pontiff, 74 and recovering from hip surgery, has set Sept. 8 for the one-day visit, despite danger from shelling and snipers in the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has a large Muslim population.

"The trip to Sarajevo is in the hands of God," the pope said Wednesday.

The Vatican says he wants to act as "a messenger of hope for those martyred populations."

Only a few political leaders, such as French President

Francois Mitterrand, have visited Sarajevo since attacks on the city began in April 1992.

The Vatican also says the pope will visit Croatia's capital Sept. 10-11 to coincide with the 900th anniversary of the founding of Zagreb archdiocese.

Croatia is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and the pope's visit likely will galvanize citizens there — and infuriate their Orthodox Serb enemies.

The pope sought to visit Belgrade, in predominantly Orthodox Serbia, but was rebuffed; officials there say a visit is not appropriate at this time.

Serbia has accused the Vatican of siding with Croatia in the wars following the breakup of Yugoslavia in June 1991.

USA TODAY • THURSDAY, AUGUST 18, 1994

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.

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.

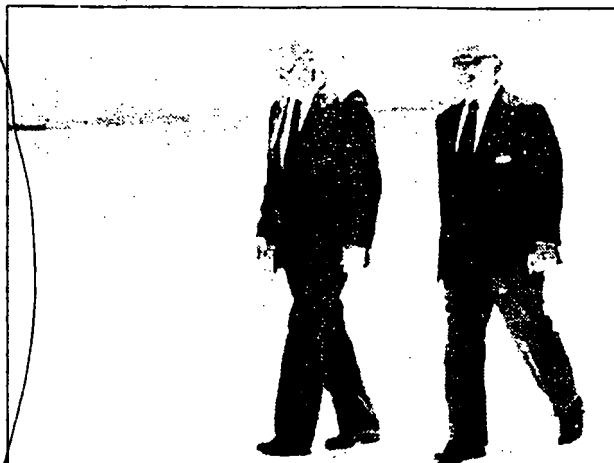
PEYOTE OK: The House approved a bill protecting the religious use of the hallucinogen peyote by Native American tribes. While federal regulations have protected such use, the Supreme Court ruled in 1990 that the Constitution's religious freedom provisions do not provide that protection and that specific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

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.

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 Chaffee 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.

Hawaii Morning News 8/19/94

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

OWN EDITORIAL
The Gore 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.

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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,

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 Sung'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.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1994

How to Finish Off Castro's Regime

By ELLIOTT ABRAMS

Since the collapse of the Soviet empire, Americans have been expecting the Castro regime in Cuba to crumble as well. Yet now, when we see real unrest in Cuba, we find ourselves without a policy and rushing into unsustainable tactical moves.

The first step must be to define what we really want to see happen *now* in Cuba. In Haiti, U.S. policy under this administration has been aimed at removing the regime. But in Cuba, U.S. policy for decades has aimed at isolation, not getting rid of Fidel Castro. This echoes the Cold War debate about the Soviet Union, when hardliners (including Democratic officials such as Zbigniew Brzezinski and Richard Pipes) argued that we should actively attempt to shorten the life of the Communist regime, while others warned of the dangers that destabilization could bring.

But Cuba is not a superpower, nor is it able to threaten our interests around the world, so the debate here should be easy to resolve. Instability in Cuba, violence, refugee flows, humanitarian disasters at sea—all are part of the death throes of the Castro regime. They will end when it does, and not before. Indeed they will probably get worse, until the regime is unseated.

Radio and TV

American policy should, accordingly, be aimed at ending the Communist dictatorship in Cuba as soon as possible. Once this policy is adopted, other decisions become easier. Information policy, for example, follows logically. The U.S. should not only expand Radio Marti's hours somewhat, as the president has done, but make sure that TV Marti can be seen in Cuba and that Radio Marti is available on several frequencies around the clock. U.S. news organizations should be allowed to open offices in Cuba, and if the price is letting Cuba's party-controlled "news" services into the U.S., so be it.

Diplomacy should follow the policy of ending the Castro regime as well. First, a major—but private—diplomatic effort to coordinate Western attitudes toward the end of the Castro regime is worthwhile. When, in the mid-1980s, the Reagan administration wanted to show European allies how strongly we felt about the treatment of Soviet Jewry and to seek their help in keeping that issue atop the diplomatic agenda, the president dispatched a very senior retired diplomat, Walter Stoessel, along with the assistant secretary of state for human rights (the position I then held) to visit every NATO capital.

President Clinton should now dispatch a similar mission, this time to key Latin American capitals as well as to Europe, led by a figure of similar standing (Mr. Brzezinski comes to mind, or, if bipartisanship is possible, George Shultz). This emissary would explain to other influential democratic governments that the endgame in Cuba is here; that it affects our interests much more strongly than theirs; and that we must coordinate better. It is obscene that European tourists flock to Cuba's beaches and sustain the Castro regime while Cuban boat people drown off these very same beaches.

The central theme in these discussions must be human rights in Cuba—for this is an issue where we and our friends see eye

icans, must solve Cuba's problems, and to do this they must be able to talk freely about them. No U.S. strategy can undermine the Castro regime better, and more peacefully, than a human-rights strategy.

Such a strategy implies active help from the Vatican and the Cuban Church on religious freedom, from U.S. and Latin American labor movements on labor rights, and from Cubans living in the diaspora as well. Only if this strategy is actively pursued will it be possible to talk to the Castro regime about bilateral relations. If Americans, including Cuban-Americans, are confident that such talks are aimed at subverting the regime—and not at accommodating it—a discussion of such bilateral issues as remittances

At Guantanamo Bay, we could create a West Berlin, a small free city within the communist nation that could trade freely with the U.S. and elect its own officials.

to eye, and where we can usefully pressure them to be more outspoken, and more active in multilateral organizations. The key Western weapon in the last years of the Soviet Union, human rights, must now be trained powerfully on Cuba.

And what of direct U.S.-Cuba contacts? First, it must be understood that these are an everyday occurrence. It was an endless source of amusement to us, in the Reagan administration, that various groups of critics demanded "talks with Cuba," precisely when we were holding serious talks on issues such as airplane hijacking, immigration, and the Cuban troop presence in Angola. What Fidel Castro has never allowed on the agenda is his dictatorship—that is, free elections or an end to one-party rule. This is no surprise, for the Soviets never negotiated that either.

But here again we can learn from Reagan policy during the late Cold War period: If they won't negotiate democracy, concentrate on human rights, where the international pressure is tougher.

This ties in with a greater presence of American news media in Cuba, and with greater use of Radio and TV Marti. Just as all Poles knew about Lech Walesa and Russians about Andrei Sakharov and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, all Cubans and the world should come to know and support the human-rights community in Havana. This will allow it to grow, as it did in other communist lands, into a moral and ultimately political force that helps end the tyranny. For in the end Cubans, not Amer-

travel opportunities and even limited commerce might be possible.

Should the administration decide—very wrongly, in my view—to end the embargo on trade with Cuba, it would be doubly important to combine that move with greatly increased political pressure on the dictatorship. Otherwise, ending the embargo would be seen in Cuba as a victory for Mr. Castro and would strengthen his regime just at the moment of its greatest moral and political weakness.

High-profile talks with Cuba are exactly the wrong idea now, for they will awaken Mr. Castro's hopes, and the Cuban people's fears, that a "deal" will save the regime. Instead, we should continue the kinds of talks we have usefully held over the decades—led at our end by the career diplomats who successfully negotiated with Cuba in the past. But, again, their marching orders must be clear: The goal is to undermine this regime through the human-rights weapon that was so forcefully wielded in communist Europe.

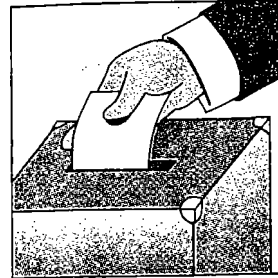
But what of today's crisis, the refugee flows? Bottling up Cubans who seek freedom in tents on an American base on their own island is a foolish, unsustainable policy. If we want to build a permanent settlement there, that would provide an alternative: a new community (call it Ciudad Marti?), with permanent dwellings, that could trade freely with the U.S. and elect its own officials. We would be creating a West Berlin, a small free city within the communist nation, and would need to



MIAMI'S HIGH FLIER

How American
became a
dominant force
BUSINESS MONDAY

CHANCE OF THUNDERSTORMS, 89/71, PAGE 3B



IT'S LAST DAY TO REGISTER FOR PRIMARY VOTING

Crowded Sept. 8 ballot
includes governor's race
LOCAL, 1B



SPARKLING RETURN FOR RYAN BOWEN

Marlin's first win
of '94 is a shutout
SPORTS, 1D

■ TONIGHT • ST. LOUIS, 7:35, JRS

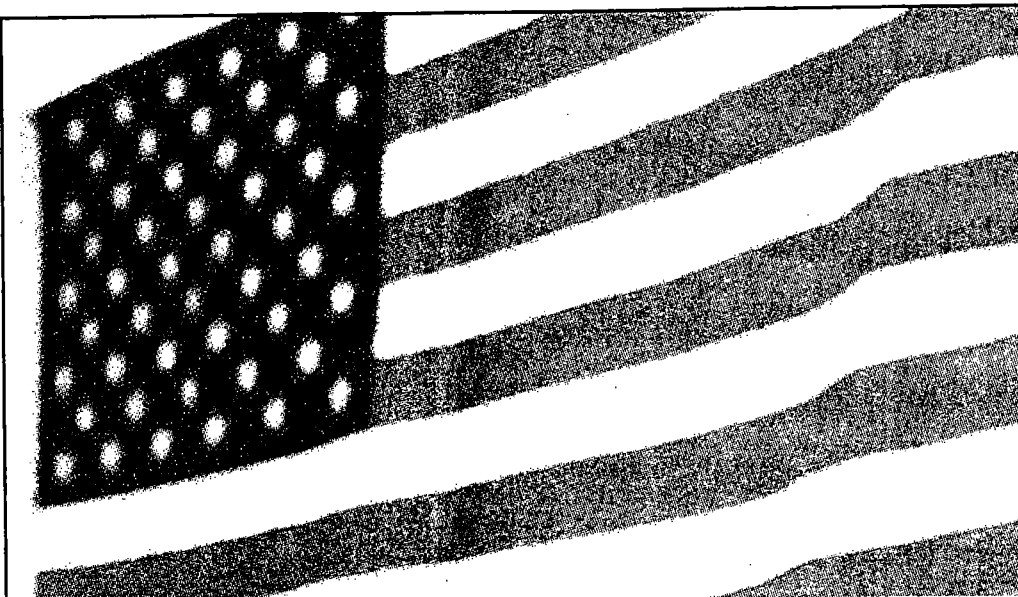
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The Miami Herald

MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1994

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35 CENTS



Cuba: Vigil of hopes,



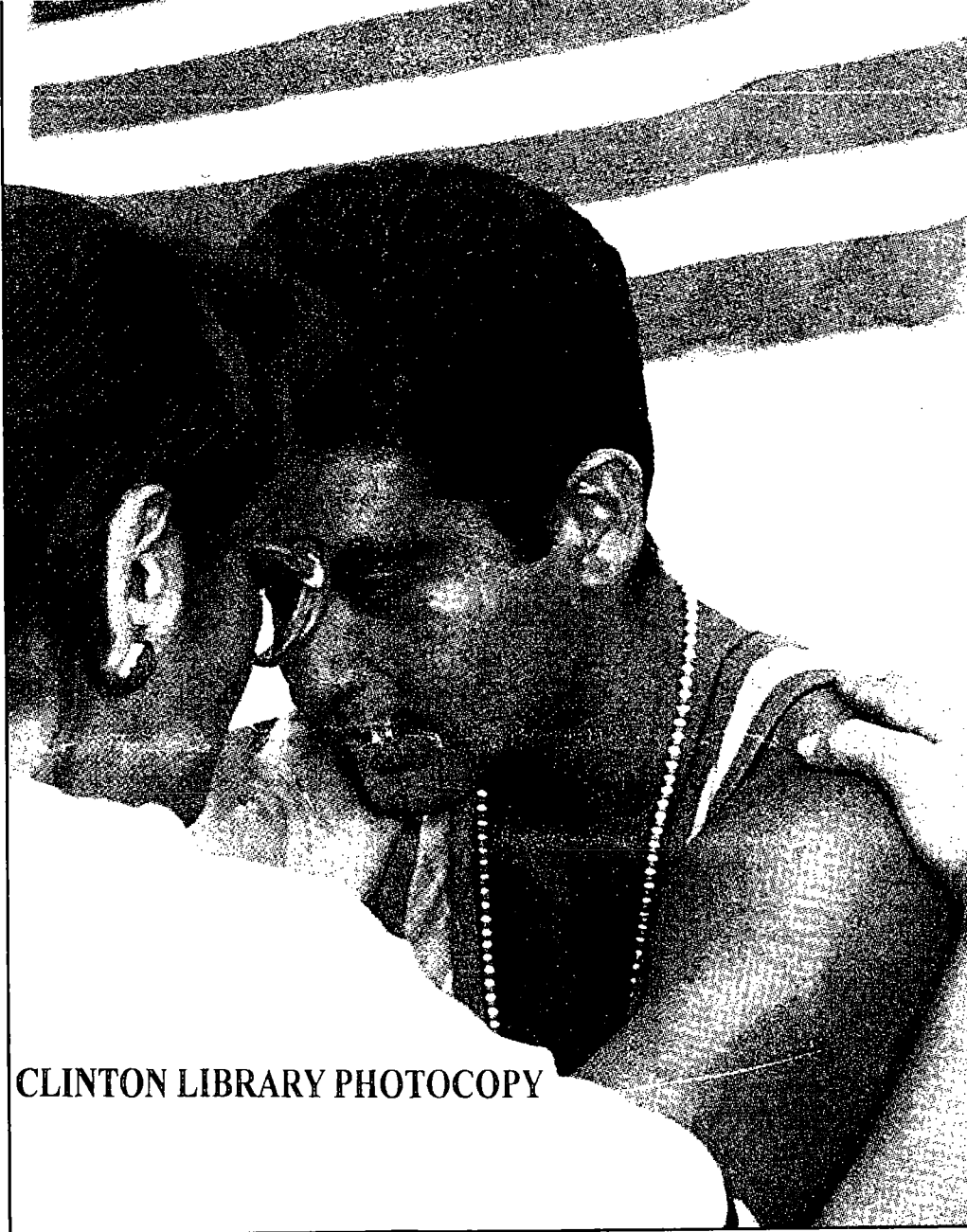
MARICE COHN BAND / Herald Staff

A RIOT, A RAFT — AND FREEDOM

■ **Rafters' reunion:** A day after fleeing Havana by raft, below, in the wake of the riots, Douglas Martinez, above, hugs his aunt, Rudia Martinez of Miami, at the transit center for Cuban refugees in Key West. His brother Marcel, right, is united with their mother, Areli, who already was visiting in the area. **Story, 12A.**



CANDACE BARDOT / Herald Staff



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MARICE COHN BAND / Herald Staff

nope, worry

By ANN DAVIS, MANNY GARCIA
And MARTIN MERZER
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 Mena 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

PLEASE SEE CUBA, 12A



ANXIETY FROM AFAR: Echoes out of Havana have frantic, frustrating ring

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 gov-

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.

"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?"

sident poet Maria Elena Cruz Varela. She had set up a kind of information camp at her place, nagging the woman in Canada who patches her calls through to Havana. But Havana was jammed. That left her with the

South Floridians keep a Cuba vigil

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.

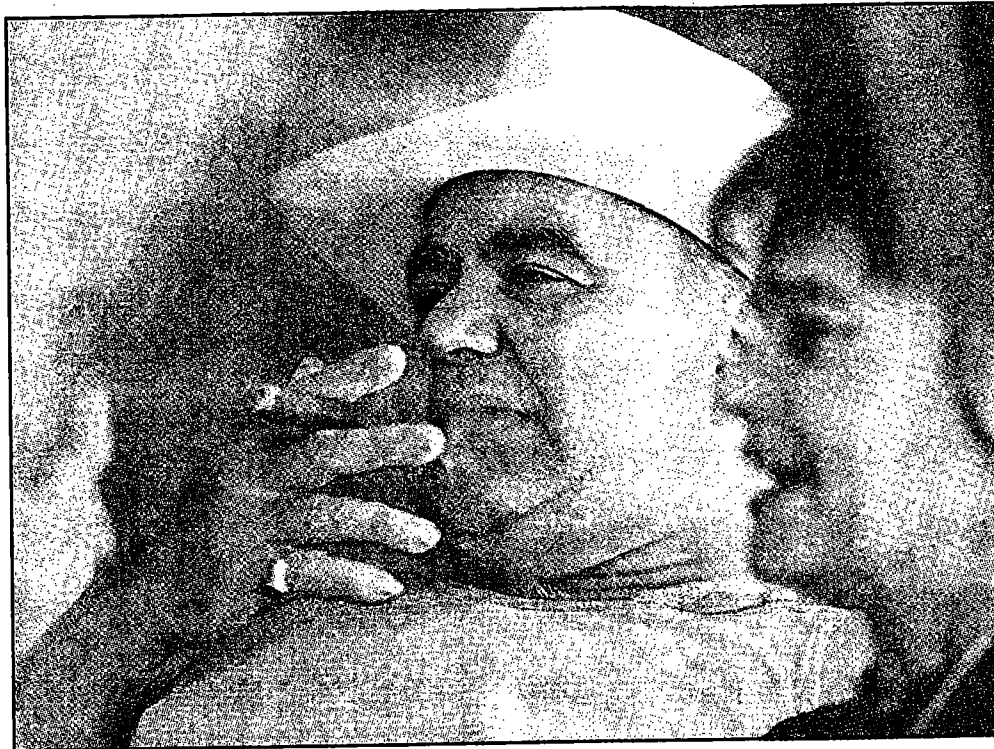
In Washington, the Clinton administration continued to fine-tune contingency plans in case a massive boatlift of refugees develops. Castro has threatened to allow unrestrained emigration, raising hopes among some Cubans but arousing fear here of a repeat of the chaotic Mariel boatlift of 1980.

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



PATRICK FARRELL / Herald Staff

ISLAND SOUNDS: Antonio Ramon enjoys a *punto guajiro*, the improvisational music of the island's countryside, at La Bodeguita Cubana in Northwest Dade.



PATRICK FARRELL / Herald Staff

TAKING IN THE SCENE: Pilin Verde-Blanco of Chicago enjoys a Cuban fair on Coral Gables' Giralda Avenue outside Yuca restaurant, celebrating its fifth year.

Miami's exiles recall the best of their suffering land

By ANN DAVIS
And ELAINE DE VALLE
Herald Staff Writers

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

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

that, ultimately, is going to open 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.

By ANN DAVIS
And ELAINE DE VALLE
Herald Staff 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.

In ways 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 minds — 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 to celebrate that something might be about to happen," said Coral Gables Mayor Raul Valdes-Fauli.

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

*Yo recuerdo esa ocasión, de un pueblo
sufrido y triste: Como 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 Malecon."

Large numbers of Cubans are fleeing that suffering, and the Brothers to the Rescue were in the air again Sunday, 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,

with hope, 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 fell for it," Martin said as other pilots cheered. "The shark went for the bait. We thought of everything legal we could do and they fell 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.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

As turmoil erupts, family sees chance

'It looked like Fidel had fallen'

By MANNY GARCIA
And SUSANA BELLIDO
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 Transit Center for Cuban Refugees on Stock Island. He and eight family

including myself, 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



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.

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-

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.

ond 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 work 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.

Associated Press

From Havana, frustrating echoes of the chaos

BALMADEA, FROM 1A

sidents 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.

instructor, told his story Sunday morning, moments after arriving at the Transit 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,

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."

AMERICA LATINA

MARTES 27 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1994 / EL NUEVO HERALD 3A

En huelga médicos venezolanos

cios cablegráficos combinados

Caracas — Los 280,000 trabajadores del sector de la salud en Venezuela iniciaron el lunes un paro de 48 horas en demanda de mejoras salariales y de reformas en las condiciones laborales. Los huelguistas exigen que el gobierno les cancele una deuda de 2,000 millones de bolívars.

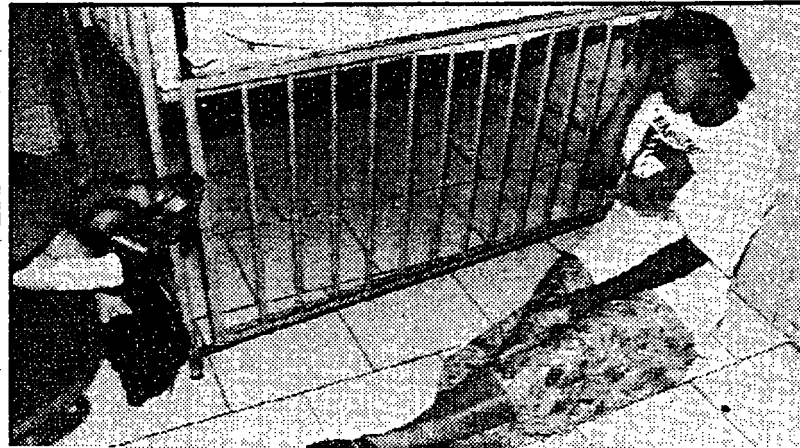
‘La salud del pueblo está por encima de cualquier interés’.

JUAN NEPOMUCENO GARRIDO
Ministro del Trabajo

médicos sólo atendían

la salud del pueblo de Venezuela está por encima de cualquier interés, de cualquier gremio”, dijo el ministro del Trabajo, Juan Nepomuceno Garrido.

El Ministerio de Salud llegó a un acuerdo con uno de los sindicatos, mediante el cual se cancelarían las deudas a cambio de una reanudación de actividades laborales y se nombraría una comisión para ofrecer soluciones.



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Personalidades piden a Clinton que no ayude

■ La solicitud fue hecha en una carta abierta publicada en *The New York Times*, *The Miami Herald*, y *El Nuevo Herald*.

Por CYNTHIA CORZO
y TEBA GOMEZ-MONCHE
Redactoras de El Nuevo Herald

Intelectuales, académicos y profesionales cubanos del exilio, con el respaldo de figuras del mundo de la política y la diplomacia estadounidenses, enviaron el lunes una carta abierta al presidente Bill Clinton en la que lo instan a no ayudar al gobernante cubano Fidel Castro.

La carta, firmada por 107 exilia-

dos, ex diplomáticos y ex funcionarios gubernamentales estadounidenses, apareció el lunes en los diarios *The New York Times* y *The Miami Herald*.

"Señor Presidente, los días de Castro están contados. Le exhortamos a no hacer cambios políticos que puedan prolongar su gobierno despótico, a continuar en el firme camino del apoyo democrático y a no tomar el curso de apaciguamiento que prolongaría la tiranía", señaló la carta. "La mayoría de los cubanos añoran un país democrático y próspero sin Castro. Déles algo de aliento y permanecerán en la isla para luchar por la libertad".

El objetivo del anuncio es "decir la verdad" sobre Cuba, exigir a países como España, México y Canadá que detengan su asistencia económica al régimen castrista, y oponerse a aquéllos que buscan el levantamiento del embargo económico de Estados Unidos antes de que se produzcan reformas democráticas.

"Somos un grupo de cubanos preocupados por el hecho de que Haití se ha convertido en el foco del peligro en el Caribe, mientras Cuba pasa inadvertida", dijo Tere Zubizarreta, presidenta de la firma de publicidad Zubi Advertising y firmante del documento. "Castro es mil veces más sanguinario que

Cedras. Los cubanos sufren de *apartheid*".

Ciudadanos por una Cuba Libre, explicó Zubizarreta, no es una organización fundada con una junta directiva. Es simplemente un grupo de cubanos que decidió arrojar luz sobre el problema de Cuba.

"Nosotros creemos estar en la obligación de contribuir a la liberación de Cuba; actuamos de acuerdo con las circunstancias, no somos un grupo más. El embargo debe permanecer; ése es el propósito de esta carta, y según se desarrollen los acontecimientos haremos otras", dijo Luis Botifoll, banquero cubanoamericano.

La idea surgió hace unas semanas, cuando Estados Unidos se preparaba para invadir Haití.

Todos los firmantes de la carta contribuyeron monetariamente para pagar la publicación del anuncio en *The New York Times*, *The Miami Herald* y *El Nuevo Herald*.

"Me la leyeron y estuve de acuerdo con ella", dijo Basulto, presidente de *Hermes al Rescate*, organización de voluntarios que patrulla el Estrecho de la Florida en busca de refugiados.

"Debemos llamarle la atención al Presidente, porque parte del problema que tienen los cubanos

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

AMERICA LATINA

MARTES 27 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1994
EL NUEVO HERALD

Ades piden a Clinton que no ayude a Castro

diplomáticos y ex funcionarios gubernamentales estadounidenses, apareció el lunes en los *The New York Times* y *The Herald*.

Presidente, los días de su gobierno están contados. Le exhortamos a hacer cambios políticos para prolongar su gobierno, a continuar en el firme apoyo democrático y a definir el curso de apaciguamiento que prolongaría la tiranía. La mayoría de los cubanos añoran un país libre y próspero sin Castro. Algo de aliento y permanencia en la isla para luchar por la libertad.

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"Debemos llamarle la atención al Presidente, porque parte del problema que tienen los cubanos

se debe a errores en la política exterior de Estados Unidos", señaló Basulto. "Este gobierno tiene una responsabilidad moral con el pueblo cubano".

Según Basulto, la misiva es el "principio de la indignación" del exilio cubano con el comportamiento del gobierno estadounidense hacia Cuba y los cubanos.

Agregó Antonio Jorge, profesor de economía y relaciones internacionales en la Universidad Internacional de la Florida: "Se insta al gobierno norteamericano a no alterar su política hacia Cuba, especialmente en estos momentos en que el régimen está desmoralizado y sus expectativas son cortas".

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: 9/7/94

TO: Suzanna Valdez

SUBJECT: News Clips

PAGE #1 OF 3

el tiempo

El testimonio eternizable de esta realidad cubana de estos años:

ESTE HOMBRE

mos cuántos cubanos han perecido
ando de la Isla por la costa).

en la noche.
izás su mínima tragedia.
las enteros con este miedo;
insomnio repasando
ranzas.
risas cordiales,
s, hizo concesiones políticas
otencia entre sordinas.
esos escollos diarios, y andaba
sencillo que iba al

las calles con un nombre

una luz que le dolía,
ás del pecho y de las sienes.
n los asuntos generales
an como un mar
día naufragaba.
alquiera,
gó con sus terrores y

mpre se menciona e

re la costa:
enia su luz pequeña afuera.
osibles, todos los dedos

ombra a delatar su fuga.
ya era el gran perseguido,
illo que no dejó su nombre
abrá nunca
gó su luz pequeña,
está sobre la costa
cantan con sus



eco y asilo para fieles e in-
otra mejilla pero también
r: tú lo has dicho. Sus pas-
en medio de las tormentas
circo "cubano". Ninguna
eco en el mundo como
traducen al italiano, al
as del mundo. Los Obis-
claridad que prefieren

Cartas al Director

Un apoyo al presidente Clinton

Estimado Director:

Le escribo esta carta para expresar una opi-
nión más. ¡Una entre muchas! pero impor-
tante, porque en este divino país que nos ha
siempre amparado, disfrutamos de la libertad
y el derecho de expresarnos abiertamente.

Yo apoyo firmemente las acciones recientes
del presidente Clinton, las cuales han logrado
convertir la burla migratoria de Fidel Castro,
en un desastre político para el gobierno de
Cuba. Sin embargo, estos hechos no servirán
de nada, si no son seguidos por medidas firmes
para erradicar este absurdo régimen
opresivo, que existe a sólo 90 millas de nuestra
costa. Los balseros, lo mismo esos que han
logrado llegar y los que no, merecen gran
mérito por ser catalizadores de una crisis que
ha dado principio a lo que puede ser el fin
de Castro. Los Estados Unidos no deben des-
aprovechar esta oportunidad. Tampoco la de-
be desaprovechar el presidente Clinton, el cual
ha demostrado falta de firmeza en muchos
asuntos en el pasado. Esta crisis no permite
indecisión.

Llegará muy pronto el momento, cuando el
éxodo masivo de cubanos termine o se apla-
que. Quedará vigente, un costoso y complicado
programa en Guantánamo, Krome y otros si-
tios, para lidiar con los destinos de las miles
de personas que arriesgaron sus vidas en bus-
ca de la libertad. Los Estados Unidos, después
de conducir interrogaciones para remover a
los malos elementos, deben considerar darle
asilo político a esas veinte mil personas y re-
localizarlas en varias partes del país. Repar-
tiendo a los detenidos en varias comunidades,
los números son menores. Existen suficientes
cuotas de inmigración no usadas, para justi-
ficar mucho más de veinte mil. Además, de
un punto de vista práctico, le ahorraría a los
estadounidenses los millones de dólares que
cuesta operar esos "campamentos". Nosotros
los refugiados cubanos de los últimos 35 años
hemos demostrado que somos industriales y
que no le serviremos de carga a nadie. Este
gran país fue forjado por refugiados.

George L. Fernández
Miami Beach, Fl.

Carta de una balsera

da que no sea adecuadamente estudiado en función del presente y, sobre todo, del futuro. Los comunistas siempre hacen algo para el mismo día y prevén muchas cosas para después. Esas cosas, cuando llega el momento oportuno, afloran en el instante menos pensado y, desde luego, siempre en beneficio de la tiranía y, por lo tanto, en contra de los ideales e intereses del pueblo.

Es lamentable que en torno a esta crisis haya quienes estén abogando por levantar el embargo para facilitar a la dictadura totalitaria de Castro su funcionamiento.

Caution Should be Observed by the U.S. in the Immigration Negotiations with Cuba

According to what has been informed Immigration officials from the United States and Cuba will be meeting this week in New York to discuss the issues involved in the exodus of Cuban citizens to the United States of America looking for the freedom that does not exist in their country. Besides that lack of freedom the country is suffering from the misery determined by a socio-economic system that is totally incompatible with the minimum demands of human need.

The American officials should be duly instructed by the high-level officials in Washington in the sense of taking every imaginable precaution to prevent that Fidel Castro, with his usual cunning and cynicism, may end up receiving undeserved benefits that will be detrimental for the cause of the Cuban people's freedom. And this is something that can not be left to improvisation, because Fidel Castro does not improvise. Rather he plans everything and even when it seems that he is changing course, that change was already contemplated at some point when he prepares his foreign policy strategy plans in general and, particularly, when they involve the United States.

Although it is disagreeable that it be necessary to sit down at the negotiation table --which is what this is all about-- still much can be done to prevent that what should not be negotiated be negotiated, going beyond the immigration of Cubans to the United States. Castro knows that his totalitarian tyranny creates the conditions that determine that immense numbers of Cuban want to leave the island because the communist system is unbearable. At least it is unbearable for those who have a reasonable minimum of awareness of what freedom and basic social well-being are. Many endure it because they have no other alternative. But the dictatorship knows perfectly well what the reason is: because there is no other option, at least, up to the present.

The high-level officials in Washington should give these issues marked priority to carefully observe their unfolding and not approve anything that is not properly studied in terms of the present and, above all, of the future. The communists always do something for today and plan many for the future. Those things, when the time comes, show up when least expected and, of course, always to the benefit of the tyranny and, consequently, against the ideals and interests of the people.

It is regrettable that in this crisis there be some advocating the lifting of the embargo to make things easier for the Castro totalitarian dictatorship.

Bombas y asesinos. Buenos Aires y colocar el antisemitico primer plano. El obrado precisamente el cialista de Israel ha s. dos grandes acuerdos. daria. Pese a ello o, l a causa de ello se ha de Argentina son des que pensaron hace y en la pampa podian e metida. Esta utopia gran epopeya y tamismo que desplegó fascistas y militariz.

Mas la pregunta de mueve el antisemitismo causas ha arraigado juventud? Las explic y que al menos a n que coinciden en da nomia de las ideas, las. Ralf Dahrendorf demasiado valorado tismismo alemán incompatibles con la ta contradicción se el mero transcurso d velo de la ideología "la ideología era si para engañar a la Lo malo es que, co en demasiados casos de Hitler coincidió

El mecanicista Da de que el antisemitismo solamente conecta pitalistas, sino que tendían como prop o más, la tecnología ingenieros y absol en lo ideológico, f entre sociedad ind Eso le daba a la una capacidad de mente por haber l ores modernos. S cho nos puede pa que anda sorprende so económico por el nazismo, y lo la persistencia d

El economicismo cuanto a las concl que las clases se ralismo hasta el sin matices, sus i origen y una situa ya se sabe lo qu izquierdista pens una ideología del imposible nada q ximización de la Efectivamente, m claves económicas era racional econ ción cierta pero el antisemitismo

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**FROM: LULA RODRIGUEZ, DIRECTOR
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DATE: 8/30/94

TO: Suzanna Valdez

SUBJECT: News Clip

PAGE #1 OF 2 (of 3)

A plea to the Cuban people from an exile who should have never left

Oscar Peña is a Cuban dissident and prominent human rights activist. He has lived in Miami since 1991.

MY countrymen on the island, I need to talk to you about the ongoing exodus. I have been doing so for several days, courtesy of the Cuban-exile radio stations and Radio Martí.

In those broadcasts, I have stated that the solution to Cuba's problem will not be reached through rafts, a mass exodus, or the flight of Cuba's children. I've been much maligned by many compatriots here, who say that I — living in Miami — have no moral right to make such remarks.

But wouldn't a rehabilitated drug addict have the authority, a moral responsibility and a healthy right, to give good advice to his family

and friends? Advice based on his negative experience, so they won't repeat his mistake?

The fact that some of us Cubans have erred since 1959, leaving Cuba under pressure or willingly, should not disqualify us from speaking honestly. We have learned lessons and need to convey them to you.

Fortunately, on the Cuban issue, no one can cast the first stone. We have all erred, and we all must atone. That's why we must be very straightforward with you.

It is a crime for Cuba's children to continue to abandon their motherland. It is a crime to continue urging you to come here. It is a crime to go on dividing families. It is a crime to watch people drown in the sea. It is a crime — and civic cowardice — to ask the United States to solve the problem by either issuing more visas or invading the island. It is a crime — and a total lack of civic-mindedness — to remain silent just because one lives in Miami. Were I to do so, I

would not be true to myself. Errors are rectified, not dragged along forever.

Let me be honest with you, people of Cuba. I firmly believe that flight will never be the best way out of a problem. By fleeing, we are depriving Cuba of her values, we are bleeding the nation dry. Every day we move farther away from a solution, because we lose that magic, those invisible strings that bind us to our patrimony, to our reality.

I want you to know that on foreign soil there is no house, automobile, money, or food that can ever heal your wounds. Exile will always be a sad lesson to those who don't want to listen. Though you may think that homesickness is for sentimentalists and that you're determined to sever all ties with Cuba, I assure you that — once outside Cuba — the love of country will hit you hard. It has happened to all of us here.

In view of events, I believe that it would be immoral not to look sadly upon your actions.

You are repeating the same mistakes that we made.

The exile community is important today, but only as a complement to what you do. It is your voice at every international forum and government house. It will be even more important tomorrow, during the nation's economic reconstruction.

But listen, just so you won't say one day that nobody warned you: The solution to your problems will never come from abroad, nor will you find it in exile. The solution is in Cuba, in your hands, in the hands of the people of Cuba.

Know that there aren't enough jails, policemen, or "rapid response brigades" in Cuba to repress 10 million Cubans demanding peacefully their rights and freedom. National reconciliation must take place in Cuba, by putting an end to the current situation, not by artificial solutions made in Miami. So far, Cuba's problem continues to be Fidel Castro, you, and us.

OSCAR
PEÑA

PAPEL DE PERIODICO

Letting Cuba policy drift

The administration is caught in a box of its own making.

By Wayne S. Smith

The Clinton administration has gotten itself into a hopeless box in Cuba. It goaded Castro into allowing Cuban rafters to leave by describing his efforts to stop them as violations of human rights. Now it faces a flood of refugees that may eventually mount into the hundreds of thousands — hundreds of thousands the United States will have to house and feed indefinitely.

But what did it expect? Its policies have helped to bring us here.

The United States is, of course, not responsible for Cuba's central problems, as Castro says it is. The economic crisis and accompanying social unrest are the result of the collapse of the Soviet economic system upon which Cuba was dependent and of Castro's own resistance to the liberalizing economic and political reforms that Cuba must implement if it is to find a place for itself within this newly changed post-Cold War world.

On the other hand, U.S. policy toward Cuba, rather than contributing to solutions, has been a part of the problem. With the Cold War over and our foreign policy goals achieved (Cuban troops out of Africa, Cuba no longer assisting revolutionary movements anywhere), one might have thought some relaxation of tensions was in order.

Clearly, a peaceful transitional process toward a more open Cuban economic and political system would have better suited the interests of the United States than a bloody escalation of a massive exodus, or both.

And in other countries, such as China, Vietnam and Kuwait, that are not democratic and that have had human rights records, we argue that the best way to encourage them toward improvement is by remaining engaged with them. As George Bush put it many times when he was president, efforts to isolate and pressure China were likely to prove counter-

productive.

Counterproductive or not, rather than softening our policy toward Cuba, the Clinton administration moved in exactly the opposite direction: It stepped up efforts to isolate the island and tightened our 30-year-old embargo, which includes a total prohibition on the sale of foodstuffs. Talk about trying to starve them out!

As Cuba's Catholic bishops, ecumenical council and many human rights activists have long pointed out, this was hardly the best way to encourage liberalization and a more relaxed attitude internally.

Rather, it was — and is — a policy designed to increase internal pressures. As Rep. Robert Torricelli, author of the Cuban Democracy Act, put it, the intention was to "wreak havoc in Cuba."

The United States is now reaping the bitter consequences of that policy.

And how will the Clinton administration get out of the box it is in?

It clearly has no idea.

Ratcheting up the pressures will result neither in Castro's downfall nor in a decision to halt the flow of refugees. It could take up Cuba's offer to begin a dialogue aimed at resolving this and other problems between the two — and at a lifting of the embargo. But that would be unacceptable to the right-wing exiles to whom the administration seems to have abdicated formation of Cuban policy.

And so the United States is likely simply to drift, running a soup kitchen for a growing tide of refugees while it remains locked in a sterile impasse with Havana. What statesmanship!

Wayne S. Smith, a Foreign Service officer in charge of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana during the 1980 Mariel boatlift, is now a visiting professor at Johns Hopkins University and a senior fellow at the Center for International Policy. He just returned from a visit to Cuba.

► Story, 1A

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The President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C. 200..

Dear Mr. President,

Dr. Smith probably knows more about Fidel Castro and the inner workings of their system than any other citizen of our country.

As you know, I have tried for five years to get Chautauqua to provide the forum for airing US and Cuban differences, as with the USSR. We have lost time. You are now partly responsible! Face up, and do the right thing, and God will continue to bless!

RS

William P. Cooke

10A TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1994
THE HERALD

THE CUBAN CRISIS

The longer talks last, the more Castro gains

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writer

NEW YORK — By unleashing a vast, perilous refugee exodus from Cuba, President Fidel Castro may be playing his last card — but it is a good one.

As immigration talks limped through a fourth day Monday, and were expected to resume today, it became increasingly apparent that Havana is in no hurry to negotiate an end to a crisis that has pressed more than 20,000 Cubans into U.S. arms.

NEWS ANALYSIS

By drawing out the talks, initiated by the Clinton administration, Castro has succeeded in airing Cuba's beef with the United States in headlines and newscasts, basked in the status of face-to-face talks with Washington, rid the island of thousands of malcontents and gained leverage daily as the exodus continues.

All this Castro has managed so far without paying a significant political price, domestically or internationally. Cubans on the island, sensing a rare opportunity to reach the United States, have channeled their energies into building rafts, not challenging an increasingly bankrupt system; and much of the world, skeptical of U.S. policy toward Cuba, has largely withheld criticism of Castro's latest maneuver.

est maneuver.

As if signaling its weaker position, the administration's top negotiator, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Michael Skol presented former Cuban Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon with a new U.S. offer to accept more Cuban refugees through legal channels.

Offering something more

Details of the latest offer were not available, but U.S. officials said it exceeded what they already considered a "generous" offer with which they had opened the talks Thursday: accepting a minimum of 20,000 Cuban immigrants each year.

The annual total would be achieved through a combination of legal and discretionary mechanisms, including redefining eligibility criteria for asylum from Cuba and simply paroling in large numbers of people currently on waiting lists for travel visas.

When Alarcon responded over the weekend with a demand that the United States accept more than 100,000 refugees in short order, U.S. officials decried it as "outlandish," and equated it with 1980 Mariel exodus, precisely the kind of chaotic immigration surge the administration desperately hopes to avoid.

But, plainly fretting at the prospect of going home empty-handed, Skol and his team toiled past midnight Sunday on the new draft offer.

Short-run implications

If the talks fail, the short-run implications for the United States are profound: Administration officials say they can anticipate a surge in the refugee flow.

David Johnson, a spokesman for the U.S. delegation, once again sought to dampen hopes that an accord might be near on Monday. "I want to caution you against premature speculation on the outcome of the negotiations," he said.

Privately, U.S. officials engaged in the talks expressed frustration that Castro, at his weakest moment in three decades, has managed to transfer his woes to the United States.

U.S. unable to gather chips

The administration, which believes it has won hands-down the ideological battle against Castro's socialism, finds itself strangely unable to gather up the chips.

A combination of domestic pressures has weakened its own hand. On one hand, there is a strong push to stare down Castro's latest challenge, emanating largely from the influential Cuban-American community; on the other hand, there is a desire to block any new influx of refugees, spurred by anti-immigrant sentiment across the U.S. and especially in Florida.

The result of these conflicting impulses is a schizophrenic negotiating position — one that relentlessly pursues talks to halt the exodus, but categorically rejects Havana's chief request to discuss lifting the U.S. embargo of Cuba.

In drafting U.S. proposals, officials are trying to find a magic number of refugees that will satisfy Castro — who wants a chance to send off those who have given up on the revolution — while not undercutting Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles, who has decried unfettered immigration into the state and faces a tough re-election battle in November.

A six-year Mariel

Already, some analysts fear they may be offering Havana too much: 20,000 immigrants a year would reach the dimensions of the Mariel boatlift in six years. Administration officials counter that, under their terms, the new influx would be orderly and entrants would be screened.

What Havana really wants in return for shutting off the flow of refugees is something the administration says it cannot deliver. Skol has repeatedly ruled out even discussing an easing of sanctions against Cuba until there are signs Castro is willing to instill democratic reforms.

Every day of the talks, raucous anti-Castro demonstrators have stood vigil, exhorting the administration not to make any concessions on that point.

"We want war!" a throng of Cuban-American protesters shouted at Skol as he departed the Cuban mission to the United Nations on Monday.

But again, U.S. diplomats said, that is another card they feel they just don't have.

SEE ANALYSIS, 10A

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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 desgobierno como una crisis de la política

PRSA 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 aconsejan 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 mejoría 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 Crisis with Castro Calls for Diplomatic Efforts from Washington

Faced with the present crisis caused by Fidel Castro's ability to maneuver and to disrupt international public order, Washington must undertake immediate diplomatic efforts to try to secure adequate support from the governments of the inter-American system in its stand against the Fidel Castro totalitarian Marxist-Leninist tyranny. Unfortunately, we must admit that there has been a gradual softening in favor of Castro on the part of the Western Hemisphere governments, including some of those that are most identified with the White House.

All this should be done independently from the work involved in the immediate problems caused by the disorderly and mass exodus from Cuba openly coordinated by Castro, be it by permissiveness or by direct encouragement. Every time that Fidel Castro is invited to a presidential inauguration in any of the Latin American countries this is a tacit acknowledgement of the dictator's importance, regardless of his totally anti-democratic record and attacks against international public order. There is no comparison between a protocolar invitation extended to any ruler with a more or less questionable democratic performance and an invitation extended to Fidel Castro about whom there is no arguing as to whether or not he is an absolute dictator, whose violations of human rights in his country, and even abroad with acts of invasion, are unprecedented in the history of international delinquency. Such invitation implies complicity on the part of the host governments.

A high level diplomatic mission from Washington should start intelligent and firm efforts with the governments of the inter-American system to strengthen the position of the Administration vs the liberty-killing regime in Havana. That step must be taken, hopefully with success, before any immediate ulterior measures that the American government might have to adopt to confront the Castro regime.

There can be no talk about isolating Castro or about effective international actions, if the Washington government does not count with a reasonable minimum of solidarity, at least from part of the other hemispheric governments. And to this we should add that there are regional governments that advocate Castro's return to the OAS, something which would greatly benefit the Havana tyranny and seriously harm the cause of freedom of the Cuban people.

El lugar los enfrentamientos, en los alrededores del
cilitro, se encuentra a pocos cientos de metros de la sede
presidencia de la República.



Clinton y su poder del veto

Por William Safire

WASHINGTON.-- Al igual que el fatídico "lea mis labios" de George Bush prometiendo no más impuestos, el gesto memorable de Bill Clinton de sacar su pluma del bolsillo ondeándola ante el Congreso --amenazando con vetar la legislación sobre la salud que no alcanzara sus objetivos-- pudo haber parecido como una gran idea en aquellos momentos.

El abandono de su promesa sobre los impuestos llevó a los noticieros de televisión a repetir la escena de Bush una y otra vez, machacando sobre el punto hasta el final. Ahora Bill Clinton se expone a un juicio semejante. Los productores de televisión están televisando ese momento de Clinton ondeando su pluma, como su promesa irrevocable e inescapablemente visual de mantenerse firme. Todo experto tiene una tecla en su máquina de escribir electrónica para que cada vez que quiera escribir "ese gesto lo perseguirá para siempre" lo escriba con un solo toque. Tenga esto siempre en cuenta cuando revisemos las estrategias que tenga Clinton como alternativas de aquí hasta el día de las elecciones de 1994.

Furioso con la revuelta de los sátrapas demócratas con su ley del crimen, al principio Clinton reaccionó con un nerviosismo insípido. Fulminó contra los republicanos que se unieron a los disidentes del control de armas dentro de las filas demócratas para bloquear la legislación llena de rebendas.

Pero después de convencerse de la realidad, un alarmado presidente se presentó ante el cuerpo periodístico, que embarazoso se reunía con un vasto orden de batalla, para hacer patente su conformidad con la necesidad política.

Fuera quedaron muchos de los gastos sociales, se insertaron algunas provisiones contra el crimen y, al historial se añadieron algunas palabras ponderosas de Clinton para la minoría republicana en la Cámara que pasaría una ley bipartita

muy mejorada.

De ahí deducimos que Clinton está dispuesto a transigir cuando se asoma la derrota. La mayoría de nosotros esperábamos que cediera ante la ley del crimen. Pero ¿qué nos dice la componenda sobre esta ley con respecto a la legislación sobre la salud?

Cuando el Plan Hillary se hundió como piedra de vesícula, los liberales sacaron a relucir la proposición de Mitchell. Hasta ahí llegamos, dijo el Presidente. (Hora de tocar la tecla "ese gesto lo perseguirá para siempre"). La táctica del senador George Mitchell fue persuadir al republicano John Chafee, a un par de congresistas republicanos que terminan su término en el Congreso, así como a uno de dos debiluchos y un espía, a presentar una proposición liberal "más a tono con la opinión pública" (el eufemismo de Nelson Rockefeller para "moderado").

Invitado tardíamente por el grupo en cuestión para oír la proposición de Chafee, Bob Dole respondió caústicamente: "Antes de hacer cualquier decisión, tengo que hablar con los verdaderos republicanos". Cuando lo hizo, algunos notaron que aparte de aumentar \$81 mil millones en impuestos en diez años, algo inaceptable, la proposición de Chafee no está muy lejos de la reforma Dole-Packwood sobre seguro médico, que prohíbe "la condición previa" y provee subsidios de seguro médico a los pobres y pensión llevada de empleo en empleo. Fuera el impuesto secreto obligatorio; fuera las pretensiones de seguro universal; fuera los monopolios impuestos por el gobierno; fuera el subsidio a los asilos de ancianos; fuera las medicinas gratis.

No es de extrañar que Hillary odie esta proposición. También la odian los cabilderos de las grandes corporaciones y de los grandes sindicatos laborales, ya que se habían dejado seducir por la promesa de Hillary de que los contribuyentes asumirían una enorme obligación de pensionar a trabajadores que se retiraran a los 55 años.

Aparte del aumento en impuestos, no hay mucho aquí para los liberales.

Y ahora llega Clinton a pasar su Rubicón. ¿Le dice a Mitchell que haga la componenda, quizás liberalizando a Chafee mediante la enmienda, en la esperanza de que una ley más liberal en la Cámara inclinaria una conferencia Cámara-Senado más hacia la izquierda?

Si lo hace, se vería políticamente obligado a firmar la mezcolanza resultante, puliéndola con una retórica de "del lobo un pelo", reclamando el triunfo sobre el estancamiento, por lo menos algo es aprobado. Eso fue lo que esencialmente hizo con la ley del crimen y ¿no ha dado resultado? Nada se perdería excepto el honor.

No obstante, ceder en algo como la salud, que es el alma de su agenda, sería la palmada que comenzaría la avalancha de escenas de la sesión conjunta en la televisión, los liberales gritando traición, y los comentaristas sacando a relucir la famosa pluma del veto.

La alternativa de Clinton es denunciar la proposición de Chafee ahora, para mantener el principio, recordarle al Congreso su advertencia de veto, y recorrer la nación para decirles a los ancianos y a los trabajadores de la industria automotriz que le envíen nuevos congresistas demócratas con más espina dorsal.

Cumpla su más famosa promesa, señor Presidente. Haga algo ostensiblemente poco refinado. Escuche a Hillary: Rehúse dejarse devorar por los pececillos hasta morir. Lleve el asunto ante el pueblo. Yo creo que la mayoría rehusará aceptar su visión de cuidados de salud centralizados. Pero es mejor perder mientras se arriesga grandemente que ser recordado como el presidente que de continuo es apisonado.

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President Clinton **Must Take Counsel Now**

President Clinton must take counsel now from a small but knowledgeable group of officials and national personalities who are familiar with the different crises that dictator Fidel Castro has created for the United States of America over more than thirty-five years of trickery, aggressions and international manipulations. It would be advisable that the group include personalities from both parties with enough experience --according to American norms-- to counsel the White House about what it should or should not do in a confrontation with Castro. And this is how it should be not because the President not be qualified to act, but because other Presidents of the Republic have been in this same situation. It is always good to listen to different opinions, without this implying not taking firm action and assuming final responsibility in each situation. It must be avoided by all means that Fidel Castro gets his way.

Fidel Castro, although he has been an absolute tyrant for over thirty-five years., counts with the counsel of important communists of the world who know how the American political system works and its characteristics. Before, of course, all the resources of Soviet imperialism were available to Castro. However, we should not think that those resources have disappeared now because, although in a different way, they are latent in the sense of forging ahead with the communist conspiracy under a new image.

The history of the last three decades alarmingly shows that Fidel Castro has handled his relations with the United States of America in ways extremely detrimental for this great nation and very favorable for the liberty-killing regime that he installed in Cuba in January 1959 with an orgy of blood, executions, imprisonments, and plundering of private property. And since Castro does not respect any traditional or juridical norms, he constantly comes up with different things while on the march, fully aware that there is disproportionate and undeserved worldwide tolerance for his outrages. In some cases, the more he abuses his arbitrary power or temperamental outbursts, the more cooperation or tolerance he gets from the free world, at least from important sectors of that world. And the extremes have been reached that in the most important democratic celebrations in different countries of the Western Hemisphere, such as the presidential inaugurations, the political "star" --so to speak-- the guest of honor, without that adjective being used, is Fidel Castro. And he is honored by those who have been inflexible with other rulers infinitely less arbitrary than Castro.

The White House, as well as the Departments of State, Justice and Defense, should follow closely, minute by minute, what the totalitarian tyranny in Havana is doing, to avert additional threats against the liberty of the Cuban people and the security of the United States.

In Martha's Vineyard, Clinton Pays Heed to Sermon on Relaxing

PRESIDENT Clinton attended services Sunday at an open-air tabernacle in Oak Bluff, Mass., and promptly became a convert of the minister, who stressed the need to balance work and play, "even if you're the president."

Mr. Clinton, on the second day of his vacation on Martha's Vineyard, later had breakfast at a restaurant with Hillary Rodham Clinton and their daughter, Chelsea and then went directly to a golf course.

Near sunset, the Clinton family went sailing around Vineyard Haven Sound for about two hours aboard a 72-foot yacht named Zorra.

They were accompanied by singer-songwriter James Taylor.

At the tabernacle, the Rev. Edward Vander Hey of the First Baptist Church in Red Bank, N.J., delivered a sermon that stressed the need to balance the pressures of work with the need to relax.

The minister acknowledged that when his friends heard he might speak in front of Clinton, they "had all kinds of things to tell him, but they were neither Christian nor kind."

The quality of Clinton getting away from the troubles was underscored a few minutes after leaving the church.

The president was walking along, shaking hands with well-wishers, when he was asked about an alleged marital affair.

Clinton, who spent much of Saturday playing golf, participated in a foursome with actor Paul Glaser, television producer George Stevens, and lawyer Vernon Jordan, who helped head Clinton's transition team after he won the presidential election.

- Reuters



WASHINGTON ON HIS MIND? President Clinton meets with singer James Taylor before an afternoon cruise out of Vineyard Haven harbor on Aug. 22. Mr. Clinton, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and their daughter Chelsea are expected to remain on vacation at least a week.

US, Cuba to resume talks on refugees

DESPITE calls for wide-ranging, high-level negotiations, the United States and Cuba will discuss only refugees when mid-level talks resume this week, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said.

"On other subjects, we really don't have very much to say to Castro. He knows what he needs to do," Mr. Christopher said Sunday on CBS.

He also said the United States would respond in a "carefully calibrated way" should Cuban leader Fidel Castro Ruz take steps toward democracy, such as allowing free elections.

This week's discussions continue U.S.-Cuban negotiations that generally have taken place twice yearly for a decade. The goal is a compromise through which the United States would allow more legal immigration from Cuba if Mr. Castro stops the illegal flight toward Florida, Christopher said.

- Associated Press

Southern governors meet in Nashville

WHEN it comes to health-care reform, Congress should leave it up to the states, Mississippi Gov. Kirk Fordice (R) said Sunday at the start of the annual Southern Governors' Association meeting in Nashville.

"I don't believe we should rush ahead at the federal level without seeing what's working on the local level," said Mr. Fordice.

Southern governors held their 60th annual summit here through today.

Health-care reform is high on the agenda, which also includes prison reform, education reform and, as always, griping about federal mandates.

Tennessee Gov. Ned McWherter (D), host of the summit, said President Clinton's health-care reform plan couldn't achieve the level of coverage his state has. Mr. McWherter's aides said his TennCare health-care reform plan, combined with private insurance and government plans, now provides health insurance coverage to 94.1 percent of Tennesseans.

Georgia Gov. Zell Miller, the Democrat who is chairman of the Southern Governors' Association, said he is more inclined to see what develops in Congress before proposing sweeping health reform in his state, though a bipartisan committee is studying the prospect.

- Associated Press



Viejo dictado aconseja a Clinton

(Más sobre Cuba en la Pág. 8-A)

Por FERNANDO PAJARES

WASHINGTON (EFE). - En Washington ya es casi palpable la sensación de que Fidel Castro ha conseguido poner a Estados Unidos contra la pared y de que la política del presidente Bill Clinton hacia Cuba naufraga en los estrechos de Florida.

En los medios políticos, diplomáticos y académicos consultados por EFE existe una percepción de la "crisis cubana" similar a la que refleja la Prensa más influyente de este país: falta un norte claro y sobran muchas contradicciones.

La idea más repetida es que al joven demócrata Bill Clinton,

un político que se siente muy incómodo con la política exterior, le ha tocado, para su desgracia, lidiar con el viejo dictador cubano Fidel Castro. Es como si hubiera pinchado en hueso.

Un diplomático europeo lo describe así: "Pese a ser un "dinosaurio" en vías de extinción -como el régimen que representa-, Castro está consiguiendo lo que la Casa Blanca juró no admitir, y es dictar la política de inmigración de Estados Unidos".

El pasado 5 de agosto se desató desde Cuba un éxodo de balseros como no se conocía desde el "puente de Mariel", cuando

(Pasa a la Pág. 13-A Col. 1)

Critica Ileana Ros-Lehtinen a Clinton por su política complaciente con la dictadura de Fidel Castro

(N. de la R.) La representante federal por el estado de la Florida, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, hizo las siguientes declaraciones a DIARIO LAS AMERICAS en relación con la decisión del presidente Clinton de hablar con el dictador Fidel Castro sobre asuntos de emigración.

"Castro ha triunfado al convertir en un tema inmigratorio el grito de libertad del pueblo cubano. Lejos de trazar la política exterior norteamericana, el presidente Clinton se limita a seguir el camino dictado por Fidel Castro.

"Hace dos noches Castro expresó su interés en establecer conversaciones sobre emigración. Este jueves el presidente Clinton consintió en realizar

esas conversaciones. Semanas atrás, Castro, bajo amenazas de tolerar un éxodo masivo, exigió que Estados Unidos les impidiera a los refugiados cubanos la entrada a los Estados Unidos. De inmediato, Clinton lo complació cambiando la política inmigratoria mantenida por este país durante más de 30 años.

"Es decepcionante la actitud del presidente Clinton en la cuestión cubana", terminó diciendo Ileana Ros-Lehtinen.



Ileana Ros-Lehtinen

MEXICO AL DIA

Obispo de San Cristóbal llama a la resistencia pacífica

Por GERARDO TENA,
enviado de la AFP

SAN CRISTOBAL, Mexico. (A) El obispo de San Cristóbal, Samuel Ruiz, expresó que en los pasados comicios mexicanos hubo "evidencias que mancharon el proceso electoral" y llamó a la sociedad civil a la "resistencia y protesta pacíficas".

En un comunicado, el obispo hizo una reflexión acerca de la jornada electoral en la que se eligió al presidente de México, se renovaron las cámaras de diputados y senadores y se designó al nuevo gobernador de Chiapas, provincia a la que pertenece San Cristóbal.

En su exhortación pastoral, dijo que "es un signo de esperanza la gran afluencia en las urnas de la sociedad civil".

Apuntó que "todo este esfuerzo por tener unos comicios creíbles y cristalinos, puso en evidencia las irregularidades que mancharon el proceso electoral", en el que según el computo oficial es vencedor el gubernamental Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI).

Ruiz, quien ha jugado un destacado papel como mediador entre el gobierno y la guerrilla zapatista asentada en el territorio selvático de Chiapas, agregó que "repudiamos la actitud de aquellos cristianos que se hicieron cómplices de la manipulación del voto, a través del soborno, de la coacción, del engaño y de otros trucos".

"Hacemos un llamado a la conversión, a los cristianos que traicionaron a su propia digni-

dad y al proceso de cambio", dijo Ruiz en su exhortación pastoral.

La postura del obispo se produce en vísperas de manifestaciones en diversas plazas del país, incluida la de San Cristóbal, en defensa del voto y contra el supuesto fraude electoral.

Aseguró que urgen rápidas acciones de una denuncia a través de las instancias jurídicas, "teniendo en cuenta la voluntad expresada por las autoridades, de corregir los yerros. Así se pondría definitivamente fuera del horizonte el peligro de la violencia armada".



¿Está fracasando la política de Clinton hacia Cuba?

Por Ariel Remos

Hasta ahora sí. No dudamos de las simpatías del Presidente estadounidense por la causa de la libertad de Cuba. Pero eso no basta para resolver la nueva crisis que le ha planteado el régimen de La Habana. Tiene que existir un plan y una decisión, que no los hay. Ante un tirano de la envergadura de Castro no se puede improvisar. Las medidas anunciadas son insuficientes. Y son insuficientes porque no van a la raíz del problema.

Lo que se ve y se adivina en este momento es que el Presidente Clinton no se ha zafado de la misma política hacia Cuba que, en definitiva, ha prevalecido con ocho presidentes, demócratas y republicanos, que le han precedido, entre ellos esforzados anticomunistas como Reagan y Bush. En esto no hay que prestarle atención a lo que se dice, sino a lo que se hace. La Administración blasonó de no permitir que Castro trazara la política migratoria de este país, pero la dictó haciéndola cambiar la Ley de Ajuste Cubano, en vigor desde hacía 28 años y posiblemente pasando por encima del Congreso..

En lo de Cuba, la Administración Clinton -hasta ahora- se ha quedado atrasada ensayando todavía una desfasada, equívoca e improvisada política de contención. Y por experiencia sabemos que la contención consistió siempre en detener el avance de los comunistas después de haber avanzado y retenido un buen palmo. En este caso lo que se ha hecho es desviar la respuesta de lo que debió ser su verdadero objetivo: hacer retroceder a Castro y adoptar medidas que contribuyeran a poner fin a la tiranía. Por el contrario, se ha dejado a

y envíos se están cumpliendo) y EE.UU. se ha echado arriba el problema, y con él la costosísima operación de interceptar a los cubanos en el mar y conducirlos a distintos centros de retención en EE.UU. y en otros países.

Si EE.UU. hubiera puesto en deshacerse de Castro la cuarta parte del esfuerzo que ha invertido en derrocar a otros dictadores de derecha, el tirano hace rato hubiera saltado del poder. Pero todas las oportunidades han sido pasadas por alto. Existe un tabú por el que EE.UU. hasta ahora no ha podido hacerlo. No es del caso debatirlo ahora, pero si volvemos los ojos a los intereses que mantuvieron por más de 70 años alimentando y apoyando de mil maneras sibilinas el engrandecimiento de la URSS, es fácil saber por qué todavía hoy el tabú sigue existiendo con Fidel Castro.

No existe razón alguna para que se mantenga en el poder después de casi cuatro años que se desintegró la URSS, su amo y señor. Sin embargo, EE.UU. ha hecho un *tour de force* increíble en el caso de Haití, para devolver al poder a un pichón de dictador comunista como Aristide. Para ello -aunque haya resultado en un rotundo fracaso- ha buscado sanciones y bloqueo internacionales al dictador Cedras.

Ni Haití ni Cedras representan en absoluto una amenaza a los intereses de la seguridad de EE.UU. como lo representa Fidel Castro, que hace 35 años está hostigando a este país y a gran parte del hemisferio, inclusive con el tráfico de drogas. Sin embargo, allá sigue Castro como

imponente historial de delincuente internacional, de violador de derechos humanos y de narcotraficante; no obstante haber sido protagonista de decenas de agresiones directas e indirectas en todo el continente.

Las soluciones que se han perfilado hasta este momento no son siquiera salomónicas, y esto tiene una especial connotación desde el punto de vista más importante bajo el que se toman aquí todas las decisiones, que es el electoral. Y es porque Clinton está amenazado de enajenarse la voluntad de muchos demócratas, de muchos cubano-americanos y norteamericanos. Unos, porque, como dijimos, se ha dejado intacto al tirano que es el provocador de todo, ya que las medidas impuestas hasta ahora, no las están cumpliendo: se están efectuando todavía vuelos a Cuba, y enviando dinero por lo pronto a través de Canadá. Otros, porque el mantenimiento de los más de 100,000 cubanos (posiblemente millones) que se van a distribuir, va a ser a costa del contribuyente. ¿Y Castro? Bien, gracias.

Mientras Clinton no se convenza de que el único recurso que le queda es ir a la fuente del mal y eliminarla, su política hacia Cuba está condenada a un tremendo fracaso. Esto, pensando en la veracidad de sus manifestaciones de respaldo a la causa de los cubanos que quieren la libertad de su patria. En sus manos está destruir el tabú con Cuba. Lo que hace falta es más que imaginación, coraje. Ningún momento más oportuno para lograrlo sin que sea necesario una intervención militar, y prácticamente sin costo humano. EE.UU. cuenta con infinitos recursos indirectos para presionar a Fidel hasta que

Obispos cubanos piden diálogo respetuoso y sincero

(Viene de la Pág.1-A)

tre la Iglesia Católica y el régimen, pero últimamente al parecer la situación entre la Iglesia y el Estado ha mejorado.

En otro de los párrafos de la Pastoral, los obispos cubanos

con palabras firmes piden a los gobiernos de La Habana y Washington que razones sentados en una mesa paara resolver la crisis.

"En la historia de la humanidad siempre ha habido conflictos internacionales, en el presente la mayor parte de esos conflictos se resuelven alrededor de una mesa de negociaciones, mediante un diálogo respetuoso y sincero. Estamos muy preocupados por el éxodo masivo de los cubanos, que se lanzan al océano sin pensar, usando precarias balsas en un estado total de desesperación que los lleva a correr cualquier suerte y destino con tal de salir de Cuba.

Obispos cubanos piden diálogo respetuoso y sincero

Ante la nueva crisis que azota a Cuba, la Iglesia Católica, por medio de una carta pastoral — que será leída en todas las parroquias de la nación este domingo — donde con fuertes palabras se plantea un cuadro patético de la situación y la preocupación que la misma crea entre los obispos cubanos.

"Como cubanos, como obispos no podemos justificar mantener una actitud pasiva a una actitud sin esperanzas, la actual situación que afecta a tantas personas e instituciones es muy grave y triste".

Los obispos cubanos el año pasado intentaron evitar la situación actual al pedir en una carta pastoral, que el régimen de Castro criticó duramente, la celebración de negociaciones entre el gobierno y el pueblo de Cuba. La carta enfrió las relaciones en-

(Pasa a la Pág.15-A Col.3)

SIMPLE AS 1, 2, 3!

EDITORIAL PAGE

U.S.-CUBA Policy... MADE SIMPLE!

1. PROBLEM:



BECAUSE OF POOR
ECONOMY... CUBANS
FLEE TO U.S.

2. SOLUTION:



TIGHTEN EMBARGO,
ISOLATE CUBA WITH
BLOCKADE, HURT
THEIR ECONOMY.

3. RESULT:

GO
TO

1.

Mike Keefe '94

By Mike Keefe for USA TODAY

MR. PRESIDENT,

KEEP IT SIMPLE! GET IT?

William P. Cooke

8758 Cable Line Ravenna, OH 44266 216 358 2162 + FAX

READ ALOUD 15

Motivating parents to read
to their children 15 minutes daily.



Full Blockade!!
NO Negotiations!!
What so ever with
Cuba!!
SANDY Tortora
Miami, FL
USA All the way!!

To ease the Cuban crisis, end the trade embargo

OUR VIEW Bring Cuba into the international community; give its citizens a reason to stay on the island.

Not satisfied with just changing U.S. policy on Cuban refugees, President Clinton decided this past weekend to "get tough" with Fidel Castro.

He imposed new economic restrictions on Cuba Saturday. And then Sunday, White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta threatened a naval blockade to force Cuba into democracy.

Wait a minute. Blockading Cuba because killer Soviet missiles were on the way to its shores — as President Kennedy did in 1962 — is one thing. But a naval blockade to impose U.S. political will on a regime that has lasted more than 30 years is, at best, shortsighted.

The Cold War's over. Cuba's Soviet godfathers are no more. Even though it's still just 90 miles from Florida's shores, Cuba now is militarily impotent, not menacing.

Now is the time to bring Cuba into the international community, not to isolate it further. To that end, the U.S. trade embargo should be lifted.

Thirty years of punitive measures have proven only that Castro can survive even as his people endure escalating deprivation. Thanks in part to the embargo, Cuba struggles with routine power blackouts, severe food shortages and a scarcity of almost everything from gasoline to surgical thread. Yet Castro remains.

The embargo is even more difficult to

defend given our generous trade relations with other nations with horrific human rights records, including China.

Another measure that the embargo has gone on too long: An embarrassing 59-3 vote at the United Nations last year, in which many U.S. allies condemned it.

If Clinton really wants to slow the flood of refugees, he's got to give Cubans — particularly the younger generation — a reason to stay. Barring cash gifts from U.S. relatives and limiting care packages to food, medicine and humanitarian items will provoke more pressure to leave, not less.

Clinton was right to reverse the open-door policy for Cuban refugees. They should be treated like other refugees, notably Haitians, who seek asylum here. Beyond the question of fairness, Florida cannot afford a repeat of the 1980 Mariel boatlift, which dumped 125,000 on its shores. Politically, Clinton cannot risk another out-of-control refugee situation.

Those domestic political concerns need not lead him into unnecessary confrontations, however. He doesn't have to "get tough" with Castro just because he's cracked down on refugees.

Fidel's a communist dinosaur nearing his final moment in the tar pit, posing a threat only to his own people at this point.

So forget the big stick.

Instead, encourage Cuba's future leaders to stay put. Give them an economic base to support a peaceful transition to democracy. And remember, even Fidel Castro can't live forever.

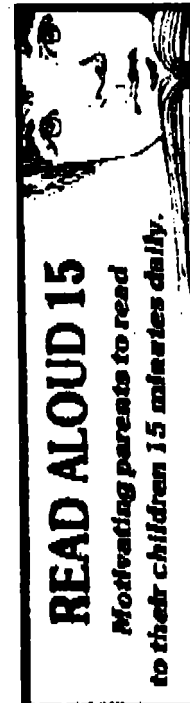
► Cuban refugees, 1A

LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

Thank God for the editorial wisdom of USA TODAY! But did your Headline Writer read your cogent argument? Should it not have been: **END THE EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA!** Allow the world community to trade with Cuba. (Trade ships that make any port ^{in Cuba} can not dock at any USA port!) This will ^{end} Florida's crisis. It is not a crisis for Cuba, or Cubans. They have been in crisis for over thirty years! Thanks to the inhumanity, the international ^{gangsterism} of the US government! Lack of food, medicines? fault the USA.

Cuba does not have to be brought "into the international community." Cuba and Castro are highly visible with our NAFTA partners, both Mexico and Canada, as well as with South Africa (Mandela's installation, in China, Japan, even North Vietnam, etc.etc. This is confirmed by your reciting the 59-3 vote of the United Nations condemning the US Embargo! Cuba may have more genuine friends than we. Because there is no fear of Cuba. Even our friends fear us. To a degree, their life and death, are at our mercy. Did not Thomas Jefferson say, "I tremble when I remember that God is just?" Tremble, Attorney General Janet Reno! Tremble Chief of Staff Leon Panetta! Tremble Mr. President!

8758 Cable Line Ravenna, OH 44266 216 353 2162 + FAX



William P. Parker

JUST IN CASE
THIS DOES NOT
MAKE U.S.A. TODAY.
U.S.C. your personal
copy. (BIL)

12A THE HERALD, MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 1994

The Miami Herald

JOHN S. KNIGHT (1894-1981)

JAMES L. KNIGHT (1923-1992)

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Senior Managing Editor

THE READERS' FORUM

Cuban Americans should support U.S. policy

During the last 35 years Cuban Americans have received all kinds of help from the U.S. government and the American people. The other country has provided that kind of help and understanding, and Cuban Americans' success in the United States is well known.

Where were our Latin American countries' brothers? When some exceptions we received no help from them or the rest of the world. Even today, some of them are still helping Castro.

During this time Castro's regime has blamed the United States for all the problems on the island created by himself and his political system. Now he has threatened to unleash another Mariel after his regime was shaken by

a demonstration and riot on Aug. 5 due to the terrible economic, social, and political conditions in Cuba.

In a crisis there are no easy solutions. Castro's regime is shaken, and leaders of the Cuban-American community should spread the word that Castro cannot play any more with our feelings. Every Cuban American should cooperate with the U.S. authorities, the Coast Guard, Customs, etc., to avoid a disorderly immigration and because we should not solve Castro's problems once more.

We abhor what the Cuban people are suffering, but Castro has the solution in his hand: Provide free elections, supervised by international organizations; allow political parties;

allow press freedom; etc. The problems can be so easily solved.

We have to be extremely careful not to allow Castro to shift the blame to the U.S. government. Thus we publicly support a naval blockade that will greatly diminish a disorderly emigration from Cuba until Castro admits democracy.

Causes create conditions, and conditions may change the causes. Castro's government by itself created the actual conditions. If they are not altered, these conditions will change the causes.

CARLOS M. PEREZ
President,
Citizens for Democracy, Inc.
Miami

READ ALOUD 15

Motivating parents to read
to their children 15 minutes daily.



How can we outfox Cuba's foxy Fidel?

For more than 35 years, Fidel Castro has been playing games with us his way. And won most of them.

He has outlasted and outmaneuvered eight U.S. presidents. Bill Clinton will join that list, unless he understands the history and modus operandi of this brilliant bad guy.

When I last interviewed Castro in 1988, I asked him the reasons for his success and staying power. His answer:

"We are like a Robin Hood in the mountains, mixing romance with revolution. Everyone has sympathy for anyone fighting someone bigger."

In the beginning, Castro's target was Fulgencio Batista, the big bad guy in Havana.

Since, he has kept his followers focused on the USA, the big bad guy 90 miles off Cuba's shore.

Batista tried to isolate Castro in the Sierra Maestra mountains. It didn't work.

We've tried to isolate him on his 45,000 square mile island. It hasn't worked.

Most of the rest of the world long has accepted Cuba and Castro. Canada and most European and Latin American countries have near normal relations.

Clinton must rewrite the rules of the game we're playing. Domestic politics, especially in Florida, be damned. We could outfox Fidel with these dramatic policy changes:

- End the economic embargo.
- Restore full diplomatic relations.
- Allow and encourage free flow of U.S. dollars, goods and people into Cuba.

If Cuba's 11 million people see the benefits of freedom, they're more likely to stay home and make it work there.

Our best bet for ridding Cuba of both communism and Castro is by killing him with capitalism.



PLANS TALK
BY W. P. COOKE
USA TODAY FOUNDER

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

Dear Mr. President,

You are President # 9 who have not been able
to make peace with our neighbors in Cuba.

Why not make a change in direction?

Why not put people first? as you say?

Why not allow the free flow of ideas?

people?

medicine?

trade?

Why not get in line with the rest of the world?

Why not do something for good and God?

Bless you!

Most cordially,

Bill

William P. Cooke

Talking Points for Miami Trip 8/18

- o To divert the Cuban people from seeking democratic change, and to avoid taking responsibility for the Cuban people's desperation, the government of Cuba has resorted to the unconscionable tactic of encouraging people to risk their lives by leaving in flimsy vessels through the treacherous waters of the Florida straits.
- o The danger of Castro's threat of another Mariel has been lessened considerably by Cuban-Americans' refusal to be manipulated. They don't want another Mariel and have refused to take the bait of Castro's invitation to pick up relatives.
- o Working together, federal, state and local officials have denied Castro one of his primary objectives -- to create a sense of panic in Florida.
- o It is important that we not allow Castro to distract attention from the desperate situation in Cuba by characterizing the current exodus as "an immigration issue."
- o This is a desperate attempt to salvage a communist regime that is sinking, as others have, under the weight of its own rigidity and repression. The solution to Cuba's problems lies not in changing U.S. policies, but in rapid, fundamental and far-reaching political and economic reform in Cuba.

1. Treasury today is issuing the regulations to complement the decisions the President announced last Saturday.
2. The regulations will prohibit remittances from Cuban Americans to relatives on Cuba.
3. As always, those with very serious humanitarian problems can apply for a specific license.
4. Cuban Americans will no longer be permitted to take charter flights to Cuba to visit relatives.
5. Charter flights will continue at a reduced level but only for those who are licensed by Treasury to travel to Cuba.

*Am. citizens?
from Miami only
or from
anywhere
else.*

MARIA

082694

*Eduardo Padron
Josefi*

Le Gourmet

August 19, 1994

Total No. pgs.: 1

Letters to The Editor
THE TIMES PICAYUNE NEWSPAPER
N.O., La.

Ref.: President Clinton's new policy towards Cuba.

As a U.S. citizen of Cuban birth, I support the president as this will maintain the internal pressure Castro is so desperately trying to relief. While this policy will cause suffering, we hope it will be sufficient to force an internal change for the better of all.

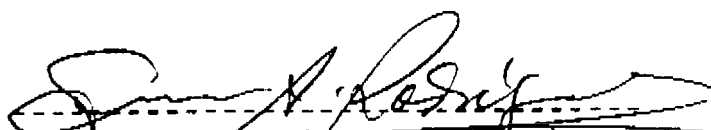
I must point out I am surprised at this and trust president Clinton's actions are sincere and do not have a " HIDDEN AGENDA " meant to help Castro, like president Carter did!!!!!!!!!!.

Did you know that a free Cuba would create @ 1 million jobs in the U.S.!!!!!!!!!!!!?.

As far as the Republicans are concerned, they should be ashamed to even consider criticizing president Clinton since 12 years of republican administration did nothing to bring about a change in Cuba. While president Bush signed the " CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT of 1992 ", he did so the friday before elections and then used our tax dollars to fly to Miami, for the sole purpose of seeking a few more votes---HE GOT WHAT HE DESERVED!!!!!!!!!!.

We MUST give president Clinton the opportunity to perform and evaluate the results before we criticize any action, the republicans had 12 years to do something and DID NOTHING!!!!!!.

Sincerely,



Gustavo A. Rodriguez (Gus)

GAR

389 West Esplanade, Kenner, La. 70065

Ph: 504/471 - 0782

FAX: 504/469 - 2240

August 22, 1994

Total No. pgs.: 2

Mr. Bill Clinton, President
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Ref.: New policy towards Cuba.

As a U.S. citizen of Cuban birth, I support this new policy as this will maintain the internal pressure Castro is so desperately trying to relief. While this policy will cause suffering, we hope it will be sufficient to force an internal change for the better of all.

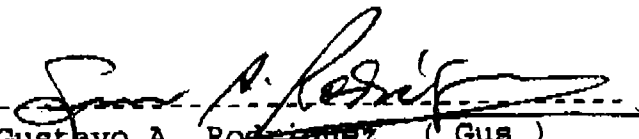
I trust your actions are sincere and will yield the desired results-----A FREE CUBA.

Did you know that a free Cuba would create @ 1 million jobs in the U.S.!!!!!!?

Mr. President, you have taken one big step, PLEASE, DO NOT STOP IN YOUR EFFORTS, DO NOT ALLOW POLITICS TO STOP YOU NOW FROM ACHIEVING THE DESIRED RESULTS, IT IS IN OUR, U.S.', BEST INTERESTS!!!!.

IT IS BEST TO HAVE LOVED AND ERRED, THAN NEVER HAVE LOVED.

Sincerely,


Gustavo A. Rodriguez (Gus)

P.S. I feel a complete blockade will finish Castro's criminal behavior, relief suffering for millions of people and create a new market!!!!!!.

I am a member of the Cuban American National Foundation.

GAR

BC

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Ph. & Fax No.: 504/469-2240

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Our Fax # 200-4504Date: 8/26/94Total # of Pages (including cover sheet) 3 pages ⁴⁴⁰

Company: _____

Attn./Location: Susana Valdes, White House Liaison OfficeClient #/Matter #: _____ Fax #: 200-450-6618From: Simon Ferro Telephone #: 200-4433

RE: _____

Time Sent: 2:24 Operator: [Signature]

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

Member, Democratic National Committee

Chairman,
Florida Democratic Party
1989-1992

MEMORANDUM

TO: Susana Valdes, White House Public Liaison Office
FROM: Simon Ferro
RE: Getting Clinton's Message to Cuban-Americans
DATE: August 26, 1994

Per our conversation of today the following suggestions should be seriously considered by the White House:

1. A Clinton Interview with Local TV Stations

I strongly urge you to grant Miami's two spanish stations, Ch. 23 and Ch. 51, an exclusive interview with the President. One reporter from each station would be present to have a "conversation" with the President in a relaxed, informal setting. The President would be having a face-to-face eye-to-eye talk with the Cuban-American community, which he has never had before. This interview should take place as soon as possible, preferably by the middle of next week. Though we understand this interferes with the President's vacation it would demonstrate how much he cares about our community. We believe a silent majority of Cuban-Americans support the President's policy to varying degrees. But Cuban-Americans don't feel they have a particularly close relationship with the President due to what has been his very limited exposure to us. The President needs to consolidate and cement the support of those who today are at least giving him the benefit of the doubt. Such a consolidation should happen asap to prevent further deterioration of the support base. It would be unfortunate for the crisis to escalate or a sensitive decision be made without strengthening of the base.

2. Do Some Folling!

I believe there is support, to varying degrees, for the President's actions within a majority of the Cuban-American community. We need to know who these Cubans are so we can harness their support and learn how to broaden it in other sectors. What do they agree with? Disagree with? What options do they view as acceptable? This poll should be done prior to the President's TV interview so that he can play to his strengths.

3. Assign a Permanent Spokesperson in Miami

I strongly urge you to send or assign a spanish-speaking (bi-lingual) Administration spokesperson in Miami. Part of our continuing problem (notwithstanding the briefings recently held here) is that there is no identifiable focus or source of Administration authority in Miami. We need a person who can brief reporters on breaking news, who can give the Administration a human face in Miami, who can establish a relationship with the media, etc. Sending Rick Nuccio down here on a weekly basis is great, but it will not solve the problem.

4. Establishing a Central Information/Coordination Office

I understand this is being considered and its a great idea which should be supplemented by a permanent spokesperson. Caveat: do not open a storefront office or one easily accessible to the street or public. If you do it will become the geographical focus of anti-Clinton gatherings and demonstrations.

Please feel free to contact me for any assistance. My home Phone # is (305) 274-7973, 270-8544; my portable is 794-2432 and office is 262-4433.

End.

SV


Carlos P. Portes

5041 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10034 • (212)567-0001 • Fax: (212)567-0144

FAX TRANSMITTAL

Date: Sept 1, 1994 To: White House
From: C. P. Portes Att: Suzanna Valdez Assoc. Dir.
No of pages including cover sheet X Fax No: 202 456-6218
Re: Article Daily News 8/31/94 - and attache

If you did not receive all pages, please contact at (212)567-0001

Dear Suzanna:

Thank you for the Press Release

Thought you would be interested
in the enclosed.

The direct association between
the President and CANF can and
will probably BACKFIRE to the
President's detriment and the
Elections in Florida as well as the
1996 - Presidential.
We should re-evaluate and leave
our direction here!

Regards
C. P. Portes

AUGUST 31, 1994

34

OPINIONS

DAILY NEWS

220 E. 42d St., New York, N.Y. 10017

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Who is Jorge Mas Canosa?

THE QUICK, EASY ANSWER: He is a Cuban expatriate in Miami who came to the U.S. when Fidel Castro seized power. The whole truth is more complex and disturbing: Mas is a powerful player who emerged from the shadows for a private audience with President Clinton and is helping to drive American policy in the wrong direction.

Mas is president of the Cuban American National Foundation, an ultra conservative lobbying group of wealthy businessmen that wants to push Castro out. A controversial figure in South Florida, he has bullied his opponents while distributing \$1 million in campaign contributions. Recently, he fulfilled every lobbyist's dream: a meeting with the President, after which Clinton turned many of Mas' ideas into national policy.

Not satisfied that Clinton was locking up Cuban boat people at Guantanamo, Mas wanted — and got — the suspension of dollar remittances, the cancellation of family visits and other measures designed to isolate Cuba and Castro. Mas does want at least one thing he didn't get — a blockade of Cuba — although the White House did raise such a possibility.

OVERALL, Clinton is right to try to discourage tens of thousands of Cubans from setting sail on rickety rafts for Florida. But other elements of his policies defy logic. The noose-tightening and Clinton's stubborn refusal even to discuss lifting the economic embargo against Cuba make little sense, especially when compared to events in China this week. There, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown promised Beijing's leaders he would not raise the unpleasant issue of human rights violations.

One reason Cuba is held to a different standard is that Mas and his hard-line partisans have long dominated the debate about U.S. policy toward Castro. In their world view, Castro must be overthrown by any and all means — if necessary by trying to foment revolution by making conditions in Cuba ever more miserable. And then, according at least to Mas' followers, U.S. Marines will wade ashore and Mas will be installed as Cuban president.

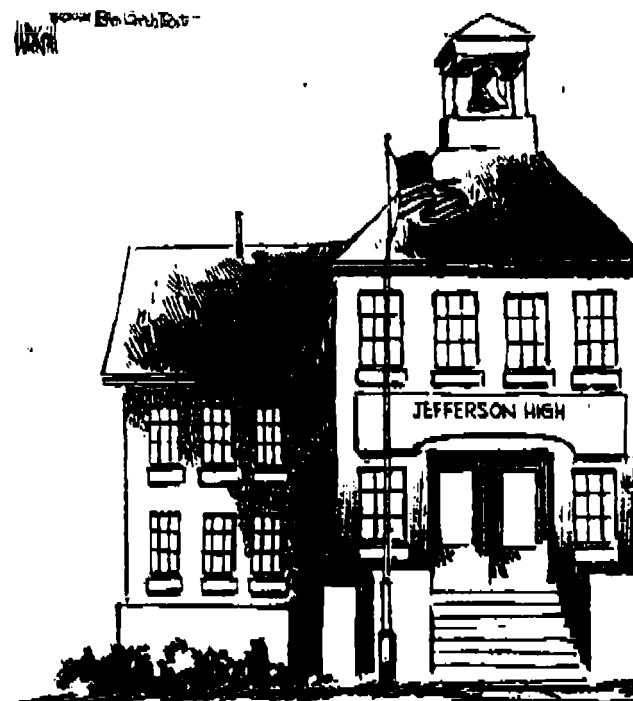
Mas' influence — borne of money and a tendency to intimidate — is such that more moderate Cuban-American voices have been stifled while the political system has tilted his way. Although Mas has mostly supported Republicans, he and his group contributed as much as \$275,000 to Clinton in 1992 after Clinton promised to support tighter trade restrictions on Cuba. And their backing could prove key in the reelection chances of Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles.

Mas is entitled to his extreme beliefs. But it is dangerous for Clinton and others to keep listening to him to the exclusion of others. That the President adopted wrong-headed policies after giving Mas his ear suggests the worst possible motive: Serving something other than America's national interests.

Counting on change

With the opening of school just nine days off, the Board of Education is scrambling to meet one of Chancellor Ramon Cortines' most ambitious goals: the requirement that all high school students take three years of college-preparatory math and science. That many schools and teachers are finding it difficult to measure up speaks volumes about the long decline of public education in New York. It also means that the

FROM THE ARCHIVES



VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

High voltage

Wyckoff, N.J.: To Voicers Betty and Lester cobi: I'm sorry, but your way to drastically reduce crime ("death to murderers, rapists, narcotics dealers, armed robbers and drunk drivers causing injury or death") ultimatum would lead to a police state, with the government absolute and all basic rights taken away. (Read about the situation in China and you understand.) Also, for all those who believe the death penalty, like Mr. and Mrs. Jacob, suppose each and every one of you is ready to throw the switch on the electric chair?

Anthony Macri, Age

A clean sweep?

Ridgewood: Re wasted water: The New York Stock Exchange has a man washing down the sidewalk every day, Monday through Friday, at approximately 5:30 a.m. On Aug. 22, it rained all day and well into the night. When I got off the train the next morning, I saw the man washing down the street again. I said to him, "With all the rain we had, is this really necessary? The street is clean." He said it was his job and he had to do it. All the big buildings in lower Manhattan wash down the streets daily. Whatever happened to the broom?

Tom Fleury

World-view

Forest Hills: Voicer J. Fenwick brings attention to an age-old problem with New York State

rate, allegedly because of fiscal constraints on spending necessary. Congress should be pressured to let the money be used for an integrated system. Either that, or forget federal funding and charge a toll on vehicles entering airport grounds. That would generate more flexible funds that could be used for operating and capital costs. **Dr. Stephen B. Dob**

Committee for Better Tra

Visible force

Manhattan: How can the community benefit from police officers when all they are thinking about is their quota of arrest new ways of entrapment? Instead of plainclothes officers there should be only uniformed. That way, drug dealers, rapists and other degenerates would

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Cuban Overture

WASHINGTON

Will the principle that guides Clinton Administration domestic policy also be applied to foreign affairs?

The bedrock principle, as it has evolved from Bunker Hill to the White House bunker, is this: *Don't run until you see the whites of their eyes.*

Using this key, readers of prognosticatory harangues in this space were able to discern beforehand the passage of the Republican-deported crime bill, as well as the President's sudden willingness to let Congress go home to mull over ever less-toxic health legislation.

Now let us apply it to the mini-crisis precipitated by Fidel Castro. Like Marshal Foch at the Marne, with his center giving way and his flanks collapsing, the nemesis of modern American Presidents has dispatched from his teeming shores the refuse Communism made wretched.

Castro used this technique of immigration aggression and dissident-dumping on Jimmy Carter successfully 14 years ago. In 1984, however, the U.S. President properly chose to defend our border.

The determined Clinton reaction set hard-liner hearts to racing. He interdicted the pitiable raft armada at sea; he reversed a policy that automatically granted Cuban economic refugees the asylum of the politically persecuted; he turned Guantánamo into a Cuban colony under American protection; he tightened the embargo of three decades by cutting off the flow of hard currency sent in by relatives in the U.S.

That's a vigorous response to aggression, at once harsh and humane and expensive, the foreign-policy equivalent of a 1,400-page comprehensive health plan. Now comes the reaction to his swift reaction.

Democratic accommodationists, led by Chris Dodd in the Senate and Lee Hamilton in the House, argue that Clinton is playing to Castro's hands by martyring him. They would go along with the dictator's demands for normalization of relations.

Republican hawks like Senator Richard Lugar, forgetting that the Reagan arms-race stressing of the Soviet system helped bring down Communism in Russia, also want to do business with Castro. They see Cuban Communism's demise in a wave of trade and tourism and cultural exchange, although that approach hasn't quite worked in China.

Everybody worries about riots in the holding pens, led by Castro's im-

planted provocateurs, which would cast Americans in the role of Israelis abusing Palestinians in camps.

Mr. Clinton, observing the charge of the *détente*niks begin, does not yet see the whites of their eyes. Instead, he feels the heat from the Cuban-American community, led by stalwart anti-Castroists, and worries about losing the State of Florida to a Republican tide if he caves in too quickly.

That is why we see "mild-level" talks beginning, limited "strictly" to the topic of immigration. In time, these will escalate to upper-level exchanges at the U.N. or Guantánamo, or semi-private intercessions under a cigar smoke screen (Jimmy Carter's bags are packed), on what our diplomats will call "a wider range of bilateral concerns."

Before allowing Castro to extort an end to the embargo in return for taking back his refugees, however, Mr. Clinton needs to show some mus-

Line in the sand
in my shoes.

cle elsewhere (the equivalent of his firm stand against assault weapons in the crime bill).

This suggests the October Non-Surprise, the multinational, multicultural, multimedia invasion of Haiti, with air cover by CNN, with the Congressional Black Caucus in the second wave to take the surrender, and with a nice boost in the polls for Mr. Clinton before Election Day.

Then, with the eyes of his Congressional and editorial critics getting close enough to show their whites, Mr. Clinton will declare Mr. Castro to be a new democrat, whose promises of "market socialism" mean the end of Communism in our hemisphere. End of embargo, end of refugee problem, and a revived dictatorship in Cuba for Castro, who logically expects to outlast Mr. Clinton in office.

As an unreconstructed interventionist and human rightsnik, I root for our military ouster of the Haitian junta and a continued squeeze on Castro until Cuban patriots do their duty.

But if the Clinton foreign policy is bottomed on the same principle that undergirds his domestic politics, then we can soon expect to be singing "Sand in my shoes, sand of Havana..." □

AMERICAN SURVEY

The devil and the deep blue sea

KEY WEST, FLORIDA, AND WASHINGTON, DC

THE first thing to catch your eye is the glint of mirrors; or the waving of once-brightly coloured cloth, faded by days beneath a scorching sun; or even, now and then, a smoky pink flare. Adrift in the straits of Florida, 20 miles off the coast of Cuba, group after group of refugees waves frantically at aeroplanes above. Their vessels are pathetic: inner-tube and string rafts, boats made from beds, catamarans built on oil drums. But they represent something powerful: hope, desperation—and disregard for the words of Bill Clinton.

That disregard, however ill-founded, is at the heart of Mr Clinton's latest foreign-policy dilemma. On August 18th, after refugees began flooding into Key West, the attorney-general, Janet Reno, announced the end of the 28 year old practice of welcoming almost any Cuban who could manage to get to America. Next day, Mr Clinton said that refugees would be rescued and taken to America's naval base at Guantanamo Bay. The main goal of the new policy was to make it clear that Cubans taking to the sea would not—repeat not—end up in the United States.

So far, few seem to be listening. Between August 19th and 23rd some 9,000 refugees were scooped up at sea. On the 23rd more than 3,000 were rescued, the most in a single day since the Mariel boatlift of 1980 when 125,000 Cubans made the 90-mile crossing to Florida (see chart on next page). As they did then, today's refugees have Fidel Castro's blessing. Worried administration officials say that not only are more people coming, but they are coming in small boats rather than rafts—a sign that Mr Castro may be encouraging the exodus ever more vigorously.

Peter Tarnoff, the under-secretary of state for political affairs, says that the new policy—which includes more anti-Castro radio broadcasts, reduced charter flights to Havana and limits on the cash that Cuban-Americans can send to Cuba—is designed to promote an aim that the United States has held for 30 years: to pressure Mr Castro into serious democratic and free-market re-

forms. But the ad hoc—and often haphazard—way the policy unfolded suggests that other forces were at work, and that the strongest of these was populism.

On the morning of the 18th, Ms Reno insisted that no change in policy was under consideration in response to the flow of refugees. But by that night, after Florida's governor, Lawton Chiles, pleaded publicly with the White House for help, the new ap-



Bound for Guantanamo

proach was announced. Mr Chiles, a Democrat, faces a tough re-election battle this autumn; and Florida will be a crucial state when Mr Clinton himself runs again in 1996. Indeed, getting tough with immigrants is likely to play well with white voters in two other states with big numbers of electoral votes, California and Texas.

Cuban-Americans, concentrated in Miami, were not so keen. Most of the people hanging round the tiny transit centre which, for years, has helped clothe and feed Cuban rafters who washed up in Key West, were furious when Mr Clinton said that America would spurn the rafters but made no men-

tion of steps to hit Mr Castro directly. "Clinton," said one tearfully, "is treating Cubans like dogs." The next day, the tightened economic sanctions were unveiled.

Whether or not the administration's policy is so attuned to domestic politics, it certainly seems out of step with international ones. Most Cuba experts believe that, if what the administration really wants is a peaceful and orderly transition to democracy, this is an unlikely way to get it. Gillian Gunn, the director of Georgetown University's Cuba Project, argues that Mr Castro will never agree to free elections so long as his country's economy is in such desperate shape that he is sure to lose.

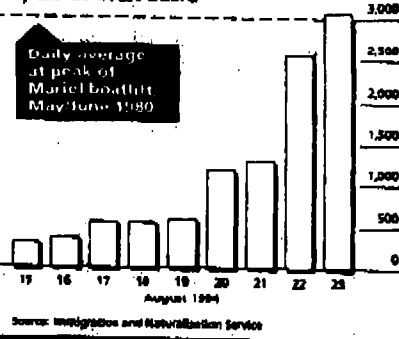
Desperate would be putting it generously. The fall of the Soviet Union has caused Cuba's economy to shrink by at least a third, and the value of imports to plummet by 75%. The consequence of this contraction for ordinary folk was driven home by the rail-thin bodies of the refugees who made it to Florida before the new policy was enacted.

Tightening the economic screws against Mr Castro is likely only to make such hardship more acute—and hence, quite possibly, to compel still larger numbers to take to the seas. Certainly the new policy seems to be failing, so far, to deter them. Some Cubans plainly believe that America will take them in eventually. Indeed, for these people, the prospect of being picked up quickly by the Coast Guard rather than floating through shark-infested waters for more than a week may even seem attractive. Others say that going anywhere—Guantanamo Bay and then, one day, some third-country safe haven—is better than staying in Cuba.

At a press briefing on August 24th, Ms Reno did her best to dispel such thoughts. "Do not risk your lives," she said, stressing that anyone picked up at sea will end up first in Guantanamo and then, eventually, in "safe havens" such as Guyana, Suriname or Panama. Yet none of these places has yet agreed to help. At the same briefing, William Perry, the secretary of defence, said that the detention camps at Guantanamo would be expanded to accommodate as many as 40,000 people "indefinitely".

This raises all sorts of problems—logistical, financial, and of appearances. Administration officials worry privately that, if the flow of refugees continues unabated, even 40,000 beds in Guantanamo will not be

AMERICAN SURVEY

Determined to come
Cuban refugees picked up
by the US Coast Guard

enough. Riots might break out. And then there is the unappetising prospect of holding foreign civilians in quasi-permanent detention camps. "For the world's only superpower," says one official, "I can think of better public-relations activities."

How carefully the administration thought all this through beforehand remains a mystery. And there is no sign that it is thinking, even now, about the most important question. The surest way to end the refugee crisis would be to talk to Cuba with an eye towards ending the embargo. On the 24th, Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations made that abundantly clear.

The administration says that doing so would reward dictatorship. But such concerns have not kept it from dealing with other communist regimes from China to North Korea to Vietnam. In these cases, it says, constructive engagement (to use a phrase from which the Clintonites would recoil) is the best way to promote growth and thus democracy abroad. There seems no reason to exclude Cuba from that logic. The question is not whether to "reward" Mr Castro's dictatorship in its dying days, but whether to make life worse still for those who suffer under him—and, in the process, make life more difficult for America as well.

Californian health care

The state's umbrella

SAN FRANCISCO

THE convulsive effects of attempting health-care reform are not being felt only in America's capital. Several states are trying to draft models of their own. One of the most sweeping will be on the ballot in California this November. It will go to the vote irrespective of whether a national plan is alive, drifting or dead.

The California Health Security Act is a single-payer system, the single payer being the state government. It is similar to the

Not going quietly

WASHINGTON DC

UNTIL August 20th, Benjamin Chavis was the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), America's most respected civil-rights group. That day, after learning that Mr Chavis had paid \$332,000 of the NAACP's money to a former employee to settle a sex-discrimination claim against him, the board of directors sacked him. And that, they hoped, was that.

Alas, no. The next day, Mr Chavis went to a (supposedly cancelled) black leadership summit in Baltimore. There he was championed by, among others, Louis Farrakhan, the anti-Semitic leader of the Nation of Islam. Mr Chavis promised to set up his own civil-rights organisation if the NAACP would not have him, and called his sacking a "lynching" and a "crucifixion". Finally, he sued the NAACP, demanding his old job back.

This could hardly have come at a worse time. When it hired Mr Chavis, the venerable NAACP hoped a dashing new leader would dispel the feeling that it was a bit out of date. Instead, it got a scandal. Mr Chavis is not the first NAACP leader to fight his organisation on matters of principle and organisation; but he is the first to fight over both

at once—and to do it so embarrassingly.

Mr Chavis has few friends on the board, which he did not even bother to notify before his raid on the coffers. The board is also appalled at the state of the NAACP's finances: Mr Chavis, a big spender, leaves behind him a deficit reckoned to be around \$3m. Last week the Ford Foundation delayed a grant of \$250,000. Attracting support will require a more trusted leader.

The board was also disturbed by Mr Chavis's readiness to draw close to Mr Farrakhan. Broadening the NAACP's remit, and making it more relevant to the problems of crime, joblessness and illegitimacy besetting urban blacks, was never meant to go that far. Mr Chavis has also talked of bringing Latinos into the NAACP, and has made much of "environmental racism". For a new vision of the NAACP's role, this is thin stuff.

While a new leader is found, the NAACP is launching a slightly frantic 30-day drive for members and funding. The group's loyalists worry that they face the same problems as they did 17 months ago, before hiring Mr Chavis: they are directionless, less numerous than they were, and poor. Now, thanks to Mr Chavis, they are worse off than ever.

**Fall of another black role-model**

scheme now in place in Canada. Under its terms, full responsibility for funding and managing health care would be transferred to the state, and so to an elected commissioner. Private health care would remain for those who wanted it, but health-insurance companies (though not prohibited under the law) would find themselves largely redundant. Coverage offered by the state could not be duplicated by another pro-

vider. The health commissioner would control payments to hospitals and doctors, and would approve the level of costs, the range of benefits, the standards and frequency of service, and even the capital expenditures of hospitals.

At present, 3m Californians cannot afford to pay for adequate health insurance. Under a single-payer system each Californian, whether employed or not, would be

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1994

How to Finish Off Castro's Regime

By RICHARD ABRAMS

Since the collapse of the Soviet empire, Americans have been expecting the Castro regime in Cuba to crumble as well. Yet now, when we see real unrest in Cuba, we find ourselves without a policy and rushing into unsustainable tactical moves.

The first step must be to define what we really want to see happen now in Cuba. In short, U.S. policy under this administration has been aimed at removing the regime. But in Cuba, U.S. policy for decades has aimed at isolation, not getting rid of Fidel Castro. This echoes the Cold War debate about the Soviet Union, when hardliners (including Democratic officials such as Zbigniew Brzezinski and Richard Pipes) argued that we should actively attempt to shorten the life of the Communist regime, while others warned of the dangers that destabilization could bring.

But Cuba is not a superpower, nor is it able to threaten our interests around the world, so the debate here should be easy to resolve. Instability in Cuba, violence, refugee flows, humanitarian disasters at sea—all are part of the death throes of the Castro regime. They will end when it does, and not before. Indeed they will probably get worse, until the regime is overthrown.

Radio and TV

American policy should, accordingly, be aimed at ending the Communist dictatorship in Cuba as soon as possible. Once this policy is adopted, other decisions become easier. Information policy, for example, follows logically. The U.S. should not only expand Radio Martí's hours somewhat, as the president has done, but make sure that TV Martí can be seen in Cuba and that Radio Martí is available on several frequencies around the clock. U.S. news organizations should be allowed to open offices in Cuba, and if the price is letting Cuba's party-controlled "news" services into the U.S., so be it.

Diplomacy should follow the policy of ending the Castro regime as well. First, a major—but private—diplomatic effort to coordinate Western attitudes toward the end of the Castro regime is worthwhile. When, in the mid-1980s, the Reagan administration wanted to show European allies how strongly we felt about the treatment of Soviet Jewry and to seek their help in keeping that issue atop the diplomatic agenda, the president dispatched a very senior retired diplomat, Walter Stoessel, along with the assistant secretary of state for human rights (the position I then held) to visit every NATO capital.

President Clinton should now dispatch a similar mission, this time to key Latin American capitals as well as to Europe, led by a figure of similar standing. Mr. Brzezinski comes to mind. Or, if bipartisanship is possible, George Shultz. This embassy would explain to other influential democratic governments that the endgame in Cuba is here; that it affects our interests much more strongly than theirs; and that we must coordinate better. It is obvious that European tourists flock to Cuba's beaches and sustain the Castro regime while Cuban boat people drown off these very same beaches.

The central theme in these discussions must be human rights in Cuba—for this is an issue where we and our friends see eye

to eye, and where we can usefully pressure them to be more outspoken, and more active in multilateral organizations. The key Western weapon in the last years of the Soviet Union, human rights, must now be trained powerfully on Cuba.

And what of direct U.S.-Cuba contacts? First, it must be understood that there are no everyday occurrences. It was an endless source of amazement to us, in the Reagan administration, that various groups of critics demanded "talks with Cuba," precisely when we were holding serious talks on issues such as airplane hijacking, investigation, and the Cuban troop presence in Angola. What Fidel Castro has never allowed on the agenda is his dictatorship—that is, free elections or an end to one-party rule. This is no surprise, for the Soviets never negotiated that either.

But here again we can learn from Reagan policy during the late Cold War period: If they won't negotiate democracy, concentrate on human rights, where the international pressure is tougher. This fits in with a greater presence of American news media in Cuba, and with greater use of Radio and TV Martí. Just as all Poles knew about Lech Wałęsa and Ryszard Siemski about Andrzej Gajdar and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, all Cubans and the world should come to know and support the human-rights community in Havana. This will allow it to grow, as it did in other communist lands, into a moral and ultimately political force that helps end the tyranny. For in the end Cubans, not Amer-

icans, must solve Cuba's problems, and to do this they must be able to talk freely about them. No U.S. strategy can undermine the Castro regime better, and more peacefully, than a human-rights strategy. Such a strategy inspires active help from the Vatican and the Cuban Church on religious freedom, from U.S. and Latin American labor movements on labor rights, and from Cubans living in the diaspora as well. Only if this strategy is actively pursued will it be possible to talk to the Castro regime about bilateral relations. If Americans, including Cuban-Americans, are confident that such talks are aimed at subverting the regime—and not at accommodating it—a discussion of such bilateral issues as remittances,

travel opportunities and even limited commerce might be possible.

Should the administration decide—very wrongly, in my view—to end the embargo on trade with Cuba, it would be costly. It is important to combine that move with greatly increased political pressure on the dictatorship. Otherwise, ending the embargo would be seen in Cuba as a victory for Mr. Castro and would strengthen his regime just at the moment of its greatest moral and political weakness.

High-profile talks with Cuba are exactly the wrong idea now, for they will awaken Mr. Castro's hopes, and the Cuban people's fears, that a "deal" will save the regime. Instead, we should continue the kinds of talks we have usefully held over the decades—led at our end by the career diplomats who successfully negotiated with Cuba in the past. But, again, their marching orders must be clear: The goal is to undermine this regime through the human-rights weapons that we so forcefully wielded in communist Europe.

But what of today's crisis, the refugee flows? Nothing up Cubans who seek freedom in tents on an American base on their own island is a foolish, unsustainable policy. If we want to build a permanent settlement there, that would provide an alternative: a new community (call it Ciudad Martí?), with permanent dwellings, that could trade freely with the U.S. and elect its own officials. We would be creating a West Berlin, a small free city within the communist nation, and would need to

negotiate it as we did West Berlin. But at least the people there would be building homes, and would have jobs, and their relatives from Florida could visit them and help sustain them. This would be the embryo of a Guantanamo Bay Free Trade Zone that, in a free Cuba, could revitalize the nation's economy.

Short of that, the current policy will create the kind of refugee camp that existed on the Thai-Cambodian border at Chao-I-Dang, a massive tent metropolis that lasted from one decade to the next. The U.S. spent years urging the Soviets to allow free emigration. Can we now in good conscience demand that Mr. Castro prevent it?

Far better to allow the additional refugee flow to this country, trying if need be to induce the refugees to settle outside of Florida and to help Florida deal with the problems their arrival creates. And why is it so rarely mentioned that their arrival, over the years, has turned Miami into a thriving international center?

Tougher, Not Softer

It is, as critics on the left so often say, time to end the policy of isolating Mr. Castro. But we should get tougher, not softer. The United Nations General Assembly session that begins next month should see our

first major effort to subvert this regime through international human-rights pressure, followed by action in every other international body from the Organization of American States to the European Parliament, from the International Labor Organization to the World

Health Organization. And meanwhile, we should use our bilateral negotiations with Havana to pursue this same goal, and be willing to use our resources to advance it.

Should we pay in the currency of remittances or travel to get the Cuban Wałęsa out of prison and to protect their critical work in building a free society in Cuba? Yes, and gladly so, for that is the road to speeding Mr. Castro's downfall, and to a more stable transition after he is gone.

Mr. Abrams was assistant secretary of state for human rights, 1981-85, and for inter-American affairs, 1985-89. He is now a fellow at the Hudson Institute.



Fidel Castro

U.S. warns Cuba against

Castro can't 'dictate' policy

Mariel repeat

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The State Department put Cuban President Fidel Castro on notice yesterday that the United States will not tolerate a repeat of the 1980 Mariel exodus that dumped 125,000 Cuban refugees on the shores of South Florida.

Washington will "do whatever is necessary to prevent a replay," acting State Department spokesman David Johnson told reporters.

"We would do whatever was necessary in order to take account of whatever contingencies might come up," Mr. Johnson said. "I'm not in a position to spell those out for you, and I don't plan to."

Another State Department official, when asked whether the phrase "any means necessary" was a hint at possible military action, said, "We're not going to get into any questions of specificity."

The Mariel exodus quickly became a political hot potato, and it played a major role in President Carter's loss of Florida in the 1980 election.

Thousands of Cuban exiles chartered fishing boats to bring their relatives and friends from Mariel, Cuba, to Key West, Fla. The refugees included thousands of mental patients and criminals released from prisons and institutions by Mr. Castro.

Some of the Cubans later rioted at Fort Chafee in western Arkansas, creating a politically damaging situation for Bill Clinton, who was governor at the time. His gubernatorial re-election defeat was blamed, in part, on the riot.

Mr. Castro, responding to unrest in his island nation last week, blamed the trouble on the United States for encouraging a recent exodus of Cuban refugees, and he threatened to allow free emigration to America.

[Last night in Bogota, Colombia, Mr. Castro repeated his threat to flood the United States with Cuban emigrants unless Washington changed its policy on accepting them.

["Those who want to leave the country can do so — that is not denied. But the United States doesn't receive these people," he

said at a news conference for invited Colombian reporters, a transcript of which was carried by the Colprensa news agency. "It only receives those who hijack boats, those who commit acts of piracy.

["Either they adopt quick and efficient measures or we will remove the obstacles so that those who want to leave Cuba do so," he said. "We have no reason to keep watch so that they don't go off in boats of one type or another to the United States," he said.]

But Mr. Johnson stressed yesterday that the United States is "not going to permit Castro to dictate our immigration policy or to create a replay of the Mariel boat-lift."

"We've made very plain over the last several months . . . that we had active and ongoing contingency plans to deal with any type of issue which might arise," he said.

At the White House, Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers also took a tough line on preventing another mass dumping of refugees in the United States by the Cuban government.

"Our policy is very, very clear," Miss Myers said, adding that Mr. Castro "will not dictate our immigration policy."

"Obviously, we're keeping a close eye on it and making contingency plans to deal with any eventuality, but it seems quiet at this point," she said of the Cuban situation.

At a White House meeting Saturday, senior administration officials discussed a plan under development by the federal government for the past 13 years that lists the duties of various agencies responding to a Mariel-like crisis.

One administration official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, told the Associated Press that one of the options included a blockade by U.S. warships of the passage between Key West and Cuba. But he said President Clinton had made no decisions on that idea.

The controversy follows serious rioting in downtown Havana on Friday by thousands of people who were angered when rumors that

see CUBA, page A12

**SHAPING UP:
BOSSES OF STEEL**

Personal trainers
not just for rich
**LIVING & ARTS, 1G,
INSIDE CLASSIFIED**



CHANCE OF THUNDERSTORMS, 90/77, PAGE 3B

USED-CAR BOOM

Now automakers get involved, **BUSINESS, 1C**

TOM SNYDER'S TV COMEBACK, LIVING, 1G



FINAL EDITION

The Miami Herald

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 1994

CONTENTS COPYRIGHT © 1994 THE MIAMI HERALD

A sea change

- After 35 years, Cuban refugees find the door
- First intercepted rafters are ferried to Guantánamo
- Some recent arrivals are seized, sent to Krome

TIME TO SHINE — OR GET CUT

Several Dolphins
hope to impress
tonight vs. Bucs
SPORTS, 1D



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35 CENTS

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A sea c

■ After 35 years, Cuban refu

■ First intercepted rafters ar

■ Some recent arrivals are se

Switch met with dismay, agreement

Exiles wrestle with mixed emotions

By ANDRES VIGLUCCI,
FRANCES ROBLES
And JOANNE CAVANAUGH
Herald Staff Writers

Though few in Miami's Cuban exile community wanted another Mariel, no one was prepared for this: Cubans stopped at sea, blocked from entering the United States, detained in military camps — treated, in short, like illegal immigrants.

It was the symbolism, even more than the mechanics of President Clinton's policy about-face, that left many stunned and pensive Friday in Cuban Miami.

"What does this mean?" asked Josefina Carbonell, veteran activist and director of the Little Havana Activities and Nutrition Centers. "Now they're going to consider them illegal? It's just incredible. I feel a combination of grief and frustration. It's a sad moment."

For 35 years, Cuban refugees have been the privileged few, accorded rights no other group enjoys.

With a wave of an executive order, Clinton swept much of that away.

The announcement left exiles wrestling with their own mixed



TOUGH VIGIL: Lazar Rojo, center, waits at Stock Island transit center

THE DOOR CLOSSES

FIVE PAGES: 20A-24A

■ Despite the change in policy, two factors will

LATEST NUMBERS

Since Aug. 13, rescues of Cuban refugees have broken post-Mariel records. On Friday the president ordered rafters

748*

wrestling with their own mixed feelings and debating the implications for Cuba.

Many older exiles — those who have been here for years, and have few or no relatives still in Cuba — swallowed hard, set aside their sympathies for the rafters, and concluded Clinton did the right thing.

The new policy of stopping rafters at sea should discourage departures from Cuba, which they argued only ease pressure on

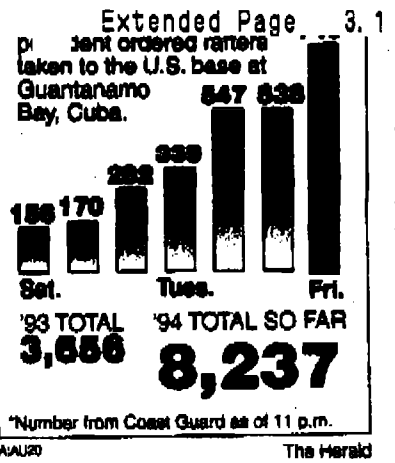
PLEASE SEE REACTIONS, 22A

policy, two factors will muddle attempts to halt the exodus, 20A.

■ Liz Balmaceda explores the line that now separates lucky refugees from detainees, 22A.

■ Should refugees be allowed to seek our shores? It depends on whom you asked, 22A.

■ The local economy can absorb a trickle of refugees, economic experts said. Business, 1C.



NAACP director Chavis says he won't resign;

Good hunches li
Chiles for a last

nt voices, different views



MURI VALLBONA / Herald Staff

GETTING THE NEWS: On Calle Ocho, Jose Antonio Castillo listens to broadcast of President Clinton's press conference.

Exiles debate U.S. policy change

REACTIONS, FROM 1A

Castro's tottering regime.

"Don't let one more Cuban into this country, even if it's my brother," said Juan Espinosa, 94, who listened to the announcement with 150 other senior citizens at Carbonell's Little Havana center. "How are we going to cope with 200,000 more people here? Fidel wants to relieve himself of the people's hunger. We can't let him. I only want Cuba to be free."

going to come regardless. That is for sure. This, this is a crime."

Outside the Manuel Artime Community Center on Calle Ocho, where refugees were being processed, about 150 demonstrators gathered to protest the new policy.

Some critics were angry because they want even stronger action. They called for a complete blockade of Cuba to give Castro a final push out of power.

The policy of detaining rafters, with-

Cuban. I'm not going to take this, people behind barbed wire. Cubans behind barbed wire. Castro doesn't have an atomic bomb. He has a human bomb, and he is using it against us."

Some pointed out the irony of fleeing Cubans being taken back to the island by the United States — even if it is to the American naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

At least some of the concern about Cubans being detained at Guantanamo was based on antipathy to the current

immigration

to be free.

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 is are losing.

At the senior center, few seemed to disagree.

But for more-recent arrivals, and for those awaiting news about relatives who took to the sea in recent days, Clinton's words caused only dismay.

At the Transit Center for Cuban Refugees in Key West, families from Miami sobbed openly around a TV screen while the last refugees to avoid detention stood by in disbelief.

"No, no, no, no," said rafter Blanca Rosa Carmenate, 32, fighting back tears. "This is criminal. The people are

out doing more to bring about change in Cuba, hurts the wrong people, many said.

"They're punishing the poor *balse-ros* when they should be punishing Fidel Castro," said Miami City Manager Cesar Odio. "We need a massive blockade."

Still, there was consensus on one point: Sending rafters to Guantanamo is cruel.

"Guantanamo is not a solution," said Metro Commissioner Javier Souto, a Bay of Pigs veteran. "As a

residents of the refugee camp there — Haitian boat people. Many exiles mentioned long-discredited stories about Haitians being carriers of the AIDS virus, claiming they would infect Cuban refugees.

But one exile said any fate, even Guantanamo, is better than suffering hunger and deprivation in Cuba.

"At least in Guantanamo they have food," said Pilar Zequeira, 61.

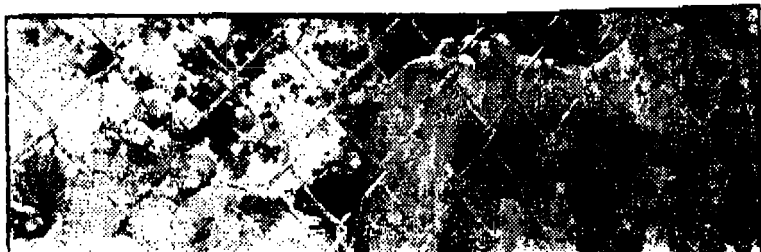
Herald Staff Writers Ana Menendez and Dexter Filkins contributed to this report.

na unfolds in theater

ite tearfully with friends, family

to the sky. He was crying.

"We had 50 this morning —
 and 50 now," said Fernandez



change

refugees find the door closed
are ferried to Guantanamo
seized, sent to Krome



MIKE STOCKER / Herald Staff

center for his wife and son, who left Cuba but haven't been heard from.

**View from seawall:
This won't stop us**

Special to The Herald

COJIMAR, Cuba — Barely an hour after President Clinton

old Felix, resting his bicycle on the seawall at Cojimar and gazing at would-be refugees in four

**Many
exiles
feeling
betrayed**
U.S. to tighten
vise on Castro

By PAUL ANDERSON,
FRANCES ROLES
And MARTIN MERZER
Herald Staff Writers

In a day of sweeping change, the United States reversed a long history of preferential treatment for Cuban refugees Friday as ships began ferrying Cubans back to Cuba — to the Navy base at Guantanamo, the American-controlled corner of the land they so desperately fled.

Meanwhile, hundreds of refugees already in Florida were seized by federal agents and held in detention in Southwest Dade.

Even as many Cuban Americans vented outrage over President Clinton's actions, the administration prepared new steps — to be announced today — intended to increase the pressure on Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Among them: Fewer charter flights from the United States, new United Nations resolutions condemning human rights violations in Cuba, and a sharp reduction, possibly from \$300 to \$150, in the amount of cash U.S. residents can send to Cuba every

hour after President Clinton warned that the United States would detain Cuban rafters, the latest round of flimsy craft were bobbing away undeterred from this sun-dappled bay in eastern Havana, cheered on by an enthusiastic crowd.

"Sooner or later, they'll get out of the camps" where the rafters will be held, reasoned 19-year-

ing at would-be rafters in the rafts heading for Florida.

"All those Cubans who left in 1980 are now living in the United States," he added confidently, referring to the Mariel boatlift. "At the beginning, they also lived in camps. But now they

dents can send to Cuba every three months.

The White House was prepared to announce the steps Friday night, but disagreements emerged during an Oval Office meeting between President Clinton, Gov. Lawton Chiles and five

PLEASE SEE RAFTERS, 20A

PLEASE SEE CUBA, 20A

lift
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GOVERNOR'S
RACE. OBACHIE

Chic bargain shopping is coming to Florida City

By ANNE MONCRIEFF ARRARTE
Herald Business Writer

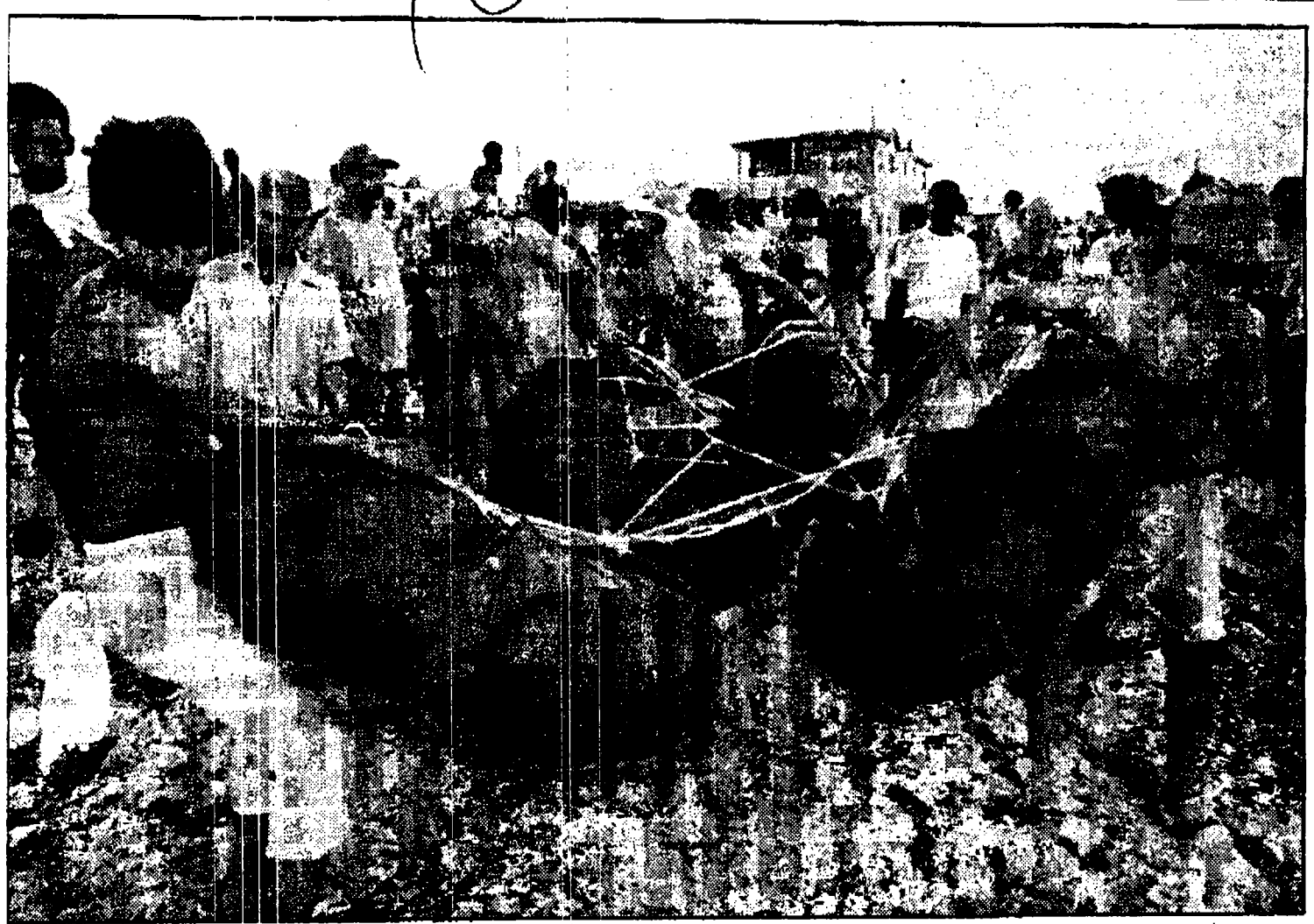
Two years after Hurricane Andrew tore through South Dade, the area is about to get chic shopping.

palm-lined streets dotted with a food court, a bank and even a playground for little shoppers.

Best of all, prices will run between 30 and 70 percent off regular retail, said William H.

THE DOOR CLOSES

Change in U.S. refugee policy



For The Herald

DETERRED: Even as President Clinton was announcing his new policy, rafters were leaving Colimar beach for Florida.

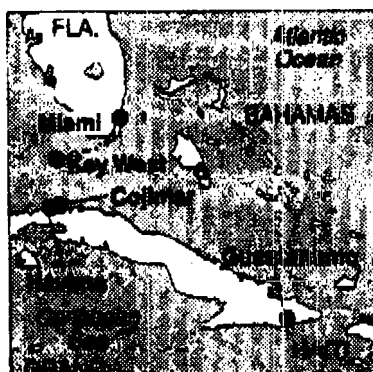
View from seawall: This won't stop us

RAFTERS, FROM 1A

live well."

If U.S. authorities think their warnings Friday will deter Cuban rafters from pouring out of this economically strapped island, they may have to think again.

Judging from the reactions of about 20 people interviewed, the main point of departure in Havana for escapees, the young and the restless will continue to



their group of friends. When a reporter asked who made the comment, Loandri smiled.

"All young people say it," he said. "There's no food, no electricity, no entertainment. Over there, you live well," he said, jerking his chin toward Florida.

But official Cuban radio stations and the U.S. government's Radio Marti reported the U.S. shift on Friday. Yet incredulous Cubans still stopped a foreigner in the street, asking if Clinton was really sending Cuban refu-

on a raft. Already, they had rounded up three inner tubes. A pile of oars was stacked neatly in the living room.

"The Cuban community abroad is very strong. They're going to do a lot to help the people in the camps," said 29-year-old Roberto. "I'm convinced of this."

"We lack everything," said his friend, 36-year-old Sebastian. "The youth don't have entertainment, not even a pair of shoes. Look at how these

and the restless will continue to flee — even if they are detained at the U.S. navy base at Guantanamo or at camps in Florida.

Some 20 rafts put to sea in the couple of hours that followed the U.S. announcement, each carrying four to six people. Several more had been launched during the morning.

The boaters' determination reflected both profound desperation at the lack of food and liberty here, and an almost naive faith in the boundless kindness of the United States.

"I have family over there — an uncle and cousins, in Miami and Tampa," said an 18-year-old factory worker, Loandri, who bicycled 12 miles to Coji-



The Herald

mar with friends to watch the departures. "They'll get me out of that shelter."

Loandri had planned to set out on a raft on Thursday, but one of the inner tubes exploded. He's now searching for another.

"People are wild to leave," said his 22-year-old brother, Yessel. "As long as the U.S. doesn't send people back here, they'll go."

"We want to leave communism," muttered another of

was really sending Cuban refugees to the U.S. base at Guantanamo.

"If they take me to Guantanamo, I prefer that to this," said Alejandro, 24, adding: "It is impossible that we would be treated like Haitians."

Parked nearby were five trucks loaded with members of the Blas Roca construction brigade, a unit of hand-picked government supporters used in the past to break up anti-government demonstrations. They made no effort to interfere with the rafters.

At a house just a block from the Cojimar bay, the news of the U.S. crackdown barely interrupted six friends working

of shoes. Look at how these are," he declared, lifting his foot to show the cracked, peeling bottom of a sneaker.

"You can't try your luck at anything here, and there's no work. According to people in the street, the Americans are taking Cubans to the naval base," he added. "I'd rather be there. At least there are no [electricity] blackouts."

Many young men said their driving goal is to leave Cuba — no matter where they would up.

"If they put me in a naval base, and leave me there, I'll go to another country — Panama, Mexico, or Canada," Sebastian declared.

g about Cuban rafters being

refugees were at Krome or en route from Key West. The

He urged the president to seek United Nations authorization for

said.

20A SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 1994
THE HERALD

THE DOOR CLOSES

A sea change in U.S. 1

CUBA, FROM 1A

Dade County civic leaders, including Miami City Manager Cesar Odio and Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation.

Chiles described the hour-long session in diplomatic terms:

"A lot of views were exchanged, everybody is going to do a little thinking about it, and we look forward to coming back [to the White House] in the morning."

Building camps

Earlier Friday, the U.S. military started building camps for Cubans in Cuba and prepared to broadcast radio warnings to potential rafters.

Immigration officials, meanwhile, bused 322 Cubans — simultaneously lucky and unlucky — from Key West to the Krome Detention Center in South Dade.

There, they will be held in tents for an indefinite period — safe after the perilous voyage across 90 miles of sea, but surprised to find that they had traded one form of detention in Cuba for another form in the United States.

"Once again, we Cubans must realize that we are alone," said Arturo Cobo, coordinator of the Transit Center for Cuban Refugees near Key West.

Some Cuban Americans were equally furious. About 60 Cuban Americans demonstrated Friday night along U.S. 1, a few miles north of Key West. They waved Cuban flags and chanted "Keys Yes, Bases No." They did not block traffic and the protest remained peaceful.

But many people, insisting that Washington defuse an explosive new wave of Cuban immigration, welcomed the abrupt change of policy officially announced Friday by Clinton.

A historic change

In summary: All Cuban refugees picked up at sea will be deposited at two new camps at the U.S. Navy base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. All Cuban refugees who reach American soil will be held in detention centers

those fleeing Castro's regime by boat and raft were no longer welcome.

Earlier this month, Castro threatened to allow unrestricted emigration to the United States. He appears to have redeemed that threat: Correspondents in Cuba say authorities are not blocking, and are often encouraging, rafters.

Clinton said Americans "do not want to see another Mariel boatlift . . . They do not want to see Mr. Castro able to export his political and economic problems to the United States."

Fine-tuning the policy

The moves being fine-tuned in the White House late Friday and scheduled to be announced today seemed designed to pacify Cuban Americans in Florida as much as to increase the pressure on Castro.

Also at the White House meeting Friday night were Maria Elena Toranzo, a prominent Miami Democrat, and Metro-Dade Commissioner Art Teele.

"We want to continue to work with them," a White House aide said of the Floridians. "We certainly want a firm response to Castro and his provocations."

Castro's estranged daughter, Alina Fernandez, appeared Friday night on CNN's *Larry King Show* and called Clinton's actions "naive." She predicted that this affair was far from over and that her father would find new ways to provoke the United States.

Referring to the new immigration policy, Attorney General Janet Reno, a Dade County native, said havens eventually would be found in other countries for Cuban refugees intercepted at sea. Administration sources mentioned Panama, Surinam and the Turks and Caicos Islands as leading candidates.

But Reno and other administration officials were exceedingly vague on details of the new program.

They were unwilling — or unable — to say how long Cubans would be held at Guantanamo Bay or at U.S. detention centers, how they could be reunited with relatives already in



UNDETERRED: Even as President Clinton was announcing

View from seaward

RAFTERS, FROM 1A

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Judging from the reactions of about 20 people interviewed, the main point of departure in Havana for escapees, the young and the restless will continue to



will be held in detention centers as their cases are studied.

Essentially, Cuban refugees will be treated like those from any other country, a historic change. For decades, virtually every Cuban refugee received quick and automatic refuge in the United States.

Over the years, massive Cuban immigration invigorated and redefined Miami and much of South Florida, powering the region's growth as a commercial and cultural hub. On Friday, in every sense imaginable, came a sea change.

"Today, I have ordered that illegal refugees from Cuba will not be allowed to enter the United States," said Clinton, who had come under intense pressure from Chiles and some South Florida officials determined to stem illegal immigration.

reunited with relatives already in the United States, whether any federal aid would flow to South Florida.

The policy change and the unanswered questions enraged many Cuban Americans and others. Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., was particularly critical of what he called a work-in-progress.

"I think what we have here is a policy that's being formed every 20 minutes," Graham said. "It's still very much in the kitchen. It hasn't been put into the oven yet, so how it comes out we won't know for some time."

Rounded up at sea

This much was known: The newest arrivals from Cuba were being rounded up at sea and on land and then slapped into federal custody.

The Coast Guard said every Cuban picked up Friday and

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By Friday night, 745 more Cuban refugees had been rescued by the Coast Guard, raising the year's total to 8,237 — already the highest annual figure since the Mariel boatlift of 1980 brought 125,266 refugees to Florida.

Hundreds more were poised on Cuba's shores Friday, some of them listening to Clinton's comments as they were broadcast over Cuban radio. Many considered their options — and then cast off, bound for Florida. "We want to leave communism," said one young man.

Nevertheless, the president and his administration worked hard Friday to emphasize that

the United States, whether any federal aid would flow to South Florida.

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The Coast Guard said every Cuban picked up Friday and thereafter would be transferred to Navy vessels and brought to Guantanamo, where two tent cities already were staked out Friday afternoon.

The sites, able to accommodate 10,000 people, will be several miles from the area offering refuge to 14,700 Haitians currently on the 45-square-mile base, according to the Pentagon.

"We can comfortably take thousands of Cubans here," said Gen. Michael Williams. "But the more thousands, the less comfortable people will be."

Haitian refugees on Guantanamo, told they soon would be joined by Cubans, were astonished. Long accustomed to hear-

ing about Cuban rafters being embraced in Florida while Haitians are detained or turned back, many in the camp didn't believe the news.

Those who did said this wasn't the outcome they had desired. "For me, this place is no good and I wouldn't wish it on anyone else," said Louis Cristophe Mesidor, 54. "Both Haitians and Cubans should be able to go to Miami."

At the Krome Detention Center in Southwest Dade, officials made room for their new arrivals, moving 172 detainees already at the center to facilities in other states.

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refugees were at Krome or en route from Key West. The Cubans were either in Key West when the policy change was imposed late Thursday or had still been at sea.

Battered by the rapid sequence of events, many Cuban Americans said they felt betrayed.

Miami Republican Lincoln Diaz-Balart, one of three Cuban Americans in Congress, said Clinton "has been panicked by Castro into violating the laws of the United States." He said the change violates the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act, which considerably eased the immigration process for Cubans.

Now, he said, the Clinton administration must take more aggressive steps to oust Castro.

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Despite message, Cubans have special status

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ
And LISA GETTER
Herald Staff Writers

The U.S. government wants Cubans who flee Cuba to know this: They are no longer unique. From now on, they will be treated just like all other illegal immigrants.

It's a strong message meant to deter droves of Cuban rafters from coming to the United States.

But it's not entirely accurate.

THE LAW

The 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act — passed during the Cold War so that illegal immigrants from Cuba would not have to return to a communist nation — automatically permits most Cubans who reach the United States to remain here permanently.

playing field between the two groups.

Haitians can opt to go home if they tire of the refugee camp. Many of them have done just that. Cubans, however, don't have that option. The U.S. government has no repatriation agreement with the Cuban government. Cuba doesn't want these people back.

This complicates matters. The concept of safe haven is designed to protect refugees and to turn-

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adding: "It is
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declared.

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Cuba," Chiles

said.
Chiles brushed aside criticism
from the Cuban-American com-
munity. He said the federal gov-
ernment had no choice but to
stop the refugee landings.
"I hear from everybody that
you have got to do something
and now there's some ambiva-
lence," he said. "Yesterday, it's,
'Why doesn't somebody act?'
'Why doesn't somebody stop
this?' Then it happens and they
say, 'Oh, you acted too
quickly.'"
*Herald staff writers Lizette
Alvarez, Susanna Bellido,
Aminda Marques Gonzalez, Tim
Nickens, Mark Silva and Charles
Strouse contributed to this report.*

