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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	re: List for Cuba [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	02/11/1998	b(6)

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Gingrich disputes Pentagon report of no Cuban threat

Dubs Castro 'tyrant,' likens to Saddam

Cuba

By Tom Carter
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Comparing Cuban President Fidel Castro to Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein, House Speaker Newt Gingrich has written to Defense Secretary William S. Cohen to question the findings of a Pentagon report concluding Cuba poses no military threat to the United States.

"Castro is a dangerous and unstable tyrant capable of many of the same things we know Saddam Hussein is doing," wrote Mr. Gingrich in a letter dated March 31, a copy of which was obtained yesterday by The Washington Times.

Citing published reports that indicate the Pentagon report will "minimize the security threat from the Castro dictatorship," Mr. Gingrich said "such a conclusion would be very misleading."

However, a former commander of the U.S. Atlantic Command who visited Cuba last month said he agreed with the Pentagon's reported assessment.

"Cuba does not have an offensive capability. It is zero — none," retired Marine Corps Gen. John J. Sheehan, who led the Atlantic Command from 1994 to 1997, said in an interview.

During his weeklong stay, Gen. Sheehan was taken to visit military bases in eastern Cuba by military chief Gen. Raul Castro and spent 8½ hours at a dinner with Fidel Castro.

"Cuba clearly is not a threat to the United States. Their entire design and strategy is defensive, like the Viet Cong guerrillas," he said.

Gen. Sheehan said he long has favored building better relations with the Communist government and decried the politicization of intelligence assessments.

"Intelligence should not be politicized. If it is, it is a terrible day for the U.S. intelligence community," Gen. Sheehan said.

The classified Pentagon report was due to be delivered to Congress Tuesday, but Mr. Cohen postponed its release.

In his letter, Mr. Gingrich cited as proof of Mr. Castro's "instability" Cuban support for Basque and Colombian terrorists, the harbor-

ing of international fugitives, attempts to construct a primitive nuclear reactor, purported narco-trafficking and Cuba's downing of two unarmed U.S. civilian aircraft over the Florida Strait on Feb. 24, 1996.

He also mentioned reports indicating that "Castro's secretive network of sophisticated biological and genetic-research labs are being used by the military and Interior Ministry to develop chemical and biological weapons."

Anti-Castro lawmakers also vehemently protested the Pentagon's reported conclusions.

Denouncing those she described as "Castro's puppets," Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Florida Republican, said it was outrageous that anyone not consider Mr. Castro a threat.

"I think the people who wrote that report should tell the families of the dead pilots that there is no risk," she said.

The hard-line anti-Castro caucus on Capitol Hill worries that the flurry of activity on Cuba in the wake of the pope's visit there in January is undermining their cause.

The pontiff called for "Cuba to open to the world and the world to open to Cuba." In response, the Clinton administration on March 20 reauthorized direct flights to the island and made it legal for Cuban-Americans to send \$12,000 a year in remittances to their island families.

"It all puts pressure on Congress, and I am sure the Clinton administration appreciates that," said Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart, Florida Republican. "I'm sure they are looking to see what they can do next."

On Tuesday, hundreds of Cuban-Americans along with church and business groups converged on Capitol Hill to lobby for a partial lifting of the embargo.

"We're worried that with all this activity, the Clinton administration is looking for more things that it can do," said a senior Republican aide on condition of anonymity.

"We fear the next thing will be to begin joint military maneuvers with the Cuban military and then maybe return Guantanamo," the GOP aide said.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1998

House rejects bid to end highway affirmative action

OK of \$218 billion roads bill expected

By John Godfrey
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The House last night debated a six-year, \$218 billion highway spending bill after rejecting efforts to end affirmative action programs for highway spending and cut \$9 billion in highway projects earmarked for members' districts.

The House was expected to vote overwhelmingly to approve the bill, but the measure faces a fight in conference, where it must be reconciled with a Senate version that spends \$10 billion less and includes no earmarked projects.

Both bills exceed the spending caps set under the 1997 budget agreement. With tax cutters and deficit hawks fearful that every dollar spent on highways means one less dollar for their causes, the House-Senate conference promises to be a heated one.

Still, House proponents in both parties applauded the bill yesterday.

"Let us, on a bipartisan basis, be the builders of a better America so our children's children will be able to look back and say, 'See this — they did this for us,'" House Transportation Committee Chairman Bud Shuster, Pennsylvania Republican, said.

"This is a bill that is good for all Americans, good for all time," said the committee's ranking Democrat, Rep. James L. Oberstar of Minnesota.

The legislation increases the annual average spent by the federal government on highways by 51 percent over legislation approved in 1991, funding the repair and construction of highways, bridges, bus and rail terminals, railroads

and ferries. The bill also includes titles on highway safety, transportation research and railroads.

According to the Office of Management and Budget, President Clinton is concerned that the bill "goes too far and could threaten both fiscal discipline and the commitment to education and other critical investments in our future."

"I am not a big spender. I am a fiscal conservative," Mr. Shuster countered. "There's a fundamental difference between spending money to build assets and throwing money down a rat hole."

Mr. Clinton also criticized House GOP leaders for blocking a vote to set a national standard of .08 blood alcohol content for drunken driving.

"It is imperative that we set a uniform standard... to protect our young people from harm, make our streets safer, and help us crack down on drunk driving nationwide. The House leadership, however, once again is hiding behind procedural maneuvers," Mr. Clinton said in a statement.

Rep. Scott McInnis, Colorado Republican, who sits on the committee which prevented the vote, said the provision was "federal blackmail." He said studies cited by proponents are skewed and the amendment violates states' rights.

"This debate is entirely emotionally driven, not factually driven," Mr. McInnis said.

The House rejected 225-194 an effort to repeal a program that requires states to set aside 10 percent of their highway contracts for disadvantaged business enterprises. Minority- and women-owned businesses are assumed to qualify.



Rep. Bud Shuster

"This is a clear waste of taxpayer dollars," said Rep. Marge Roukema, New Jersey Republican. "We are not suggesting there is no discrimination," she said, but programs intending to help some should not, in turn, discriminate against others. Her amendment would have increased minority outreach programs, but would have repealed any minimum for contracts.

Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton, D.C. Democrat, said the "amendment would destroy opportunities for women and minorities to participate in highway construction programs pure and simple.... We would take them back to the bad old days when white men hogged all contracts for themselves."

The House also rejected an amendment that would have stripped out 1,467 demonstration projects costing \$9 billion. These projects, such as a \$1.8 million improvement to Lee Highway in Fairfax and a \$10 million fix of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Bridge, were criticized by the amendment's sponsor Lindsey R. Graham, South Carolina Republican, as "pork."

Mrs. Norton countered, "This is not pork, this is steak, and if you want to continue being a prime rib country you'd better" vote for the bill.

• Walden Siew contributed to this report.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1998

House dodges drunken driving

Decides against voting on tougher blood alcohol standard

By Lance Gay
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

Crusaders for a tougher nationwide drunken-driving standard lost their fight in the House yesterday when lawmakers refused to bring their proposal to a vote.

"What a sham," said Rep. Nita Lowey, New York Democrat, who charged that lawmakers bowed to pressure from the liquor and restaurant industries.

Those groups lobbied to scuttle a proposal, backed by President Clinton, that would set a nationwide standard of .08 percent blood alcohol level to detect drunken driving.

"Today is April Fools Day. How fitting and truly outrageous," Mrs. Lowey said.

But Rep. Randy Cunningham, California Republican, said the is-

sue isn't dead in this Congress. The House will have another opportunity to consider the measure when a House-Senate conference committee discusses the Senate's version of a new highway bill. The Senate last month passed the toughened .08 percent national standard by a 62-32 vote.

Mr. Cunningham said giving federal incentives to encourage states to toughen drunken-driving laws hasn't worked. "We need more stick than we do carrot," he said.

The House killed the measure under a parliamentary procedure that permitted the \$217 billion highway bill to come to the House floor but blocked any votes on the drunken-driving proposal. The vote approving the parliamentary maneuver was 357-61.

Rep. Scott McInnis, Colorado

Republican, said drunken-driving standards are the responsibility of states, not Congress.

"The debate is entirely emotionally driven, not factually driven," he said. "We've made a difference in Colorado, and it's not because Uncle Sam is in our backyard and telling us we have to do it. We don't need your help."

The House version of the highway bill contains incentives for states to lower drunken-driving rates by awarding federal grants amounting to up to 30 percent of their share of federal highway funds if they lower drunken-driving deaths over a three-year period. The House bill also contains measures that would permit states to expand the number of drunken-driving checkpoints and confiscate cars of intoxicated drivers.



**TALKING POINTS FOR WHITE HOUSE DELEGATION
ATTENDING THE FUNERAL OF JORGE MAS CANOSA**

- The President has asked me to head this delegation to attend Mr. Mas Canosa's funeral services in representation of his administration.
- The President and Mrs. Clinton were deeply saddened by the death of Jorge Mas Canosa and what this loss represents to his family, the Cuban-American Community and the cause of a free Cuba.
- Our presence here today is an effort to honor the memory of Mr. Mas Canosa and in a small way comfort his family and his community.
- Mr. Mas Canosa had many friends in this administration and they all join the President and Mrs. Clinton in expressing their condolences.
- Jorge's unprecedented efforts to promote the cause of freedom in Cuba will be sorely missed.
- The President remains firmly committed to the goal of a free and democratic Cuba, and will continue to work tirelessly to achieve it.
- Mr. Mas Canosa was a very influential leader of the Cuban-American Community whose advice and views were respected and highly considered in our nation's Capital. Mr. Mas Canosa's death will not alter the direction of our policy toward Cuba which is aimed at promoting a peaceful democratic transition and respect for human rights in Cuba.

From: Ranneberger, Michael E
Sent: Tuesday, November 25, 1997 2:24 AM
To: Rodriguez, Lula; Rodriguez, Lula
Subject: Eizenstat on Call to Jorg

Microsoft Mail v3.0 IPM.Microsoft Mail.Note
From: RANNEBERGER, MICHAEL E
To: Rodriguez, Lula
HAMILTON, JOHN R
Subject: Eizenstat on Call to Jorge Jr.
Date: 1997-11-24 18:42
Priority:
Message ID: E6CCBF75
Conversation ID: E6CCBF75

Further to my earlier e-mail:

Stu called to say that he had an excellent talk with Pepe and Jorge Jr.
They expressed very warm feelings for him and for our efforts on Cuba, and
said they
wanted to continue to work with us. They expressed admiration for his (our)
efforts. Stu said he was very pleased by the call.

Stu asked again about who was going to the funeral and raised question of
someone from State going (me or someone else going). I subsequently
mentioned this to
John H, and understand he called you to close the circle. Fully agree it
would not be appropriate for me (or that matter for him) to go, but wanted
to make sure all that was nailed down definitively this eve. Regards.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1997 A1

Our Jam in Havana: This U.S. Station Doesn't Rate in Cuba

Castro's Interference Keeps
TV Marti Off of Screens;
Delaying the World Series

By CARLA ANNE ROBBINS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — It is five minutes before taping and TV Marti news anchor Silvia Font is fretting about her white sweater. "People expect to see me in a suit," she says as she rushes into a small U.S. government studio not far from the Capitol. "It's more professional looking."

But there is something crucial that Ms. Font doesn't mention about her broadcast to Cuba: Almost no one there is likely to see her that day — or any other. Thanks to the Fidel Castro government's vigilant jamming during the past seven years, almost no one there has ever seen the program.

Created by the Bush administration to beam uncensored news to Cuba, TV Marti, with a \$9.6 million budget, may not be America's strangest government program. But working there has to be one of the most frustrating jobs in journalism — regular hours, OK pay, but no way to reach your audience, ever.

Helium Method

In December, Washington will try to foil the jamming with a new \$2 million UHF transmitter, suspended from a helium-filled airship floating 10,000 feet above the Florida Keys. Even then, Director of Technical Operations, Michael Pallone can't guarantee it will work much better than its VHF predecessor. "The signal will definitely get out," he says. "Whether it gets in is another question."

Why the U.S. keeps trying is a testimony to both the political clout of the Cuban exile lobby — especially top leader Jorge Mas Canosa, who died in Miami this week — and inertia. "If we closed TV Marti, we'd give Castro an enormous victory," says Herminio San Roman, the new head of the U.S. Information Agency's Office of Cuba Broadcasting, which oversees TV Marti. Why the government hasn't tried harder is more difficult to explain. "They're broadcasting to Bosnia from C-130" airplanes, says Frank Calzon, executive director of the Washington-based Center for a Free Cuba. "It's not a technical problem, it's a lack of political will."

Perhaps the most intriguing question of all is why TV Marti's journalists keep doing their jobs.

Denial is at least part of the explanation. "We know some people have seen it," insists producer Jose Mi-

randa, recounting how after TV Marti ran his documentary on exiled pianist Zenaida Manfugas, "her sister called from Cuba to say a friend had watched the show."

That, however, was back in 1992. An August 1994 memo to all employees labeled "GOOD NEWS" quotes a Mexican news-wire report that the station was "partially" picked up for several hours east of Havana: "Horizontal lines flickered on the television sets blocking the image, but the voices of a news program and commentaries were heard."

Except for top officials with satellite dishes, the only Cubans with an unobstructed view are those seeking visas at the U.S. interests section in Havana (the de facto embassy), where tapes of TV Marti play on waiting-room monitors. Its satellite feed is picked up by Latin American cable systems looking for free programming, although how many isn't known.

For many TV Marti journalists, especially those born in Cuba, their work is a crusade. Ms. Font's father was the managing editor of a Havana daily newspaper, *Diario de la Marina*. "until Fidel Castro broke the presses in 1960," she says. "If this weren't so personal, do you think I'd keep doing it?" For others, it is a stable job in a notoriously unstable business and a chance to produce serious television. "I wanted to produce something with quality and not have to have three girls in bikinis," says Mr. Miranda, who came from the Spanish-language network Univision.

Almost everyone who works here is convinced Mr. Castro will soon be out of power, and they finally will be on the air. "If Castro dies tomorrow or is shot... and Ted Turner gets to cover the story and I don't, I'll kill myself," says Ms. Font, only half facetiously.

TV Marti comes from a long and honored tradition of surrogate broadcasters, including the U.S.-financed Radio Free Europe that succored Eastern Europe's democrats through the darkest Cold War years. TV Marti's sister station, Radio Marti, has had its own share of internal problems, such as red-baiting and charges of biased reporting. But with at least 40% of Cubans listening, despite the jamming, Radio Marti's importance is undeniable.

Just how important is clear as Radio Marti reporter Angelica Mora sits in her tiny Miami recording booth, accepting collect calls from Cuba and taping reports from journalists and activists all over the island. It's dangerous work for the callers who use their names on the air. After Radio Marti recently broadcast charges that a police official in Cienfuegos was sexually harassing the wives of political prisoners, both the policeman and the journalist in Cuba who broke the story were arrested. "We're their only chance for getting the news out," Ms. Mora says.

TV Marti, named for Cuban-independence war patriot Jose Marti, was supposed to be even better. But from the start, it

faced enormous technical and political problems. For one, its broadcasts — even from a technological marvel like TV Marti's floating transmitter — proved easier to jam than shortwave radio. American radio and TV broadcasters also fiercely opposed the idea, fearful that Cuba might start retaliatory jamming of radio stations inside the U.S. and warning the U.S. could violate international rules if it caused "harmful interference" on another country's TV system.

Caught between the Cuba lobby and the broadcasting lobby, the Bush administration sought to split the difference.

In early 1990, it ordered TV Marti on the air, but only aimed at Havana and only during the insomniac hours of 3:30 a.m. to 6 a.m. (now extended until 8 a.m.) when Cuban stations don't broadcast anything. TV Marti managers were further warned that if Cuba so much as beamed a test pattern on TV Marti's frequency — Havana's channel 13 — they were to cease immediately. Seven frustrating years later those restrictions still apply. Last month, Major League Baseball granted both Radio and TV Marti the right to broadcast the fifth game of the World Series — the one pitched by Cuban defector Liván Hernández of the Florida Marlins. The Clinton administration approved the live radio broadcast but delayed the TV broadcast rather than break the prime-time rule.

If the U.S. government has never shown real enthusiasm for TV Marti, Mr. Castro has more than made up for it: branding it "tele-aggression," he scrambles military helicopters and boats to jam the signal. Most jamming is probably done from five fixed sites near the Cuban capital, "but [Castro] likes to send up the helicopters to show what he can do," says Mr. Pallone, the engineer.

With TV Marti ripe for budget cutters, congressional defenders voted in 1994 to give it another try, approving purchase of the new transmitter. Since Cuba doesn't broadcast on UHF, TV Marti should finally make it to prime time. The new transmitter's higher-power signal should also be somewhat harder to jam. And the Federal

Communications Commission has assigned TV Marti three UHF channels, instead of one, making the jamming challenge even greater.

But engineers concede that if Mr. Castro is determined to jam TV Marti, he can do so. "If you work hard enough, you can jam any signal and he's had 2½ years to get ready," Mr. Pallone says.

Meanwhile, Mr. San Roman has back-up justifications for continuing the project. TV Marti, he says, is also an "insurance policy" for the day Castro falls and hundreds of thousands of Cuban rafters try to reach Florida. "When the transition comes," he says, "we'll be ready to tell the Cuban people to stay home."

ARA/8

TODAY

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1997

A32 34

Turning a Page on Cuba

No individual had more influence over United States policies toward Cuba over the past two decades than Jorge Mas Canosa, who died Sunday. Mr. Mas, who fled to Miami in 1960, the year after Fidel Castro seized power, founded the Cuban-American National Foundation and turned it into the most powerful lobbying organization on Cuban issues in Washington. The passing years never eroded his belief that Cuba's Communist dictatorship was ripe for overthrow. That dubious assumption drove his campaigns for successive tightenings of Washington's economic embargo on Cuba, culminating in the regrettable Helms-Burton law of 1996.

In practice, Helms-Burton has done more harm to the United States than to Mr. Castro, and warrants an early re-examination by the Clinton Administration and Congress. Mr. Mas would have fiercely resisted any rethinking of the embargo. But it does his memory no dishonor to look for better ways to promote Cuban freedom.

Helms-Burton imposes American penalties on foreign companies that trade with Cuba, and it transfers the power to adjust the embargo from the President to Congress. Despite the law, Cuba has attracted enough trade and investment to survive

the loss of Soviet subsidies. It exploits America's sanctions policy to excuse its own economic failures and rally nationalist sentiment.

Congress should approve bills pending in both houses that would ease the embargo on food and medicine sales. President Clinton should continue to suspend enforcement of the provision of Helms-Burton that permits foreign companies to be sued in American courts for using properties confiscated years ago by the Cuban Government. Unfortunately, Congress gave the President no authority to suspend another provision that bars these companies' executives and their families from the United States.

Cuba is the Western Hemisphere's worst dictatorship and human rights violator. Cubans are beaten and jailed for criticizing their Government, forming independent organizations or even trying to leave the country. Americans have a special duty to press for more freedom in a country so near and so historically linked to the United States. But Washington can fight more effectively by abandoning approaches that have failed to dent Fidel Castro's tyranny or improve the lot of Cuba's long-suffering people.

ARA/AS

TODAY

ARA Press Guidance
November 24, 1997

Death of Cuban-American Leader Jorge Mas Canosa

Background:

Jorge Mas Canosa, one of the most respected leaders of the Cuban exile community and founder of the Cuban-American National Foundation in 1980, died yesterday (November 23) of cancer at the age of 58. Canosa was born in Santiago de Cuba in 1939. He attended university in the United States and returned to Cuba in early 1959. After becoming involved in university politics and running afoul of the new Castro government, Mas Canosa returned to the United States in 1960. He joined the Cuban exile community in Miami. He achieved financial success after buying a small telephone equipment company with a loan from other exiles. Mas Canosa was the force behind the creation of Radio and TV Marti.

Question:

What effect will the death of Jorge Mas Canosa have on U.S. policy toward Cuba?

Answer:

First, I would like to read a brief statement from the Secretary of State:

I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of Jorge Mas Canosa. I join President and Mrs. Clinton, the Cuban-American Community, and others throughout the world in mourning his loss.

We have lost a tireless, eloquent, and effective advocate for the cause of freedom and democracy in Cuba.

Jorge was recognized as a pre-eminent and influential leader of this community. As the President has stated, we admired his tenacity, strength of conviction, and passion.

Jorge's unprecedented efforts to promote the cause of freedom in Cuba will be sorely missed. We will remain firmly committed to the goal of a free and democratic Cuba, and will work tirelessly to achieve it.

My thoughts and prayers are with his wife Irma, and his sons Jorge, Jose, and Juan.

Answer:

Mr. Mas Canosa was a very influential leader of the Cuban-American community whose advice and views were respected and highly considered. His death will not alter the direction of our policy toward Cuba which is aimed at promoting a peaceful democratic transition and respect for human rights in Cuba.

Question:

It is well-known that Jorge Mas Canosa was one of the embargo's and the Helms-Burton Act's (*Libertad Act*) strongest advocates. Will his death affect their implementation in anyway? Will they be amended or softened?

Answer:

The embargo and the *Libertad Act* are the law of the land and are aimed at promoting a peaceful democratic transition and

11/24/97 MON 14:19 FAX 202 647 7095

ARA/CCA

respect for human rights in Cuba. The passing of Mr. Mas Canosa will not affect this in anyway.

Question:

What does Jorge Mas Canosa's death mean to the Cuban-American community?

Answer:

Mr. Mas Canosa was one of the Cuban-American community's most respected and influential leaders. We know that his absence will be deeply felt by the community. We know that the Cuban-American community and its leaders will continue to work to promote a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba.

Drafted: ARA/CCA: VMDePirro
Cleared: ARA/CCA: MRanneberger ok
ARA: JHamilton ok

11/24/97 MON 14:22 FAX 202 736 4476

CUBAN AFFAIRS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release

November 24, 1997

Statement by Under Secretary of State for Economic,
Business, and Agricultural Affairs Stuart E. EizenstatDeath of Mr. Jorge Mas Canosa

The death of Jorge Mas Canosa is a great loss to the effort to bring freedom and democracy to Cuba. I will personally mourn his death. I offer my deepest condolences and prayers to his wife Irma, and his sons Jorge, Jose, and Juan.

As the Secretary and the President have stated, we have lost a tireless, eloquent, and effective advocate for the cause of freedom in Cuba. When I was appointed as the President's and the Secretary's Special Representative for the Promotion of Democracy in Cuba, I came to know Jorge well. I valued tremendously Jorge's support for our efforts to mobilize a multilateral push to promote a peaceful democratic transition in Cuba. Jorge's efforts to advance the cause of freedom and democracy in Cuba will be sorely missed. We will continue to vigorously pursue that goal. I will forever be inspired in my work to help bring freedom and democracy to Cuba by Jorge's dedication to this great cause.

OPTIONAL FORM 08 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages 4

To L-12

From

Velia

Dept./Agency

Phone #

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75939

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NEN 7540-01-317-7388

5089-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

11/24/97 09:37 202 456 9130

NSC-INTERAMERICA

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P.001/001

NOV-23-1997 17:07 FROM PRESS VANCOUVER PRESS OFC TO

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(Vancouver, British Columbia)

For Immediate Release

November 23, 1997

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of the death of Jorge Mas Canosa, Chairman of the Advisory Board for Cuban Broadcasting and long-time champion of a free Cuba.

It was Jorge's vision which ultimately led to the creation of Radio Marti by Congress enacting the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act in 1983, to encourage the communication of accurate information and ideas to the people of Cuba. He served as Chairman of the Advisory Board from its inception.

Jorge was a born leader and organizer, whose tenacity, strength of conviction and passion I greatly admired. He galvanized his community, his adopted country and people around the world for the cause of freedom and democracy in Cuba. We have lost a forceful voice for freedom in Cuba and elsewhere, but his dream lives on. He will be missed.

Our thoughts and prayers are with his wife, Irma, and his sons, Jorge, Juan and Jose. Hillary and I join the Cuban-American community and others around the world who care for the cause of freedom in Cuba in mourning his loss.

#

11/24/97 MON 16:11 FAX 202 736 4476

CUBAN AFFAIRS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release

November 24, 1997

Statement by Secretary of State Madeleine K. AlbrightDeath of Mr. Jorge Mas Canosa

I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of Jorge Mas Canosa. I join President and Mrs. Clinton, the Cuban-American Community, and others throughout the world in mourning his loss.

We have lost a tireless, eloquent, and effective advocate for the cause of freedom and democracy in Cuba. Jorge was recognized as a pre-eminent and influential leader of this community. As the President has stated, we admired his tenacity, strength of conviction, and passion.

Jorge's unprecedented efforts to promote the cause of freedom in Cuba will be sorely missed. We will remain firmly committed to the goal of a free and democratic Cuba, and will work tirelessly to achieve it.

My thoughts and prayers are with his wife Irma, and his sons Jorge, Jose, and Juan.

USIA

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Sunday, November 23, 1997
Release No. 086-97

CONTACT: Bill Reinckens
PHONE: 202-619-4370
E-mail: wreincke@usia.gov

Statement by Joseph Duffey, Director USIA:

"The Cuban American community has lost a dedicated and effective leader. America has lost a passionate patriot. And I have lost a friend and co-worker. Jorge Mas Canosa will be remembered by all who knew and worked with him for his bright energy, warmth, good spirit, great skill in advocacy and his love of family, his adopted country and his native homeland. I mourn with those who will miss his friendship and company."

United States Information Agency Washington D.C. 20547 Tel: 202-619-4355 Fax: 202-619-6988

11/25/97 09:39

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OVP/NSA

001



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1997

Mrs. Mas Canosa
8450 Old Cutler Road
Miami, Florida 33157

Dear Mrs. Mas Canosa:

Please accept Tipper's and my deepest condolences on the death of your husband. While I know that you and your sons will feel Jorge's absence more deeply than anyone else, I hope that you can take comfort in the knowledge that your sorrow is shared by the many persons who knew and admired Jorge.

Jorge always impressed me with the intensity of his commitment to the vision of a free Cuba. His unflagging efforts to make that vision a reality were a testimony to Jorge's leadership and his ability to inspire respect in others. We share his vision of free and democratic Cuba, and will continue to vigorously pursue that end.

Our thoughts and prayers are with you at this difficult time.

Sincerely,

Al Gore

Europeans End Suit Contesting Cuba Trade Act

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON, April 20 — The European Union is dropping its legal challenge to the Helms-Burton Act, which imposes American penalties on companies that use United States properties in Cuba that were seized by the Castro Government three decades ago.

The decision to let the case before the World Trade Organization lapse is a major step toward defusing a dispute over sanctions that has troubled trans-Atlantic relations for more than two years.

But European and American officials cautioned that they were still far from a final settlement of the dispute and that if talks should break down, the European Union could file a new action.

"This is certainly a sign that we have not given up on a negotiated solution, that we think a solution is possible," Hugo Paemen, the European Union's envoy to the United States, said today.

The chief American negotiator, Stuart Eizenstat, the Under Secretary of State for economic and business affairs, said that while the United States welcomed the European decision, "we are a long way from being home."

Mr. Eizenstat insisted that dropping the formal legal action was not part of a quiet deal to defang the law, although President Clinton has regularly waived some of its toughest provisions against offending corporations while the talks continued.

The Helms-Burton Act calls for economic sanctions against foreign companies that invest in or use any of the billions of dollars in American properties — from phone systems to

Almost as soon as the papers were filed, both sides acted to avoid a trial. Some European and American officials were afraid that the case could destroy the authority of the fledgling trade organization, forcing it to rule on an issue that the United States insisted had to do with national security, not trade barriers. But the European Union did not want to drop the action, because the threat of pursuing the case was its best leverage.

The case would have been decided by a three-judge panel drawn from

countries not involved in the suit. That probably would have been to Europe's advantage, because Helms-Burton has almost no international support.

A year ago, the European Union and the United States agreed to suspension of the complaint while negotiations proceeded. But this week, under the trade organization's rules, the Europeans had to decide whether to move ahead with formal hearings or drop the action.

"All the choices were bad," one official familiar with the European decision said. "Dropping the case takes the heat off Washington. But pursuing it would have undermined the chances of a settlement."

The United States threatened last year to invoke a national security exemption before the trade organization. But while Washington insisted that such an argument would remove the case from the organization's docket, European officials insisted that the organization itself would have to make that decision.

"We have said from the outset that this is a matter that should be handled through diplomatic channels rather than the W.T.O." Mr. Eizen-

stat said. What the 15-nation Europe Union sought in the case was a ruling barring the United States from boycotts of companies beyond its borders. The United States has so far refused to give up the right to impose such boycotts, but it is negotiating over procedures — including prior consultations with the countries involved — in an effort to prevent the sanctions from being carried out.

The United States, in turn, has demanded that some set of economic disincentives be put in place to deter foreign companies from investing in properties that Mr. Castro seized

from American corporations. That goes to the heart of the Helms-Burton Act's goals. But so far, no such measures have been agreed on.

European officials say there is some pressure to try to resolve the issues before President Clinton goes to Britain next month for the annual economic summit meeting of the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Russia, which will be followed by a European Union summit meeting in London. But it is unclear whether an agreement can be forged that quickly.

Continued on Page A8
Continued From Page A1

hotels to mines — that Fidel Castro seized after the Cuban revolution.

It applies, for example, to the Mexican and Italian corporations that have a stake in the Cuban telephone network, which was built by an American company in the 1950's. And it applies to a Canadian company, Sherritt International Corporation, that has invested in a nickel mine opened by a predecessor to Freeport McMoran, a large American mining company.

Some Sherritt officials have already been barred from traveling to the United States. One provision of the 1996 law denies entry to executives of companies that violate the law.

The European Union was outraged by the legislation, arguing that "secondary boycotts," that is, boycotts against foreign companies for business they do outside the United States, violate international trade treaties. They brought the case to press their point.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1998

Anti-Abortionists Lose Suit Under Racketeering Statute

By DIRK JOHNSON

Continued From Page A1

CHICAGO, April 20 — A United States District Court jury today ruled that three anti-abortion leaders had violated a Federal racketeering law by conducting a nationwide campaign to intimidate abortion providers and patients.

The jury of two men and four women, who had deliberated since Thursday, found that 21 acts of intimidation, including physical violence outside clinics, amounted to a vast enterprise of extortion under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations law.

The RICO Act was passed in 1970 as a way to fight organized crime, and some legal scholars have argued that it should not apply to political groups.

The civil case decided today, which was brought by the National Organization for Women, awarded \$85,926 in damages to two abortion clinics that were targets of harassment. Under the terms of the racketeering act, the judge is expected to automatically triple that figure, which the individual defendants must pay.

"We cannot tolerate the use of threats and force by one group to impose its views on others," said Fay Clayton, the lawyer who argued the case for NOW.

The 12-year-old case had earlier been dismissed by a Federal judge, who ruled that the racketeering law applied only to organizations motivated by economic gain. But the Supreme Court in 1994 reversed that ruling, and ordered the case to go to trial.

The suit named as defendants two militant anti-abortion groups, Operation Rescue and the Pro-Life Action League, and their leaders, Joseph Scheidler, Timothy Murphy and Andrew Scholberg. Randall Terry, the president of Operation Rescue,

earlier agreed to pay damages in a settlement.

The suit sought damages for two clinics, in Milwaukee and Wilmington, Del., that had been targeted for harassment.

Mr. Scheidler, who has written a book about tactics aimed at shutting down abortion clinics, today promised to appeal the decision, and scoffed at the notion that the ruling could put anti-abortion groups out of business.

"There will still be picketers, maybe more picketers," Mr. Scheidler said. "This may enliven the movement."

G. Robert Blakely, the Notre Dame professor who drafted the racketeering act, said that it was never intended to apply to political groups. He expressed grave concerns that the statute could be used to chill dissent by a wide range of organizations, such as labor unions and gay rights advocates.

"If you look at this case and say it's about abortion, you're missing the point," Professor Blakely said. "Everybody who loves the First

Amendment has got to sleep uneasily tonight."

Before the racketeering statute passed, Mr. Blakely recalled, liberals like Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, raised serious concerns about it, saying he feared that President Richard M. Nixon would use the law to stifle anti-war protests.

But Louis Bograd, a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union, said the First Amendment "does not guarantee the right to engage in violence and extortion."

In its 1994 ruling, the Supreme Court said that if the racketeering law was not intended to apply to political groups, Congress should have made that explicit.

Gloria Felt, the president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, said the jury today underscored the nation's growing impatience with unruly anti-abortion protests.

"This tells me the public wants these people to grow up and stop the war games," Ms. Felt said. "And where there are differences, work them out in the public policy forum."

Many of the examples of intimidation cited in this case involved blockades at clinic doorways, a tactic that has been illegal since the passage in 1994 of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances law.

Mr. Scheidler, who is among the most militant of anti-abortion leaders, vowed to appeal the decision. A former Benedictine monk, Mr. Scheidler has used bullhorns to cheer protesters at abortion clinics. But he has insisted that he does not condone violence.

In speeches and in his book, "Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion," Mr. Scheidler specifically denounced the use of violence. "I see all of these acts of violence as an admission of defeat," he has said, "that you can't do it through the proper channels."

In the past two decades, there have been an average of 7 violent acts per month against abortion clinics, their providers or patients, said Kim Gandy, a spokeswoman for NOW. There are about 2,000 abortion providers in the nation.

Civil libertarians who defended today's ruling said that use of the RICO Act will not impede political protest movements, so long as they do not engage in violence.

But Professor Blakely said that all political demonstrations were going to have cases of excess. "No demonstration is perfect," he said. "Somebody's going to throw a rock. Somebody's going to step on a blade of grass."

Those transgressions should be dealt with through laws governing trespassing and disorderly conduct, Professor Blakely said. The RICO Act could quickly bankrupt many political groups, and just the threat of it could chill dissent, he said.

The racketeering law has been successfully used against abortion protesters at least once before, in a case in Philadelphia in the late 1970's.

During the trial in Chicago, many abortion providers and patients talked about being physically assaulted and intimidated at clinics. One witness told of being harassed on her way into a clinic for a procedure that had nothing to do with abortion. The woman said that she was, in fact, opposed to abortion, but had testified for NOW because she loathed the heavy-handed tactics of the protesters.

The suit claimed that clinics were entitled to damages, in part, because they needed to hire extra security forces to protect staff and patients.

Susan Hill, the president of the abortion clinics involved in the suit, said many people did not comprehend the fear and anxiety endured by medical staffs and patients at abortion clinics during protests. She also said she expected many other clinics to seek damages against the anti-abortion groups.

"I'm ecstatic, relieved and I feel safer today than I did yesterday," Ms. Hill said. "And I think all clinics feel safer today."

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1998

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DRAFT

The White House
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 20, 1998

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Eight weeks ago, His Holiness John Paul II made an historic visit to Cuba. He spoke to and for the Catholic faithful who have for decades endured a system that denied their right to worship freely. He addressed his message of hope and freedom to millions of Cuban citizens of all faiths who share in the desire for a better life and change in the system that denies their fundamental freedoms.

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

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

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

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

-- pressure on the regime for democratic change

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The people of Cuba continue to live under a regime which deprives them of their freedom, and denies them economic opportunity. The overarching goal of American policy must be to promote a peaceful transition to democracy on the island. Such a transition will depend upon the efforts of Cubans who seek to build a vibrant civil society and to secure respect for basic human rights. The presence of His Holiness John Paul II in Cuba inspired the Cuban people, providing an important psychological boost to the Cuban Catholic Church, to Cuba's nascent civil society, and to the Cuban people. The measures I have announced today are designed to build upon that visit, to support the Cuban people through the hardships and difficulties ahead, to contribute to the growth of a civil society and to help prepare for a peaceful transition to democracy.

DRAFT

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

President's Announcement on Cuba

March 20, 1998

Why is the President taking these steps?

- The President wants to build on the Pope's recent visit to Cuba by supporting the increased opening on religious freedom, expanding humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people, strengthening independent civil society, and helping the Cuban people prepare for a peaceful transition to democracy.
- Reaching out to support and increase contact with the Cuban people is critical to our efforts to promote a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba.
- The President has looked for steps that provide maximum benefit to the Cuban people, while not supporting the Cuban Government.
- During his historic visit, the Pope carried a direct, unambiguous message of hope, truth, and freedom to the Cuban people.

What are the details?

The measures announced by the President will:

-- simplify and expedite the sale of medicines and medical supplies, consistent with existing laws;

-- restore direct humanitarian charter flights; and

-- develop new licensing arrangements to restore the authorization for remittances (\$300 per quarter per Cuban household)

-- The President has also announced a willingness to work on a bipartisan basis with the Congress to fashion a new approach to the transfer of food for the Cuban people.

When will these measures go into effect?

- The President has asked the Departments of Treasury, Commerce and State to develop new licensing requirements. These will be drawn up and issued in the coming weeks.

Does this mean U.S. policy toward Cuba has changed?

- No. We remain strongly committed to achieving a peaceful, democratic transition in Cuba.
- The essential elements of U.S. policy remain in place:
 - pressure on the regime for change through the embargo and Libertad Act;
 - support for the Cuban people; multilateral efforts to promote democratic change; and
 - arrangements to maintain migration in safe, legal, and orderly channels.
- The measures announced today strengthen our support for the Cuban people, a key element of U.S. policy since passage of the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act, and reaffirmed by the Libertad Act. We want to build on the Pope's visit by reaching out to the Cuban people through increased humanitarian assistance and support for the Church and other organizations to build civil society, and prepare the Cuban people for a peaceful transition to democracy.
- At the same time, we want to keep pressure on the Cuban government through economic sanctions. The Cuban Government's continued repression of human rights, intransigence against democratic change, and refusal to reform its failed economic system, all underscore the need for maintaining this policy.

Has the Administration been in touch with the Cuban government about these measures?

- No. They learned about them when you did.
- These measures are a response to the Pope's visit, and have not been made in response to the Cuban Government.
- They are meant to build on the message of hope delivered to the Cuban people during the recent Papal visit. We want to

reinforce our support for the Cuban people, to address their humanitarian needs, and to strengthen Cuban civil society.

- The President has said that we would consider responding to any fundamental, systemic change by the Cuban Government. We would welcome any sign of such change. So far, we have seen none.

Does the Administration plan to take additional steps?

- As noted, we will work on a bipartisan basis with the Congress to develop new possibilities for the transfer of food to the Cuban people.
- Nothing additional is being considered.
- We will, of course, continue to look for ways to strengthen Cuban civil society and to support the Cuban people.

Any direct response to the Cuban government will depend on the GOC's willingness to undertake fundamental, systemic change.

Isn't the Administration concerned about criticism from the Congress and the Cuban-American community?

- The Administration has consulted with Congress, the Cuban American community, and others.
- While there may not be total agreement on the steps we are taking, everyone recognizes the significance of the Pope's visit.
- There is growing recognition that we need to prepare the way for a peaceful transition to democracy by finding ways to strengthen Cuban civil society.
- We looked for ways to sustain the space created by the Pope's visit and to continue to reach out directly to the Cuban people while maintaining pressure on the Cuban government.

With which members of Congress have you consulted?

- We have been in touch with a wide bipartisan cross-section of Congress.

The President said he wants to review proposed legislation on food shipments to Cuba. Which of these proposals does he favor?

- We are aware of the pending bills before Congress by Torres/Leach and Dodd/Warner and a proposal being developed by Senator Helms to facilitate humanitarian assistance to Cuba.
- We have also seen the trip report from Senate Foreign Relations and House International Relations Committee staff who visited Cuba during the Papal visit, calling for increased humanitarian donations for needy Cubans, and direct humanitarian cargo flights. We believe there is much we can work with to fashion a new bipartisan approach with the Congress.
- We are moving ahead with the measures announced today, but want to work closely with Congress on bipartisan legislation to facilitate and expand humanitarian assistance to Cuba.
- U.S. policy on Cuba has consistently had broad, bipartisan support. Maintaining that will send a strong message to the Cuban government, the Cuban people, and the world.

The Libertad Act codified the embargo. Doesn't the President need approval from Congress to take these steps?

- All of the measures announced today are consistent with existing law.
- The Administration does not need any change in existing legislation to implement these measures. We did, however, as is always done on important foreign policy matters, consult with the Congress.

What about reports of increased cooperation with Cuba on migration and law enforcement issues? Are we getting into the reciprocal steps the President has talked about?

- No. These new measures are not responsive to any change by the Cuban Government.
- The new steps are meant to support the Cuban people by strengthening Cuban civil society and facilitating humanitarian assistance.

- Our migration policy remains the same: to ensure that migration between the two countries remains safe, legal and orderly. We will continue to cooperate with the GOC on migration matters, but have no new steps in mind.
- With regard to law enforcement matters, our long-standing practice has been to deal with the Cuban government on a case-by-case basis. As matters of mutual interest arise, we will continue to cooperate in this area as well. Again, there are no new steps being taken at this time.

Is U.S. policy working?

- Current U.S. policy is a result of over thirty years of bipartisan effort to promote democratic change in Cuba.
- The embargo and other steps to isolate Cuba has provided space for democracy to grow and prosper in the hemisphere. Cuba is now an aberration, the last non-democratic nation in this half of the globe. We are confident that this too will change.

DIRECT FLIGHTS

Regarding direct flights, does this announcement represent a change in the policy that existed prior to the February 1996 shootdown?

- As noted, the President has asked Treasury, Commerce and State to develop new regulations. These will be developed in the coming weeks. The intent is to permit the direct humanitarian travel of goods and people who currently receive licenses under existing regulations. We are not seeking to expand the universe of licensed travel or transport, just to make it more direct.

Who will provide the direct flights to Cuba?

- As in the past, licensed travel service providers will charter aircraft to fly passengers traveling under one of the licensed categories. This includes persons traveling once a year to visit close relatives in extreme humanitarian need, journalists, official government travelers, and persons traveling for clearly defined educational or religious activities.

- The Treasury Department will license travel providers for this purpose based on criteria that include the provision of efficient and non-discriminatory service to Cuba.

Didn't the President suspend direct flights in February 1996 for safety reasons? What has changed since then?

- The U.S. is resuming humanitarian direct cargo and passenger flights in order to expand our support for the Cuban people.
- Direct flights will facilitate licensed humanitarian family visits and other licensed travel to Cuba as well as shipments of humanitarian assistance, all of which directly benefits the Cuban people.
- Resumption of these flights in no way signals any reduced concern over the Cuban Government's unlawful downing of two U.S.-registered aircraft in international airspace in February 1996.
- The international community strongly deplored Cuba's unlawful use of force against the two downed aircraft. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) issued a resolution strongly deploping the Cuban Government's actions.
- We continue to call on the Cuban Government to take responsibility for its actions.

Are the migration agreements with Cuba working?

- Yes. The September 1994 and May 1995 migration accords with Cuba have been very effective in encouraging safe, legal, and orderly migration from Cuba to the United States.
- The September 1994 accord provides additional legal channels for Cubans wanting to come to the U.S. The U.S. has met its commitment under the accord to issue at least 20,000 travel documents per year.
- The May 1995 accord has saved lives by discouraging unsafe attempts to raft to the U.S. or to enter the Guantanamo Naval Base.
- Personnel from our Interests Section in Havana have made over 2,000 visits to homes across the island to monitor the situation of repatriated Cubans.

CUBA: CHRONOLOGY OF DECISION-MAKING "TIC TOC"

August 20, 1994

In response to the ongoing migration crisis, the President imposes restrictions on remittances by Cuban Americans -formerly could send up to \$1,200 per year; now only in cases of "extreme humanitarian need."

February 26, 1996

In response to the shoot down by Cuban MIGs of two U.S. civil aircraft over international waters in the Florida Straits on February 24, the President announces suspension of direct charter flights to Cuba. (Note: Exceptions were made for assistance after Hurricane Lili, a direct flight for Cardinal Law, and a few medical emergencies.) Among additional measures, the President restricts movements of Cuban diplomats in the United States and tightens criteria for issuing visas to employees of the Cuban government, and pledges support of legislation to further tighten economic sanctions.

March 12, 1996

The President signs the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act (Helms-Burton) into law.

July 15, 1996

The President exercises his authority under the LIBERTAD Act and suspends for six months the lawsuit provisions of Title III of the Act. (Note: the President has granted subsequent six month suspensions on January 3, 1977, July 16, 1997 and January 16, 1998.)

November 19, 1996

Fidel Castro has an audience with Pope John Paul II, extends invitation to the Pope to visit, which is accepted.

February 28, 1997

GRANMA (Cuban Communist Party newspaper) announces the dates (Jan. 21-25, 1998) as part of its story on the first meeting of

the Church-State Preparatory Commission to prepare for the visit.

Summer 1997

Due to the historic importance of the Pope's visit to Cuba and his track record for galvanizing change in socialist societies (i.e. Poland in 1979), the Administration decides to facilitate travel and shipment of humanitarian supplies to Cuba to support the Pope's visit.

August 22, 1997

Department of State announces that the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) approved a license request submitted by the Archdiocese of Miami to conduct a pilgrimage by cruise ship from Miami to Havana during the time of the Pope's visit. *First license issued under policy to support the visit.*

September to December 1997

The Administration makes a number of exceptions to policy regarding travel and shipment of humanitarian supplies to Cuba by authorizing direct charter passenger flights for pilgrims to attend Papal services and for journalists to cover the event. Direct humanitarian cargo flights also authorized.

January 7, 1998

The President meets with the Vice President, the Secretary of State, his Chief of Staff, National Security Adviser and other key staff to discuss policy toward Cuba in light of the upcoming Papal visit to Cuba. They agree on potential importance of the Papal visit, determine to follow developments closely, and evaluate opportunities offered to advance U.S. policy goals, particularly support for a peaceful transition.

January 21, 1998

The Pope and the President exchange messages as the Pope overflies the U.S. on his way to Havana. The President tells the Pope that his visit to Cuba offers hope for a new beginning for the Cuban people and a lasting increase in religious and other freedoms.

January 21-25, 1998

Pope John Paul II visits Cuba.

February, 1998

The President directs the NSC, in conjunction with the Department of State, to begin formulating recommendations on how the U.S. can support the Pope's call for freedom, human rights, and reconciliation, as well as his humanitarian appeal for the Cuban people. The purpose is to build on the success of the Pope's visit, to help sustain the space secured by the Church for the visit, and encourage more open, informal debate within Cuban society about religious and other freedoms in the future.

February 27 - March 1, 1998

Secretary Albright travels to Miami to discuss the Pope's visit with Cuban-American community leaders, Church officials and other citizens. She finds strong support for efforts to help the Cuban people without helping the Cuban regime, and a new focus on preparing for the post-Castro era.

March 7, 1998

Secretary Albright meets with Pope John Paul II. She asks for his assessment of his visit to Cuba, and his views about the prospect for change in that country. She stressed America's desire to find ways to help the Cuban people without strengthening the government.

March 14, 1998

Secretary Albright and National Security Adviser Berger present preliminary recommendations to the President designed to build on the success of the Pope's visit, support the development of civil society in Cuba, expand the role of the Catholic Church, and help prepare the Cuban people for a democratic transition.

March 16, 1998

The President directs consultations with Members of Congress, Church officials and Cuban-American leaders on a proposed package of humanitarian measures.

March 20, 1998

The President announces his decision to resume licensing direct humanitarian flights to Cuba, adjust licensing practices to

restore remittances by Cuban-Americans to Cubans on the island to pre-July 1994 levels (\$1,200 per year), to streamline and expedite procedures for the issuance of licenses for the sale of medicines to Cuba, and to work with the Congress to fashion a bipartisan approach to the transfer of food to the Cuban people.

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FAX TRANSMITTAL

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION			

FACTSHEET: REI**U.S. Policy**

- On March 20, the President announced that he had directed the Departments of the Treasury and State to put in place new arrangements to license humanitarian remittances of up to \$300.00 per quarter from Cuban-Americans living in the United States to their families in Cuba.
- As the President has stated, the response of the Cuban people to the Pope's visit convinced us that we should look for further ways to support them, to provide additional humanitarian relief, and to continue helping them prepare for a smooth and peaceful transition to a free, independent, and prosperous nation.

New Measures

- These procedures will provide authorization for family remittances for the support of close relatives in Cuba.
- Each household will be permitted to transfer up to \$300.00 per quarter to close relatives in Cuba.
- The Departments of the Treasury and State have been asked to develop licensing procedures which will permit the transfer of funds through specifically licensed remittance forwarders, including banks licensed for this purpose, or in person when engaging in licensed travel to Cuba.

Background

- Until August 1994, the Department of the Treasury, under Section 515.563 of the Cuban Assets Control Regulations, (31 CFR part 515) provided general authorization for family remittances for the support of close relatives in Cuba. The remittances were not to exceed \$300 per quarter.
- Cash remittances were forwarded to Cuba under authorization of the Department of the Treasury by remittance forwarders, banks, and persons engaged in licensed travel to Cuba.
- A majority of Cubans are only able to meet the most basic necessities of life for their families by receiving humanitarian packages and financial assistance from relatives abroad. Currently, such remittances are largely transmitted outside authorized channels.

- 2 -

- Authorizing remittances through legal channels helps to ensure that the funds get to the legal recipients.
- Provision of remittances helps promote greater individual freedom. Recipients are less dependent on the state and less subject to its economic pressures.

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Cleared:ARA/CCA:MRanneberger ok

ARA/CCA:JJacobs ok

ARA:JHamilton ok

ARA:JDavidow ok

PA:LRodriguez

ARA:HCollums ok

USINT:MKozak ok

OFAC:SPinter ok

NSC:JDeLaurentis ok
S:JO'Brien ok

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FACTSHEET: DIRECT HUMANITARIAN FLIGHTS (revised 3:00P 3/19)

U.S. Policy

- On March 20, the President announced his decision to resume licensing direct humanitarian charter flights to Cuba. These flights were suspended following the February 24, 1996 downing of two U.S.-registered civilian aircraft by Cuban military planes.
- As the President has stated, the response of the Cuban people to the Pope's visit convinced us that we should look for further ways to support them, to provide additional humanitarian relief, and to continue helping them prepare for a smooth and peaceful transition to a free, independent, and prosperous nation.

New Measures

- Restoring direct humanitarian charter flights facilitates increased humanitarian assistance by providing a more cost-effective way to send much needed assistance to the Cuban people.
- Direct flights will also facilitate licensed travel to Cuba, which directly benefits the Cuban people.
- Travelers on all flights must fit under one of the licensable categories, such as journalists, official government travelers, persons traveling with recognized human rights organizations investigating human rights violations, persons traveling once a year to visit close relatives in extreme humanitarian need, and persons traveling for clearly defined educational or religious activities.
- The Departments of the Treasury, Commerce, and State will develop procedures to license carrier service providers to Cuba in the coming weeks.

Background:

- The U.S. is resuming humanitarian direct cargo and passenger flights as a way to expand its support to the Cuban people.

- 2 -

- We have continued to license humanitarian assistance to Cuba following the suspension of direct flights in February 1996. Humanitarian goods had to be shipped via third countries. This increases costs to NGO's providing such assistance and to individuals engaging in humanitarian visits to their families in Cuba.
- Resumption of these flights in no way signals any reduced concern over the Cuban Government's unlawful downing of two U.S.-registered aircraft in international airspace in February 1996.
- The international community strongly deplored Cuba's unlawful use of force against the two downed aircraft. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) issued a resolution strongly deploring the Cuban government's actions.
- We continue to call on the Cuban government to take responsibility for its actions.
- While the ban on direct flights was in effect, the Administration authorized exceptions on a case-by-case basis. In the aftermath of hurricane Lilli in October 1996 we licensed two humanitarian flights for Catholic Relief Services. ORBIS International was also licensed to fly its specially equipped aircraft to Cuba to provide training to doctors and technicians in the latest techniques for eye treatment. In preparation for and during the Papal visit, the Administration licensed over a dozen direct flights for Catholic Church officials, pilgrims, humanitarian assistance groups, and media representatives.

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ARA:JDavidow ok

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PA:LRodriguez

OFAC:SPinter ok

NSC:JDeLaurentis ok

S:JO'Brien ok

FACTSHEET: SALES OF MEDICINES TO CUBA (revised 3:00P 3/19)

U.S. Policy

- On March 20 the President announced that the U.S. Government will take steps to streamline and expedite the sale of medicines to Cuba, while maintaining adequate measures to verify against inappropriate diversions.
- As the President has stated, the response of the Cuban people to the Pope's visit convinced us that we should look for further ways to support them, to provide additional humanitarian relief, and to tinue helping them prepare for a smooth and peaceful transition to a free, independent, and prosperous nation.

New Measures

- The Departments of the Treasury, Commerce, and State have been directed to simplify and expedite procedures for medical sales.
- The new procedures will be designed to facilitate more rapid handling of license requests.
- Specific points of contact will be identified within the Departments of the Treasury, Commerce, and State to respond to questions regarding interest in medical sales.
- Procedures for verifying against inappropriate diversions of medicines and medical equipment will be clarified and streamlined. (For instance, on-site monitoring can be carried out by groups such as religious institutions, independent non-governmental groups, U.S. and third-country diplomats, international organizations, or representatives of the companies making the sales.)

Background

- The Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 established that there are no restraints on the export of medicines and medical equipment provided that the U.S. ensures the items sold or donated are for the use and benefit of the Cuban people, and are not used for torture, to manufacture biotechnological products, or resale by the Cuban government.

- 2 -

- Since 1992 the Departments of the Treasury and Commerce have issued 50 licenses for sales and travel to Cuba by representatives of U.S. pharmaceutical companies. In addition, licenses have been issued for donations of nearly \$275 million in medicines and medical equipment.
- Our procedures will be designed to expedite the licensing process while ensuring that adequate verification is preserved.

Drafted: ARA/CCA:MERanneberger
3/18/98 searacca/mrmedfac.doc

Cleared: ARA/CCA:JJacobs ok

USINT:MKozak ok

ARA:JHamilton ok

ARA:JDavidow ok

L/ARA:HCollums ok

PA:LRodriguez

OFAC:SPinter ok

NSC:JDeLaurentis ok

S:JO'Brien ok

TO: Maria Echavestre
FROM: Luis Lauredo (305) 579-7600
DATE: December 15, 1997

FAX #: (202) 456-2988

Maria:

If true, you may want to consider having someone from Core Group at these meetings.

LUIS.

Miami Herald 12/13/97
Cuba policy same, Clinton tells CANF

President Clinton said U.S. policy toward Cuba is unwavering, according to leaders of the Cuban American National Foundation who met with him Thursday in Miami.

"The president spoke to us about political continuity," Jorge Mas Jr., told The Herald on Friday. He is a son of the late chairman of the foundation, Jorge Mas Canosa.

"We talked about possibilities for the future and asked to be a factor in the transition" to democracy in Cuba, he added. "We have specific plans for the transition . . . and want to share them with the administration."

Mas and Alberto Hernandez, the foundation's new chairman, met with Clinton on Thursday night at the Pinecrest home of Christopher Korge, a Democratic Party activist.

According to Mas, who became a member of the foundation's board of directors on Friday, Clinton expressed solidarity with the Cuban exile community.

"The president truly believes in democracy for Cuba. I told him that the foundation and the exile community can be a stabilizing factor in Cuba, and can protect U.S. interests" on the island, Mas said.

The foundation will begin a round of meetings with U.S. government officials next week the exile leader said.

Cuba / Responic

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 23, 1997

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Hillary and I were saddened to learn of the death of Sebastian Arcos Bergnes, a courageous and tireless activist for human rights, democracy and freedom in Cuba.

Mr. Arcos dedicated his life to peaceful change in his beloved homeland. He was a man of honor and dignity who commanded enormous respect around the world for the sacrifices he made and the good work he did for the people of Cuba. As one of the founders of the human rights movement in Cuba, he blazed a trail which has inspired many others who cherish individual liberties. He was an example to us all and will be missed.

Our thoughts and prayers are with his son and daughter and the rest of the family who will carry on the struggle for human rights in Cuba.

#

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages ► 1

To	MARGE TARMY	From	Jeff DeLaurentis
Dept./Agency	OPL	Phone #	456-9137
Fax #	62983	Fax #	456-9130

N&N 7540-01-317-7368

5099-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAUBIG

TRANSMITTAL
MEMO

FROM THE DESK OF ...
Luis Lauredo

To: Mania

Date: 12/3/97

☐ PER DISCUSSION

☐ PER REQUEST

THE ATTACHED IS FOR YOUR:

☐ Approval ☐ Comments ☐ Signature ☐ Information

WILL YOU PLEASE:

☐ Acknowledge
☐ Arrange a Meeting
☐ Call me
☐ File
☐ Forward to:

☐ Handle
☐ Implement
☐ Put on your calendar
☐ Put on my calendar
☐ See below
☐ See me re:

I thought you may
find of interest.
Prof. Luis Aguilar was a
Clinton Professor at Georgetown.
Saludos
Luis,

Continue Mas's work to liberate Cuba

FRIEDRICH Wilhelm Nietzsche, a 19th Century German philosopher, used to say that true leaders are measured by the quality and quantity of their enemies. Even if judged by that standard, Jorge Mas Canosa is a member of a distinguished hierarchy. A pragmatic man, touched by triumph, impatient at delay, and always certain that his path was the right one, it was inevitable that Mas would accumulate a sizable quota of dangerous adversaries. Fidel Castro's hatred was surely his most prized award.

Nietzsche notwithstanding, it is most unfair to measure any leader only by the number and nature of his enemies. To that negative standard we need to add a positive and perhaps more-valuable gauge: the amount of affection that those leaders give and receive. Mas was many things to many people, and in addition to adversaries, he generated huge waves of admiration and respect, deep affection, and unbreakable loyalty, and he forged a family that displayed rich human qualities.

There are other positive dimensions. The wealth amassed by Mas, who came penniless into exile, would have allowed him to rest on his riches and contemplate the Cuban tragedy from afar without having to tread that thorny road of the anti-Castro struggle in Miami.

He could have done it, but he didn't. Compelled by his personal ambition — not at all a reprehensible quality — or by a patriotic zeal that consumed his soul, Mas plunged so intensely into the protracted battle for the freedom of Cuba that his visage could be seen in every corner where the Cuban drama was discussed.

He was the first Cuban to realize that the strands of that campaign formed not a loop in Miami but a noose in Washington. With his usual dynamism, he organized the Cuban American National Foundation and solicited financial contributions and support for his plans.

The result of his efforts altered the face of the exile community.

For the first time in this long journey, his voice, the voice of the foundation, the voice of an exiled Cuban, brought weight to bear in Washington, was listened to by the hemisphere's most powerful politicians, and spread its influence to Europe and Latin America. There may be disagreement over the message, but no one can deny that the messenger expanded the narrow boundaries of Miami to the world at large.

No one can deny the triumph represented by the creation of Radio Marti, the station that broke and continues to break the monopoly on news that Castro brought down on Cuba like a thick fog. Or the merit of many of Mas's plans, such as bringing

to Miami those impoverished Cuban exiles who had ended up in various corners of the hemisphere. Or his ability to organize international meetings where Cuba's cause could be raised in the fullness of its pain. When it came to Cuba, Mas never hesitated or took a step backward.

At the end, fate — the enigmatic factor that rules our destinies — dealt him a premature and cruel death. His disease was one of those that crush the body slowly and demand intense stoicism from patient and family.

It is said that God does not rain such blows on those who are unable to bear them. And I saw clearly how Cuban exiles of all ages and all classes filed silently past his wasted body, purified by suffering, looking for all the world like orphans.

For that reason, even though I never was a CANF member or Mas's close friend, I cannot close without acknowledging my mispent anger, without clenching my fists at fate when I think that, over on the island, a bloodthirsty and abominable dictator, 13 years older than Mas, continues to crush the Cuban people while here a dark wind silences his most formidable adversary.

Such an emotion rebels against self-resignation. No, I do not resign myself. Jorge Mas Canosa may rest in peace. Standing before his prematurely dug grave, I cannot.



**LUIS AGUILAR
LEON**

1051.
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1997
THE HERALD
29A

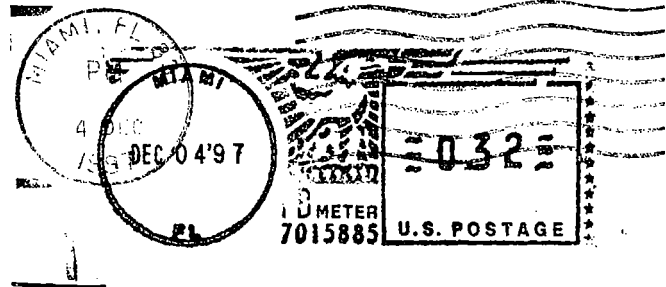
LUIS J. LAUREDO
1221 Brickell Avenue
Miami, FL 33131

12/3/97

Mama:

Just a short note to
tell you how good it was to
see you Monday. While we
probably talked about too many
things too quickly, I was
delighted about your vision for
the job, and our shared views.
Count on me!

Luis



Mama Echaveste
Assistant To The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.
20500



*Cuba*

**BUREAU OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

DATE: 11/24/97

TO: Miriam Vogel
456-2983

FROM: Lula Rodriguez

FAX: 202-647-5939

PHONE: 202-647-6088

MESSAGE: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 4

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release

November 24, 1997

Statement by Under Secretary of State for Economic,
Business, and Agricultural Affairs Stuart E. Eizenstat

Death of Mr. Jorge Mas Canosa

The death of Jorge Mas Canosa is a great loss to the effort to bring freedom and democracy to Cuba. I will personally mourn his death. I offer my deepest condolences and prayers to his wife Irma, and his sons Jorge, Jose, and Juan.

As the Secretary and the President have stated, we have lost a tireless, eloquent, and effective advocate for the cause of freedom in Cuba. When I was appointed as the President's and the Secretary's Special Representative for the Promotion of Democracy in Cuba, I came to know Jorge well. I valued tremendously Jorge's support for our efforts to mobilize a multilateral push to promote a peaceful democratic transition in Cuba. Jorge's efforts to advance the cause of freedom and democracy in Cuba will be sorely missed. We will continue to vigorously pursue that goal. I will forever be inspired in my work to help bring freedom and democracy to Cuba by Jorge's dedication to this great cause.

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages **4**

To L-12	From Velia
Dept./Agency	Phone #
Fax # 25933	Fax #

NSN 7540-0 317-7388

5099-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Vancouver, British Columbia)

For Immediate Release

November 23, 1997

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of the death of Jorge Mas Canosa, Chairman of the Advisory Board for Cuban Broadcasting and long-time champion of a free Cuba.

It was Jorge's vision which ultimately led to the creation of Radio Marti by Congress enacting the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act in 1983, to encourage the communication of accurate information and ideas to the people of Cuba. He served as Chairman of the Advisory Board from its inception.

Jorge was a born leader and organizer, whose tenacity, strength of conviction and passion I greatly admired. He galvanized his community, his adopted country and people around the world for the cause of freedom and democracy in Cuba. We have lost a forceful voice for freedom in Cuba and elsewhere, but his dream lives on. He will be missed.

Our thoughts and prayers are with his wife, Irma, and his sons, Jorge, Juan and Jose. Hillary and I join the Cuban-American community and others around the world who care for the cause of freedom in Cuba in mourning his loss.

#

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release

November 24, 1997

Statement by Secretary of State Madeleine K. AlbrightDeath of Mr. Jorge Mas Canosa

I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of Jorge Mas Canosa. I join President and Mrs. Clinton, the Cuban-American Community, and others throughout the world in mourning his loss.

We have lost a tireless, eloquent, and effective advocate for the cause of freedom and democracy in Cuba. Jorge was recognized as a pre-eminent and influential leader of this community. As the President has stated, we admired his tenacity, strength of conviction, and passion.

Jorge's unprecedented efforts to promote the cause of freedom in Cuba will be sorely missed. We will remain firmly committed to the goal of a free and democratic Cuba, and will work tirelessly to achieve it.

My thoughts and prayers are with his wife Irma, and his sons Jorge, Jose, and Juan.

Cuba

OFFICE OF CUBA BROADCASTING
INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF BROADCASTING

RADIO
MARTI

TV
MARTI



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

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COMPANY:	DATE: <u>1/2/98</u>																																								
FAX NUMBER: <u>(202) 456-2983</u>	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: <u>27</u>																																								
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RE: <u>MIAMI HERALD</u> <u>ARTICLES ON</u> <u>ORLANDO "EL DUQUE"</u> <u>HERNANDEZ</u>	SENDER'S FAX NUMBER: WASHINGTON, D. C. <table border="0"> <tr> <td>☐</td> <td>(202) 401-7348</td> <td>OCB DIRECTORATE</td> <td>☒</td> <td>MIAMI (305) 994-1665</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐</td> <td>(202) 401-7348</td> <td>ADMINISTRATION</td> <td>☐</td> <td>(305) 994-1682</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐</td> <td>(202) 205-7883</td> <td>OCB OPERATIONS</td> <td>☐</td> <td>(305) 994-1687</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐</td> <td>(202) 260-6598</td> <td>RADIO MARTI NEWS</td> <td>☐</td> <td>(305) 597-4648</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐</td> <td>(202) 401-7053</td> <td>RADIO M. PROGRAMS</td> <td>☐</td> <td>(305) 597-4648</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐</td> <td>(202) 401-8067</td> <td>TV MARTI OPERATIONS</td> <td>☐</td> <td>(305) 597-4665</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐</td> <td>(202) 690-4919</td> <td>TV MART NEWS</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐</td> <td>(202) 401-3340</td> <td>TV MARTI PROGRAMS</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	☐	(202) 401-7348	OCB DIRECTORATE	☒	MIAMI (305) 994-1665	☐	(202) 401-7348	ADMINISTRATION	☐	(305) 994-1682	☐	(202) 205-7883	OCB OPERATIONS	☐	(305) 994-1687	☐	(202) 260-6598	RADIO MARTI NEWS	☐	(305) 597-4648	☐	(202) 401-7053	RADIO M. PROGRAMS	☐	(305) 597-4648	☐	(202) 401-8067	TV MARTI OPERATIONS	☐	(305) 597-4665	☐	(202) 690-4919	TV MART NEWS			☐	(202) 401-3340	TV MARTI PROGRAMS		
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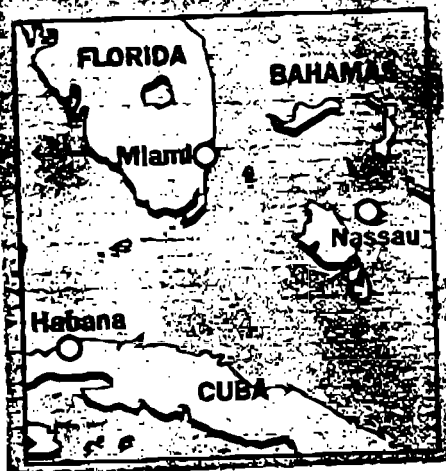
EL NUEVO HERALD
MIÉRCOLES 31 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1997

Deserta hermano de Liván

Lanzador El Duque Hernández escapa a Bahamas

ESCAPE DESDE CUBA

Orlando "El Duque" Hernández, hermano del lanzador de los Marlins Liván Hernández, escapó de Cuba junto a otras siete personas el lunes por la noche.



▼ Orlando "El Duque" Hernández, medio hermano del lanzador de los Marlins Liván Hernández y que en Cuba estaba suspendido de por vida del béisbol, escapó de la isla y el martes autoridades estadounidenses lo entrevistaban en Bahamas con la esperanza de poder concederle un *parole*.

JAVIER MOTA
y CYNTHIA CORZO
Redactores de El Nuevo Herald

Orlando "El Duque" Hernández, medio hermano del lanzador de los Marlins Liván Hernández y que en Cuba estaba suspendido de por vida del béisbol, escapó de la isla y el martes autoridades estadounidenses lo entrevistaban en Bahamas con la esperanza de poder concederle un *parole* tan pronto como hoy, confirmaron fuentes en Miami.

Liván Hernández, quien firmó un contrato de \$4.5 millones con los Marlins en enero de 1996, incluyendo un bono de \$2.5 millones tan sólo por firmar, estaba jugando golf el martes cuando se enteró de la noticia.

"Yo no sabía nada de esto. Muchas

veces me habían dicho que había salido, pero nunca resultó cierto. Ahora no lo creeré hasta que no hable con él", dijo el lanzador, elegido como el Jugador Más Valioso de la reciente Serie Mundial.

"Si todo esto es cierto, será una gran felicidad, pero quiero hablar con él antes de hacer cualquier cosa", agregó Liván, quien esta tarde será el gran mariscal del desfile del Orange Bowl en el *downtown* de Miami. "Le quitaron su trabajo en Cuba y ahora puede realizar su sueño aquí. Podrá jugar béisbol. Los Marlins tienen que contratarlo. Quiero lanzar en el mismo equipo con él".

En Cuba, "El Duque" era uno de los mejores lanzadores del país, ostentando el mejor récord de victorias y derrotas del campeonato nacional cubano, en el que jugaba para el equipo capitalino Industriales.

Con él también escapó el receptor Alberto Hernández, quien no tiene relación familiar con Orlando ni con Liván, pero fue compañero de ambos en la selección nacional de Cuba. En el grupo

VEA DUQUE, 12A

EL NUEVO HERALD
MIÉRCOLES 31 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1997

Gestionan visa para hermano de Liván y otros 7

DUQUE, DE 1A

de ocho personas también está la actual esposa de 'El Duque', Noris Bosch; un primo de él, Joel Pedroso, y cuatro personas más que no pudieron ser identificadas de inmediato.

Los cubanos rehusaron dar detalles de cómo escaparon de Cuba y cómo llegaron a Bahamas, pero el funcionario de inmigración bahamense Vernon Burrows dijo el martes que el Servicio Guardacostas de Estados Unidos recogió al grupo el domingo de una balsa, y que los ocho fueron detenidos en Cayo Anguila, en los Bancos de Cayo Sal, al extremo oriental de las islas Bahamas.

La madre de Liván, Miriam Carreras, que no es la de 'El Duque', se encuentra en Estados Unidos desde el 26 de octubre, cuando presenció el séptimo juego de la Serie Mundial, gracias a una visa de visita por seis meses que le fue otorgada. El permiso para entrar al país se materializó tras intensos trámites de los Marlins, Lawton Chiles y los congresistas republicanos por la Florida, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen y Lincoln Díaz-Balart, entre otros, tanto en Washington como en La Habana.

En cuanto se supo la noticia de la fuga de los dos peloteros, representantes del deporte en Miami iniciaron gestiones de inmediato en la capital estadounidense y en Nassau, para tratar de ayudarlos a procesar su solicitud de asilo político y su eventual ingreso en Estados Unidos.

"Tenemos que meter presión desde ahora, porque si no lo hacemos, los van a mandar de

regreso a Cuba", dijo Joe Cubas, el agente que ayudó a Liván a desertar en septiembre de 1995 en México. "La gente de la Fundación [Nacional Cubano Americana] también está haciendo gestiones ya".

Ninoska Pérez-Castellón, directora del programa radial *La Voz de la Fundación*, a quien 'El Duque' llamó para pedir ayuda, explicó que la poderosa institución de exiliados está intercediendo ante las autoridades en Washington para facilitar la entrada de los refugiados a Estados Unidos.

"Estamos tratando de conseguir una visa, como hacemos con todo el mundo", afirmó Pérez-Castellón. "No creo que el problema de ellos vaya a ser difícil, porque si el gobierno [de Estados Unidos] no da la visa, cualquier equipo [de pelota] que los firme se la va a gestionar".

Tradicionalmente, los refugiados cubanos interceptados en alta mar en su intento por llegar a Estados Unidos reciben visa de refugiado si demuestran tener un temor creíble de persecución si son devueltos a Cuba. Otra opción es que el Departamento de Estado les otorgue asilo político tras entrevistar a los solicitantes. Una tercera posibilidad es que se le gestione una visa de trabajo basada en una habilidad excepcional. Este último sería el caso de Orlando y Alberto, quienes podrían venir a Estados Unidos en cuanto sean contratados por algún equipo de Grandes Ligas, si no consiguen otro tipo de visa.

"La visa humanitaria usualmente es algo que involucra con-

diciones médicas, pero se puede otorgar por cualquier cosa, por cualquier necesidad extrema. Otorgar asilo político a una persona fuera de Estados Unidos es algo que se ha hecho en el pasado. Por ejemplo, se ha hecho con jueces colombianos que temen por sus vidas tras ser amenazados por los carteles de la droga", dijo Stephanie Murphy, abogada de inmigración en Miami. "Para la visa de trabajo [Orlando] si tiene habilidades excepcionales como lanzador, y estoy segura que cualquier equipo de pelota querrá tenerlo".

Debido a que Liván desertó en septiembre de 1995, 'El Duque', que según versiones debe tener 28 años, pero según otros datos habría pasado ya de los 30, las autoridades deportivas de la isla lo dejaron fuera del equipo que eventualmente ganó la medalla de oro, tras vencer a Japón en el partido final de los Juegos Olímpicos en Atlanta. El pretexto dado por las autoridades cubanas para excluirlo de la selección fue una lesión en el codo derecho, pero tanto Liván como otras fuentes cercanas al equipo negaron tal versión.

Hernández Nodar si fue a Atlanta, pero en noviembre de 1996, tras una investigación que condujo al arresto del exiliado cubano José Hernández Nodar en Cuba, las autoridades deportivas de la isla suspendieron de por vida a 'El Duque', a Alberto y al torpedero Germán Mesa.

Hernández Nodar, que es primo de Joe Cubas, fue juzgado y hallado culpable de cargos de conspiración para ayudar a desertar a atletas de la isla, y sen-

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1997
THE HERALD

Brother follows Livan's lead, flees Cuba



Orlando Hernandez had been banned from all sports activities on the island.

By JAVIER MOTA and CYNTHIA CORZO
Herald Staff Writers

Orlando "El Duque" Hernandez, the half-brother of Marlins pitcher and World Series MVP Livan Hernandez and a pitching sensation in his own right, fled from Cuba and requested political asylum in the Bahamas on Tuesday, several sources in Miami told The Herald.

Livan Hernandez, who signed a \$4.5-million contract with the Marlins in January 1996, was playing golf at La Gorce Country Club on Tuesday when he heard the news.

"I knew nothing about it. I'm so happy

I can't tell you," Livan said. "They took away his job in Cuba and now he can chase his dream here. He'll be able to play baseball. The Marlins need to sign him. I want to pitch on the same team with him."

Livan Hernandez defected in Mexico in September 1995 while on the Cuban team.



"El Duque," whose age has been reported variously as 28 and over 30, was Cuba's best starting pitcher before the 1996 Olympic Games at Atlanta. However, because Livan defected in 1995, Cuban sports authorities removed

Orlando from the team that eventually won the gold medal after beating Japan in the final game of the tournament.

The authorities' explanation was that Orlando had an elbow injury, but Livan and other sources on the team disputed

that. Cuban authorities later banned Orlando from sports for life.

How "El Duque" and seven others — including the catcher for Cuba's 1996 Olympic team, Alberto Hernandez (not related to Orlando or Livan); Orlando's wife, Noris Bosch; Orlando's cousin, Joel Pedroso, and four others not immediately identified — managed to get from Cuba to the Bahamas was not known. Sources in Miami knowledgeable about the escape declined to provide details and Bahamian officials would not comment.

PLEASE SEE HERNANDEZ, 6A

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1997
THE HERALD

Livan's brother flees to Bahamas

HERNANDEZ, FROM 1A

The Associated Press quotes a Bahamian immigration official, Vernon Burrows, as saying that a raft carrying the eight Cubans was intercepted Sunday on Anguilla Cay, on the Cay Sal Bank, by a U.S. Coast Guard vessel.

Alberto Hernandez was wearing a Cuban national team warm-up suit when he boarded the U.S. vessel, Burrows said.

As soon as news of the defection spread, several baseball agents in Miami contacted the authorities in Washington and Nassau to help the Cubans gain political asylum and eventual entry to the United States.

"We have to put pressure right away, because if we don't, they'll be sent right back to Cuba," said Joe Cubas, the agent who helped Livan defect in Mexico in September 1995. "The people from the [Cuban American National] Foundation are already interceding."

The Bahamas has an agreement with Cuba to return Cuban rafters, but under the terms of that treaty Hernandez and the others would first be interviewed to determine whether they qualify to remain in the Bahamas as political refugees.

Ninoska Perez Castellon, a director of the Cuban American National Foundation, said her organization is appealing to federal authorities to facilitate the ballplayers' entry to the United States.

"I don't think their problem will be hard to solve," she said, "because even if the government doesn't give them a [humanitarian] visa, whichever ball team hires them will negotiate a work visa — granted in cases where an individual has exceptional skills in a trade or profession."

At refugee camp

According to a telephone conversation between Orlando Hernandez and Perez Castellon, the Cubans arrived in Nassau Tuesday morning. Perez quoted Hernandez as saying the refugees were being held at the Carmichael Road refugee camp, pending a ruling on their bid for political asylum.

Carlton Wright, a spokesman for the Bahamian Immigration Ministry, declined to speculate on Hernandez's fate or how his bid

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1997
THE HERALD

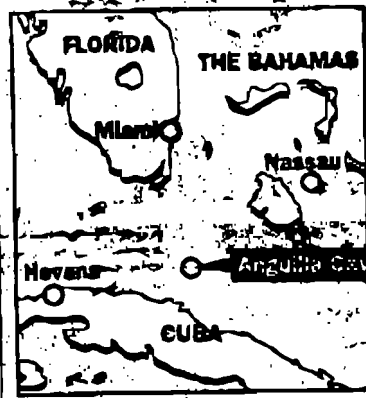
Livan's brother flees to Bahamas

JOSE GORTIA / Canadian Press

THE AFTERMATH: Relatives of Orlando Hernandez's wife, Noris, gather at their house in Havana after it was known Tuesday that the Cuban pitcher and seven others had fled the island and were in Bahamas.

ESCAPE FROM CUBA

Orlando Hernandez, brother of Marlins pitcher Livan Hernandez, left Havana with seven others and was picked up by the U.S. Coast Guard on Anguilla Cay and taken to Nassau on Tuesday.



A123197

R. ADAMS / Herald Staff

for political asylum or refugee status would be handled.

Early Tuesday evening, State Department officials appeared unaware of the situation. A Washington official who spoke on con-

dition of anonymity said the U.S. Embassy in Nassau had not received any communication from Hernandez and knew nothing about his arrival in the Bahamas. But a source close to the defectors, who asked not to be identified, told The Herald that American immigration officials had already interviewed Orlando in Nassau on Tuesday and will likely grant him parole today — permitting him to come to the United States and plead his case.

Repatriation accord

That could be a big break for Hernandez. The prospects are not as certain to be remain in the Bahamas. In January 1997, the governments of Cuba and the Bahamas signed an immigration accord that provided for the forcible repatriation of Cuban refugees entering the Bahamas illegally.

But once in the Bahamas, officials from the United Nations agency for refugees interview each refugee to determine who has a valid case for political asylum. Those who do may remain legally in the Bahamas.

According to agent Cubas, before the ballplayers can sign a contract with major league teams, they must first establish legal residence in a third country. That was the procedure followed in the cases of Livan Hernandez and Osvaldo Fernandez, who settled in the Dominican Republic before signing with the Marlins and the San Francisco Giants, respectively.

Cubas said he will fly to Nassau today to deal with the matter in person.

Both defector athletes, Orlando and Alberto Hernandez, would be serious major league prospects, and both have been languishing in Cuba since the arrest in Cuba of Miami exile Jose Hernandez Nodar. Hernandez Nodar, Joe Cubas' cousin, was tried and found guilty of conspiracy to assist in the defection of athletes from the island. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

The ballplayers were removed from all sports activities and relegated to other jobs.

Herald staff writer Maria Morales contributed to this report.

El Duque recibe el 98 con visa

Cuba los hostigaba, dicen fugitivos

▼ Los siete refugiados vivieron 10 horas de peligro en una maltrecha embarcación y cuatro días de zozobra en un islote, con tal de dejar atrás el régimen de la isla, donde los habían amenazado con la cárcel si trataban de escapar.

AURELIO MORENO

Redactor de El Nuevo Herald

Nassau — El juego decisivo del lanzador Orlando "El Duque" Hernández duró 10 horas a bordo de un zozobranete bote de vela que lo llevó a la libertad.

Hernández, hermano por parte de padre del lanzador de los Marlins Liván Hernández, arribó a Cayo Anguila, en las Bahamas, el 26 de diciembre, en compañía de otros siete cubanos, cuando la embarcación en que viajaban comenzó a hundirse tras una corta travesía desde la provincia oriental cubana de Holguín. Entre los refugiados se halla el también pelotero Alberto Hernández, de 26 años, sin relación familiar con los lanzadores.

En dicho islote permanecieron cuatro días hasta que fueron descubiertos por las autoridades de las Bahamas. De

allí fueron llevados por efectivos del Servicio Guardacostas de Estados Unidos a Freeport. Posteriormente, el grupo fue trasladado a la capital del archipiélago, Nassau.

El miércoles, en una conferencia de prensa en las oficinas de inmigración bahamenses, Orlando Hernández, de 28 años, indicó que habían escapado de Cuba debido al hostigamiento de las autoridades cubanas.

"En Cuba nos estaban humillando en tanto pagábamos por las deserciones

VEA VIAJE, 6A

El Duque recibe el 98 con visa

Fugitivos lloran al contar experiencias

VIAJE, DE 1A

de otros atletas. Nos decían que no éramos nada y nos aseguraron que nunca más jugaríamos béisbol", dijo. "Entonces fue cuando decidimos arriesgar nuestras vidas y buscar la libertad".

En Cayo Anguila, dijo, padecieron "mucho frío y hambre". Cuando las provisiones de agua dulce, azúcar y latas de jamonada que tenían se acabaron, tuvieron que alimentarse de crustáceos crudos.

"Algunos no los querían comer pero no había otra alternativa", dijo Hernández, que sufrió una reacción alérgica que le inflamó el ojo derecho, y perdió varias libras de peso.

Además de los mencionados, el grupo está compuesto por Noris Bosch, de 20 años, compañera de Orlando; Juan Carlos Romero, de 30, que furtivamente construyó el bote y se desempeñó como capitán durante la travesía; su esposa, Heidi González, de 24; Joel Pedroso, de 21, que también es pelotero; Osmany Lorenzo, de 28; y Lenin Rivero, de 36.

"Lo único que estamos buscando es respeto a nuestros derechos humanos y libertad. Dios nos mandó al mundo para ser libres", sostuvo Orlando Hernández, que tenía puesta una gorra de los Marlins.

Hernández y Pedroso, que son primos, lloraron al narrar sus experiencias y al ver llegar inesperadamente a un tío de ambos que llegó desde Miami.

Tanto el lanzador como

Hernández, de 28 años, indicó que el grupo se había escapado de la isla a causa del hostigamiento.

Cuando las provisiones de agua dulce, azúcar y latas de jamonada que tenían se acabaron, tuvieron que alimentarse de crustáceos crudos.

El Duque recibe el 98 con visa

Alberto Hernández dejaron dos hijos en Cuba. Según Romero, hubiera sido muy peligroso traer a menores en el viaje, en medio de un mar borrascoso y a bordo de una nave poco confiable.

Orlando Hernández dijo que su brazo estaba bien y que espera poder comenzar a jugar cuanto antes.

"No soy mejor que Liván pero también puedo lanzar", dijo. "Ojalá pudiera jugar con mi hermano".

Joe Cubas, agente de varios peloteros cubanos que han desertado y ahora juegan en Grandes Ligas, dijo en Nassau que ve con optimismo el futuro de los peloteros recién llegados.

Según Hernández, siempre tuvo la intención de huir de la isla pero no lo hizo antes por sus hijas. Señaló que si hubieran sido deportados habrían terminado en prisión.

"Ya nos habían amenazado", indicó. "Nos dijeron que si tan sólo sospechaban que teníamos algún plan de escape, nos arrestarían".

Agregó que esperaba encontrarse pronto con su hermano Liván.

"I love you Miami", dijo en broma, repitiendo la frase que Liván ha hecho célebre en la Florida. "Quiero comer algo de McDonald's".

Poco después estaban en sus manos dos bolsas repletas de BigMac's, papas fritas y refrescos.

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EL NUEVO HERALD
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Pelotero apresura llegada a Miami

▼ El Departamento de Estado concede un visado humanitario a Orlando Hernández, ex lanzador de la selección nacional cubana, que hace tres días llegó a Bahamas tras huir de la isla. Se espera que viaje a Miami tan pronto como le sea posible.

CYNTHIA CORZO.
Redactora de El Nuevo Herald

Orlando "El Duque" Hernández y Alberto Hernández, los peloteros cubanos que hace tres días llegaron a Bahamas tras huir de la isla, recibieron el miércoles un visado humanitario, informó el Departamento de Estado.

Se espera que "El Duque", medio hermano del estelar lanzador de los Marlins Liván Hernández, y su compañera, Noris Bosch, así como Alberto Hernández, que no es familia de los anteriores, viajen a Miami a la mayor brevedad posible.

Los otros cinco que escaparon de Cuba con ellos permanecerán bajo custodia de las autoridades bahamen-

ses, las cuales determinarán si cumplen los requisitos como refugiados para permanecer legalmente en el país o si son reubicados en un tercer país. Las posibilidades de que sean devueltos a Cuba son mínimas en estos momentos, dijeron fuentes. El gobierno bahamense no devolvió llamadas de *El Nuevo Herald* para esclarecer en detalle este punto.

"Por razones humanitarias, incluyendo excepcional habilidad atlética, le otorgamos visado humanitario a Alberto, Orlando y su esposa, Noris", dijo Lula Rodríguez, subsecretaria adjunta de Estado para asuntos públicos. "La decisión se tomó porque estas personas reúnen circunstancias especiales que los califican para viajar a Estados Unidos: tienen familiares inmediatos en el país, fueron suspendidos del equipo nacional de pelota en Cuba y perseguidos, y ellos estiman que en Bahamas no podrán vivir libres de temor porque existe un acuerdo de deportación con Cuba".

Rodríguez señaló que tanto "El Duque" como Alberto Hernández pudieran haber solicitado visa para emigrar legalmente a Estados Unidos

VEA DUQUE, BA

El Duque, comidilla de la radio

DUQUE, DE 1A

en Cuba, pero que el gobierno cubano no les hubiera otorgado permiso para salir del país.

El visado humanitario permite a los tres entrar legalmente en Estados Unidos y recibir permiso de trabajo. Al año y un día de estar en el país pueden solicitar la residencia permanente bajo la Ley de Ajuste Cubano de 1966.

Rodríguez explicó que el gobierno estadounidense confía en que las autoridades bahamenses cumplirán con las obligaciones internacionales de entrevistar y procesar a los otros cinco integrantes del grupo que también buscan salvoconducto.

"Estamos muy agradecidos al gobierno de Bahamas, agradecemos su cooperación y reiteramos que el grupo de cubanos que permanece en su custodia está seguro y en buen estado de salud", afirmó Rodríguez.

El grupo de refugiados fue dividido el domingo en la zona del Banco de Cayo Sal por las autoridades bahamenses, a donde habían llegado en un bote de vela y remos construido por uno de ellos y ese mismo día pidieron ayuda al Servicio Guardacostas de Estados Unidos. Los guardacostas recogieron a los cubanos y los llevaron a Freeport, Bahamas. Posteriormente fueron traslada-

dos a la capital, Nassau. Generalmente, los balseros que huyen de la isla interceptados en aguas bahamenses son llevados a Bimini, pero el mal tiempo hizo que el grupo fuera llevado a Freeport.

Los ocho están en el Centro de Detención de Carmichael Road, junto con otros balseros cubanos que han llegado recientemente a Bahamas.

Pero contrariamente a lo que muchos pensaban, tanto Liván como otros miembros de su familia expresaron disgusto por las maniobras que estaba realizando el representante de peloteros Joe Cubas, que viajó a Nassau para brindar su apoyo a los cubanos, para evitar que "El Duque" y Alberto obtuvieran asilo político en Estados Unidos.

"Tal como pasó cuando vino mi mamá. Mucha gente quiere tomarse el crédito por el hecho de que hayan salido para después beneficiarse", dijo Liván el miércoles sin mencionar nombres.

Miriam Carreras, madre de Liván pero no de "El Duque", llegó a Miami el 26 de octubre tras intensas negociaciones de políticos, la directiva de los Marlins y otras personas en Washington y La Habana.

La estrategia de Joe Cubas a fin de lograr contratos millonarios para sus clientes ha sido llevarlos a un tercer país, donde obtienen residencia legal. Esto los convierte en agentes libres de las Grandes Ligas, y les abre la posibilidad de aceptar el mejor contrato.

Cuando representaba a Liván Hernández, Cubas logró para éste la residencia dominicana, al igual que para Osvaldo Fernández, otro pelotero cubano. Hernández firmó un contrato de \$4.5 millones con los Marlins en enero de 1996, incluyendo un bono de \$2.5

El Duque, comidilla de la radio

millones tan sólo por firmar. Fernández aceptó uno de \$3.9 millones con los Gigantes de San Francisco.

Otro de sus representados, Rolando Arrojo, quien desertó en Tennessee una semana antes de los Juegos Olímpicos de Atlanta en 1996, estableció residencia legal en Costa Rica y firmó un contrato de \$7 millones con la franquicia de expansión de Tampa Bay.

En caso de que los peloteros ingresen a Estados Unidos y establezcan su residencia legal en este país, tendrían que pasar por un proceso conocido como el *draft amateur*, que se celebra en junio, lo cual limitaría sus opciones de negociación.

En Cuba, "El Duque" era uno de los mejores lanzadores del país, y ostentaba el mejor récord de victorias y derrotas del campeonato nacional cubano, en el que jugaba para el equipo capitalino Industriales. Según él, su velocidad de lanzamiento alcanza las 92 millas por hora. Alberto Hernández, receptor, fue compañero de los medio hermanos en la selección nacional de Cuba.

Durante la Serie Mundial de 1997, el caso de "El Duque" y su suspensión del béisbol en Cuba fue noticia en las principales cadenas de televisión a nivel internacional. Varias enviaron corresponsales a Cuba, que lo entrevistaron y vieron con él, a través de la televisión, las hazañas de Liván en los juegos.

Como Liván desertó en septiembre de 1995, las autoridades deportivas cubanas dejaron a "El Duque", de 28 años, fuera del equipo que eventualmente ganó la medalla de oro, tras vencer a Japón en el partido olímpico final en Atlanta. El pretexto dado por las autoridades cubanas para excluirlo de la selección fue una lesión en el codo derecho, pero tanto Liván como otras fuentes cercanas al equipo negaron tal versión.

Alberto Hernández sí fue a Atlanta, pero en noviembre de

1996, tras una investigación que condujo al arresto del exiliado cubano José Hernández Nodar en Cuba, las autoridades deportivas de la isla lo suspendieron de por vida junto con "El Duque" y el torpedero Germán Mesa.

Hernández Nodar, que es primo de Cubas, fue juzgado y hallado culpable de cargos de conspiración para ayudar a desertar a atletas de la isla, y sentenciado a 15 años de prisión. Los peloteros fueron alejados de toda actividad deportiva y relegados a otros empleos.

Tras la sanción, "El Duque" volvió a su anterior trabajo, en el Hospital Siquiátrico de La Habana, donde por 206 pesos mensuales (unos \$10 al cambio semioficial) era instructor de rehabilitación física de enfermos mentales.

La llegada de "El Duque" a Bahamas y su casi seguro permiso para emigrar legalmente a Estados Unidos fueron la comidilla del día en las emisoras de radio hispanas de Miami. Decenas de oyentes llamaron a WQBA 1140 AM para celebrar la fuga de una de las estrellas de Cuba y la rabia que debía tener el gobierno de Fidel Castro ante lo ocurrido.

Algunos criticaron las gestiones que se estaban realizando a favor de "El Duque" y Alberto Hernández, mientras que otros balseros que llegan a Bahamas permanecen meses en el centro de detención antes de poder permanecer legalmente en el país o son finalmente deportados a Cuba por la fuerza.

"No es justo", dijo un hombre que no se identificó. "A todos se les debe tratar por igual".

Varios oyentes intentaron justificar las gestiones del Departamento de Estado alegando que tanto "El Duque" como Alberto Hernández tienen una profesión y talentos excepcionales, pero una mujer que no dio su nombre llamó para explicar que un sobrino suyo que también es un profesional, aunque no específico en qué campo, permanece rete-

nido en Bahamas.

Ninoska Pérez-Castellón, directora de la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana, comentó por los micrófonos de WQBA que el caso de los peloteros es excepcional dada la publicidad que ha recibido "El Duque" recientemente, pero que el balsero común y corriente no recibe ningún tipo de tratamiento especial cuando arriba a territorio bahamense. Por el contrario, añadió, corre el riesgo de ser devuelto a Cuba.

"Estamos muy contentos de que le hayan resuelto la visa a los peloteros, pero se la debieron dar a los ocho", dijo.

"Constantemente estamos denunciando que en Bahamas están devolviendo a los cubanos. ¿A cuántos no han devuelto —perseguidos políticos, activistas de derechos humanos, ex presos políticos? Eso es lo triste de esto", agregó Pérez-Castellón. "Ahí ha llegado otra gente y no la han tenido tan fácil, pero eso quien lo tiene que responder es el gobierno americano, porque nosotros hacemos gestiones por los cubanos en todo el mundo".

Lula Rodríguez explicó que el caso de los peloteros no es desusado, y que se han tomado las mismas medidas que se tomarían en el caso de cualquier otra persona que demuestre tener "circunstancias especiales". Agregó que fueron las autoridades bahamenses quienes avisaron al Departamento de Estado que en el grupo de balseros estaban "El Duque" y el receptor Hernández para que los fueran a entrevistar.

"Una vez que nos informaron que había personas en el grupo con circunstancias especiales, fuimos a entrevistar a los ocho integrantes del grupo", dijo Rodríguez. "Eso mismo se haría con cualquier cubano que llegue a Bahamas en cualquier grupo de balseros".

El redactor de El Nuevo Herald Javier Mota contribuyó a esta información.

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A JOURNEY FOR FREEDOM AND BASEBALL

Ballplayers who fled Cuba get U.S. visas

Baseball stars who fled Cuba get U.S. visas

By CYNTHIA CORZO
Herald Staff Writer

U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno on Wednesday granted humanitarian visas to two Cuban baseball stars: pitcher Orlando "El Duque" Hernandez, half-brother of Florida Marlins pitcher Livan Hernandez, and catcher Alberto Hernandez, who arrived Sunday in the Bahamas, after fleeing from Cuba along with six others.

Orlando, Alberto and Noris Bosch, Orlando's girlfriend, are expected to fly to Miami soon. The other five members of the group — mostly Orlando's relatives — will remain in the custody of Bahamian authorities, who will determine whether they meet the requirements to remain legally in Nassau as refugees or be returned to Cuba.

"For humanitarian reasons, including exceptional athletic ability, we granted a humanitarian visa to Alberto, Orlando and ... Noris," said Lula Rodri-

We are very grateful to the Government of the Bahamas for their cooperation and we reiterate that the Cubans still in their custody are safe and in good health.

LULA RODRIGUEZ,
assistant undersecretary of state for public affairs

PLEASE SEE DUQUE, 19A

Ballplayers who fled Cuba get U.S. visas

Five others to remain in Bahamas

DUQUE, FROM 1A

Rodriguez, assistant undersecretary of state for public affairs.

The decision was made because these people share special qualifications that make them eligible to travel to the United States. They have close relatives in [the States], they were ousted from the national baseball team in Cuba, and they were persecuted," Rodriguez said. "The Bahamas has a deportation agreement with the Cuban government that will not allow [the refugees] to live free from fear."

Orlando and Alberto could have asked for a visa in Cuba to travel legally to the United States, Rodriguez said, but it's unlikely that the Cuban government would have granted them an exit permit.

The humanitarian visa allows the three to enter the United States legally and obtain a work permit. After one year and a day in this country, they can ask for permanent residence under the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966.

According to Rodriguez, the U.S. government is confident that the Bahamian authorities will interview and process the other five refugees, who are also asking for safe-conduct to the United States.

"We are very grateful to the government of the Bahamas for their cooperation and we reiterate that the Cubans still in their custody are safe and in good health," she said.

Talk of the town

In Miami, the case became the talk of Spanish-language radio. Dozens of listeners called WQBA (1030 AM) to celebrate the defection of one of Cuba's finest ballplayers and to razz the Cuban government. The station is heard on the island.

But some callers also criticized what they perceived as favoritism when other Cuban rafters are either repatriated to Cuba or detained for months before being released.

"It's not fair," a man said. "Everyone should be treated equally."

One woman complained that a cousin of hers is a professional but still under detention in the Bahamas.

Mirioska Perez Castellon, a

spokeswoman for the Cuban American National Foundation, said on WQBA that the ballplayers' case is exceptional, given the publicity Orlando has received recently, but that ordinary rafters don't get any kind of special treatment when they step on Bahamian soil.

"We're constantly denouncing the fact that the Bahamas repatriates Cubans. How many political refugees, human rights activists, and former political prisoners have they repatriated? That's the sad part of it," Perez said.

"Other people have landed there, too, and haven't had an easy time of it, but the final decision is up to the U.S. government."

Rodriguez said the ballplayers' case is not unusual and that the United States has taken the same steps as it would in the case of any other person with "special circumstances."

She said Bahamian authorities notified the State Department that Orlando Hernandez and Alberto Hernandez were in the group of rafters and invited U.S. immigration officials to interview the ballplayers.

"Once they told us that some people in the group had special circumstances, we went over to interview them," Rodriguez said. "We would have done the same with any other Cuban arriving in the Bahamas in any group of rafters."

Sighted on Sunday

The raft carrying the eight Cubans was sighted Sunday near Cay Sal Bank by Bahamian spotters, who asked the U.S. Coast Guard for help. A Coast Guard vessel picked up the Cubans and took them to Freeport.

Rafters intercepted in Bahamian waters are usually taken to Bimini, but bad weather forced the rescuers to go to Freeport.

The eight were taken to the Carmichael Road Detention Center, along with other Cuban rafters who have reached the Bahamas recently.

"El Duque," who played for the Havana team Industriales, was regarded as one of Cuba's finest pitchers and held the national tournament's record for games won.

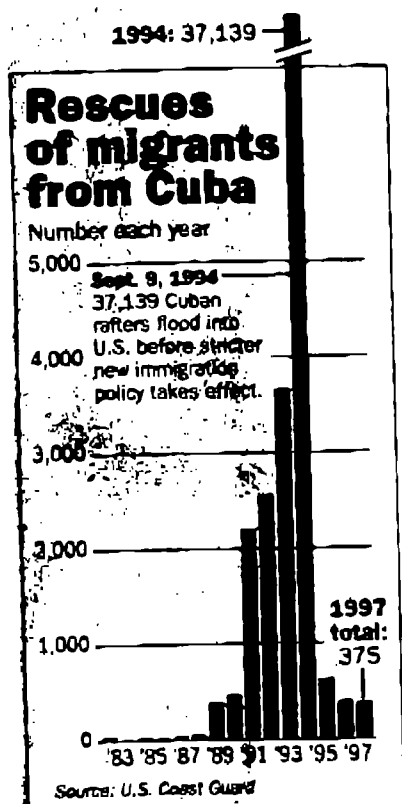
Catcher Alberto, who is not related to Livan or Orlando, played with them on the national team.

Miriam Carreras, who is Livan's mother but not Orlando's, has been in the United States since Oct. 26, when she arrived on a six-month visitor's visa to watch the seventh game of the World Series.

Her visa was granted after intense negotiation with Washington and Havana by the Marlins, Gov. Lawton Chiles and U.S. Reps. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and

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Ballplayers who fled Cuba get U.S. visas



ROBERTSON ADAMS / Herald Staff

Lincoln Diaz-Balart, both Florida Republicans.

International coverage

During the World Series, Orlando's situation and his suspension from baseball were made known to the world by international press coverage. Several TV networks and newspapers interviewed him in Cuba and accompanied him as he followed his half-brother's accomplishments on the diamond over U.S. radio and television.

Because Livan defected in 1995, Cuban sports authorities removed Orlando from the team that eventually won the gold medal at the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta after beating Japan in the final game of the tournament.

The authorities' explanation was that Orlando had an elbow injury, but Livan and other sources on the team disputed that.

Alberto did go to Atlanta. But in November 1996 Cuban authorities banned him, Orlando and shortstop German Mesa from baseball for life.

Miami exile Jose Hernandez Nodar, a cousin of baseball agent Joe Cubas, was arrested in Cuba and convicted of conspiracy to help Cuban athletes defect. He is serving a 15-year prison sentence.

The ballplayers were removed from any sports activity and relegated to other jobs.

As a result of the sanction, Orlando returned to his previous job at Havana's Psychiatric Hospital, where he worked as a physical rehabilitation coach for the equivalent of \$10 a month.

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Amid repression, a plan to escape

By **ARMANDO SALGUERO**
Herald Sports Writer

NASSAU — The homemade wooden sailboat was supposed to deliver Orlando Hernandez to freedom's shore, but it began to take on water only minutes into the voyage.

Afraid the feeble 20-footer would sink soon after leaving Cuba, Hernandez grabbed an oar with the same hands that once launched 90-mph pitches for the Cuban national baseball team. Hernandez, the half-brother of Marlins pitcher Livan Hernandez, showed off the calluses on his hands Wednesday as he talked of the odyssey he shared with five other men and two women.

By nightfall Wednesday, the United States granted asylum to Hernandez, his girlfriend, Noris Bosch, and Alberto Hernandez, a former catcher on the Cuban national team who shares the same last

PLEASE SEE ORDEAL, 19A

Flight from repression

'We came here seeking human rights'

ORLANDO, FROM 1A

name but is no relation.

But hours before the U.S. announcement, Orlando Hernandez sat in a crowded room on the fourth floor of the Bahamas Department of Immigration building, talking about playing on the same team with his half-brother, of dining at McDonald's, but mostly of wanting to be free.

"Let me be explicit in my words so there's no misunderstanding," Hernandez said slowly and deliberately in Spanish. "We came here seeking human rights. God sent us into this world to have liberty and be somebody. He wants us to be treatable like persons. That's what we want."

Hernandez wore a teal Marlins cap and matching Charlotte Hornets warm-up suit and was flanked by the doomed little vessel's seven other passengers.

He talked of becoming a scapegoat in Cuba for the transgressions of other athletes who defected before him. He claimed Cuban authorities harassed him in his house and on the street, telling him he was a nobody, promising he would never play baseball again.

But now — after surviving 10 hours at sea and three nights on a remote island with only four cans of Spam and a jug of water to sustain the eight people — Hernandez wiped tears from his eyes and had a message for the Cuban government.

"The people who mean nothing to the Cuban government when we're there should mean nothing to them now that we're gone," Hernandez said. "They've told us we are nobodies. We're going to demonstrate to them that we are somebody."

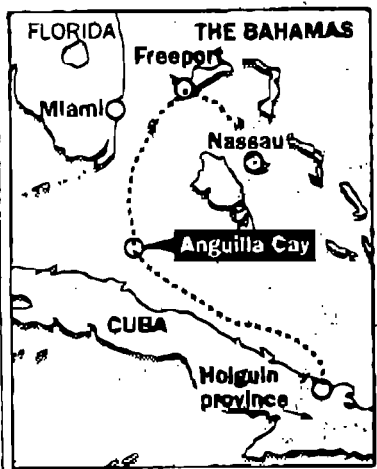
The best known

Orlando Hernandez and Alberto Hernandez are the best known from the crew. Orlando, 24, was perhaps Cuba's most dominant pitcher before he was suspended from the team following the defection of several prominent players.

Alberto, 26, was the starting

ESCAPE FROM CUBA

Orlando Hernandez, brother of Marlins pitcher Liván Hernandez, left Holguín province with seven others and was picked up by the U.S. Coast Guard on Anguilla Cay and taken to Freeport and then Nassau.



A010138

The Herald

catcher on the national team that won gold in the July 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games. Following the Games, he also was banned from Cuban baseball because he says Cuba feared he would defect.

But the bans were only a beginning.

"Our families were offended on the street," Orlando Hernandez said. "Police would call and harass us, telling us we'd never play again. They told us we were paying for the desertion of other athletes and they humiliated us for becoming nobodies."

"That's why we felt obligated to leave."

Friend targeted

Hernandez said the poor treatment he endured extended to those around him. Osmany Lorenzo, 28, has been Hernandez's best friend for eight years. Lorenzo allowed Hernandez to use his car, the two shared food rations, and the TV interviews Hernandez did during the World Series were taped in Lorenzo's house.

And so Lorenzo was also a target for the government's vengeance. "The last five months

have been hell for us," Lorenzo said. "They took away my job. They checked on me. It would have been easier if I wasn't Orlando's friend."

"But I wouldn't renounce that friendship. The pain in my heart would have been greater than any discomfort a government can make you feel."

On Dec. 15, the authorities barged into Lorenzo's house and took him away for 12 hours of questioning. "I was told if they merely found out that we were thinking of getting on anything that floats, they would put us under arrest," Lorenzo said.

Lorenzo, Orlando Hernandez and Alberto Hernandez soon hatched a plan to escape the island. They contacted Juan Carlos Romero who had been secretly building a boat for five months, using wood he stole from various sources.

Crew completed

Romero, 30, and his wife, Geidi Gonzalez, 24, agreed to captain the boat to freedom, navigating with a compass he made with magnets. Lemin Rivero Hernandez, a former sailor, would be first mate. Orlando Hernandez would include Bosch, 20, and his cousin, Joel Pedrosa, 21, on the boat's crew.

"We needed young people with strong hands," said Romero, adding the four wooden oars he fashioned for the sailboat each weighed about 10 pounds.

Alberto Hernandez, a fire hydrant of a man at 5 feet 10 inches and 210 pounds, would be invaluable on the oars, Romero said.

It's a wonder he was on the voyage at all.

Alberto Hernandez came close to defecting on two previous occasions. South Florida sports agent Joe Cubas persuaded him to defect when he snatched pitcher Osvaldo Fernandez from the Cuban national team while it was in Millington, Tenn., in 1995.

Fernandez stuck with the defection plan and now plays for the San Francisco Giants. Alberto Hernandez had doubts, so he

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Flight from repression

'We came here seeking human rights'

Orlando Hernandez said he became a scapegoat in Cuba for the transgressions of other athletes who defected before him.

returned to his hotel room and relative anonymity. Hernandez got a second chance in July 1996.

After the gold-medal game, Hernandez found himself in a car Cubas had pointed toward Miami and freedom. But the prospect of leaving his then-pregnant wife caused Hernandez to again return to his team.

"This is the last time I'll see you," Hernandez told Cubas. Then the men hugged and parted.

A long embrace

When they saw each other again Wednesday inside the pink immigration building that sits on Hawkins Hill, the two held each other in a long embrace, a well of tears forming in the player's eyes.

"You don't know how I've suffered," Hernandez whispered to Cubas.

"You're safe now," Cubas said, still holding his friend. "The worst is over, I guarantee it."

Alberto Hernandez left a wife and two daughters in Cuba. Orlando Hernandez also left two daughters by his ex-wife. He has lived with Bosch for two years.

"This time, the situation was so harsh I had to go," Alberto Hernandez said. "A man can only take so much before he has to act. I reached the point where I had to act."

At approximately 7:25 a.m. Dec. 26, the eight boaters launched their craft from Holguin province and sailed north. Water began seeping into the nameless vessel within minutes, and the startled crew began to bail and row simultaneously.

They landed on deserted Anguila Cay about 5:30 p.m. that same day and survived until Monday morning on Spam, seaweed and shellfish. "If I tell you I wasn't afraid I'd be lying," Osmany Lorenzo said. "I could tell you what happened, but you'll never understand unless you've experienced

it."

Taken to Freeport

A U.S. Coast Guard vessel rescued the eight and took them to Freeport. Another vessel dropped them off in Nassau, but not before Romero was given a bright orange Coast Guard jacket that he proudly wore throughout the day Wednesday.

The eight were taken to the detention center on Carmichael Road, where they spent the night Tuesday and again Wednesday. Sixty-seven Cuban rafters live in the spartan barracks behind double-chain-link fences and barbed wire.

The Faith Tabernacle Church of God is across the street, and ice cream trucks routinely drive down Carmichael Road. But make no mistake, this is a prison in every sense, complete with armed guards.

"The Bahamian authorities have treated us very well even though we're still not free," Orlando Hernandez said. "The only thing more I could ask for is a meal from McDonald's."

Less than an hour later, the Bahamians delivered eight Big Macs, large fries and Cokes.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1998
THE HERALD

In Cuba 'I am political prey' but truly free

Raul Rivero is a poet, an independent journalist, and editor of Cuba Press news agency in Havana. Reporters Without Borders, a Paris-based press organization, recently awarded Rivero its top prize for his reporting under repressive conditions. This article is reprinted from El Nuevo Herald.

Editor's Note: In Cuba, Chinese charade is the association of numbers and animals that fortune tellers use to make predictions or play the lottery. The number 1 is represented by a horse, 9 by an elephant, and 8 by a dead man, hence 1998 is one horse, two elephants, one dead man.]

HAVANA — I don't like what the Chinese charade suggests for the coming year. I can't fathom the dark tone and briny mood conveyed by that odd, savage, and sinister combination: one horse, two elephants, one dead man.

But 1998 is here, and although being superstitious brings bad luck, I join the millions of Cubans who plan to change their lives in the next 12 months and prepare to ask for changes, innovations, and bonanzas from that parcel of time that man has stuffed into an almanac.

I propose to walk a little faster toward my freedom: to savor more fully, with greater intensity, the complex situation in which I find myself within my country, because even though I am political prey, a target of state security, I am freer than those who proclaim their freedom in tired, time-worn pamphlets.

RAUL RIVERO

I also want to work harder, to write a greater number of pages every day about the reality in my country, not to immortalize myself as a writer (at age 52, some of our dreams are beyond reach) but so that later no one can say that he or she was not aware of that reality and so that Cuba can be understood today in all its penury and greatness.

I wish that my spirit may be more open and pluralistic in 1998, so that I can relate better to everyone else, in particular to my compatriots, understand them, and be a more-efficient messenger of their

hopes, dejections, and joys.

In the 365 days coming my way, I wish for stability and strength for our small group of professionals intent on spreading the truths about Cuba. I wish for these truths to be widely known, in their fullest dimension, because that's one of the paths: the truth as a way to find solutions.

I ask the new year only to give me the time to make my wishes a reality. I want to make my chimeras come true in 1998, so that my daughters, mother, wife, sons, and friends may love me more — that the only thing that may startle me at midnight be the brutal knock of the Cuban police at the door of my home.

El Duque se establecerá en un tercer país

▼ A pesar de obtener la visa de Washington, el lanzador cubano no viajará a Estados Unidos, sino que escogerá un tercer país para vivir. Fuentes aseguran que su decisión no tiene motivos económicos, sino de solidaridad con sus compañeros de fuga.

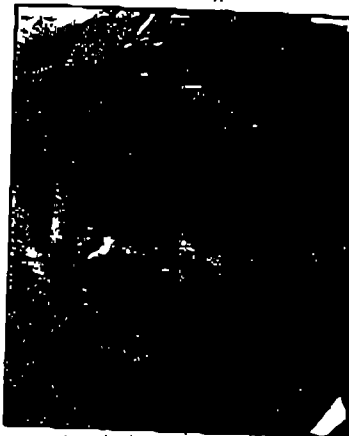
FERNANDO ALMANZAR y JAVIER MOTA

El lanzador cubano Orlando "El Duque" Hernández decidió el jueves no aceptar las visas humanitarias que Estados Unidos le concedió a él y a su compañera, y ha considerado establecerse en las Bahamas o Costa Rica, informaron diversas fuentes.

La decisión del pelotero, hermano por parte de padre del lanzador del equipo floridano de los Marlins, Liván Hernández, fue tomada en solidaridad con otros cinco integrantes del grupo de siete que lo acompañó en su fuga de la isla.

Aparte de Orlando y su compañera Noris Bosch, de los ocho cubanos que llegaron el domingo a territorio bahamense

Hernández se solidarizó con otros cinco integrantes del grupo que lo acompañó en su fuga.



sólo recibió visa humanitaria para venir a este país y el receptor de la selección nacional de Cuba, Alberto Hernández. Ambos peloteros no están emparentados.

"La razón por la que ellos no están viajando a Estados Unidos con esas visas es porque pidieron para los ocho y no están dispuestos a arriesgar la vida y el futuro de los cinco que se quedan atrás", dijo el agente Joe Cubas, que probablemente representará a Orlando, considerado uno de los mejores beisbolistas cubanos de los últimos tiempos.

Liván dijo que estaba muy agradecido a las autoridades estadounidenses por haber concedido la visa a su hermano, a Bosch y a Alberto.

"Yo hice mi parte como hermano y compatriota de ellos para ayudarlos a venir a este país que tanto me ha dado", dijo Liván. "Ahora, si ellos quieren ir a Costa Rica o a otro país, ésa será decisión de ellos".

Lula Rodríguez, subsecretaria adjunta de asuntos públicos

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Pese a visa, 'El Duque' Hernández decide no viajar a Estados Unidos

DUQUE, DE 1A

del Departamento de Estado, dijo el jueves por la noche en Miami que no tenía información sobre los planes de los refugiados.

"A petición de la familia y luego de determinar que, de retornar a Cuba Orlando Hernández pudiera ser perseguido por las autoridades, fue puesta a su disposición una visa humanitaria", comentó Rodríguez. "No tenemos ninguna información o comentario oficial sobre sus planes futuros".

A diferencia de las versiones que circularon el jueves en Miami y las Bahamas, la decisión de no aceptar las visas estadounidenses no tienen motivaciones económicas sino humanitarias, aseguró Cubas.

Dichas versiones sugerían que tanto Orlando como Alberto desearían establecerse fuera de Estados Unidos para presentarse como agentes libres y obtener contratos millonarios en Grandes Ligas. En cambio, si se establecían aquí ahora tendrían que someterse en junio al draft amateur, lo cual limitaría sus posibilidades de negociación.

"El dinero nunca ha sido un factor en nuestras gestiones", dijo Cubas. "Si van a Costa Rica o se quedan en las Bahamas no es porque quieran hacerse millonarios".

Cubas, que en los últimos tres años ha ayudado a desertar a una veintena de peloteros cubanos, entre ellos Liván, se reunirá hoy

en Nassau con Orlando y Alberto para decidir si se convertirá en el representante de ambos. Liván despidió a Cubas como su agente a finales de 1996 y ahora es representado por Juan Iglesias.

"Lo único que espero es que todo terminé bien para mi hermano y el resto de las personas del grupo que escapó de Cuba", señaló Liván, que pudo hablar con Orlando por primera vez el jueves.

Cubas indicó que las autoridades costarricenses han otorgado visa a los ocho cubanos, en tanto las bahamenses han dejado saber que de momento ninguno será deportado a Cuba.

"Cuando logramos la autorización del gobierno de Costa Rica no existía todavía garantía alguna de que el grupo no iba a ser devuelto a Cuba ni una visa de ningún otro país para acoger a los refugiados", dijo Cubas.

Orlando, Bosch y Alberto fueron puestos en libertad del Centro de Detención Carmichael Road de Nassau el jueves y estaban hospedados en la casa del empresario cubanoamericano Gerardo Capó. Los otros cinco refugiados permanecían retenidos.

Vernon Burrows, subdirector del Departamento de Inmigración de las Bahamas, aseguró el jueves que Orlando, Bosch y Alberto, entregaron ya una carta en la que solicitaron asilo político en ese país para ellos y el resto de sus compañeros.

"[El caso] ha dado un giro",

dijo Burrows el jueves. "Acabo de hablar con Orlando y me dijo que por ahora se van a quedar aquí".

Cubas dijo que los documentos que autorizan la entrada a Costa Rica de todo el grupo ya fueron firmados y que ahora sólo falta que decidan si van allá o se quedan en las Bahamas.

Orlando escapó de Cuba el 26 de diciembre a bordo de un bote de vela, que 10 horas después empezó a hundirse frente a Anguila, islote perteneciente al archipiélago de las Bahamas. Allí permanecieron cuatro días a intemperie y sin alimentos hasta que fueron rescatados por el servicio Guardacostas de Estados Unidos y llevados a la ciudad bahamense de Freeport.

En sus primeras declaraciones en libertad, Orlando aseguró que decidió abandonar Cuba debido a que las autoridades lo habían hecho víctima de constantes hostigamientos y amenazas como represalia por la desertión de Liván.

Orlando y Alberto fueron suspendidos de por vida del béisbol cubano junto al torpedero Germán Mesa, luego del arresto de un primo de Cubas, José Hernández Nodar, a quien las autoridades de la isla acusaron de incitar la desertión de atletas. Tras un juicio sumario, Hernández Nodar fue condenado a 15 años de prisión.

La redactora de El Nuevo Herald Cynthia Corzo contribuyó a esta información.

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VIERNES 2 DE ENERO DE 1998

Causa conmoción en Bahamas la llegada de cubanos fugitivos

AURELIO MORENO
Redactor de El Nuevo Herald

Aunque la libertad no tiene precio, a veces cuesta mucho.

La búsqueda de ese derecho inalienable al ser humano, irónicamente, puede conducir a la más inquietante de las aventuras e incluso a la muerte.

Tal fue el vía crucis que soportaron Orlando "El Duque" Hernández, medio hermano de Liván Hernández, y otro grupo de siete refugiados cubanos, que el martes solicitaron asilo político en las Bahamas y hoy gozan de libertad en Nassau.

Pasado el susto de una travesía de 10 horas en un bote velero que hacia agua y la posterior espera en un islote desierto a merced de los elementos, los desertores agradecen ahora al gobierno bahamense la atención "especial" que recibieron desde el primer momento en que arribaron a las Bahamas.

"Al principio no me pude identificar porque en el primer [bote] guardacostas que nos recogió no había nadie que hablara español", dijo Hernández. "Después llegó un segundo bote y en el mismo había un cubano; entonces le dije que era

hermano de Liván y las cosas cambiaron".

"El Duque" y sus acompañantes fueron conducidos entonces al centro de refugiados Carmichael Road en Nassau, donde inmediatamente causaron conmoción.

"Aquí hay muchos cubanos y nunca ha habido tanto alboroto como ahora", señaló un funcionario del Departamento de Inmigración de Bahamas que prefirió permanecer anónimo. "Este grupo definitivamente que ha tenido un trato especial".

En el centro permanecen otros 69 cubanos refugiados. Tan sólo en 1997 un total de 123 cubanos fueron devueltos a su país tras alojarse en este campamento. Hernández y sus compañeros temían correr la misma suerte.

Aunque en el centro de refugiados las condiciones no eran las más agradables, los cubanos aseguraron que fueron tratados de manera excelente por los bahamenses. Sin embargo, el acceso a ellos, incluso por parte de sus familiares, era muy limitado.

Mientras estuvieron en Carmichael Road siempre permanecieron detrás de una alarbrada, custodia-

dos de cerca por efectivos militares que nos les permitían comunicarse con nadie.

El miércoles en la mañana, horas antes de que el gobierno de Estados Unidos les concediera visa, un grupo de periodistas siguió de cerca el movimiento de los refugiados.

"Nunca antes había sido el centro de tanta atención", reveló el miércoles Melvin Seymour, director de Inmigración en Bahamas, durante una conferencia de prensa en la cual fueron presentados los cubanos. "Realmente estoy sorprendido".

"El Duque" también estaba anonadado por la conmoción que había causado. "Estamos un poco nerviosos por tantos flashes, cámaras y grabadoras".

En medio de la noticia de los refugiados cubanos, Bahamas recibió el Año Nuevo.

Locales y extranjeros siguieron la noticia.

"Dicen que 'El Duque' es mejor que Liván", comentó Mary Wright, turista de Ohio que visitaba las Bahamas. "Si es así, entonces podría ganar mucho dinero".

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'El Duque' Hernández abre apetito de GL

▼ El cubano Orlando 'El Duque' Hernández deberá demostrar en breve el potencial que se le atribuye como para brillar en las Grandes Ligas.

JAVIER MOTA
Director de Deportes

Orlando "El Duque" Hernández fue, en su momento, el abridor más dominante del béisbol cubano, y aunque ha estado alejado de los montículos durante más de un año, su presencia en el mercado de agentes libres seguramente despertará el interés de varios equipos de las Grandes Ligas.

Lo que está por verse es qué tan rápido podrá adaptarse al mejor béisbol del mundo y demostrar que su brazo todavía está en condiciones como para eliminar a los enemigos.

"Por ahora es muy difícil evaluar su situación debido a que no ha lanzado en mucho tiempo", dijo el jueves el director de Operaciones de América Latina de los Marlins, Al Avila. "Pero estoy seguro de que cualquiera que lo vio en el pasado estará interesado en verlo otra vez".

"El Duque", el medio hermano del lanzador de los Marlins y ganador del premio al Jugador

Más Valioso (JMV) de la Serie Mundial, escapó la semana pasada de Cuba junto al ex receptor de la selección nacional

cubana, Alberto Hernández y otras seis personas.

Orlando, su compañera Noris Bosch y Alberto, recibieron visas

humanitarias para ingresar a Estados Unidos y el jueves decidían si aceptaban esa oferta, la de las Bahamas o la de Costa Rica, que también se han ofrecido para acogerlos.

Hernández, cuya edad oscila entre los 28 y los 32 años, fue suspendido de por vida del béisbol cubano en noviembre de 1996 y desde entonces está inactivo.

Antes de la sanción, estableció marca de 129-47 con el equipo Industriales de La Habana, gracias a su dominio de una bola rápida de más de 90 millas por hora.

Su calidad era tal que estuvo

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'El Duque' ¿sigue 'siendo el Rey'?

PELOTEROS, DE 1C

con nivel para las Grandes Ligas. Su bola rápida, su curva, su cambio y su control se podían comparar con las de un lanzador de las Grandes Ligas", dijo Avila. "Si hubiera estado disponible como agente libre en ese momento, sin duda habríamos hecho un esfuerzo por firmarlo".

Avila vio a Orlando 'Duque' Hernández en acción durante una gira que la selección cubana hizo en Japón en la primavera de 1995.

"Pero ahora su situación es diferente debido al factor de su edad. En este caso no se puede proyectar lo que puede hacer en el futuro. [Cualquiera que lo firme] necesitará que lance a buen nivel de inmediato".

En sus primeras declaraciones en Nassau, Bahamas, Orlando Hernández dijo que está en buenas condiciones físicas y que no tendrá problemas para iniciar sus entrenamientos y ponerse en forma para lanzar en competencias de alto nivel, y así seguir los pasos de otros lanzadores cubanos que han desertado en los últimos años y han actuado en las Grandes Ligas con resultados mixtos.

Con excepción de Liván, quien tiene 22 años y la temporada pasada demostró su calidad al ganar en fila sus nueve primeras decisiones antes de brillar en la postemporada con los Marlins para ganar el premio del JMV, tanto en la liga por el banderín de la Liga Nacional contra los Bravos de Atlanta, como en la Serie Mundial ante los Indios de Cleveland, el resto de los desertores

cubanos no ha podido mostrar gran nivel.

"La situación de Liván fue muy diferente", agregó Avila. "Tiene de ventaja su juventud. Lo pudimos desarrollar en las ligas menores y por mucho es el mejor del grupo, por ahora".

Mientras que los Marlins le han sacado gran provecho al contrato de \$4.5 millones que le dieron a Liván en enero de 1996, otros equipos no han tenido tan buenos resultados con los lanzadores cubanos.

Los Gigantes de San Francisco ganaron la puja para firmar a Osvaldo Fernández en diciembre de 1995 y le dieron \$3.9 millones por tres temporadas a pesar de las versiones que indicaban que su edad es de más de 30 años, en lugar de los 27 que asegura tener.

Fernández tuvo marca de 22-0 con la selección cubana en competencias internacionales, pero con los Gigantes perdió 13 juegos en su primera temporada y en 1996 acumuló marca de 3-4 con 4.95 de efectividad en 11 aperturas.

Para colmo de males sufrió una lesión en el codo derecho y tuvo que ser operado por lo que perdió más de la mitad de la campaña.

Ariel Prieto, quien está registrado por los Atléticos de Oakland como de 28 años, tuvo marca de 6-8 con 5.04 de efectividad, pero terminó la temporada también en la lista de lesionados.

Por su parte, René Arocha, quien fue el primer pelotero cubano en desertar en 1991, nunca pudo lograr récord ganador con los Cardenales de San Luis,

que lo cambiaron a los Gigantes antes de la campaña de 1996.

Arocha, tuvo una breve aparición con los Gigantes en las Grandes Ligas, pero también se lesionó, fue operado y finalmente fue dejado en libertad por San Francisco.

El que todavía no ha tenido oportunidad de demostrar su talento en las Grandes Ligas es Rolando Arrojo, quien desertó antes de los Juegos Olímpicos de Atlanta-96 y el año pasado recibió un bono de \$7 millones de la franquicia de expansión de Tampa Bay.

Arrojo, que según los Devil Rays tiene 27 años, pero de acuerdo a datos de las autoridades cubanas cumplió ya 33, peleará durante el entrenamiento de primavera uno de los puestos de la rotación del equipo que debutará en la Liga Americana en abril próximo.

Para entonces, Orlando y el receptor Alberto Hernández (26 años) podrían ya estar en condiciones de probarse y ser firmados por algún equipo, en busca de su oportunidad para mostrar su habilidad.

"Creo que en cuanto se aclare su situación [migratoria], varios equipos lo probarán [a Orlando]", dijo Avila. "No tengo duda de que muchos estarán interesados, por lo menos en evaluarlo, para luego decidir cuánto valen sus servicios".

Esta información fue complementada con los servicios cablegráficos de El Nuevo Herald.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1998
THE HERALD

Ballplayer to settle in 3rd country

Move keeps group intact, agent says

By FERNANDO ALMANZAR and JAVIER MOTA
Herald Staff Writers

Orlando "El Duque" Hernandez has decided not to accept the offer of political asylum extended to him by the United States and instead will settle either in the Bahamas or Costa Rica, several sources said Thursday.

Hernandez's decision is based on humanitarian rather than economic reasons, said sports agent Joe Cubas, who will represent the former Cuban national team baseball player.

The United States offered political asylum to Hernandez; his companion, Noris Bosch; and the national team's catcher,

Alberto Hernandez (no relation to Orlando), but not to the other five Cubans who fled the island last week aboard a flimsy craft.

"The reason they are not going to the United States with those visas is because they asked for [visas] for all eight of them, and they are not willing to risk the lives and futures of the five who would be left behind," Cubas said. "Those five human beings helped Duque, Alberto and Noris to freedom because they were tired of living their lives under the harassment of the Cuban government."

But as a resident of a third country, Orlando Hernandez's chances of obtaining a multimillion-dollar contract in the United States increase considerably.

If he comes to the United States, he would have to be eligible for baseball's amateur draft in June and could negotiate only with the team that chooses him. It would also greatly reduce his chances of being signed by the Florida Marlins, for whom his half-brother, Livan, pitches.

"I'm very grateful to the United States government for immediately attending to my petition to give visas to my brother, his wife and Alberto," Livan Hernandez said. "I did my part as a brother and compatriot to help them come to this country,



*Orlando
Hernandez
will settle
either in the
Bahamas or
Costa Rica,
sources say.*

PLEASE SEE DUQUE, 1A

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Move will keep group
together, agent says

DUQUE, FROM 1A

which has given me so much. Now, if they want to go to Costa Rica or another country, that will be their decision. . . . The only thing I hope is that everything turns out fine for my brother and the rest of the people in the group that escaped Cuba."

Cubas insisted the decision to request asylum from Bahamian and Costa Rican authorities was based on the threat the other refugees might be returned to Cuba under an agreement between the Bahamas and Cuba, signed in January 1997.

"The money never was a factor in our actions," Cubas said. "The priority is to assure their liberty. And if they go to Costa Rica or stay in the Bahamas, it's not because they want to become millionaires."

Orlando Hernandez, a right-handed pitcher who had been banned from the sport for life in Cuba, Bosch and Alberto Hernandez were released Thursday from the Carmichael Road Detention Center in Nassau and were staying at the home of Cuban-American businessman Gerardo Capo.

Five still detained

The other five Cubans remained in detention, but Bahamian authorities assured them they will not be returned to Cuba.

Vernon Burrows, deputy director of the Bahamian immigration service, said Thursday that Bosch, Orlando Hernandez and Alberto Hernandez submitted a letter requesting political asylum for them and their travel companions, even though the three were authorized Wednesday to enter the United States.

"There has been a turn" in the case, Burrows said. "I've just spoken with Orlando and he told me they're going to stay here for now."

Rene Guim, who works with Miami-based Cubas, said the government of Costa Rica had offered asylum to the eight Cubans, who were rescued Sunday by the U.S. Coast Guard on Anguilla Cay and turned over to the Bahamian authorities.

"The documents granting the eight people entry to Costa Rica have already been signed and all that's left is for them to decide if they go there or stay in the Bahamas," Guim said.

Cubas, who in the past three years has helped about 20 Cuban ballplayers to defect, returned Wednesday to Miami from Nassau, but said he would return to the island today to sign a representation contract with Orlando Hernandez and Alberto Hernandez, Guim said.

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Thinking about contracts

In addition to ensuring their freedom, the two ballplayers must start thinking about the contracts they can sign in the United States. Because of the regulations set up by Major League Baseball, their most advantageous plan would be to establish residence outside the United States.

As residents of another country, they would automatically become free agents and could negotiate their major-league contracts with the teams that offer them the most money. If Orlando Hernandez were subject to the major-league draft, he probably would be long gone by the time the Marlins, who will have the last pick in the first round, choose their first player.

That's the strategy Cubas has used with several of his clients,

COULD PLAY WITH BROTHER: Livan Hernandez of the Marlins.

including former client Livan Hernandez. After defecting in Mexico in 1995, Livan Hernandez settled in the Dominican Republic and later signed a \$4.5 million contract with the Marlins that included a \$2.5 million bonus.

Another of Cubas' clients, pitcher Rolando Arrojo, who defected one week before the start of the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, lived in Costa Rica for a while and signed a \$7 million contract with the Tampa Bay Devil Rays, an expansion team that will make its debut in April.

Mixing laws, rules

"We don't know what is going to happen," said Juan Iglesias, who is now Livan Hernandez's agent. "We are mixing immigration laws with baseball rules. He has to be a human being before he can be a baseball player."

"If he is in the draft, it might be hard for the Marlins to sign him. It's different if he is a free agent," Iglesias said.

Orlando Hernandez and the seven others escaped from Cuba last week aboard a sailboat. After 10 hours at sea, the craft began to sink, but the refugees managed to reach Anguilla Cay, a Bahamian islet, on Dec. 26. There they remained without food until they were rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard and taken to Freeport.

In his first statements as a free man, Orlando Hernandez said he decided to leave Cuba because authorities were harassing and threatening him in reprisal for his half-brother's defection.

Suspended for life

Orlando Hernandez and Alberto Hernandez were suspended from baseball for life, along with shortstop German Mesa, after the arrest in Cuba of Miami exile Jose Hernandez Nodar, Cubas' cousin, on charges that he encouraged the defection of Cuban athletes. After a trial, Hernandez Nodar was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

"El Duque" was considered the best pitcher in Cuba before the 1996 Olympic Games but he was not allowed to pitch. He has not pitched in more than eight months. He has a lifetime record of 129-47.

"It would be very hard to rate him right now, because he hasn't pitched in a while," said Al Avila, the Marlins' director of Latin-American operations. "But anybody who saw him pitch in the past would be interested in him."

Hernandez is listed at 28, but he is believed to be older. His age makes him a different commodity than his brother. Avila said he would have to be ready to pitch in the majors right away. With Livan, teams knew he had time to develop and he was worth the risk on a long-range plan.

"Livan's situation was different," Avila said. "He had youth on his side."

Herald staff writers Cynthia Corzo and Mike Phillips contributed to this report.

Set ~~up~~ a
Cuba file
in the
Hispanic
file

Historic Papal Visit Reunites Cuban Clans

Exiles Return for First Time in 3 Decades

By Molly Moore
and Serge F. Kovaleski
Washington Post Foreign Service

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HAVANA, Jan. 20—Florida accountant Carlos Seleya has watched his Cuban family grow up in pictures. He'd never met a member of the new generation and hadn't seen his cousins—his childhood playmates—since he left Cuba 36 years ago.

Tonight Seleya, 52, stepped out of the Havana airport into the harsh glare of television cameras and the emotional embrace of his family, reunited for the first time in more than three decades by Pope John Paul II's historic visit to one of the world's last bastions of communism.

"There wasn't a good opportunity to come here before," said Seleya, tears streaming down his cheeks after his cousin released him from an iron-gripped bear hug. "The pope coming here will make

life better not just for Christians. It will make [President Fidel] Castro make life better for everyone."

As the first planeloads of Cuban-Americans arrived here today in preparation for the pontiff's visit which begins Wednesday, Havana's Jose Marti airport was transformed into a massive celebration of family reunions. Three generations of Cubans and their extended American relatives clutched one another as their sobs and cries echoed throughout the terminal, their tears glowing in the blinding lights of dozens of television cameras.

The pope's five-day visit, which will include outdoor Masses in four cities and a meeting with Castro on Thursday, could prove to be a watershed in Cuban post-revolutionary history.

Castro hopes the pope will criticize the U.S. economic embargo, adding legitimacy to his government.

See CUBA, A16, Col. 3

CUBA, From A1

ment and its long struggle with Washington. But by inviting the fiercely anti-communist pope to Cuba, Castro is taking a gamble as well. The pope's trip has created a renewed interest in Catholicism among Cuba's 11 million people, and the public enthusiasm his visit has aroused may be difficult to channel after his departure Sunday.

Frantic final preparations for the papal visit continued today across Havana. A huge white-and-gold altar was rising in the middle of Revolution Square where the pope will preside Sunday over a Mass. It is surrounded by a towering steel rendering of Cuban revolutionary hero Che Guevara and a newly painted mural of Jesus Christ.

Government workers scrambled to finish painting the exteriors of crumbling schools, apartment buildings and offices. A still-modest but increasing number of placards and posters sprouted along the papal motorcade route. City lampposts were draped in gold-and-white Vatican banners and the red, white and blue Cuban flag. Vans with loudspeakers cruised the streets exhorting Cubans to participate in this week's papal activities.

More than 1,000 Cuban-American exiles are expected to travel to Cuba this week during the pope's visit, some on chartered airplanes that received special permission from the U.S. government to fly here despite the embargo, others—like Seleya—who took roundabout routes through Nassau in the Bahamas, Mexico and Jamaica.

"Mr. Castro started out with ideas of freedom and fairness but it got twisted along the way," said Cuban-born Mariella Lopez-Alber, 31, a medical clinic administrator from Miami who arrived at the airport today. "We all hope the pope can remedy that. But just given the fact that he—Castro—is letting the pope in, says something. It says more 'open, more progress and welcome.'"

While the exile community has been divided by Cuban-Americans' decisions to take advantage of the pope's pilgrimage to return to a homeland they left long ago, today's fervent airport reunions overshadowed political concerns for dozens of families.

Families stood for hours outside the airport exit doors in tropical heat. Lisney Anton, 19, chewed the pink polish off her long fingernails as she excitedly awaited the arrival of a cousin she had never met. A phalanx of journalists blocked the exit of many passengers in their eagerness to record the emotion-charged encounters.

"Being a strong Catholic, I thought this was a time to be with my family at such an historic moment for the country," said Felix Fernandez, 38, a Miami attorney visiting Cuba for the first time since his parents took him to the United States as an infant. "I don't think anyone is expecting a spiritual earthquake out of this, but there will certainly be more attention paid to religion here and the idea of more freedom."

Many passengers arrived laden with large boxes of clothing, medicine, food and other supplies for relatives or for distribution through church groups.

Beatrice Laa, 38, a Havana mail carrier awaited the arrival of the current wife of her ex-husband, a man she hasn't seen since 1980. She was expecting the wife to bring her aspirin and other medication for her migraines and neck problems.

While liberalized immigration laws allowed about 60,000 Cubans living abroad to visit their home country in 1997, the concentrated arrivals this week in conjunction with the pontiff's first visit to Cuba have heightened emotions. About 1.4 million Cubans live abroad, the majority of them in the United States.

Ramon Ortega, a 45-year-old Miami limousine driver who returned to Havana for the first time today since leaving Cuba two decades ago,

grabbed his waiting sister, hugging her and crying hysterically, "I love you! I love you!"

After the long embrace he turned to reporters and said, "I hope the pope's visit brings an end to this travesty and shows Fidel Castro that he can no longer rule like a dictator and make political prisoners of people who don't agree with him."

Many hard-liners in the Cuban exile community have been opposed to fellow countrymen returning to Cuba this week.

Ninoska Perez, spokeswoman for the Cuban-American Foundation in Miami, said in a telephone interview, "We support the pope's visit and we feel it is a message of hope. Everywhere he has been, communism has ended. What we opposed about it was that sanctions had to be lifted for [them] to go there."

But Cuba's tourism minister Osmany Cienfuegos said today that "without a doubt it [the pope's visit] will have a positive effect on tourism."

"We think it will create positive image for the country and tourism," the minister said.

Cienfuegos said tens of thousands Cuban-born Americans each year circumvent the 38-year-old trade embargo as tourists who enter Cuba via other nations.

Ricardo Alvarez, 60, a Miami custodian who hasn't returned to Cuba since he left at age 30, said, "I feel very emotional about being back in my country, but everything is so closed. I want to see people happier in Cuba. The people should be given a chance to have true democracy so they can decide whether they want Fidel Castro to be their leader. But in the meantime, the pope will represent the hope that one day they can have a change."

Special correspondent Marc Frank in Havana contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

Even Gauchos Get the Blues

In S. America, Yankee Culture
Is Suddenly Cool—and Very Hot

By Anthony Faiola
Washington Post Foreign Service

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BUENOS AIRES—Muddy Waters stares down from the wall with Polaroid eyes, grinning ear to ear as cool rhythms ooze through an overheated club that no-smoking laws forgot. There is enough black clothing for Big Joe Turner's funeral, enough berets for a picnic in Paris. And man, oh, man, has the guy on stage got some serious girl troubles.

"Oh baby, oh baby," belts out Argentine bluesman and club owner Jorge "Napo" Napoleone. "I ain't never found nobody so crazy as you."

The raucous crowd apparently has never found nobody so crazy as his baby, either. "Keep it coming," one woman yells in Spanish through her impossibly burnt-down cigarette butt. "How bad is she?" shouts another Porteno—as the residents of this port city are called—who is clad in a black FBI T-shirt.

"Oh baby," croons the Argentine in Spanish. "Oh baby, how you done me so wrong."

Make no mistake. The Argentines got the blues. So

do the Brazilians, the Uruguayans, the Chileans and much of the rest of Latin America. Big-name American acts and home-grown artists can be found in almost any city in the region, sounding as mournful in their singing as their audiences are happy to hear them.

The popularity of the blues here underscores a cultural phenomenon sweeping South America, where

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CULTURE, From A1

everything stamped "U.S.A." is suddenly red hot—and blue.

Choruses of "Yankee Go Home" have faded as the region's once ubiquitous dictatorships and radical left give way to a new age of free-market economies and eager connections with the United States. Those closer economic and political ties have now evolved into a cultural invasion from the north unlike any before, and it has locals here reveling in things American far beyond mainstream Madonna songs and Sylvester Stallone flicks.

It is, experts say, an example of how it's cool to be American again in the global society. It's not just about Parisians on Rollerblades, Russians eating Whoppers or Himalayan Sherpas wearing Washington Redskins T-shirts. Today, it's about Terrence McNally, Jean-Michel Basquiat and B.B. King.

"When I was growing up, French was the second language of the intellectual community, but that has completely changed," said Tomas Eloy Martinez, one of Argentina's most celebrated authors. "English has replaced French—not just in economic circles but now in cultural circles. It has everything to do with America and the fact that it is being viewed as culturally important in a way we never thought before."

South Americans—from the lowest classes to the highest rungs of an intelligentsia that once considered European culture far more worthy of absorption—are flocking to take in more sophisticated American offerings. Among them: local productions of American plays, book signings by American authors, exhibits by experimental American artists.

Meanwhile, American symbols have become the ultimate marketing tools across the continent—often without true cognizance of their meaning in the States. A popular brand of jeans in Argentina, for instance, uses the Confederate flag as its logo—although four people here who were asked randomly about it had no clue of its association with slavery. "It's American," said a

young man wearing a Confederate flag on his backside. "It means liberty."

Everyone—from artists to entrepreneurs to housewives—is clamoring for classes in "American English." And there is a growing tendency throughout the region to adopt English words into everyday speech—using "shopping" as a noun for a shopping mall or "top" when describing something as the ultimate.

"It's an amazing turnaround," said James Moore, the cultural attache at the U.S. Embassy here, which helped bring such performers as Liza Minnelli and the American Ballet Theater to multiple sold-out appearances in Buenos Aires.

"After the fall of the dictators in Latin America and the invasion of mass media, a lot of the distrust of America faded away," Moore said. "They don't feel guilty about enjoying American culture anymore, and they are increasingly interested in the more sophisticated stuff—not just the Big Macs."

Nowhere is the switch from Yankee bashing to Yankee hugging more obvious than historically Eurocentric Argentina, where 90 percent of the population is of European descent and where Juan Peron rose to the nation's highest office on anti-American rhetoric.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

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Cuban Church: It's Weak but Unified

By GUSTAV NIEBUHR

When Pope John Paul II arrives in Cuba today, he will encounter a Roman Catholic Church vastly weakened under Fidel Castro's rule, shoved by the Government to the margins of Cuban society since before the Second Vatican Council, which introduced sweeping reforms into Catholicism worldwide.

It is a church short of priests and deprived of its school system, and its bishops have been accused in the past of being counterrevolutionary by Mr. Castro, who has spoken harshly of his own religious education by Jesuits in the early 1940's.

Yet experts on the Cuban church say it is unified and, through its bishops, determined to try to push for a dialogue with the Cuban Government and a role in Cuban society.

As for Mr. Castro, his views on religion are perhaps more nuanced (or more opportunistic) than his declared atheism would initially suggest. He has publicly expressed admiration for the Pope, an anti-Communist who also offers a moral critique of Darwinian capitalism.

Since the 1970s, Mr. Castro has been aware of the power of alliances between left-wing Christians, influenced by political forms of "liberation theology," and secular revolutionaries in Latin America. He met with Christian socialists in Chile during Salvador Allende's presidency and had considerable contact with the leaders of Nicaragua's Sandinista Front, which included two priests.

When he sat for a long interview with a Brazilian Dominican friar in 1985, Mr. Castro said Marx would probably have agreed with the Sermon on the Mount.

The Pope's visit does not technically mark a rapprochement between the Vatican and Cuba, as Mr. Castro's Government never severed diplomatic ties with the Holy See, even while it undercut the church.

Despite its nearly 500-year history, the Cuban church never had the universal appeal Catholicism has in the Pope's native Poland. Still, the church suffered heavily when Mr. Castro's Government took over 245 Catholic schools and expelled scores of foreign priests in 1961.

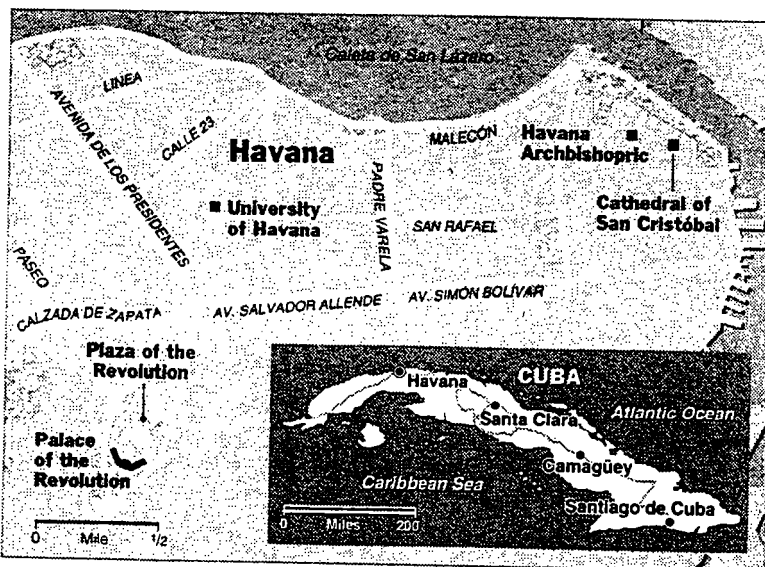
The Government accused the church of being reactionary and dedicated largely to the rich. Those moves, together with restrictions on religious expression outside church walls, had the effect of largely severing the church from much of society.

"There's been a whole generation that has not known the church," said Prof. Alex Garcia-Rivera, a Cuban theologian who teaches at the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, Calif. "But they do have stories from their parents and grandparents."

What also restricts the church's reach now is a shortage of manpower. American Catholic leaders worry about an emerging shortage of priests in the United States, where there is one clergy member for approximately every 1,100 baptized Catholics. But in Cuba, the situation is far worse, with a ratio of about one priest for every 16,000 Catholics.

Despite such daunting difficulties, the Cuban church is now "a very unified church, which is often the case during oppressive regimes," said Thomas E. Quigley, a policy adviser with the United States Catholic Conference.

The author of an essay on the Cuban church in "Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies" (Duke University, 1990), Dr. Quigley said the church endured a period of "marginalization" in the 1960's and 1970's, a period of nearly unbroken



John Paul in Cuba: The Highlights

All times are local, which is the same as Eastern time.

TODAY

Havana 4 P.M.

Arrival and welcoming ceremony at José Martí International Airport.

TOMORROW

Santa Clara 10:15 A.M.

Mass in the playing field of the Manuel Fajardo Institute of Physical Culture.

Havana 6 P.M.

Visit with President Fidel Castro in the Palace of the Revolution.

FRIDAY

Camagüey 10:35 A.M.

Mass with baptisms and confirmations at Ignacio Agramonte Plaza.

Havana 6:30 P.M.

Meeting with academic and cultural figures at the University of Havana.

Source: Vatican press office.

SATURDAY

Santiago de Cuba 11:10 A.M.

Mass at the Antonio Maceo Plaza.

Havana 7 P.M.

Visit to the Sanctuary of San Lázaro in El Rincón. Meeting with the aged, the disabled and the sick.

SUNDAY

Havana

9:30 A.M. Mass and recital of the Angelus at the Plaza of the Revolution.

12:45 P.M. Meeting with the members of the Cuban Episcopal Conference in the Havana Archbishopric.

5 P.M. Meeting with the clergy and lay people in the Havana cathedral.

6:45 P.M. Farewell ceremony at José Martí International Airport.

7:30 P.M. Departure for Rome.

The New York Times

public silence by the bishops.

The Cuban church, he said, began to stir under the inspiration of a landmark Latin American bishops' conference that met in Puebla, Mexico, with Pope John Paul II in 1979. Among other things, the conference endorsed Catholics' taking a "preferential option for the poor," committing themselves primarily to serving the impoverished, a theme emphasized in liberation theology.

Cuban bishops and priests embarked on a period of "renewal and reflection," Dr. Quigley wrote. Since that time, the Cuban bishops have felt confident enough to request talks with the Government on church-state relations.

Although Dr. Quigley said the appeal has gone unanswered, the church has benefited from the recent relaxation of official hostility toward religious activities. In the early 1990's the Government declared the state to be "secular," not atheist, a change that has been followed by a growth in church attendance.

But one effect of the greater tolerance of religion may pose a new challenge to the Catholic Church. The Rev. Pablo Oden Marichal, a prominent Cuban Episcopal priest, said in a recent interview with Religion News Service that the number of Protestant churches in Cuba had grown by more than half since 1992, to nearly 1,700, a number that included small congregations that meet in people's homes. It made Protestantism visible, he said, especially outside the urban areas, to Cubans who

were "looking for religion."

Practitioners of Santería, an Afro-Cuban religion involving the invoking of spirits, are more visible, too, and their rites more public, said Andres Pérez y Mena, an associate professor of educational anthropology at Long Island University at Brooklyn. Because Santería borrows heavily from Catholic symbols, it is widely assumed to have a large following among baptized Catholics. Some authorities assert that the Government has quietly encouraged its growth as a counter to the church.

The immediate concern is what the church may gain as a result of the Pope's visit. Some experts say they expect Catholic leaders to seek permission for visas for more foreign priests to help rebuild the church's "infrastructure."

In a sense, it was Mr. Castro who contributed to a greater awareness of religion, at least as an intellectual topic, in Cuba. In 1985, he gave a series of interviews to Frei Betto, a Brazilian friar, which were later published as a book, "Fidel and Religion." It sold widely in Cuba, even inspiring study groups among some religious believers.

In it, Mr. Castro affirmed his own atheism. But he also said religious faith could be a "marvelous help."

The book, Dr. Quigley said, "piqued the curiosity of a lot of people." Negative though it was about much of Christian life, he said, "it legitimated or helped to legitimate the discussion of religion."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

Museum Invites Arafat, Reversing Itself Twice

By STEVEN ERLANGER

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20 — First, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum agreed, at the State Department's suggestion, to invite the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat to tour the museum during his visit to Washington this week. Then the museum decided not to invite him.

Now it has changed its mind again.

The chairman of the museum says he made a terrible error in handling the invitation, and the museum's executive council, which was never consulted, will extend a formal invitation when it meets on Wednesday. Indeed, said the chairman, Miles Lerman, he is ready to act as Mr. Arafat's host and guide.

Mr. Lerman said that a visit by Mr. Arafat "may even make a microscopic difference in advancing peace," adding: "We are a Federal institution, we are not a Jewish museum. We must be guided by what is right for the preservation of memory."

Mr. Arafat, in Paris, says he is "keen to visit this museum" and "when I receive this invitation, of course I will study it."

But the museum visit, if it happens after all the furor, will leave a sour note, many Jewish leaders fear, as will the open appeal for support by the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on Monday to the fundamentalist Christian right.

Richard N. Haass, a Middle East expert in the Reagan and Bush White Houses and now at the Brookings Institution, says the museum visit was, in principle, a good idea badly handled. "To encourage Arafat to do Sadat-like things is important, because gestures count," he said. "And if Arafat can take the high road, it affects what Jews think and makes it more difficult for Netanyahu to act ungenerously."

Unfortunately, he said, the spontaneity is gone and the debate has "left a bad taste." The museum episode, Mr. Haass said, "has become a microcosm of everything in the Middle East. No kind deed goes unpunished. Nothing is easy; nothing is what it seems to be."

David A. Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Committee, said the reaction among American Jews to Mr. Arafat and the museum visit was explained by fears among Jews on both the left and the right that what they see as a defining moment for Israel could be lost in a new round of uncontrollable violence.

"Arafat is seen by some as a part-

ner for peace," he said, "by others as only an agent of violence and war; by some as having changed his stripes, by others as never changing. And it's all being played out this week, precisely because that portrayal is so vital in determining the next chapter of Arab-Israeli peacemaking."

Mr. Lerman, chairman of the museum's Holocaust Memorial Council, said in an interview today that he took full responsibility for the handling of the Arafat invitation.

After the American diplomats Dennis B. Ross and Aaron D. Miller — both on the museum's council — suggested Mr. Arafat visit, Mr. Lerman said he agreed.

He added that the museum's director, Walter Reich, "started to convince me it would be divisive, and we need to protect the integrity of the museum from politics."

"But I didn't think it through very well, and I'm big enough to say I made a mistake," he said, adding that letters and faxes to the museum were "overwhelmingly in favor of inviting Chairman Arafat."

Mr. Lerman's conversations with the State Department continued after the invitation was withdrawn, with officials still urging the visit. A member of the executive council, Menachem Rosensaft, founding chairman of the International Network of Children of Holocaust Survivors, said the council had not been consulted. "This is a totally unnecessary debacle," he said, "a huge embarrassment."

The museum "is an educational institution, and to the extent it can help educate Chairman Arafat and sensitize him to the concerns that motivate many Americans, Jews and non-Jews alike, it's extremely important that he come."

The Israeli Government has taken a hands-off stance toward the museum visit.

Today, when asked about it, Mr. Netanyahu was dismissive, saying that he hoped a visit would cause "an immediate change in the unfortunate habit of the controlled Palestinian press to both deny the Holocaust and denigrate it by casting aspersions on Israel as a Nazi state."

Judith Kipper, director of the Middle East Forum at the Council on Foreign Relations, still thinks the visit is a horrendous idea and inappropriate.

"America's Mideast envoys have no business dealing with Arafat's domestic agenda," she said.

Vaclav Havel Re-elected As Czech President

PRAGUE, Czech Republic, Jan. 20 (Reuters) — Vaclav Havel, leader of the 1989 democratic revolution that overthrew Communist rule here, narrowly won re-election today for a second five-year term as President.

Mr. Havel, 61, a playwright who was jailed as a dissident during the Communist era, unexpectedly failed to secure the ballots needed to win in a first round vote by Parliament, falling 10 ballots short in the lower house and 2 shy in the Senate.

In a second round, where only a simple majority was needed, he won by a thin margin. He got exactly the 99 votes needed in the lower house and 47 votes in the Senate, where 41 were needed to win.

Algeria Does Not Budge On an Outside Inquiry

ALGIERS, Algeria, Jan. 20 (Reuters) — European Union envoys concluded a 24-hour mission here today and expressed regret at having won no concession from the Government for an outside inquiry into the country's six years of civil strife.

The visit was punctuated by grim reminders of the violence, as two bombs exploded in Algeria today, killing 6 people and wounding 50.

The European Union delegation, which arrived on Monday, held talks with Foreign Minister Ahmed Attaf, Prime Minister Ahmed Ouyahia, members of the legal opposition parties and newspaper editors.

The mission's leader, Derek Fatchett, the British Foreign Office secretary of state, said that Algeria had again rebuffed suggestions for a United Nations inquiry into the violence, which has claimed some 70,000 lives during the last six years.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

With Pope Due, the Cubans Wrest Dollars From Heaven

By LARRY ROHTER

A1 HAVANA, Jan. 20 — At the Hotel Habana Libre, Dan Rather and his CBS News team are already ensconced on the 16th floor, while Ted Koppel and the "Nightline" staff are down on the 12th. Peter Jennings flew in Monday night, Tom Brokaw is expected today, and even Martha Stewart is coming in her role as a regular contributor to "CBS This Morning."

On the eve of Pope John Paul II's five-day visit to Cuba, Havana is a city transformed. An army of reporters and television crews from the United States and more than 50 other countries has invaded the Cuban capital, throwing its slow-paced routine into overdrive and poking about without interference into nearly every corner and crevice of this normally restrictive society.

For the Cuban Government, especially the ministries and state companies that are providing services for the papal visit, the influx has already yielded a financial windfall. In a country that has operated under Communism for nearly 40 years, the law of supply and demand is suddenly being applied with a vengeance, resulting in what one travel agent called "Super Bowl prices" for everything from hotel rooms to satellite links.

Until Friday, a double room at the seafront Hotel Nacional was \$105 a night and could be booked through almost any travel agent outside the United States, where the economic embargo against Cuba limits such commercial contacts. Now, the same room costs \$285 a night, and independent travel agents in Mexico, Canada and elsewhere complain they have been squeezed out of book-

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ings by Cuban agencies that have links to the Cuban military.

The Government has imposed a series of creative new charges on equipment and supplies. Want to bring in a satellite telephone? The Ministry of Communications is demanding a \$1,000 "licensing fee" per telephone, plus \$500 for each week the phone is in use.

Each of the four main American networks has at least 100 people here and they will likely end up having spent at least \$1 million apiece once all their bills are paid. Their single biggest cost is a \$100,000 "host TV fee" that Cuban state television is charging each of them for the live video feed of the Pope's activities, which normally is provided free or at minimal cost. "We tried to negotiate some of these costs, but there wasn't much room for movement," said Phil Alongi, an NBC News producer who handled his network's contacts with the Cuban authorities. "It's their place and they have you."

Even after prices are agreed upon and bills are paid, arrangements may be subject to attempts at revision. Two American television executives said that Cuban customs officials informed them that the duties paid for a shipment of equipment earlier in the month were off by a decimal point: instead of being \$5,000, the "corrected" bill was actually \$50,000.

"Havana has become a three-ring circus," Chris Gillette of A.P. Television said this morning, as dozens of reporters jostled their way through the lobby of the Habana Libre, known as the Hilton until Fidel Castro's revolution put Cuba off-limits for all but a handful of Americans. "I have been coming here for years, and I have never, ever seen the place like this."

El Morro, the fortress and lighthouse that is Havana's most famous landmark, has become the backdrop to the set where CBS will be broadcasting its nightly news this week. Cameramen in shorts roam the cobblestoned streets and plazas of Old Havana, drawing gapes and friendly japes from residents whose exposure to foreigners 10 years ago was limited to Russians and their allies.

All told, Cuban officials said, more than 3,000 reporters representing 460 foreign news organizations, including four reporters and one photographer from The New York Times, have already been granted credentials for the papal visit, "some of them from the most unlikely publications you could imagine," said Frank González, director of the Government's International Press Center. Of that total, Americans make up the largest group, with more than 1,300 correspondents, editors, camera operators and other personnel accredited.

One notable absence, however, is Jose Diaz-Balart, the Cuban-American co-host of CBS's "This Morning" program. Though he is Mr. Castro's nephew by marriage, Mr. Diaz-Balart and his family, led by his brother, the Republican Congressman Lincoln Diaz-Balart of Miami, have long

Cuba applies the law of supply and demand.

been fierce and outspoken critics of Mr. Castro and his Government, which regularly castigates them as leaders of what is known in official jargon here as "the Miami exile mafia."

It is hard to imagine an atmosphere further removed from Connecticut gentility than the socialist austerity of Cuba, but Martha Stew-

art is here nonetheless. Al Ortiz, a CBS News vice president, said that she had been brought down to "try to bring some added slice of life or flavor to our coverage" and that "our hard news coverage is in no way affected" by her presence.

"There's a lot to say about life style down here," Mr. Ortiz added. "She is not going to do superficial, feel-good stuff, but will make an honest attempt to look at how people live here" with reports about, for example, paladares, the small private restaurants Cubans are now allowed to operate.

Since beginning a drive earlier this decade to encourage tourism, Cuba has grown used to receiving European and Canadian visitors on inexpensive package tours. But the arrival of a phalanx of journalists on expense accounts has meant a welcome injection of hard currency not just for paladares, but also for hotels, taxi drivers and shops, especially those selling cigars and rum.

"In my whole life, I've never seen so many rich foreigners on the streets of Havana at the same time," exulted Xiomara López Pedraza, a handicrafts vendor at a market in the Vedado area, where most of the hotels lodging reporters are located. "Too bad the Pope can't come to Cuba every year."

Although some reporters and producers are briding at the price gouging, many praise the performance of other sectors of the Cuban bureaucracy, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Requests for interviews are being answered promptly, reporters are actually being encouraged to wander wherever they want, and many Americans have been granted visas that allow them to stay for 30 days instead of one week, the usual pattern.

Among major American news organizations, only The Miami Herald, which Cuba's state security apparatus regards as a Cuban exile mouthpiece, has been denied all requests for visas for its reporters. Visas were also denied to a Newsweek reporter who once wrote about young people injecting themselves with the AIDS virus and a reporter from The St. Petersburg Times who wrote a long piece about the re-emergence of prostitution here.

One European diplomat with long experience here estimates that thanks to the new licenses and higher prices, the papal visit will generate a profit of at least \$25 million for the Cuban Government. "This is a one-time opportunity, and they are determined to make the best of it," he said.

At a Monday news conference here, José Luis Rodríguez, Minister of the Economy and Planning, declined to estimate how much money the Cuban Government is likely to make from the event. "This has not been looked at as a business venture, so we haven't made a calculation," he said.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

live that women who have abortions are either misinformed, selfish or cold-hearted. Rock for Life's best-selling bumper sticker says simply, "Abortion Is Mean."

"I honestly, really don't understand why abortion is legal," said Crissy Verhagen, an 18-year-old wearing blue eyeshadow and green nail polish, after performing a song she wrote with her pop-punk band from New Jersey. "You see sonograms, you see five fingers. If it really is alive, and has a heartbeat, then why is it legal to kill. To me, it's hypocrisy."

"If a teen-ager gets pregnant," Ms. Verhagen said, "they brought that situation on themselves. So I don't see why they have a right to kill it. They took the action, now they have to pay the price."

Andy Bruntel, 18, a freshman art student in Baltimore said, "I don't think it's right that someone could end a life just to make theirs a little bit easier, a little bit simpler. Everyone has their trials in life."

While this punk scene is only one snapshot of the contemporary anti-abortion movement, it is a telling one. As with many people who oppose abortion, these young people are Christians, and many belong to evangelical and Pentecostal churches. Few here are Roman Catholic, a religion in whose churches and schools they would most likely have been exposed to anti-abortion teaching. They are the middle- and working-class children of teachers, secretaries and parole officers. Almost all of them are white. They attend public schools or private nondenominational Christian academies.

The anti-abortion and pro-abstinence campaigns are now being promoted hand in hand. A youth group called the SALT, for Savior's Alliance for Lifting the Truth, distributed pamphlets on abstinence at a music festival last summer publicizing the failure rate of condoms. Young people sign pledges called True Love Waits, in which they vow to remain chaste until after their weddings.

In the crowd at the concert, a few couples hold hands. Almost no one dances, and the fans who do, pogo in place alone or in same-sex clusters.

"My present girlfriend, I didn't even kiss her until I could tell her I love her," said Ethan Tripp, 19, the drummer with the band Benevolent. He expects never to be personally faced with the question of abortion because, he says, "I wouldn't end up in that situation."

Before going on stage, Benevolent's lead singer, Tony Buonopane Jr., pulls up the sleeve of his black T-shirt and shows off his new dragon

tattoo. Mr. Buonopane says that two years ago he ran with a gang, was arrested for assault and robbery and had unprotected sex. He says he never got anyone pregnant, but found himself pondering the question of abortion once when a girlfriend's period was four months late. Now, he says that he refrains from having sex with his new girlfriend, though he admits that abstinence is not easy.

"We make out, and I think about it. I mean, I have hormones. I just don't think with that," Mr. Buonopane said, pointing to his groin. "I think with this," he said, pointing to his head. "My girlfriend now is a virgin. I don't want to wreck that. I don't want to wreck her."

Many at the concert say they ar-

At Rock for Life, no drugs, no alcohol, no sex.

rived at what they call a right-to-life position on their own, even before becoming Christians. And most of them said that to be consistent, they also oppose the death penalty and assisted suicide.

Stephanie Barber links her decision to become a vegetarian four years ago with her concern about animal rights and her opposition to abortion. "I've thought about eggs, and that it could be a chicken fetus," said Ms. Barber, 18, a high school senior from Hatboro, Pa.

When her friends took a break from the concert and walked to the McDonald's outlet for hamburgers, they squealed in disgust at a sign advertising furs. Over lunch, they argued over whether to boycott pro-abortion bands. "You don't want to fill your head with trash," argued Jennifer Henry, 18, but her friend Mr. Buonopane objected.

"What if someone likes Benevolent," Mr. Buonopane asked, referring to his band, "but then they hear we're a Christian band and stop listening to us? That's an isolationist position. You can't isolate yourself from the world, from the culture around us."

But many of these young people picture themselves as rebels rejecting a culture saturated with sex and drugs, self-destructiveness and suicide. They say they don't watch MTV or see movies that they believe glorify sex or suicide. Some explain that they began considering the value of life after losing friends to suicide,

drug overdoses and car accidents.

Young people today reflect the same ambivalence toward abortion that exists among the public at large, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll. In that survey, conducted two weeks ago, 29 percent of 18- to 29-year-olds said that abortion should be generally available, 49 percent said it should be available but under stricter limits, and 21 percent said it should not be permitted at all.

To try to undercut the widespread perception that anti-abortion groups do not care about the life of the mother, students on many campuses have formed groups promoting the view that abortion is unhealthy and unsafe for women. Among these groups are the Ivy League Coalition for Life, Feminists for Life and the Pro-Life Alliance of Gays and Lesbians.

"There are so many tragic stories of women destroyed because of abortion," said Kathryn Getek, a Princeton University junior who belongs to Princeton Pro-Life.

The Collegians Activated to Liberate Life, based in Madison, Wis., take a year off to travel around campuses helping organize anti-abortion chapters.

Bryan Kemper, a former intern with Collegians Activated, says he founded Rock for Life to provide a counterpoint to the Rock for Choice shows performed by bands that support abortion. Last year, Rock for Life organized 15 anti-abortion concerts around the country, mainly in the West and Southwest. Mr. Kemper says he now has a mailing list of 3,000, and 110 bands willing to perform for gas money.

The effort is genuinely grass roots and decentralized. The concert in Pennsylvania was organized not by Mr. Kemper but by Chris Francz, 31, a hard-core music fan and part-time security guard who saw a reference to Rock for Life in a punk music magazine.

He invited eight loud hard-core bands for a daytime show, and three folk performers for the evening. Among the hard-core musicians, Ms. Verhagen, who is from New Jersey, was the only woman. On stage, flanked by musicians pounding guitars and smashing on drums, Ms. Verhagen shut her eyes and belted out her anthem about a woman who decides to have an abortion.

"She won't be going to the toy store and singing lullabies," Ms. Verhagen sang, "except the ones to calm her nerves and justify the lie."

The words, however, were inaudible. The music was too loud.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

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White House Will Reject Advice to Abolish Immigration Service, Officials Say

By ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20 — The White House is preparing to reject a Federal advisory commission's recommendation to abolish the troubled Immigration and Naturalization Service and assign its duties to other Government agencies, officials said today.

Instead, the Clinton Administration proposes reorganizing the agency to clarify its dual — some say conflicting — roles of battling illegal immigration and giving benefits to legal immigrants. Toward that end, it has hired a major consulting firm, Booz-Allen & Hamilton, to help work out the details of the redesign.

A White House official who participated in the review, speaking on the

condition of anonymity, said, "Right now, we're not ready to embrace the commission's proposal to disband the I.N.S., but many of its points are valid, and reform is necessary."

White House officials insist that President Clinton and his top aides have not made any final decisions and that Mr. Clinton will outline his plan in the fiscal 1999 budget he proposes to Congress early next month. But other Government and Congressional officials say they have been notified that a White House review has decided in principle against splitting up the agency, as the United States Commission on Immigration Reform recommended in September.

Even before the Administration's plan was formally announced, Re-

publicans on Capitol Hill who have been exploring the idea of disbanding the agency, expressed skepticism that a reorganization plan would solve the problems.

"The proposal to split the agency is an issue that needs to be vetted further," said Senator Judd Gregg, the New Hampshire Republican who heads the Senate appropriations subcommittee that controls the immigration service's spending. "It is a major move and I don't subscribe to it carte blanche, but it may be the best way to go. But I don't think this requires another outside consultant to review the management structure."

At issue is the advisory panel's conclusion that the immigration service suffers from such "mission overload" that it can no longer manage its many priorities effectively.

The panel recommended that the Justice Department, the immigration service's parent agency, retain responsibility for controlling the border and removing illegal immigrants. The State Department, which now deals with visas at American embassies overseas, would handle immigration services and benefits, like citizenship requests. The Labor Department would assume a greater role in overseeing the hiring of foreign workers.

Breaking up the immigration service is an idea that has bounced around Washington for at least a decade. But the proposal has gained greater currency lately as Congress and many of the nation's governors are growing increasingly exasperated with the immigration service's inability to cope with soaring requests for citizenship, to weed out criminal aliens living in the United States and to crack down on the steady stream of illegal immigrants entering the country.

Republicans greeted the Administration's plan for a reorganization and outside review with skepticism, and said they would continue to consider more drastic changes.

Senator Spencer Abraham, the Michigan Republican who heads the Senate immigration subcommittee, said last August, "We should consider splitting the I.N.S. up into one law enforcement agency and one legal immigration agency to increase the efficiency of both."

A spokesman for Mr. Abraham, Joe McMonigle, said today that the Senator stood by his remarks and would hold hearings early this year on reorganizing the agency.

The House Appropriations Committee last summer directed Attorney General Janet Reno to review the commission's report and, along with other Federal agencies, develop a restructuring plan by April 1 that would allow the immigration service to perform its duties more efficiently.

In response, the White House's Domestic Policy Council interviewed a wide variety of officials in Govern-

ment, Congress and independent groups about the advisory panel's conclusions. "For the most part, there was support for reform but not for the commission's recommendation" to disband the agency, said the White House official who was involved in the review.

Ms. Reno and Doris M. Meissner, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, vociferously opposed any proposal to abolish the agency, and urged the White House to let them solve the agency's problems.

Mrs. Meissner argued that the agency had recently achieved significant victories in tightening the nation's asylum system and the border with Mexico south of San Diego, and deserved a chance to clean its own house.

At the same time, other agencies that would assume duties from the immigration service were cool to the idea. The State Department, for example, argued that it was already absorbing the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the United States Information Agency.

Mrs. Meissner said White House officials notified her in late December that the immigration agency would remain intact. The immigration service then hired Booz-Allen to a two-month contract for \$374,498 that requires the consultants to give their recommendations by March 1.

By laying out a detailed reorganization before Congress's April 1 deadline, Administration officials say they hope to head off any effort by Republicans to use the agency's troubles as a political issue in the 1998 elections.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

McMonigle

Jones's Suit to Test Clinton's Resilience

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20 — As President Clinton turned back to official responsibilities today, the Middle East crisis may have had an inviting ring after the harrowing weekend for the Administration in which the President finally had to face Paula Corbin Jones and her sexual misconduct lawsuit.

"We do box it off," Hillary Rodham Clinton said on Monday after the spectacle of her husband's deposition on Saturday, using precisely the same theme of resilience set by the President himself. "I just try to put it over in a little box," the President had said a few days before undergoing the six-hour session of questions delving into his sex life and Ms. Jones's accusation that he had recklessly propositioned her when he was Governor of Arkansas.

Whether the little boxes motif can hold will be a constant, perhaps wearying question over the next four months at the White House, where the President's prestige is minutely measured daily. The glaring event on Saturday, when Mr. Clinton was forced to deal with the civil lawsuit and to deny Ms. Jones's accusation under oath, represented a significant escalation of the case as a mainline news story about the President.

For all its salacious trappings, the case is measured in public opinion polls as something Americans would far prefer to see settled privately (55 percent to 35 percent)

without a full trial. But both sides in the case sound pessimistic — publicly, at least — in estimating the chances of a settlement after Saturday's intense session in which the President had to defend himself while Ms. Jones looked on. She has accused Mr. Clinton of exposing himself and asking her for oral sex in 1991, when she was a state employee and he was Governor.

Under the judge's confidentiality order, the litigants are supposed to go quietly forward from Saturday's singular media flash point — a scrambling, graphic foretaste of Ms. Jones's day in court to come — and head for the May 27 trial in Little Rock, Ark. But each side certainly mistrusts the other on the subject of deposition leaks and propaganda spins. And each is bracing for fresh efforts to impugn further, via partisan news outlets, the sexual mores of the conflicting principals.

Name-calling already has reached the "crackpot" versus "slime ball" level, with the Jones team characterizing the President as having a "zipper problem," and Mr. Clinton's side arguing that his only problem is with scurrilous right-wing opponents subsidizing Ms. Jones's suit. The trial will be testing the President's resilient popularity standings as much as his credibility about his personal life.

"This is a political event, and it'll be ugly," said one of the President's defenders-in-chief, James Carville, the strategist at Mr. Clinton's side at the height of his election campaign in 1992 when he weathered accusations that he had had an affair with Gennifer Flowers.

The next step in court is expected to be a motion for summary dismissal of Ms. Jones's accusations by the President's lawyer, Robert S. Bennett. If that is rejected, the trial goes forward, barring any settlement, which currently would have to include an apology demanded by Ms. Jones. Mr. Bennett dismisses this as impossible because the President has testified that he has no memory of ever meeting Ms. Jones.

Reports of depositions already make clear the trial will have a double edge for the principals. Danny Ferguson, a co-defendant and state trooper assigned to Governor Clinton, has said, for example, that he did escort Ms. Jones to a 1991 hotel meeting Mr. Clinton says he cannot recall but that it was at her bidding and that she reacted later as having found Mr. Clinton's behavior encouraging, not appalling.

"We think this thing will slip into a quieter period now," one White House strategist said in the optimism that followed the deposition. "We may take a few hits along the way, but we've crossed the point of no return," the adviser added, referring to the insistence of some Administration officials that the only choice now for Mr. Clinton, who is not required to testify further, is to have his lawyers win the suit in open court in the name of his reputation and legacy.

Ms. Jones's burden is to convince 12 jurors. One or more holdouts would mean court defeat, whatever

Both sides brace for a fresh round of 'crackpot' versus 'slime ball.'

her team's exultation last weekend that they had forced the President of the United States to venture deeper into the court of public opinion on this inflammatory issue.

There is continuing speculation that a negotiated settlement might still prove more inviting to the White House. The alternative is weeks of the nation's dwelling on lurid court testimony about Ms. Jones's accusation.

After weighing first-hand the challenge presented on Saturday by Ms. Jones's lawyers, the President was described as in a mood of high confidence about the case and high resolve to box it off from his job. One of his defenders, however, commented anonymously that while the deposition was encouraging for its lack of bare-knuckled surprises from the Jones's team, there was no denying that Mr. Clinton's forced tangent from White House business has provided a demeaning, demoralizing notation in the legacy ledger.

"Remember, we went all the way to the Supreme Court to prevent this day from ever coming to pass," this aide said grimly after Mr. Clinton was forced to become the first President in history to testify as a trial defendant.

Books of The Times: Weekdays

Appeal Against Execution

AUSTIN, Tex., Jan. 20 (AP) — Lawyers asked the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals today to block the execution of Karla Faye Tucker, who could become the first woman put to death in Texas since the Civil War and the second executed in the United States since the death penalty was reinstated two decades ago.

While not claiming that Ms. Tucker is innocent in the 1983 killings of two people in Houston, her lawyers said she deserved clemency.

"This is not a quest to undermine a jury's verdict," one lawyer, George Secrest, said. "We're not asking for a new trial. This is a quest to save her life because she's a changed individual."

The court issued no immediate ruling.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

LUIS J. LAUREDO
1221 Brickell Avenue
Miami, FL 33131

1/12/98

Mamia:

IT was a pleasure seeing you
Friday. As you can see from my
secretary's fax on some of my calls
what I was telling you about the
Gephardt "campaign". Get the new
Vanity Fair magazine article on the V.P.

See you again soon

Luis,

ffl
Cuba

LUIS LAUREDO
Georgetown Inn
Washington, DC
FAX: 202-333-5792

From: Peña/GTH

DATE: January 9, 1998

Phone Calls:

- (1) Ana Casco (voice mail)
- (2) Rafael Trujillo - 805-0425
Re: Preparation of corporate resolution on B. Postel and
change of name on accounts, etc.
- (3) Congressman Gephardt - (202)628-3337 - (Voice mail) - To say hello
& happy New Year.
- (4) Mauro Couto - Consulado General de Brasil - 285-6222 - regarding a
conference being held in Hialeah January 15th at which you will be a
moderator and he also has been invited as a panelist. He'd like to speak
with you about the program.

Other Items:

- (A) Mauricio Marenco will call a conference call "meeting" for 2:30PM
Tuesday, January 13th.
- (B) Mr. Stephen Schoedinger of CH2M Hill, Inc. will be here to see you
Monday at 3PM

That's it. Sorry I missed your call(s) this afternoon. E ⊗ - See you Monday.

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAUBIG

FROM THE DESK OF...

Luis Lauredo

TRANSMITTAL
MEMO

To: *Mama Echaveste* Date: *1/11/88*

☐ PER DISCUSSION

☐ PER REQUEST

THE ATTACHED IS FOR YOUR:

☐ Approval ☐ Comments ☐ Signature ☒ Information

WILL YOU PLEASE:

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Acknowledge | ☐ Handle |
| ☐ Arrange a Meeting | ☐ Implement |
| ☐ Call me | ☐ Put on your calendar |
| ☐ File | ☐ Put on my calendar |
| ☐ Forward to: | ☐ See below |
| | ☐ See me re: |

Good article on
Cuba

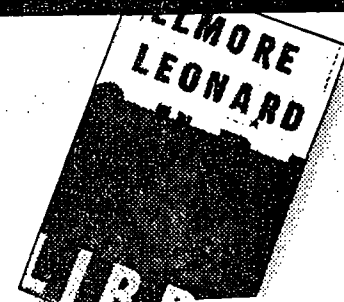
The Herald

SUNDAY, JANUARY 11, 1998

VIEWPOINT

BOOKS

A cocktail of war,
Cuba and history
from a master of
suspense, 4L



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The only question about the appointment of Ken Jenne, the Democratic leader of the state Senate, as

NEW BROWARD SHERIFF
Will his political and policy skills substitute for lack of police experience?

Nationwide, law enforcement is in transition; Mr. Cochran encountered some resistance to his efforts to put rehabilitative

The Dec. 22 article *Borders feared* as hoisted of terrorism startled me. I

A new 'fear for U.S.A.?

Ruhollah Khomeini and the overthrow of the shah of Iran, the Baha'is

Richard E. Brodsky's Jan. 4 View-points Page column, *Fans, too, can own the Marlins*, suggests that the community could pitch in the millions and own the Florida Marlins. This is not the time to give in to the exploding cost of professional sports, which has reached insane proportions, and better things to spend

IN CUBA ✓ DANCING ON THE EDGE

When the pope visits later this month, he'll find that the result of 39 years of socialist revolution is a carnival of prostitution that takes your moral breath away.





For the Herald

FOR SALE: Two prostitutes talk on the Malecon. Castro may be in power, but the ladies of Havana now rule the streets.

By GEORGE WALDEN

Just as there was no alcoholism in the Soviet Union, so there are no prostitutes in Cuba.

The fiction is essential: Recognize the human truth of any totalitarian country and the regime is done for.

The truth in Cuba is that sex is the only economy left. Prostitution has reached the point where it appears that one half of society is selling itself to the other. Women line the streets of Havana — especially the road to the once-swanky Miramar district — cheek by jowl with the police.

There is little to fear from authority: Something which does not exist cannot be arrested.

The police — underpaid country boys — look morose. Havana itself is

semi-ruined. The few cars on the roads look like relics from a 1950s crash yard. The hookers, many of them young and beautiful, look terrific.

Castro may still be in power, but the ladies of Havana have taken over the streets. While El Comandante stays out of sight, the hookers parade like spandex-panted queens of Sheba. A power unto themselves in their regal gilt and glitter, they scorn the respectable conventions of their trade. They do not restrict themselves to the usual hours; they are there night and day. Nor do they hesitate to approach men accompanied by women — as if selling you flowers, or spare tickets for the theater.

It is strange how quickly you fall in with the light, amoral mood. You do

not think, let alone say: "I know that you've been driven to this; that the average wage is the equivalent of \$20 a month, that the peso is a souvenir currency, that there is no decent food or medicine for the kids. But there must be something else you could do?"

"Like what?" they might say.

Looking at Cuba's shattered society, you would be stumped for a reply.

This gaudy bartering of flesh, this carnival of prostitution, takes your moral breath away. After all, the carnival is laid on, in part, for you.

After you have been genially accosted a dozen times in a day you feel that you should make your excuses for not joining in: "Look, no offense, but not right now. It is, after all, 1 a.m. Have a good day and viva

Cuba."

Sometimes there are schoolgirls among them. Then the carnival spirit reaches a low. The girls appear by the roadside at lunchtime in their short fawn skirts, and again after school hours, when trade is picking up.

There are child prostitutes the world over, but seeing them come to the job straight from school, complete with satchels, somehow makes it worse. The neat uniforms are suddenly suggestive. The girls — completely matter-of-fact — seem to know

PLEASE SEE CUBA, 6L

George Walden is the author of We Should Know Better, published by Fourth Estate. His article is reprinted from Prospect magazine.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I C ba, a dance

CUBA, FROM 1L

as well.

One day I saw a man on a motorcycle pull up, select a girl from the line, and motion her over.

The girl laughed, hopped on the bike, waved goodbye to her school friends and they roared off.

Thirty-nine years of socialist revolution: What is left? An immoral roadside transaction by a man who was in his 50s. Who was he? His bike was olive drab, with an official look to it. A party cadre, perhaps? Or an army man in civilian clothes? A defender of the revolution — the revolution that, 35 years ago, brought the world close to nuclear war; a war in which Cuba would have been right on the brink, the first country to risk falling off the edge of the world.

It did not happen. But the Cubans are out on the edge again — the sexual edge this time. Why did it happen here: near-annihilation and now this depravity? All this dancing on the edge?

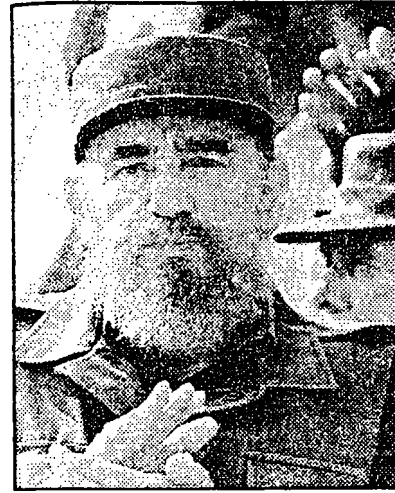
This is a country in the last stages of dissolution, an imploding society where cynicism, despair and corruption are a way of life. "*Socialismo o Muerte*" — "Socialism or Death," say the faded placards. To judge by the state of the place, it would make more sense to replace the "or" with "is."

Now that communism has fallen in the mother country, Soviet props to the Cuban economy have been pulled away. Gone are the Soviet advisers, technicians and army personnel. Left behind are their crumbling barracks, rusty Volgas and Ladas, broken-down sugarcane harvesting machines, a Soviet embassy which resembles a deserted watchtower and, of course, the Soviet-trained secret police who protect El Comandante.

A humbled Castro is an oxymoron. Still, at least he has given up poking the world in the eye with those missile-sized cigars. (They smoke them in Hollywood now.) And Castro spends more time on his travels these days, constantly on the move to avoid assassins.

"Look," people tell you, indicating some closed road or group of loitering military, "that is one of his places."

But no one knows where he is. It is as if they were speaking of a past rather than an actual leader. The



OVERSEER OF DECAY:

Fidel Castro

rambling braggadocio in public has gone the way of the cigars. When Castro speaks it tends to be in closed places — and no longer for the legendary five hours, just a mere two or three.

When he broadcasts, fewer people listen. They know the show is over, so why wait for the big man to sing?

Totalitarian regimes are strong on euphemism. "A special period" is what the Castro government calls the country's disintegration, as if this were a passing phase of belt-tightening. Yet the resignation on the faces and the bartering of bodies for food tell a different story: that under the present regime there is no hope.

All you have to do is look around. Havana, with its Spanish-inspired architecture — cool arched courtyards and magnificent public spaces — is literally falling down. Buildings are boarded up. Others collapse in heaps of rubble, sometimes with people inside. In the center of town most of the big stores are closed, for the very good reason that there is nothing much to put in them.

There is a picturesqueness about this desolation and decayed grandeur, like a Pompei struggling back to life. You feel as guilty enjoying a sunny walk among the ruins as you do for not handing out dollars to every begging child.

For a big city, the air of Havana is surprisingly clean; there are few cars. Those on the road — 40-year-old Chevrolets or Pontiacs, rattling and bumping along, the drivers peering through half-shattered windcreens as they brake on their gears — are like the

along the edge

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cubans themselves: a miracle of adaptability. The motorways are empty, except for peasants standing (illegally) by the road offering six-foot strings of garlic, enough to last a year, for 20 pesos (\$1).

In this blitzed economy, tourism seems the only hope. It is rising by 25 percent a year, mainly on the superb beaches of Varadero a couple of hours from Havana. Tourism has almost overtaken sugarcane as the country's biggest foreign currency earner. Some hotels have been modernized and offer passable service (if only just passable food).

But it is hard to see how tourism can develop successfully in an authoritarian state. The authorities are not endowed with the fabled Cuban charm. Coming back from a swing round the countryside with a Cuban friend, we were surrounded by police; my friend was questioned.

Pick up a schoolgirl on the street and nobody gives a second look. Ride in a local car and there is trouble.

Castro offers plenty of contradictions. He wants more tourists. There are not enough hotels, but Cubans are forbidden to put up foreigners in their flats or to use their cars as taxis. "Family restaurants" are allowed, but there is no food except on the black market. Cuba is proud of its intelligentsia yet reduces them to driving taxis. Cuba has a considerable pharmaceutical industry but no medicines for its people.

Australians say, to convey astonishment: "You wouldn't read about it." Looking at Cuba's exuberantly decomposing society, you realize that you have: in Garcia Marquez's *Love in the Time of Cholera*. The power of his masterpiece lies in its image of love holding its own in a diseased society, of humanity eternally lifting its head above the surrounding sickness.

That Garcia Marquez — a friend of Castro and an apologist of the revolution — wrote it can be seen as either entirely natural or hugely ironic.

It is simple to state what Cuba needs politically: an end to dictatorship and the de-socializing of the economy. One day this has to come. The question is when and how?

Cubans whom I talked to believe that the choice is between the Czechoslovakian and the Romanian models: a velvet revolution or vicious conflict between

the Miami exiles and Castro's praetorian guard, in which old scores will be settled in blood and property reclaimed at the point of a gun.

At present the odds are swinging toward the Romanian option. A velvet slide to democracy, or anything like it, depends on loosening up the economy, easing political controls, foreign investment and the expansion of tourism. Yet barriers are high and rising in every area.

Far from easing the national straitjacket, Castro is making speeches warning against a free-wheeling economy and foreign contacts. "Yes" to tourist dollars, "no" to infiltration. The Helms-Burton law, which imposed penalties on foreign firms and individuals trading with Cuba — especially if the trade or investment involved the assets of the exiles — could frighten off the joint ventures, mostly with European companies, which were beginning to be signed.

As for tourism, there was nothing velvet about the bombs (assumed to be partly financed by exiles from Miami) that recently began to go off in Havana's hotels.

Cubans are trapped. Even assuming that Castro is spirited away in a bloodless coup, and Cuba is set on a fast road to democracy — what is to become of the country?

It doesn't look forward to becoming an economic suburb of the United States — an island at the end of a one-way causeway of cultural and financial influence. But if not the capitalist model, what other?

In the eyes of a generation, Cuba represented not only a new path for the Third World, but a turning away from the United States toward a bright new dream: socialism in the sun. What form will the counter-revolution take and when will it come?

In Cuba, in concentrated form, we see a world on the turn: from harsh constraint to frenetic freedom; from state control of the means of exchange to a market of desires; from inhuman systems of belief to a dehumanized hedonism.

Cubans have a particular pathos and you can get caught up in their story. The more you hear of it, the more their story sounds like a dramatized narrative of the 20th Century itself.



January 7, 1998

Ms. Maria Echaveste
Asst. to the Pres. & Dir. of Public Liason
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Echaveste:

On January 21st, the Cuban people will experience one of the most eventful moments in the history of the Cuban nation – the visit of Pope John Paul II. All Cubans of good will, both on the island and in exile, are united in support of this important occasion, which we anticipate will bring a message of hope and solidarity to a long suffering people.

Conscious that the Papal visit will draw the eyes of the world to the situation in our native homeland, the Cuban American National Foundation has produced the accompanying poster to emphasize that beyond the natural beauty of Cuba lies the harsh, dark reality of a 39-year tyranny that has consigned our people to misery, deprivation, and outright desperation.

The poster recalls a tragedy last year that is but one of the thousands of human tragedies for which the Castro regime bears full responsibility. After having entered the Embassy of Belgium seeking asylum in 1994 along with 123 other refugees, a political dissident sent a letter signed by all the asylum seekers making a desperate plea to the Holy Father for help. Part of the letter, which was circulated throughout the world on June 1st, 1994, by the international wires, stated: "We are willing and decided not to live in Cuba even if we have to remain forever in this embassy or even if it costs us our lives." Forced to leave the embassy and denied permission to leave Cuba while being harassed incessantly by Cuba's notorious State Security forces, the desperate family had no other alternative than to leave the island on a raft. The ordeal proved too arduous for the dissident's young daughters, who both perished. He was forced to bury them with his bare hands on a coral rock at sea.

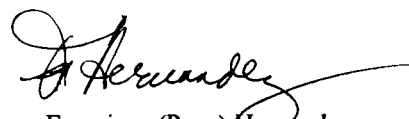
The story of the struggle against oppression in this century has been as much a battle against the indifference of the world towards its victims: witness the Holocaust. That is why we so welcome the Pope's trip to Cuba. His record in rejecting the inherent inhumanity of systems such as Castro's is known to all. We only hope that the Pontiff will hear the cries for justice from Castro's victims – whether their final resting places be in a mass grave near the blood-stained firing squad walls, the bottom of the sea, or unmarked graves outside the dark, dank cells of the Cuban gulag.

We ask you to join us, as Pope John Paul visits Cuba, in remembering our martyred brothers and sisters and to speak out on behalf of freedom and justice. Each day the Castro brothers escape accountability for their crimes against humanity represents a renewed invitation to inflict more terror, repression and violence upon the Cuban people. People of good will cannot stand silent before the continued presence of malevolence in the world today.

We thank you for paying attention to this most vital concern of ours and should you need any further information about the case of Adianet and Camila, or indeed the entire human rights situation under Castro's tyranny, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,


Alberto M. Hernandez, M.D.
Chairman


Francisco (Pepe) Hernandez
President

1/20

Maritza Rivera
please share
with Maureen Shea
Do we need to respond
to this letter?
MST
file Cuba

Cuba's forgotten prisoners of conscience

By Tom Carter

We knew Nelson Mandela's name long before he was released from the South African jail because reporters made his name known. All over the United States and Europe, people prayed in synagogues and churches for the release of Natan Sharansky and Andrei Sakharov from Soviet imprisonment or exile.

Would Chinese democracy activist Wei Jingsheng be free today, if not for the pressure China felt from the international press?

For most of the last 25 years, the Western free press has championed the universal rights to free speech, press, association and religion. Reporters made heroes out of the people willing to stand up to totalitarian governments on the left or the right.

Amnesty International lists 600 "prisoners of conscience" currently rotting in the Cuban Gulag. Pope John Paul II gave the government a list of 200 names, pleading for their release. Some were released in a government amnesty earlier this month. Nevertheless, the State Department's 1998 report on human rights lists Cuba as one of the world's most egregious violators of human rights.

Why then, with some 3,000 American reporters credentialed to cover the pope's visit to Cuba, was there so little news from those opposed to Mr. Castro's communist paradise, people like Daula Carpio Matos, Ivan Lema Romero, Jose Manuel Llera, Liliam Meneses Martinez, Iliana Penalver, or Jose Antonio Alvarado?

Just a few miles from where Pope John Paul II addressed a throng of Cuban faithful Jan. 23, and where hundreds of U.S. and Canadian reporters toiled to give their readers the true picture of Cuba, these people sat hungry in dingy cells or under house arrest. On hunger strike since October, they were arrested and given up to a year and a half in work camp or prison for protesting the arrest of Ms. Carpio Matos, a member of the illegal Cuban Pro-Human Rights Party.

This group of dissidents were sent home in the February amnesty, but even as the government released some prisoners, many more were in pretrial detention for organizing a campaign to release political prisoners. On Friday, dissident Reynaldo Alfaro Garcia went on trial and the Cuban government is asking for a 15 year term.

In Santa Clara this month, Juan Carlos Recio Martinez and Cecilio Monteagudo Sanchez were sentenced for "enemy propaganda" for urging people not to vote in the mid-January elections.

Despite the government's best efforts to discredit, intimidate, exile, imprison and harass those who oppose the Cuban revolution, independent journalists, artists, environmentalists, doctors, economists and others risk their lives everyday to speak out against Mr. Castro's totalitarian regime.

One theory on the media's silence is that the Cuban regime has cowed the U.S. press, in much the same way it has subdued most of its 11 million

people — with fear. For years, getting a permission to report in Cuba has been a coveted brass ring, visas awarded only to the reporters deemed reliable by the Cuban government. And some reporters hoping to make return trips, purposely tailor their coverage so as not to offend anyone in government.

"Foreign journalists permanently based in Havana admit they exercise great caution and generally pass up sensitive stories for fear of being expelled. . . . Visiting journalists privately admit they feel pressed to temper their reports, knowing Cuba has banned dozens of foreign journalists . . . for critical coverage," reported the Miami Herald, Jan. 17.

On my first visit to Cuba six years ago, a well respected reporter who is still reporting from Cuba, schooled me on what the authorities would permit, and what was out of bounds.

It was permitted to interview "government approved" dissidents, most notably Elizardo Sanchez, a former Marxist professor who has spent eight years in jail. The head of the Cuban Commission for Human Rights and Reconciliation has suffered enormously, and has jackboot prints on his front door to prove it. And reporters have beat a well worn path to his house. Perhaps coincidentally, Mr. Sanchez is by his own count one of the minority of opposition figures who, like the Cuban government, also opposes the U.S. embargo on Cuba.

Other opposition figures I asked about were considered sensitive and way off limits, only to be interviewed on the way to the airport and only if a return visa was unimportant.

Despite the so-called openness of the Cuban government for the pope's trip, it refused visas to at

least 60 reporters from the Miami Herald, the St. Petersburg Times and several European and Latin American newspapers. Many denied entry were old Cuba hands, who had written unflattering reports about the deterioration of the revolution in recent years.

So, many who received the coveted tickets to Havana were Cuba novices, first time visitors to the island with no time to peer behind to public mask of the revolution. Others, apparently in sync with the "gains of the revolution" and opposed to the United States' Cuba policy, simply choose to ignore the other side of the story.

While I cannot comment of all of CNN's coverage, I did see the Christiane Amanpour's one-hour special on Cuba and the Pope that was aired in CNN's international channel.

Masquerading as news, it was little more than a paean to the revolution and a political commercial against the U.S. embargo. I kept waiting (in vain) for someone, anyone, to say something that didn't sound like it was straight out of the government newspaper Granma.

It is not as though opposition figures in Cuba are unknown. Two phone calls before I left the United States for Cuba got me four pages of names, addresses and phone numbers. Time prevented me from visiting more than one, Dr. Hilda Molina, who said American reporters rarely stop by.

Asked if my visit put her in danger, she was defiant.

"I don't care if you are State Security, I would say the same things," she said.

Before that kind of courage, I find it cowardly that some news organizations simply recycle regime propaganda as news.

During his 18 years in a Chinese jail, Wei Jingsheng knew full well his international stature kept him from "disappearing." "They could have made me vanish from the face of the earth," he told The Washington Times recently.

In Cuba, the Wei Jingshengs, the Nelson Mandelas and the Andrei Sakharovs are disappearing for lack of international attention.

The Washington Times
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1998

Tom Carter is a reporter on the Foreign Desk of The Washington Times.

Is biological war really a threat?

By Henry Miller

Bubonic plague. Anthrax. Sinister names for dangerous bacteria. Last Thursday, the FBI arrested two microbiologists and charged them with having biological agents for use as a weapon. It appears now that the substance they had was not dangerous to humans, but instead a vaccine to be used on animals. Still, the incident was enough to set the media off on scare alert, particularly given all the talk about Saddam Hussein's biological weapons program.

This incident is reminiscent of an anonymous package labeled with the names anthrax and bubonic plague and sent anonymously last year to the Washington offices of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish public-service organization. Should we expect more such incidents? Are we prepared for them?

Bacteria have long been used for biological warfare and terrorism. In the 14th century, an army besieging Kaffa, a Russian Black Sea port, catapulted plague-infected corpses over the city walls. In modern times, Japan used plague and other bacteria against China in the 1930s and 1940s. And in 1984 more than 700 people suffered food poisoning in Oregon after members of a cult spread salmonella bacteria on salad bars in four restaurants.

However, while bacteria and other microorganisms can sicken or even kill an individual patient, their ability to spread and cause "secondary" cases is limited. There is a sound biological reason that a worldwide threat from an "Andromeda strain" is largely the stuff of science fiction: Bacteria and viruses need living hosts to provide shelter

and sustenance if they are to survive, and therefore they can't kill those hosts too quickly and too often.

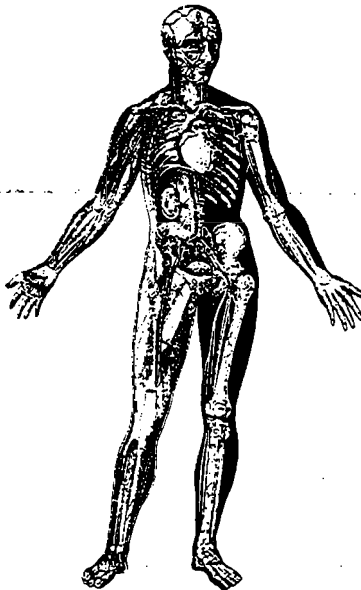
During the past half-century, university and government laboratories working with infectious agents that cause diseases like bubonic plague and anthrax have, unintentionally, performed what amounts to small-scale biological warfare "experiments." In other words, there were laboratory accidents in which organisms were released.

The outcomes of these incidents are revealing and somewhat reassuring. The Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, which used to monitor these mishaps, recorded 109 laboratory-associated infections during the period 1947-1973. But not a single secondary case — infection of a patient's family member or community contact — was reported.

The medical literature similarly reveals only a handful of persons secondarily infected. In 1948-50, there were reports of six cases of Q fever (a disease caused by intracellular parasites called Rickettsia) in employees of a commercial laundry that handled linens and uniforms from a laboratory conducting research with the agent, one case of Q fever in a visitor to a laboratory, and two cases of Q fever in household contacts of a laboratory scientist. A secondary case of a disease caused by an Ebola-like virus in the wife of a primary case was presumed to have been transmitted sexually two months after his dismissal from the hospital in 1967. Finally, three secondary cases of smallpox were reported in two laboratory-associated outbreaks in England in 1973 and 1978.

As a public health threat, most biological agents act much like a toxic chemical, such as the sarin released in the Tokyo subway by terrorists, with injury limited primarily to those exposed initially. The appearance of symptoms would

be more delayed than for a chemical; the incubation period for plague is 2-7 days and that for anthrax 2-3 days, for example. Most bacterial infections can be treated with antibiotics, assuming that the offending organism is identified early enough and that there are enough drugs on hand.



Certain viruses, such as influenza and rhinoviruses (which cause most common colds), are highly contagious, spreading readily from one person to another (and viruses cannot be treated with antibiotics), but their infections are seldom life-threatening.

Thus, although a future lethal epidemic caused by progressive person-to-person spread of infectious agents is unlikely, their widespread dispersion throughout a subway system or in the ventilating system of an office building, for example — potentially could infect thousands of people.

There are certain precautions that should be taken now, to prepare for incidents with biological agents.

First, law enforcement, military and intelligence agencies must expand their intelligence-gathering on nations and terrorist groups capable of launching attacks with biological agents.

Second, local police and paramedics should be trained to consider the possibility of biological weapons in incidents where large numbers of people suddenly become ill. Such incidents require behavior that is different from emergency workers' usual instincts: During conventional hostage situations and after explosions, the correct course is often to get as close to the incident as rapidly as possible; while for biological or chemical exposures, it may be more important for those responding initially simply to avoid becoming additional victims.

Third, police departments and public health authorities need a coordinated emergency plan for various contingencies, a plan that includes stockpiled protective clothing, designated laboratories for rapid diagnosis, a procedure for notifying hospitals and transporting patients to them, and arrangements to obtain expert advice on short notice.

The prospect of exposure to biological weapons should elicit not hysteria, but vigilance and planning. Louis Pasteur, the father of bacteriology, was correct that "chance favors only the prepared mind."

Henry Miller is a fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution and author of "Policy Controversy in Biotechnology: An Insider's View."

The Washington Times
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1998

The Hemorrhaging of Cuba's Health Care

Doctors Without Data, Patients Without Drugs: U.S. Embargo, Economic Crisis Cripple a Showcase System

By Molly Moore
Washington Post Foreign Service

HAVANA—In the operating rooms of Calixto Garcia Hospital, surgeons reuse disposable plastic gloves until they split open. Patients often wait days to receive X-rays because the hospital has run out of film. And the medications doctors prescribe frequently are unavailable at the hospital pharmacy.

"We have difficulties with everything," said a senior administrator at the hospital, where hallways are dark for lack of light bulbs and broken equipment languishes in austere laboratories and examination rooms.

"This used to be our country's premier research hospital. Now we pass around photocopies of medical journals because we can't get the latest literature, we move patients from hospital to hospital searching for equipment that works, and we run out of everything from sutures to syringes to doctors' scrub gowns."

Cuba's health care system—once a showcase of the developing world that compared favorably to U.S. and European medical services—is crumbling beneath the pressures of a national economic crisis and a U.S. trade embargo that have left hospitals short of equipment and patients without access to drugs, say Cuban and international medical authorities.

"A relatively sophisticated and comprehensive public health system is being systematically stripped of essential resources," concluded a detailed study of the Cuban health system by the American Association for World Health, the U.S. committee of the World Health Organization.

No Cuban institution has been harder hit by the economic catastrophes of the last decade than its health care system, which grants free medical services to all citizens as a constitutional right. Cuba was convulsed by an unprecedented economic collapse when its former communist allies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe disintegrated, severing the Caribbean island nation from billions of dollars in annual financial assistance and trade.

Nearly simultaneously, in 1992, the U.S. government further tightened its trade restrictions against Cuba, banning the sale of most U.S. products to Cuba through third-country intermediaries. As a result, Cuba cannot buy medical equipment or medicines from U.S. companies or subsidiaries of those firms without the approval of the U.S. government. Critics say the procedure for obtaining exemptions is so cumbersome that few companies even apply for the special licenses.

The health care crisis has become so acute that legislation has been introduced in both the U.S. House and

the Senate to ease some embargo restrictions on medicines and food, efforts that were bolstered by Pope John Paul II's denunciations of the embargo's impact on Cubans' health during his January visit to the island.

There are few aspects of the economic crisis that don't touch the health care system: Shortages of gas and tires idle ambulances; power shortages destroy equipment and perishable medications and vaccines; and chronic water shortages and improper treatment of drinking water have led to disease and sanitation problems. Cuba's pharmaceutical factories produce a third of the medicines and drugs they manufactured a decade ago. Pharmacies routinely run out of even the most basic hygiene products, especially women's sanitary napkins.

Even though Cuba has a life expectancy rate of 75 years—only one year less than in the United States—the strains on the health, water and sanitation systems is beginning to take a heavy toll.

The death rate from diarrheal diseases increased 250 percent between 1989 and 1994. Nutrition levels have dropped by as much as one-third because of food shortages and poverty, leaving more than 50,000 people with weakened eyesight and motor functions. Hospitalization is now risky because of the increased chance of infection: In 1995, dirty water in hospitals led to infection outbreaks that killed 60 patients and sickened another 289.

The number of surgeries performed dropped 40 percent between 1990 and 1995 due to shortages of material, medicines and equipment. There were one-third fewer outpatients in Havana's top pediatrics hospital in the same period because of chronic shortages.

Many doctors, whose salaries are the equivalent of about \$20 a month, are deserting the system to take jobs in the tourist industry, driving taxis and working in hotels, where they can earn more money and be paid in U.S. dollars.

But, while the number of doctors fell 38 percent between 1970 and 1990, the figure slowly has begun climbing because of a government push to put more students in medical schools. In 1995, Cuba had 56,925 doctors—92 percent of its 1970 levels, and one doctor for every 195 people.

Trends in the global marketplace have exacerbated the staggering problems faced by the Cuban health system. With U.S. pharmaceutical giants buying increasing numbers of medical companies in Europe and elsewhere, Cuba effectively has been shut out of many of the newest advances in equipment and treatments because of embargo restrictions, say international physicians' groups.

In addition, Cuban hospitals have found it almost impossible to buy

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Violent Protests in Jordan Signal Region's Unease

Iraq Crisis, Unemployment Fuel Discontent

By Daniel Williams
Washington Post foreign Service

MAAN, Jordan, Feb. 22—The passions uncoiled when soldiers shot tear gas at a crowd bearing the body of a dead young man.

"Saddam, unleash your chemical weapons. Free us from this repression," they shouted as the body fell to the ground and the mourners scattered.

Over the past three days the violence in Maan, a desert town in southern Jordan, has become a warning sign of the dangers of violent backlash in the Middle East in response to a possible attack on Iraq by the United States and Britain.

All the elements that could contribute to unrest in the Middle East ignited here: frustrations with poverty and an authoritarian government; skepticism over the stalled Middle East peace talks; pity for Iraqi citizens coupled with admiration, if often grudging, for Saddam Hussein's willingness to stand up to the West in general and the United States in particular.

And when the eruption came, even in a dusty, isolated cinder-block town, the Jordanian government worked quickly to cap it.

Jordan's King Hussein placed a curfew on Maan after the shooting death of the young man during a pro-Iraqi protest Friday gave way to riots Saturday. Soldiers went house-to-house looking for arms. Armored vehicles with heavy machine guns patrolled the streets. Schools and all businesses were closed. Telephone connections were blocked, minimizing contact with the rest of Jordan.

Sullen townspeople gathered indoors sipping bitter coffee. "They say this curfew will last for three days, and even longer if the Americans bomb Saddam," said Mahmoud B., a truck driver, who, like others, asked that his full name not be used. "But if they hit Iraq, there will be trouble anyway and not only here."

Maan, population 40,000, sits on a rock-strewn plain on the road to Saudi Arabia. Its fortunes have sunk in recent years as Saudi-Jordanian relations have soured and trade plummeted. The Saudis have yet to forgive King Hussein for initially backing Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. Of the few who have a job—unemployment is estimated at 40 percent—many work as drivers hauling goods to and from the port of Aqaba.

The government had banned demonstrations Feb. 14 after police, using clubs and attack dogs, broke up a march outside an Amman mosque. But

on Thursday, Leith Shubeilat, a leading dissident, traveled to Maan and urged townspeople to demonstrate Friday.

Several hundred protesters began marching from the main mosque and were almost immediately set upon by police, witnesses said. Tear gas was fired from the rooftops of government buildings, and rifle fire rang out. Mohamed Kateb, 23, a demonstrator—some say he was a passerby—was shot in the back. As word spread, much of the town erupted in protests that lasted until nightfall. The government said that protesters shot Kateb. Police intercepted Shubeilat en route to Amman and arrested him on charges of inciting a riot.

The next afternoon, about 2,000 mourners went to retrieve Kateb's body from a hospital. They corraled an armored vehicle guarding the hospital, releasing its crew members but commandeering their weapons.

As they carried the shrouded body outside on a stretcher, police fired tear gas, and the mourners turned into a mob, burning a government housing bank, an Education Ministry building and some electrical installations. Some protesters produced hunting weapons, and firefights broke out. Alternately dropping the body and picking it up, the crowd chanted pro-Iraqi slogans, including, "With our blood and souls, we will defend you, Saddam."

During the middle of the night, as the town quieted, soldiers ringed Maan and began searching for weapons. Saturday, King Hussein visited Maan to speak to the governor and address soldiers. "Everyone who tries to stir trouble and riots in this country is contributing to the implementation of conspiracies," he said. He warned that in the event of an attack on Iraq, Jordan could face a massive influx of refugees from Iraq and perhaps the West Bank, should the Israelis and Palestinians fight.

He did not, however, visit Kateb's relatives, which residents felt was an insult. "We still love the king and would have welcomed him," said Ayman K., a truck driver. "But where is democracy if we cannot say what we think like other people in the world?"

Protesters interviewed today complained about unemployment. Jordan is growing too slowly to produce many jobs, analysts say.

Residents also expressed the widely held view here that the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks have been languishing while Washington focuses on Iraq. "Nothing good is happening with the Palestinians," said Mahmoud B.

■ For related articles on the crisis with Iraq Pages A14, A15

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replacement parts for equipment purchased from major suppliers that are now U.S.-owned. "It's an unfortunate coincidence that right at the time when the Soviet Union was pulling out, U.S. corporations were buying European companies," said Peter Bourne, a physician, chairman of the board of the American Association for World Health and a frequent visitor to Cuba. "Now there are some drugs only made in the United States. They can't get them anywhere—it wouldn't matter how much money they had."

Some of the most advanced discoveries in the treatment of cancer, AIDS and other serious ailments are being patented by U.S. companies. Cuban hospitals will not have access to many of those U.S.-patented drugs until they are covered under international patent rights 17 years after obtaining U.S. Food and Drug Administration approval, according to U.S. medical authorities.

The American Association for World Health, in its year-long study completed last year, said new life-prolonging treatments for small children with kidney problems—an area in which U.S. companies have made tremendous progress in recent years—are unavailable to Cubans because of restrictions on U.S.-made equipment and U.S.-patented drugs.

"Cuban children have no access to dialysis processes that could keep them alive for years rather than months," according to the report. The study also added that some breast cancer drugs approved in 1996 are not "legally an option for these patients, should they still be alive, until the year 2013."

The physicians and researchers who participated in the investigation cited dozens of obstacles facing the Cuban health care system as officials are forced to scour the globe for

equipment, replacement parts and medicines. Often the searches mean longer waits and higher prices for critical purchases. The U.S. team reported that patient care is affected by the inability of many hospitals to obtain materials such as nausea-prevention drugs for children undergoing chemotherapy, pacemakers for heart patients and new treatments for people with AIDS.

Even so, Cuba has reduced its already low infant mortality rate. Last year Cuba had 7.2 infant deaths per 1,000 live births—the same as the U.S. average, half the rate of D.C. and a rate six times lower than many of its Latin American neighbors.

The health care system has shifted its dwindling resources to the care of children from birth through age 5 and is investing heavily in more than 18,000 neighborhood family clinics in its cities and villages.

Ana Margarita Ramirez, 33, a physician, and her nurse, Silvia Reyes Lores, 34, are one of the thousands of doctor-nurse teams who run neighborhood practices. Their office is a clean but Spartan cluster of rooms in a small government building named for a 15-year-old who "died fighting the imperialists at the Bay of Pigs, April 19, 1961," according to an engraved plaque near the front door.

"All this is mine," said Ramirez, sweeping her arms across a neighborhood of low-rise concrete block apartments. She ministers to about 500 families, holding office hours in the morning, then spending her afternoons checking on the elderly and the sick and dispensing preventative medical advice to the healthy.

"I don't have as many resources anymore, I have more work and I don't have all the medicines I need, but I'm helping my people," said Ramirez.

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WORLD IN BRIEF

ASIA

Doomed Jet May Have Been Above Standard Altitude

■ **TAIPEI, Taiwan**—A China Airlines jet that crashed last week near Taipei's international airport, killing 202 people, was flying well above the standard altitude when it approached the runway, a newspaper reported yesterday.

Radar showed that when the Airbus A300-600R was about three miles from the airport, the jetliner was flying at 1,300 feet, much higher than the standard approach at 900 feet, the China Times Express said. The pilots tried to descend quickly to correct the mistake, the paper said, quoting unidentified aviation sources.

No official reason for the plane's crash has been disclosed, but investigators say the plane veered to the left as it came in to land. It then crashed into a semi-rural area beside the runway and exploded, killing all aboard and six people on the ground.

Tamil Rebels Attack Sri Lankan Naval Craft

■ **COLOMBO, Sri Lanka**—A Sri Lankan naval landing craft carrying more than 50 soldiers was attacked and set ablaze by Tamil Tiger rebels off the northern Jaffna peninsula, military officials said.

The craft was on fire and sinking, but there were no immediate details of casualties, the officials said early Monday.

Deadly Clashes Mar Indian Election

■ **NEW DELHI**—Bloody political clashes marred voting in India's parliamentary elections, which took place amid another distraction—the sudden collapse of the government in the country's largest state. Twelve people were killed in factional violence. Nearly 40 others were injured across the nine states that voted.

The turnout was 55 percent—slightly below average—on the second day of a six-day election, which completed voting for three-fourths of the 543 districts at stake. More than 600 million Indians are eligible to vote. Ballot counting begins March 2.

AFRICA

Missionaries Trapped in Sierra Leone Fighting

■ **FREETOWN, Sierra Leone**—At least 15 Roman Catholic missionaries are trapped in the central town of Bo, where rebel forces have been battling soldiers from a West African intervention force, a church official said.

The Christian Brothers order in Sierra Leone has appealed to the Nigerian-led force to help the stranded missionaries escape the fighting, said Harry Harrington, a senior member of the order.

The intervention force has been fighting to take control of Bo and several other towns in Sierra Leone's interior more than a week after it ousted Lt. Col. Johnny Paul Koromah's military junta from power.

Ex-U.N. Commander in Rwanda to Testify

■ **ARUSHA, Tanzania**—The former commander of U.N. peacekeepers in Rwanda, who told his superiors about Hutu extremists' plans months before they massacred a half-million Tutsis in 1994, was expected to testify Monday during a genocide trial.

Attorneys representing Jean-Paul Akayesu, 44, a former mayor charged in connection with the deaths of at least 2,000 Tutsis, called Canadian Gen. Romeo Dallaire to appear before the international tribunal.

19 Killed in Algerian Truck Ambush

■ **ALGIERS**—An armed group attacked and killed 19 people riding in a truck on a deserted mountain road in eastern Algeria, newspapers reported. It was one of two highway ambushes reported to have taken place on Friday.

No one claimed responsibility for the attack near Gijel, a town with a civilian militia 180 miles east of Algiers. But suspicion fell on Muslim militants fighting a six-year-old insurgency against the military-backed government.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Israeli Jets Attack Lebanese Guerrillas

■ **NABATTYAH, Lebanon**—Israeli warplanes raided guerrilla positions in southern Lebanon after the rebels attacked an Israeli army post, Lebanese security officials said.

Two fighter jets staged nine strikes at the Iranian-backed Hezbollah militia in the Iqlim Toufah region, the officials said, speaking on customary condition of anonymity. The jets fired at least two air-to-surface missiles in each attack, they said. Lebanese army anti-aircraft guns returned fire but missed, the officials said.

EUROPE

Sinn Fein Denounces Peace Talks as 'Flawed'

■ **BELFAST**—The IRA-allied Sinn Fein party denounced Northern Ireland's peace talks as "fundamentally flawed" and called for a speedy meeting with British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Sinn Fein's demands came hours before the Belfast talks were set to resume without the party, which has been ejected for two weeks as punishment for two killings blamed on the Irish Republican Army. The IRA's adherence to a seven-month-old truce is the key condition for Sinn Fein's eligibility to participate.

The British and Irish governments, which co-sponsor the talks, say Sinn Fein can return March 9 if the IRA is not implicated in further violence. Participants are attempting to agree on how to govern Northern Ireland by a May deadline.

THE AMERICAS

Mexico to Crack Down on Police Corruption

■ **MEXICO CITY**—President Ernesto Zedillo's government will crack down on corrupt police and prosecutors in a plan to combat Mexico's rampant crime to be unveiled in March, an Interior Ministry official said.

"The president has decided that institutions charged with fighting crime must start by cleaning up their own houses," said the official, who asked not to be identified. Polls show rising crime is the main concern of Mexicans, and a series of recent scandals involving crooked officials has turned up the heat on Zedillo, who has made law and order one of his top priorities in a country crippled by corruption.

FOR THE RECORD

■ **MOSCOW**—Several thousand people, mostly elderly Communists nostalgic for the Soviet Union, gathered in central Moscow to mark Red Army Day, the day set aside in Soviet times to pay homage to the military.

■ **PARIS**—Fires in two Paris apartment buildings—one accidentally set by a heroin addict—killed eight people, including a pregnant woman and her 9-year-old daughter, authorities said.

QUOTE OF THE DAY

"We could hardly have operated during the Communist era, when the very concept of nobility was officially targeted for destruction."

— Natalia Nesterova, founder of the New University of Humanities, an etiquette school in Moscow

Compiled from news service reports

The Washington Post

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1998

CASSANDRA PARTNERS

TO: Maria Echaveste

FROM: Jeffrey Sachs
Tel: (212) 343-1580
Fax: (212) 219-9149

DATE: 2-11-98

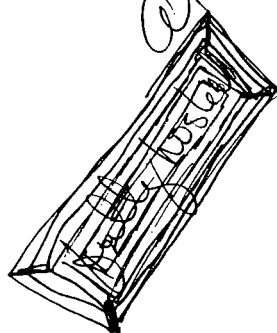
TOTAL PAGES: 2

file Cuba

*Mike Ranneberger
Janis Sachs*

647 9272

*Cuba desk
at the State Dept*



2/12

*Refer them to
Cuba Desk
at State*

*touch base
"if they are fully
hosted"
Cuba picks up
everything
don't need a license
from Treasury Dept.*

Jeff De Laurentis



THE CASSANDRA PARTNERS

To: Maria Echaveste
From: Jeffrey Sachs
Date: 2-11-98
Re: Trip to Cuba

Attached is a list of people who will be travelling to Cuba February 21 through February 26, 1998. The purpose of this trip is to promote better understanding through cultural exchange. It will be fully hosted by the Cuban government. Dennis Rivera and I would very much appreciate your advice on how best to proceed with respect to our own government. It is my understanding that we are in compliance with all the guidelines affecting travel to Cuba by American Citizens. I will call you this afternoon to discuss this matter.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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001. list	re: List for Cuba [Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	02/11/1998	b(6)
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Public Liaison
Maria Echaveste
OA/Box Number: 11822

FOLDER TITLE:

Cuban File [1]

2016-0920-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

List for Cuba

NameDOBSS#Passport

Dennis Rivera

Jeffrey Sachs

Christopher Cuomo

Dana Giacchetto

Leonardo DiCaprio

Peggy DiCaprio

George DiCaprio

Scott Welch

Max Kennedy

Robert Reynolds

Mary Katherine Ford

Andre Balazs

Rick Yorn

Sam Holdsworth

Jon Poneman

D'Arcy Wretzky- Brown

Kerry Brown

Jill Berliner

Kenneth Sunshine

Jesse Dylan

(b)(6)

Anistas Mikoyan (Russian Citizen)

Alanis Morissette (Canadian Citiz

Francis Greco (Canadian Citizen)

(b)(6)

[001]

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAUBIG

FROM THE DESK OF...

Luis Lauredo

TRANSMITTAL
MEMO

To: *Muana Echaveta* Date: *2/28/98*

☐ PER DISCUSSION *with* ☐ PER REQUEST *her*

THE ATTACHED IS FOR YOUR:

☐ Approval ☐ Comments ☐ Signature ☒ Information

WILL YOU PLEASE:

- | | |
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| ☐ Acknowledge | ☐ Handle |
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Foundation on shaky ground

Exile group alienates some longtime allies

■ THE CANF PROPOSAL, 2B

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — It is already part of the lore surrounding Jorge Mas Canosa. In his last days, his last breaths, the inveterate Castro-fighter urged colleagues not to waver in the struggle to free Cuba.

Forward, he is said to have whispered. *Adelante, adelante, adelante.*

But three months after his death, the Cuban American National Foundation that Mas Canosa built into a lobbying powerhouse is moving down an uncertain path, alienating some of its longtime supporters and antagonizing its Washington allies.

The foundation, which owes its dominance for more than 15 years to its projection of a united exile voice, is now at odds with other pillars of the diaspora.

The turmoil comes as the custodians of the hard-line U.S. policy toward Cuba face mounting criticism in the wake of Pope John Paul II's visit to the island last month, as pressure grows from American religious, humanitarian and business groups to relax U.S. sanctions in hopes of easing the suffering of the Cuban people.

Seeking to blunt that trend, project a more humane image and forestall more radical initiatives, the foundation is proposing what was once unthinkable: sending U.S. food aid to Communist Cuba. Preliminary plans call for feeding up to 50,000 people a year with \$5 million to \$10 million in surplus U.S. food.

To some, the foundation has swerved down a course that threatens to topple the embargo policy it helped to erect.

Many exiles are reserving judgment — torn between impulses to help ordinary Cubans and to punish Cuban President Fidel Castro. Most people interviewed for this article declined to speak on the record. Some said they did not want to exacerbate divisions that can only comfort their foes; others worried about crossing the still influential founda-

Without Mas Canosa's lead, foundation may be losing its way

FOUNDATION, FROM 1B

But one thing is clear. The foundation's first major project in two years is raising questions about its once uncanny ability to command allegiance and shape U.S. policy.

It surprised us that the foundation, which has a long longstanding record in the patriotic struggle, now puts itself behind a law to open the door to Cuba and send aid, said Roberto Rodriguez Arago, president of the Cuban Patriotic Front, one of 40 exile groups that signed a declaration last week opposing any easing of the embargo.

That's very dangerous. It confuses public opinion, Cubans on the island and congressmen in Washington, he said.

Responded to Pope's message

Last month, word got out in Congress and among exile leaders that the foundation was preparing legislation that would authorize the United States to send federal food aid to the island for the first time since the 1959 Revolution.

Faced with the pontiff's stern rejection of the U.S. embargo as "ethically unacceptable" and with images of needy Cubans television around the world, foundation leaders tapped a staffer of Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to draft a bill that would place blame for Cubans' misery on Castro's shoulders.

The plan was designed to have

multiple effects: Castro would either reject the aid as humiliating, or allow it to flow, bolstering the Roman Catholic Church and other independent entities that distributed it. At the same time, the bill would give U.S. lawmakers an alternative to another proposal gaining steam in Congress: the Dodd-Torres bill, which would take a huge bite out of the U.S. embargo by allowing the sale of food and medicine to Cuba.

The Pope struck a resounding chord, and we feel that it's important to respond — to show that the recalcitrant one, the unchanging one, is Castro, not the exile community," said a foundation official, who asked not to be named.

Word got out too soon

But the general outline of the plan became known when it was still on the drawing board, while Helms' aide was still far-flung in Cuba and before the foundation had even consulted the Catholic Church or the American Red Cross, the proposed distributors of aid. Within days, Castro rejected it, saying Cuba wanted to trade and would never "beg."

As a result, "our hand was forced before we were ready to move forward," said the foundation official. "Quite frankly, it was downhill from there."

The key misstep came when foundation President Pepe Hernandez, scrambling to get ahead of the leaks, laid out the plan to the two Cuban-American lawmakers

CAN PLAN

The proposal by the Cuban American National Foundation calls for sending food aid to Cuba from the "Food for Peace" program, known by federal bureaucrats as PL-480. Proponents envision spending \$5 million to \$10 million a year to feed up to 50,000 Cubans; that contrasts with \$25 million for Haiti, where 800,000 people are fed.

The aid would be distributed through a nongovernmental agency in Cuba, most likely the

Roman Catholic Church.

By law, such aid must be marked as a gift from the people of the United States and is delivered in a U.S. vessel, but Congress could remove such strictures.

The project would be called the Cuban Assistance and Relief Act of 1993. The "Food for Peace" program has a \$900 million annual budget, feeding more than 50 million poor people in 58 countries.

from Miami, then asked them to endorse it at a news conference the next day.

Reps. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart refused.

"You would never do this when Jorge Mas Canosa was alive," Hernandez snapped, according to one participant. By the next day, Rep. Bob Menendez, D-N.J., Congress' third Cuban American, had joined the opponents.

Public power struggle

The lawmakers rejected the bill on political grounds, saying the plan would fuel the anti-embargo movement rather than dampen it. But they could barely contain their annoyance with the foundation for trying to force them to accept a major shift in Cuba policy.

A public power struggle had erupted between leaders of the foundation and its Washington proteges.

The dispute has a high-wire quality; each side needs the other. With its reputation for delivering campaign funds and votes, the foundation is courted from Capitol Hill to the White House.

But it probably cannot succeed without the support of its own representatives. Ros-Lehtinen chairs a key international relations subcommittee; Diaz-Balart sits on the Rules Committee. Many members defer to them on Cuba, and the two are in a position to bottle up any bill affecting the island.

Just seem to be lost

It was not the first time the lawmakers had confronted the founda-

tion. They had disagreed, for example, with its support for aid to Cuba in the wake of Hurricane Lili in 1993. But it was the most stark standoff.

Hernandez led the initial rounds in Congress. But he proved an unimpressive lobbyist. One U.S. official, who witnessed Hernandez's rambling presentation, later voiced disbelief: "These are the folks that everybody's afraid of."

Another Cuba-watcher lobbied by Hernandez and his team said Mas Canosa's absence was painful.

"When they used to walk into a room, you knew these were people who knew how to use power. Maybe it was just Jorge, and everybody looked right in the shadow of Jorge," the source said. Hernandez and his colleagues, in contrast, "just seem to be lost," the source said.

Leadership under scrutiny

For his part, Hernandez remains combative. On Miami radio last week, he disparaged critics of the plan as "little Cubans" and "hypocrites."

But Hernandez's own image is under scrutiny amid concerns that his leadership could jeopardize the foundation's careful blend of political toughness and nonviolence. Federal investigators in Puerto Rico are exploring how a rifle registered to him ended up in the hands of Cuban exiles allegedly plotting to assassinate Castro

last year in Venezuela. Ros-Lehtinen and Diaz-Balart, in turn, enjoy "safe seats," the fruit of years of support by the foundation and other exile groups.

The two lawmakers say the foundation plan would "legitimize erroneous arguments" put forth by anti-embargo forces. They note that the 1996 Helms-Burton Act allows for federal aid transfers, making new legislation unnecessary.

A base divided

"They want to be pre-eminent" on Cuba policy, said Alfredo Duran, a Bay of Pigs veteran and attorney who favors easing U.S. sanctions. "They tolerated Mas Canosa, but I don't think they'll tolerate anyone else."

The foundation is bracing for an unprecedented assault, one official said. He cited a formidable coalition building behind Dodd-Torres, with the United Auto Workers, the latest to link arms with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in support.

But first, the foundation must make peace with its base. For some, that means finding a way to defuse the food aid controversy. Negotiations with the lawmakers are scheduled to continue this week after both sides agreed to seek a solution.

Which side will lose face? For the first time, there are those who are betting against the foundation. "In the days of Mas," observed one Senate staffer, "this would have been over by now."

2/24/98

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Editorial

Giving hope a push

In the wake of Pope John Paul II's visit to Cuba, competing bills in Congress vie to lift curbs on supplying medicine and food to Cuba. Either approach would modify the U.S. embargo, essentially unchanged for 36 years. These efforts,

though, beg another response: Washington needs to examine embargo provisions that are overripe for overhaul.

The Herald *always* has supported the embargo's ban on U.S. business dealings with or in Cuba. We still do. This ban remains a valuable bargaining chip that the United States must not hand over to Fidel Castro without some *quid pro quo*. The embargo, if nothing else, is a brake against the Cuban tyrant's everlasting deviousness.

Times have changed, however. Cuba is ripe for a transition, as the Pope's visit well demonstrated. But the embargo is far too blunt an instrument for today's reality. Even worse is the Helms-Burton Act. It narrowed the President's options on Cuba policy while alienating U.S. allies with its extraterritorial reach.

Within these constraints, the current U.S. nonpolicy toward Cuba — that is, to react rather than act — only maintains the *status quo*. Opportunity to promote positive change is being wasted.

Follow the Pope's lead

The United States, by policy and action, should proactively encourage a peaceful transition, participative democracy, and fundamental human rights in Cuba. As the Pope wisely counseled, Washington should encourage Cuba to open itself to the world, and the world to open to Cuba. This requires changes in the embargo that would encourage people-to-people and humanitarian contact with individual Cubans. That would entail lifting certain restrictions on travel, remittances, and the sale of medicine and food.

President Clinton should take the lead. He can begin by taking actions not constrained by law. First, he should lift the prohibitions on direct flights to Cuba and on sending money to individuals there. Direct flights were banned two years ago after Castro's government shot down two Brothers to the Rescue planes, murdering four South Floridians. Today, however, this ban hinders both humanitarian efforts and people exchanges. U.S. Catholic Relief Services, for example, has \$6 million in donated medicines to ship to Cuba. But it must wait for approval from three federal offices to arrange a direct flight. A ban on using U.S. carriers for such flights further complicates aid efforts.

A ban on remittances is also counterproductive. Before, U.S. households could send up to \$300 per quarter to people in Cuba. But President Clinton forbade even that in 1995. Did

FOR CHANGE IN CUBA
The Pope showed that people-to-people contact works. U.S. should lift curbs on travel and remittances to Cuba.

that stop remittances to Cuba? Hardly: They're now estimated at up to \$800 million a year. Despite exile hard-liners who argue against sending any cash, countless Cuban Americans violate this ban regularly, and with impunity. While wrong

to break the law, they do so to relieve their loved ones' suffering. Who can blame them? Blood is thicker than law. Always has been. Always will be.

These dollars from exiles and others in America pay for everything from children's milk to typewriter paper for independent journalists to soap for families. Yes, those dollars indirectly prop up Castro's atrophied economy. But the humanitarian benefits far outweigh the gains for Castro.

Such was the case with direct telephone calls to Cuba. Though Castro's government gets hard currency for the calls, the communications opening provides a communications lifeline between here and Cuba.

For the same reasons and more, restrictions on Americans' travel should be lifted — *totally*. Americans with family members there, those on cultural exchanges, academics, journalists, and scientists are now authorized to travel to Cuba. Others may not go legally — but they do, illegally, via third countries.

Americans have a constitutional right to travel where and when they please except to war zones or during national emergencies. Let them go see — and by their presence undermine — Castro's "socialist paradise." It would hurt Castro more than Washington.

Free up food, medicine

Finally, for humanitarian reasons, U.S. companies should be allowed to sell medicine and food in Cuba. Not that Cuba has the hard currency to buy either, thanks to Castro's ruinous economic policies. Indeed, the United States currently authorizes millions in food and medical donations to Cuba. Much is sent by South Florida exiles via parcels. Other donations are funneled through Catholic Relief Services, its ultimate distribution monitored by Caritas Cuba. The monitoring is wise, prevents ill use of aid, and should continue.

Allowing Cuba to buy food and medicine directly from U.S. companies really wouldn't change much at all. Whatever benefit Castro might obtain would be small compared with the devastating truth: Cuba no longer can feed and care for its people.

Cracks are visible in Cuba's system. The openings provide realistic hope for change now. To protect itself from the horror of a Ceausescu-style transition, and to plant seeds for future relations with a free, self-determined Cuba, the United States should waste no time in fine-tuning its overbroad embargo.



John Paul II