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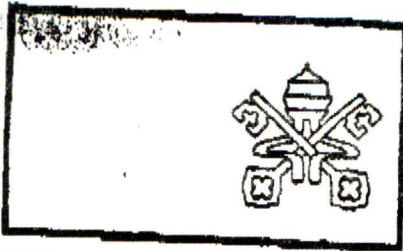
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Series: Sununu, John, Files
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Cardinal Law (1990)

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HOLY

PERMANENT OBSERVER MISSION OF THE HOLY SEE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

10/23

Governor:

Cardinal Law wanted to make sure that both you and the President saw this press release from His Holiness

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No.38/90

MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS POPE JOHN PAUL II AN APPEAL FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN LEBANON

To His Beatitude Nasrallah Pierre SFEIR,
Patriarch of Antioch of the Maronites,
BKERKE', LEBANON

I thank you deeply for the kind wishes, accompanied by the filial prayers of the Maronite community, that you have addressed to me on the occasion of the anniversary of the beginning of my pontificate.

On this occasion, I want to repeat once again to Your Beatitude, and through you to all the Lebanese people without distinction, how close I am to each one of them in these moments of sorrow which they are undergoing. I think particularly of the recent events which have sown death and destruction. For the families who are mourning their dead, for the wounded and for all who have been sorely tried by these events of war and by the deplorable deeds which have followed, I implore the Lord's mercy and consolation.

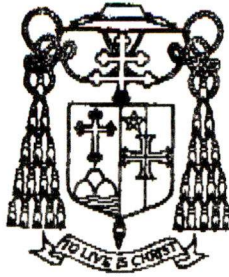
I ask Your Beatitude to assure your compatriots of every community that their country is constantly in the Pope's heart and that is the object of very special attention in the Holy See's international activity.

In keeping with these thoughts, I do not cease to ask God to grant to everyone the grace of peace and reconciliation, so that, without delay, with appeased spirits and a common determination to face together the building of their future, they will contribute to the prompt normalization of their national life. I want to address myself, once again, to all who hold responsible positions and to those who are still capable of acting in an unselfish and effective manner: I urge them to help the Lebanese to overcome the rivalries and rancors of the past. At the same time, I fervently hope that everything will be done to make this sovereign country free, as soon as possible, from all foreign military presence. Then, assuming responsibility for their decisions, your compatriots will be better able to regain confidence in the national institutions and to rebuild a society faithful to its historical vocation. This is the way that will allow the Lebanese people to find again the dignity and the freedom which the conflicts and the violation of the sovereignty of their country have too frequently wounded.

With my affectionate apostolic blessing.

JOHANNES PAULUS II

From the Vatican, 19 October 1990



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

October 16, 1990

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Governor John Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Governor Sununu:

I spoke with you on the phone on Sunday concerning pending legislative action on the legal immigration system.

As I mentioned to you, my concern is heightened by the fact that I serve as Chairman of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Committee on Migration and Refugee Services.

The staff for this committee in Washington has been monitoring very closely the discussions taking place, particularly those between Senator Kennedy and Senator Simpson. I have spoken twice with Senator Kennedy over the last several days. The position of Senator Simpson could render it impossible for the U.S.C.C. to support the Bill. You will find the brief memorandum attached a helpful review of the situation.

Quite specifically, I wonder if it would be possible for the White House to urge the Justice Department to champion a position more in keeping with the views of the White House? There is a tendency for the Justice Department to go along with the position of Senator Simpson, which we find unacceptable.

Thanking for anything you may be able to do on this, and any word you might be able to provide me as to how we could be of greater help in insuring the best possible legislative action, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,


Archbishop of Boston

BCL/ac

OCT 17

Congress has not reformed the legal immigration system since 1965. Since that time, it has become evident that the system is inadequate. Huge backlogs have amassed in the family preference categories, preventing families from reunifying; employers whose needs cannot be met by the domestic labor pool are unable to bring workers into the U.S.; and immigration from Europe, Ireland, Africa and the Caribbean is virtually nonexistent.

THE DIFFERING HOUSE AND SENATE APPROACHES

The House and Senate have each passed differing versions of legal immigration reform legislation.

- o the House bill provides for about 40,000 more family preference visas than the Senate bill;
- o the House bill has no artificial cap on the number of immigrants, while the Senate bill does;
- o the House bill permits the immediate relatives of permanent residents to come into the country without regard to per country ceilings;
- o the House bill provides a temporary program for reducing the backlog of people waiting for family reunification visas; and
- o the House bill eases current restrictions on the immigration of religious workers.

The USCC strongly SUPPORTS the House bill and would prefer to have the final bill reflect the above House provisions. The Senate bill, S. 358 passed in July 1989. The House bill, HR 4300 passed early this month.

The House bill is supported by a broad coalition of groups, including the U.S. Catholic Conference, the Heritage Foundation, the American Jewish Committee, the Hudson Institute, the Organization of Chinese Americans, the Japanese American Citizens League, the National Council of La Raza, the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, and the American Bar Association. Editorially, the House bill has been supported by such diverse editorial boards as the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post.

The House bill was also supported by a broad bipartisan majority in the House of Representatives, including such Republicans as Representatives Lynn Martin (R-IL), Claudine Schneider (R-RI), Pat Salki (R-HI), Thomas Tauke (R-IA), Duncan Hunter (R-CA), Vin Weber (R-MN), Henry Hyde (R-IL). And during Senate consideration of this legislation, a number of Republican Senators supported the House approach, including Senators Phil Gramm (R-TX), Pete

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Wilson (R-CA), Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN), and John Danforth (R-MO).

ATTEMPTS AT COMPROMISE

The USCC and other family immigration groups acknowledge that the final bill will have to be a compromise between the more generous House bill and the Senate bill. In that regard, we have asked that the House and Senate take a "split the difference approach" to resolving the differing versions of the legal immigration bill. Unfortunately, Senator Simpson has pursued an obstructionist approach, insisting that the final bill be more restrictive than even the Senate bill. He has refused to permit a conference committee to be constituted unless he gets prior agreement that the final product reflect this more restrictive approach.

In addition to the cap on immigration, Senator Simpson is also insisting on other items that have either already been rejected by the Senate or that have never been considered by either body. These include a wall or moat at the US/Mexico border and movement toward a national ID card. These demands are a precondition to a conference on the bill. It is our assessment that he may not support the bill even if his demands are met.

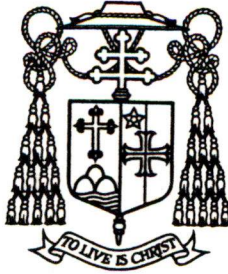
USCC POSITIONS

CAP: We strongly oppose the notion of a cap on legal immigration, especially one that would force competition between family preference visas and the spouses and minor children of U.S. citizens. If a cap is necessary for a compromise with Senator Simpson, the Senator should be prepared to accept a more generous level of protection for family visas.

SECOND PREFERENCE - SPOUSES AND CHILDREN OF PERMANENT RESIDENTS: We appreciate Senator Simpson's earlier offer to accept the House bill's provisions on the second preference visa category, and we would oppose any retrenchment on this offer.

BACKLOG REDUCTION: The current 1.5 million person backlog for children of U.S. citizens is unacceptable, and we would encourage Senator Simpson to drop his opposition to the House bill's modest temporary backlog reduction program.

RELIGIOUS WORKERS: We encourage Senator Simpson to accept the House provision that permits religious workers to immigrate to the U.S. more easily.



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

August 4, 1990

164882
READING
THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

The Honorable John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Governor Sununu:

I thought you might be interested in a copy of the report on my visit to the refugee camps in Thailand and Hong Kong. The report includes my observations of camp conditions and of the screening process. It concludes with a series of recommendations for action to help alleviate the asylum crisis in Southeast Asia.

I applaud the Administration's continued opposition to the forced repatriation of Vietnamese boat people. However, that debate is symptomatic of the disintegration of first asylum in Southeast Asia. The US government could pursue several alternatives to ease the crisis. These include the expansion and acceleration of the Orderly Departure Program and greater resettlement options for Vietnamese refugees.

The Catholic Church has developed an Emergency Resettlement Initiative (ERI) in response to the crisis facing refugees in Southeast Asia. The goal of ERI is to increase the opportunities available for resettlement and to encourage resettlement and first asylum countries to pursue more generous refugee assistance policies. I will be writing to my brother Bishops in the US in the near future to urge them to participate in the ERI as a means of underscoring the Church's commitment to refugees.

Resettlement opportunities are important, but it is equally important to ensure that the boat people are treated fairly and humanely. To this end, my report recommends a series of measures to improve the screening process: pre-interview counselling; regular evaluation of the screening process and better training for interviewers and interpreters; and an open accessible appeal process. In addition, safe living conditions for boat people should be ensured and education, health care and training should be provided. A temporary regional holding center designed to provide a humane environment for those denied refugee status could ease the situation.

Finally, it is clear that the only way to resolve the Vietnamese refugee crisis is to promote change that would bring economic development and political and religious freedom for the Vietnamese people. Renewed diplomatic ties and normalization of trade with Vietnam might provide the initial impetus toward the evolution of freedom there. Secretary of State Baker's interest in opening a dialogue with the government of Vietnam to discuss Kampuchea is a welcomed step forward.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Bernard Cardinal Law
Chairman, Committee on Migration
National Conference of Catholic Bishops



Migration and Refugee Services

National Office

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3220 FAX (202) 541-3399 TELEX 7400424

FIRST ASYLUM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: CONCERNS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

STATEMENT OF BERNARD CARDINAL LAW, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS' COMMITTEE ON MIGRATION

The withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam in 1975 marked the beginning of a flow of refugees overland and by boat into neighboring Southeast Asian countries of first asylum. As Chairman of the U.S. Bishops' Committee on Migration, I led a delegation which visited Thailand and Hong Kong to show support for these refugees and to ascertain what might be done to assist them further. Our delegation was comprised of Msgr. William F. Murphy and Msgr. Timothy J. Moran of the Archdiocese of Boston, as well as Msgr. Nicholas DiMarzio and Fr. Richard Ryscavage, S.J., of the United States Catholic Conference's Office of Migration and Refugee Services.

From June 24 to July 1 this year, we visited refugee camps in both countries and witnessed first hand the living conditions and anxieties faced by these uprooted people. We also met with a number of highly placed government officials in Thailand and Hong Kong as well as representatives of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the voluntary agencies.* These individuals play an important role in their respective nations' assistance to refugees--an assistance that has saved the lives of thousands since 1975. It was particularly gratifying to witness firsthand the Church's work on behalf of refugees. While our visit afforded an opportunity to come in contact with some of the other ethnic groups making up the 400,000 refugees and displaced persons in Thailand, such as Cambodians and Burmese, this report will focus exclusively on Vietnamese refugees and asylum seekers.

To date, over one million Vietnamese have been resettled in the West. Tragically, an estimated 400,000 Vietnamese boat people have drowned or died violently at the hands of pirates. This migration continues to this day. The Vietnamese in first asylum in Southeast Asia have put great pressure on the countries in the region. Hong Kong is host to some 55,000 Vietnamese boat people, while Indonesia and Malaysia each house just over 17,000 and Thailand provides shelter to another 14,000.

The Catholic Church has maintained a constant commitment to the care of these refugees, exemplified by the work of the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC), founded in 1951 by then Msgr. Montini, who later became Pope Paul VI. In this country, the United States Catholic Conference's Office of Migration and Refugee Services (USCC/MRS) carries out refugee resettlement and assistance on behalf of the U.S. Catholic Bishops. The Catholic Church's care for refugees involves not only direct service, but also advocacy for programs and policies which affect the refugee situation. It is upon this latter aspect--advocacy--that I bring the following observations to bear on the kind of immediate and long term policies that might best address the needs of the refugees.

The Comprehensive Plan of Action

Before considering solutions to the dilemmas facing Vietnamese boat people, the current situation must be examined. The international agreement regarding Vietnamese refugees, known as the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA), was ratified by 70 nations in a June 1989 meeting held in Geneva. The CPA was devised to cope with the crisis in Southeast Asia precipitated by a sudden surge in Vietnamese boat arrivals, coupled with the frustration of first asylum countries with the dwindling resettlement opportunities for refugees who had been in camps for many years.

The CPA has six major components: preservation of first asylum in the region, screening, resettlement, repatriation, expansion of the Orderly Departure Program (ODP) and the possibility of establishing a regional holding center for refugees. The CPA is an effort to balance the interests of first asylum countries and those of traditional resettlement countries which want to maintain first asylum in the region. The CPA represents a commitment to determine the legitimacy of refugee claims in a fair manner, while recognizing the limited ability of first asylum countries to care for applicants and of third countries to provide resettlement opportunities.

The CPA has not had an encouraging beginning. Within six months of its implementation, 51 refugees were forcibly repatriated to Vietnam from Hong Kong. The government of Malaysia has begun to push boats crowded with refugees back to sea. In fact, the most elemental aspects of the CPA are operating at standards below those envisioned by the plan's creators.

The Need for Adequate Housing

An element basic to the CPA is providing adequate housing for refugee applicants awaiting determination of their status. The living conditions endured by Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong must be improved, using the camps in Thailand as an example. There the atmosphere is palpably different from that in the Hong Kong camps. In Thailand, the camps function more as villages. Families prepare their own food and there is a much greater freedom of movement. Educational programs for children and adults, as well as medical services are freely provided. In short, refugees in Thai camps exercise some control over their lives.

In contrast, Vietnamese boat people in Hong Kong are warehoused in detention centers under appalling conditions. It is not an exaggeration to compare these camps to prisons. The centers are cramped and barren, surrounded by barbed wire and high fences. They are overcrowded and unsafe, especially for women. Space is at a premium in Hong Kong for most of its citizens, but that does not justify the dehumanizing conditions in the detention centers. The Hong Kong camps, which do not meet the UNHCR's minimum acceptable standards, are pervaded with an aura of anxiety, anger and frustration. Educational opportunities are few and access to health care is limited.

Screening Refugee Applicants

It is disturbing to see the increased tendency of receiving and resettlement countries to categorize incoming boat people as economic migrants. In principle, it is perfectly correct for a government to determine genuine claims for asylum, and most normal deportation proceedings deal with this fundamental problem. With Vietnamese asylum claims, however, it is especially difficult to distinguish between economic migrants and refugees because the situation in Vietnam is so ambiguous. Although there is some evidence pointing to improvements in the economic situation, one cannot speak of an improved political climate. Vietnam is still a restricted society, exercising tight controls over the lives of their citizens. The basis of a well-founded fear of persecution is defined in international law. It is unclear, however, what specifically constitutes persecution. Catholic social teaching would understand persecution as involving threats to a person's dignity. That dignity includes the right to order one's life according to religious moral principles and the right to provide for the correct

education and proper care for one's self and family. For these reasons, a distinction between genuine refugees and economic migrants is difficult--sometimes impossible--to make.

It is even less possible to have confidence in such distinctions when the refugee determination process seems to have serious deficiencies. The integrity of the CPA rests on a credible screening process. Even the best screening system could mistakenly screen out the occasional individual but, especially in Hong Kong, there seem to be an alarmingly high rate of failures in the process. Both the UNHCR and the Hong Kong government immigration bureau note that they are understaffed. The UNHCR is able to review only a small percentage of all the applications for refugee status. Hong Kong government staff is too small to allow interviewers to spend an appropriate amount of time on every case. Once in the interview, the applicant's fate may be in the hands of an interpreter whose Vietnamese is weak or out of date and an interviewer who is determined to conclude the session quickly. One result of this is that bona fide refugees are being "screened-out"--that is, determined not to be refugees. Former officials in the South Vietnam army who have suffered in reeducation camps and who, after release, continue to experience discrimination and social disabilities, have been denied refugee status. Of particular concern to us are Catholic seminarians, nuns and lay leaders, as well as religiously active Buddhists who have also been deemed non-refugees. Apparently, the religious grounds for claiming refugee status have not always been given enough weight in the screening process. Immigration officials and UNHCR personnel need to be better informed about the current conditions of religious life in Vietnam.

Improvements must be made in the screening process if it is to operate with integrity. This is especially true when one of the elements of the CPA is repatriation. Every precaution must be taken to ensure that the process is exceptionally dependable, consistent and generous.

Repatriation

Aside from the potential for error in even the best screening system, involuntary repatriation is unacceptable for Vietnamese asylum seekers. Given the conditions of the Hong Kong centers, there is even some question whether "volunteering" to repatriate is an act of free will or one of desperation.

Hong Kong has been a consistent port of first asylum for Vietnamese boat people

since 1975. Hong Kong has never turned a boat away. Their humane response, one not always present in the region, must be recognized. Certainly, it is necessary to understand the fear and anxiety of the citizens of Hong Kong as they face the uncertainties of 1997. The People's Republic of China has already indicated that Vietnamese refugees on Hong Kong soil will not be tolerated after that time. However, this does not justify forcing the boat people back to Vietnam. To be able to live in peace and security is central to human dignity. The boat people have risked great danger and have shown the depth of their determination not to return to a land they fear. To force such people back can only become a deeper tragedy. A poignant expression of the boat people's sentiments was a sign I saw in a Hong Kong camp. It read: "Kill us, but don't send us back."

It has been argued that Hong Kong is justified in repatriating asylum seekers forcibly because the U.S. government pursues the same policy. The Church in the U.S. has consistently opposed any government deportation policy that violates the human rights of asylum-seekers. The Church is concerned that voluntary repatriation measures should take into account the continued well-being of those repatriated. More than 3,700 Vietnamese boat people have returned willingly to Vietnam from Hong Kong. The UNHCR, which is charged with monitoring the welfare of those who have returned voluntarily, is overwhelmed by the work involved in this role. Their lack of personnel is critical. It is still against the law for a Vietnamese to leave Vietnam illegally, and returnees may still face harassment by local officials.

Deterrence

Conditions in Hong Kong camps seem designed to discourage further departures of boat people for Hong Kong. Boat arrivals of ethnic Vietnamese from the North, for example, are significantly lower than they were last year at this time. 8,524 ethnic Vietnamese from the North arrived in Hong Kong in May 1989. One year later that number dropped to one. Discouraging all asylum seekers may well deter people with legitimate claims to refugee status from seeking first asylum in Hong Kong. Any policy which would deliberately make the living conditions of asylum-seekers uncomfortable and harsh, limit the opportunities for refugee status through a narrow screening process and present the specter of forced return to Vietnam to deter future refugees must be considered indefensible. To use people in this way would violate their human dignity.

Observing the circumstances that Vietnamese boat people endure in their quest for refugee status has proven a valuable lesson. In the spirit of the Church's commitment to refugees, there are a number of recommendations I would like to make that would improve the plight of the refugees and contribute to an equitable, generous and humane operation of the CPA.

Recommendations

- o **The United States government should expand and accelerate the Orderly Departure Program.** All 20,000 holders of current immigration visas who are ready to move and to whom the government of Vietnam has granted exit permits should be moved out of Vietnam as quickly as possible. Such a move, even if it required a massive airlift or planned boat departures, would relieve pressure on the Southeast Asian region. Meanwhile, within Vietnam a more widespread education campaign should be conducted to inform people of the availability of ODP, the U.S. political prisoner program, and the Amerasian program. Applicants for ODP and their relatives in the US should be told approximately when their visas would be current and when their interviews will take place. This is extremely important information for an individual deciding how best to migrate.

- o Given the reasonable judgment of the severe difficulties these people would face upon returning to Vietnam, as well as the reasonable hope that there may be major changes in Vietnam in the coming years, **the best moral response seems to be to seek more time for these changes to occur while providing humane conditions in the interim.** Efforts to improve the screening process and the conditions in the camps will take time. Whether refugees reside temporarily in first asylum camps or in a regional holding center, conditions should be humane and as open as possible. International assistance agencies could ensure that skills and transitional training for those screened in as refugees as well as those who are screened out are provided more effectively.

A regional holding center, envisioned in the CPA as a temporary, interim measure might ease the situation. The regional center would provide a safe, humane interlude for those denied refugee status. During this time counselling and educational opportunities could prepare them to resume their lives in Vietnam when they could do so without risk of retaliation and persecution. The center should create an environment that echoes village life, allowing the refugees to do their own cooking and have some control over their daily lives. Voluntary agencies and international organizations should have access to the center. Opportunities for training and education should be provided.

- o **Improvements to the screening process should be made along three tracks.**
- i. **Pre-Interview Counselling:** Systematic pre-interview preparation or counselling should be implemented. Applicants should be fully informed of their rights and of the standards used in deciding claims for refugee status. The forms used by the Hong Kong government should be reviewed with a focus on instructing the individual to fill them out correctly. In addition, the interview process should be carefully explained so that the applicant knows what to expect.
 - ii. **The Interview Process:** The interview and adjudication processes should be reviewed and evaluated regularly. Interpreters should be fully trained in and conversant with modern Vietnamese. Interviewers should be trained to be sensitive. They should receive formal training in the situation in Vietnam, with a special emphasis on forms of persecution, especially religious discrimination and abuse. Interviewers should focus on obtaining as much information as possible about the applicant's case for refugee status. The applicant should be privy to a written record of the interview in his or her native language so that he or she can make sure answers are represented correctly. The applicant should be extended the benefit of the doubt when making a claim. This includes generously interpreting the refugee definition to include individuals who, though they may not meet the strict refugee criteria, nevertheless have fled an egregious threat to their human dignity.
 - iii. **Open Appeal Process:** An open, accessible appeal process should be implemented. There are a number of creative options available that should be pursued. One possibility would be to engage volunteer lawyers to help the boat people prepare their cases. Those representing denied refugee claimants in the appeals process should clearly be independent of the Hong Kong government. The review board should be required to issue explanations of denials.

The United States Catholic Conference and other voluntary agencies could cooperate with the Hong Kong Government and the United Nations in providing volunteer assistance in the pre-interview, interview, and open appeals process.

- o The protection and treatment of refugees in Southeast Asia is contingent on a chain of actions. For example, if the screening process is modified so that it identifies the majority of the true refugee cases, then there would be more "screened in" refugees in need of resettlement opportunities. In fact, two to three times the number of persons currently screened in would stand in need of resettlement. **Western nations must, therefore, be ready to deliver on their commitments to expand programs for Vietnamese refugees.**

- o **The Catholic Church has developed an Emergency Resettlement Initiative (ERI) through the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC).** ICMC coordinates the program with the assistance of its episcopal conference affiliates as the Catholic response to the critical situation of refugees in the camps of Southeast Asia and elsewhere throughout the world. MRS will coordinate the effort for the dioceses of the United States. The goal of ERI is to increase the opportunities available for resettlement and to encourage both resettlement and first asylum countries to pursue more generous assistance policies toward refugees. It is intended to secure an additional number of resettlement slots per year to reduce the number of refugees who have already spent a considerable amount of time in the camps (longstayers), as well as those persons in vulnerable situations throughout the world (Persons at Risk). The method by which additional resettlement opportunities are secured in resettlement countries will vary depending on the immigration laws of particular countries.

- o **The best and only solution that will solve the Vietnamese refugee problem in the long run, hinges on a change in Vietnam which would not only enable economic development, but would also assure political and religious freedom for people to live in dignity and without fear.** A concerted international effort should be brought to bear on Vietnam's future. The U.S. should seek to use effectively whatever leverage the possibility of renewed diplomatic ties and normalization of trade relationships might provide for the crucial steps toward the evolution of freedom in Vietnam. Secretary of State James A. Baker, III's recent announcement that the Bush Administration is entering a dialogue with the Vietnamese government to discuss Kampuchea is a welcomed step forward. As the U.S. Bishops stated last year,

"neither the pressing needs of the Vietnamese people nor the concerns of the United States government can be effectively addressed without continuing, intensive and regular official dialogue...The level of official U.S. presence during this process should reflect the progress being made in resolving the important human rights, religious liberty and other issues we have enumerated, which we believe are essential for genuine and long-lasting reconciliation."

Conclusion

First asylum must be maintained both in principle and in fact within the context of just screening procedures, adequate monitoring of the repatriated, and the promotion of alternatives to forced return. Such alternatives might include a new temporary, safe and humane holding center, an expanded Orderly Departure Program in Vietnam, increased resettlement opportunities in Western countries, and such private efforts as the Emergency Resettlement Initiative now being organized by the International Catholic Migration

Commission. The Church's fundamental commitment to protecting and enhancing the human dignity of each refugee is an expression of a faith-centered ethic that sees Jesus Christ in each refugee. As the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, said in his July 5 address to ICMC:

"Catholics who place themselves at the service of migrants and of refugees cannot forget that they are the disciples of Him who is recognized by the attributes of the Good Samaritan and who Himself affirms to us that He identifies Himself with the poor and the stranger."

***Thailand**

In Thailand we met with the Archbishop of Bangkok, Cardinal Michael Michai Kitbunchu, who accompanied us on our visit to the camps near the Cambodian border. The Church's refugee services in Thailand are coordinated by the Catholic Office for Emergency Relief and Refugees (COERR), directed by Fr. Bunlert Tharachatr. The Apostolic Pro-Nuncio to Thailand, Msgr. Alberto Tricarico, extended us every courtesy.

The Deputy Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Interior, Khun Somporn Klinpongsa; the Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Department of International Organizations, Ambassador Kasit Piromya; the Secretary General of the National Security Council, Khun Suwit Suthanukul; Mr. Santi Kerd-in, Camp Commander of Phanat Nikhom; and Col. Hat Wirasamrit, Chief of DPPU, all took time from their busy schedules to discuss refugee issues with our group.

I profited greatly from my meetings with U.S. Government officials in Thailand. The Ambassador, Daniel A. O'Donohue; the Deputy Chief of Mission, Victor Tomseth; and Alan Jury, the Refugee Coordinator, were all extremely helpful. I would also like to thank Mr. Ben Foster, District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Mr. Ralph Boyce, Political Counselor, U.S. Department of State; and Mr. Bob Costantino, Education and Health Program Specialist, Refugee and Migration Affairs, U.S. Department of State, for their valuable comments.

The following people also shared generously of their time and knowledge of the refugee situation: Fr. Thomas Steinbugler, S.J., Regional Director, Jesuit Refugee Services, Asia-Pacific; Fr. John Bingham S.J., Edie Trotno, and Sr. Patricia Franklin, COERR/JRS; Ms. Therese Caouette, Jesuit Refugee Service; Fr. Alphonso de Juan, S.J.; Dennis Grace, Joint Voluntary Agency Representative, Thailand (IRC); and Ms. Mary Pack, Immigrant Visa-Humanitarian Parole Supervisor/JVA-First Asylum.

I am grateful to Ms. Anne P. Convery, the ICMC Joint Voluntary Representative for the U.S. Orderly Departure Program, for coordinating our visit to Thailand.

Hong Kong

The Bishop of Hong Kong, Cardinal John Baptist Cheng-Chung Wu, and the staff of Caritas Hong Kong, directed by Rt. Rev. John B. Tsang, Vicar General, Catholic Diocese of Hong Kong and Vice President of Caritas, hosted and coordinated the Hong Kong portion of our visit. I would also like to acknowledge the diligence of the individuals we met in Hong Kong. Ms. Suzy Comerford, Sr. Mary Teufel, and other American volunteers are working long hours in the detention centers. Fr. Peter Newbery, S.D.B., Prisons Chaplain, Hong Kong Correctional Services and Fr. Louis Robert, S.J., Chaplain for detention centers are doing a fine job under less than ideal conditions.

Many government officials were generous with their time during our stay in Hong Kong. I was able to meet with the Hon. Sir David Ford, Acting Governor General, and Mr. Michael Hansen, Refugee Coordinator of the Government's Security Branch, and was encouraged by the positive attitudes displayed by each. The US Consul General, Richard Williams, also met with us.

Meetings with UNHCR staff were also fruitful in both countries. In Thailand, Mr. Pierre Jambor, Director General, and, in Hong Kong, Mr. Robert van Leeuwen, UNHCR Director General, gave me valuable briefings.

8.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

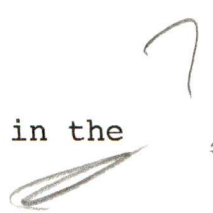
June 6, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU
CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: DOUG WEAD 
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR PUBLIC
LIAISON

SUBJECT: ROSE KENNEDY FAMILY APPRECIATION DAY

Bernard Cardinal Law telephoned for information on this event.
Has the President, indeed, proclaimed July 22nd as "Rose
Fitzgerald Kennedy Appreciation Day"?

Paul McNeil from Correspondence tells us that the joint
resolution has passed the Senate and is now in committee in the
House. The President has not yet signed. 

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE

2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

FAX NUMBER: 617-782-8358

TO:

Mr. Doug Wead

The White House

FROM:

Bernard Cardinal Law

Archbishop of Boston

DATE:

6/6/90

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7

The Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation

1350 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 500
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On Sunday, July 22, 1990, our grandmother, Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, will celebrate her 100th birthday. On that day, her family will gather to honor this woman of courage and unwavering hope who has been an inspiration to many. In preparing for this occasion, we decided to extend this celebration beyond our immediate family and invite others to join us in appreciating the gifts of familial love.

To mark this occasion, President Bush will designate July 22, 1990 as Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy Family Appreciation Day. The President will ask all Americans, in their own way, to make this day a renewal of family ties and relationships. In the proclamation he will ask Americans to telephone family members who are far from home. He will suggest family activities, such as picnics, outings and going to places of interest. And, of course, the President will ask families to go to their places of worship to pray together and hear sermons and texts reconfirming their faith and support for the family.

We believe this day is a fitting tribute to our grandmother, who placed great significance on raising and nurturing the family throughout the years. Inspired by her trust and faith in God, we hope this celebration of Family Appreciation Day will motivate many families in our country to cherish family relationships and deepen the memories that bring joy and happiness throughout the generations.

As the grandchildren of Rose Kennedy, we would like to ask your cooperation in making this day a significant celebration in your churches. We are confident that sermons and prayers at the Sunday gathering, as well as the encouragement of prayer at home, will assist in making this day a special occasion for all.

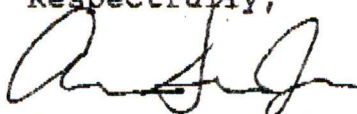
Specifically, Your Eminence, we are asking you to do four things. First, would you see to it that National Family Appreciation Day is encouraged and promoted in your diocesan newspaper. Second, would you encourage the priests in your diocese to deliver sermons on behalf of family life on Sunday, July 22. Third, would you ask parish agencies that deal with family life to take this opportunity to promote the celebration of Family Appreciation Day. Fourth, would you invite parishes to include an intention in the General Intercessions for the growth and deepening of family love. Parishes could also be encouraged to publish a blessing formula in the bulletins to promote a family gathering of prayer on that day.

To assist you in these requests, I have enclosed the following:

- * An information sheet on Family Appreciation Day.
- * Sample petitions for the General Intercessions which could be offered to parish liturgy teams.
- * A sample bulletin announcement for the parishes.
- * Citations from the recently published Book of Blessings which might be helpful to parishes in preparing prayers to be used by families.

Thank you for your cooperation in this endeavor. We hope Family Appreciation Day will be a time of prayer and happiness for American families in an era of transition and unrest. It is our prayer, on the centenary of our grandmother's birth, that God will continue to bless family life and deepen the love of all people.

Respectfully,



Anthony K. Shriver and the
Grandchildren of Rose Kennedy

ROSE FITZGERALD KENNEDY
FAMILY APPRECIATION DAY, JULY 22, 1990

Family has always been the most important concern in Rose Kennedy's life. Her children were always at the top of her list of priorities. Rose was, and is, to her family the glue of love, attention and caring that holds it together. What better way to celebrate her 100th birthday than to celebrate the importance of the national family--not just her family, but the Family, which is the glue that holds society together.

We hear and read that the American Family is in deep trouble. Families are breaking up; single parent families, parentless families, and the not always successfully blended families of divorce are increasing in number each year. Domestic violence, homelessness and substance abuse are becoming chronic social and community problems. Yet, the great majority of Americans, whatever their family structure or circumstance, still hold fast to the values and virtues of family strength and unity. These grandparents, parents and children and, indeed all Americans who are struggling to create a better and more secure family life, should be both honored for their effort and reminded what a glorious treasure an intact, together family is.

Rose Kennedy inspired and led her children into successful and responsible adult life. For years, she has been listed among the most respected women, not only of America, but of the world. Why? Because despite great sorrows and of fate, she has never wavered in her determination that her family will hold together and endure generation to generation.

The purpose of Family Appreciation Day honoring Rose Kennedy's 100th birthday is to remind all Americans that children are human treasures, as well as responsibilities, and that family values should always be encouraged, strengthened and enlivened, not just by family members but by all public and private enterprises. The goal is to show that there are people in all walks of life, all economic groups, all races, religions and ethnic backgrounds who do have happy and together families. It is to remind us all who are busy, preoccupied, separated from our roots that our extended families need and deserve our attention, our appreciation and our love.

Proclaimed by both Houses of Congress and by the President of the United States, Family Appreciation Day calls upon individuals and family groups to refresh and rededicate themselves to family values and relationships. On the 100th birthday of America's most honored and revered matriarch it calls upon family members to demonstrate their appreciation through a few simple acts of thoughtfulness and respect:

1. To call or write family members who are distant and apart. Start on Family Appreciation Day and carry on the

practice for the whole year. As an incentive, the major phone companies are offering special reduced rates on July 22. But the communication should extend beyond the single day to become a regular expression of family closeness.

2. To plan multi-generational activities together: a picnic, outing, family dinner at home or out, a baseball game, etc. Start on Family Appreciation Day and keep it up throughout the year.

3. To honor your Family at a religious service; attend your place of worship with as many family members as possible. Pray for your family and all families.

4. To reflect on the status of your family. Can you be a better grandparent, parent, or child? In what ways can you make more of an effort to make your family happy, content and together. Start on Family Appreciation Day and keep it up throughout the year.

In closing, remember through the example of Rose Kennedy, that family closeness is strengthened and enhanced by service to the people of your neighborhood, and your community. That is the dominant message of Rose Kennedy's life and her hopes and aspirations for her family: from those to whom much is given, much is expected. And the greatest gift of all is a close, together, loving and happy family.

SAMPLE INTERCESSIONS FOR FAMILY APPRECIATION DAY

One of the following petitions can be added to the General Intercessions on Sunday, July 22, 1990. This day has been designated by President Bush as Family Appreciation Day, in honor of the 100th birthday of Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy.

* Let us pray for all families in this country. That, in a time of transition and unrest, all persons will have some place to call home. We pray to the Lord.

* As our country celebrates Family Appreciation Day, let us pray for peace in our families; the end of abuse and dysfunction in our homes; and for the strength of genuine love for our children and our children's children. We pray to the Lord.

* Mindful of the importance of the family for the well-being of church and culture, let us pray for families of all kinds. We pray that parents will be sound in their commitments to love, that children will find guidance and nurturing in abundance, and that all homes will know the fullness of life in Christ. We pray to the Lord.

A SAMPLE ANNOUNCEMENT FOR THE PARISH BULLETIN

President Bush will designate Sunday, July 22, 1990, Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy Family Appreciation Day. The inspiration for this celebration is Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, a family woman of great strength and motivation who celebrates her 100th birthday on this day. Families in our parish are encouraged to pray together this afternoon and to ask the blessing of God on all the members of the household. To make this day special, families are also invited to do something together for recreation and fun.

To assist you in praying together, the following blessing is offered:

(Here a blessing prayer for families might be added. A blessing of families may also be given at the close of the Mass. In both cases, the following citations from the Book of Blessings, might prove helpful.)

CITATION FROM THE BOOK OF BLESSINGS

The following paragraph citations from the Book of Blessings are useful in preparing blessing prayers for families on Family Appreciation Day.

1. Order for the Blessing of a Family: Paragraphs 42-61.
2. Order of Blessing within Mass: Paragraphs 62-66.
3. Order for the Blessing of Sons and Daughters: Paragraphs 174-194.
4. Order for the Blessing of Elderly People Confined to their Homes: Paragraphs 344-362.

Note
Cardinal Law's Visit
to the Bishops of Cuba
February 18 - 20, 1990

Cardinal's Party: Bishop Roberto Gonzalez, Msgr. William Murphy, Msgr. Timothy Moran.

Schedule:

Sunday, Feb. 18	4:00pm -11:00pm	Arrival, Jose Marti Airport Present: Nuncio, Archbishop Sainz, Archbishop Ortega of Havana, Dr. Carneado, Chief of Bureau of Religious Affairs.
	7:00pm	Initial Meeting, Casa Sacerdotal Present: Cardinal's Party, Archbishop Ortega, Archbishop Meurice, Msgr. de Cespedes, and later, Bishop Rodriguez.
Monday Feb 19	8:00am -10:30am	Breakfast at Residence of Mr. Taylor Cardinal's Party, Archbishop Ortega and Msgr. de Cespedes
	11:00am -1:00pm	Meeting at Nunciature Present: Cardinal's Party, Archbishop Ortega, Archbishop Meurice, Bishop Prego, Bishop Rodriguez, Msgr. de Cespedes, Archbishop Sainz, Msgr. Courtney.
	5:00pm -7:45pm	Meeting with President Castro at the Palace of the Revolution Present: Cardinal's Party, Dr. Jose M. Miyar Barrueco, Dr. Filipe Carneado, Translator.
	8:00pm	Dinner at Nunciature Present: Archbishop Sainz, all the Bishops of Cuba, Cardinal's Party, Vice-President Carlos Rodriguez, a Member of the Council, Msgr. de Cespedes, Msgr Courtney.
	9:40pm -12:00am	Visit of Castro to the Nunciature Present, as above for dinner, President Castro, Secretary and Translator.

Tuesday Feb 20 9:00am Meeting of Cuban Bishops' Conference
 -1:00pm at Casa Sacerdotal
 Present: Bishops of Cuba, Msgr.
 de Cespedes, Archbishop Sainz,
 Msgr. Courtney, Cardinal's
 Party.
 3:00pm Departure, José Martí Airport
 Present: Archbishop Sainz,
 Archbishop Ortega, Dr.
 Carneado, Mr. Taylor.

Observations

Church in Cuba:

The Church seems to continue to strengthen herself, despite the narrow field of activity allowed her.

The new possibility for pastoral work in the prisons and in hospitals has proved most welcomed, even though there had been some difficulties initially (This change has been made public by the Cuban Government only these past weeks, a year after the change had begun).

A series of public religious processions begun in preparation for the Holy Father's Visit have been successful far beyond the Bishops' expectations. In a place near Havana where usually around 200 participate at Sunday Mass, over 13,000 took part in the procession of Our Lady of Cobre. The police have been helpful in crowd control. The events have remained clearly religious, non-political, although the push for social freedom is palpably present in the crowds and in the prayers.

The Bishops made clear the need for the Church to be able to exercise her prophetic role and a critical one with regard to society. Mention was made of the positive comments given in the wake of Archbishop Ortega's declaration against capital punishment at the time of the Ochoa affair.

The Bishops made clear their desire to see an end to the ideological anti-religious bias present in public education, and to have more opportunity for pastoral work with the young people.

The Bishops expressed their **grave concern for the present moment** in Cuba. There is a marked tension or foreboding that something is about to happen. The public reaction to the Ochoa affair, some recent burnings of public buildings and some manifestations of discontent leave the Bishops with apprehension that social strife or violence could erupt, to the great disadvantage of the people. It is their contention that it would not be wise just to let things run their course. It is necessary to achieve **significant but planned social change**.

Conversation with Castro:

Cardinal Law met with Castro at the latter's request.

The Cardinal emphasized:

the concerns of the Cuban Bishops that the Church be free to exercise a **prophetic and critical role** within Cuban society.

that there are **universal values** which need to be realized in every society, for their intrinsic worth to the development of the people.

the importance of developing a sense of **interdependence** among nations, particularly between the U.S. and Cuba, and throughout Latin America.

that the **danger** for Cuba is not primarily external, but **internal**, therefore the importance of developing respect for human rights and for the rights of the Church in Cuban society.

that Castro should **act** to bring about needed change, and follow the path of interdependence.

that the **gains** of the revolution should not be lost, but built upon.

Castro emphasized:

that the 4th Party Congress would address the need for **rectification** within Cuban political, economic and social structures. Rectification means the study and analysis of negative trends or errors and their correction.

This is a process already begun in Cuba, before the reforms of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Cuba is not copying the changes in the East; the situation of Cuba is essentially different from the East European nations in both the history and in the course of the revolution.

In the course of the revolution, some elements were wrongly copied from Eastern Europe; these are the things that need rectification now.

The situation of the Church shows the difference from Eastern Europe, in that Cuba never severed ties with the Holy See and permitted the Church to function. Some mistakes were made in copying Eastern Europe in repressing the Church. These must be corrected, and Castro was the first to point out the necessity of a new approach to religion.

Cuba has been and is threatened by the U.S. and must defend itself with the only means at hand: political and social unity.

The process of change is meant to strengthen the revolution. It is not a rejection of marxism, not an embrace of individualism, nor of a market or capitalist economy.

Castro would be interested in talks with the U.S. but believes that, with the crumbling of Eastern Europe, the U.S. is not interested in talks, but in awaiting the fall of Cuba. His first task must be, then, to assure the survival of Cuba.

The social changes spoken of by Cardinal Law can be part of the process of change entered into by Cuba; they can not be, however, conditions imposed by the U.S. on Cuba.

Independence is a supreme value for Cuban society and for the Cuban government.

General situation of Cuba today:

There is an evident sense of tension and desire for change.

There is concern among the Bishops that change be brought about peacefully.

The Cuba Government have used the events of Panama and the affair concerning the Cuban boat in the Gulf of Mexico to try and forge a **siege mentality**, thereby galvanizing control over the country.

Church officials and others are agreed that the U.S. unwittingly **plays into Castro's hand** in giving him material to point to as signs of American aggressiveness and intent on intervention.

Americans are well-accepted by Cubans, but American **intervention** in Cuba would be resented and opposed.

Whatever **assistance** can be given to the Church in Cuba by the Church in the United States can be of great importance in this crucial time. One can not help but regret the difficulties imposed by the U.S. which prevented, for example, the pilgrimage which Cardinal Law wished to lead at the Cuban Bishops' request, while other endeavors, such as jazz concerts are given all the needed permissions. Some change in American policy is clearly needed here.

The U.S. might well consider a change in its public stance in Cuba's regard to **remove the advantage** which Castro is taking in portraying the U.S. as a potential enemy. Without the fear of an alleged external threat, social change may be strengthened.

Castro expressed to the Cardinal his **willingness to meet President Bush** to discuss elements for the betterment of relations between the two countries.

The Bishops have begun to exhibit greater **confidence** in dealing with the government and the public.

Significance of the Visit:

The visit, coming at a crucial time, served to forge a closer **working relationship** between the Bishops of Cuba and the Cardinal and, by extension, with the U.S. Bishops' Conference.

The visit made possible a session exceeding three hours of informal **contact of the Bishops of Cuba and President Castro**. This was an important recognition of the Bishops by Castro, and a significant experience for the Bishops to enter a direct, give-and-take conversation with Castro, as they did.

The visit was covered in both Cuban T.V. news and on the front page of the Party newspaper, Granma. Such has not happened in the past, and seems to be part of a greater, very recent willingness to portray religious news or persons in the public media.

The visit was able to give the Bishops of Cuba a more complete perspective on Castro's thoughts regarding the process of change in Cuba in connection with the 4th Party Congress, through Cardinal Law's conversation and through the Meeting between Castro and the Bishops at the Nunciature.

The visit was able to furnish Cardinal Law a nuanced understanding of the position of the Cuban Bishops regarding the future of Cuban society, and the need for peaceful change.

MEETING WITH CASTRO:

The Cardinal was invited to the Palace of the Revolution to meet with President Castro at 5:00pm. By 5:15 the party was in Castro's office for discussion. Present were: President Castro, Dr. Jose M. Miyar Barrueco, Dr. Carneado, translator; Cardinal Law, Bishop Gonzalez, Msgrs Murphy and Moran. At Archbishop Ortega's suggestion, there was no request from Cardinal Law that Ortega be invited to attend, as was done last year for the March 1, 1989 meeting. The Cardinal brought a leather paper binder for Dr. Carneado and a Chelsea Clock for President Castro.

The conversation ran as follows:

Law: His is a visit to the Church in Cuba
Meant to continue and improve contacts between the Church in Cuba and in the United States.
This is a significant and important moment in history.
Church interest in the good of the human person
the common good of society,
and the further development of peoples, and Cuba.

Castro:

The note which was published following the announcement of the date of the next party Congress was intentionally complete.

The agenda there announced is not something new.

Before the Soviet Union began to embark on reforms, Cuba already spoke of rectification.

This is an analysis of negative trends or mistakes, and their correction.

This has been occurring in Cuba, but the world has not noticed; Cuba is not "important" to the wider world.

Now preparing conditions for the 4th Congress which will take place next year.

This process has nothing to do with Eastern Europe.

Cuba and Europe are two different worlds.

Revolution in Cuba was not "imported" nor is it "exported".

Cuban Revolution is closely linked to the people.

Cuban Rev. has avoided many of the mistakes of other countries.

-no forced collectivization of all land

- private farms still exist; do not need to be "re-invented".
- cooperatives exist
- the excesses of Stalinism not known.

Fortunately, there has been a great deal of national creativity in the Cuban Revolution, avoiding mistakes which would otherwise need correction.

In some matters, Cuba incorrectly copied from other nations; these matters are what need correction.

The process of change is not a move towards a "private market" or towards capitalism nor towards "private economy".

The process will be an improvement in political mechanisms.

The kind of elections already present in Cuba are not as were in Eastern Europe.

In Cuba, the people already nominate the candidates.

In Cuba, there can be multiple candidates.

It will be good to develop the election processes further.

There is need for improvement in the economic sphere.

There is need for improvement in the political sphere.

This is not a move towards "individualism" but inspired by human solidarity.

In the past, there had been some imitation of Eastern Europe.

moral values were forgotten

it was thought that social problems could be solved through the infusion of money and programs.

In these years, now we see the importance of moral concerns and of incentives.

Candidly, the process of change is meant to strengthen the Revolution.

The country must be prepared to resist any test which will come

resist economic challenge from Eastern Europe

resist political and military menace from the U.S.

In Cuba, these matters are clearly understood; elsewhere they are not understood.

The process will be a return to the roots, to history, to the sources of the Cuban Revolution.

It does not signify the abandonment of marxism as a political objective.

Along with Marti, the national objective, as well as that of Latin America remains total full independence. Cuba will be no one's satellite; The objective is more independence (we have been independent).

As regards the Church

Cuba different from Eastern Europe.

Ties to the Holy See were never severed.

The approach here has been different; the relation with the Church has been different.

There was a period in which Cuba was influenced by Eastern Europe as regards the Church, even if Cuba remained more advanced than Europe on this point.

Castro was the first to appeal for a different approach towards the Church.

This is the importance of his book.

The book has been published throughout the world, even in China and India.

All in all, the process of change is not to give up socialism, nor the Revolution, but rather to perfect it,

This is what is best for Cuba

This is the only road for Cuba

Everything must be done to secure the defense of Cuba.

All fields of social life will be touched by this process, but do not expect to see what happened in Eastern Europe repeated in Cuba.

LAW:

You know of my interest and solidarity with the society in Cuba.

What is important to the Church is not the type of economy, but the question of development.

Allow me to play the "Devil's Advocate":

The Bishops of Cuba are true "Cubans".

They place a great value on the independence of their country.

What is needed is a greater sense of the "interdependence" of peoples, of human solidarity.

We need to develop an attitude of solidarity

which is big enough for a variety of systems. Each system, however, must be based on the good of the human person.

There are certain "values" which must be realized universally.

Human rights is one such value, and must be present in the U.S., in Cuba, and in the USSR.

The Church has a responsibility, in whatever country, to speak about these values.

The Church seeks for a solidarity of the whole world to develop a freer and more just society.

This is not a process of confrontation but of dialogue.

It is aimed at the betterment of everyone.

I speak as an idealist, but this is important at this time in history.

You speak of the importance of a return to Cuba's roots.

One such root of the Cuban people is their faith.

The faith is central to Cuba's future development: its needs further development.

Now please let me speak to you as a Pastor.

I hope that in your heart of hearts that you not think of Cuba in isolation from Latin America, Europe or the U.S.

You need to find the path to interdependence without losing independence, human rights or the good of the people.

These are generalizations, but at this moment in history they are so important.

From my heart I can say the Danger you face is not from outside; internal matters are so important and must be addressed.

This must be done in Cuban style.

this does not entail rupture, but development.

However, here as elsewhere, things can run in the face of all if change is not brought about.

I can see that things are changing.

It is important not to loose the gains of the past years.

Here, the devastation of misery is not present as it is in some other countries.

basic health services are available to all

great accomplishments in universal literacy have been made.

However, in education, for example, more is needed than teaching people how to read and write.

If there are no moral values, then one loses everything.

I believe that the Church has a right to function in the educational sphere, which she is not permitted to do here.

However, it is important that at least in public education there not be a campaign against religion.

I can see certain improvements in the relation of the Government with the Church

Saturday, I spoke with President Bush.

During the recent Summit Meeting on the Drug Problem, he spoke to the other Presidents about Cuba. Specifically he mentioned that he had heard of a certain improvement in relations between the Government and the Church. The President of Colombia responded that this does not appear to be the case. The other two were silent.

Perhaps their response can be explained from the fact that in Colombia and elsewhere, the Church exercises a prophetic role, even one which entails criticism. If something is not serving the human person, it is the responsibility of the Church to speak out.

This does not mean that the Church is against the society, but rather is for its improvement.

An example would be the criticism of the Church against permissive abortion laws in the U.S.

Here in Cuba the Church should have the possibility of access to the public media and be free to express her prophetic and critical role.

In fact, Cuba is very important for Latin America as well as for the United States.

What is needed is greater openness, with security.

CASTRO

You speak in a very idealistic sense

I can not disagree about what you say regarding the relationships which should be between countries
Can not disagree with what you say about the importance of promoting the well-being of the human person.

However, reality is not the same.

For thirty years Cuba has had no security, but lives under the threat of U.S. hostility and power. Interdependence is true, and should be so for this hemisphere and the world

The reality of Latin America, and of the underdeveloped countries of the world is not one of interdependence, but of dependence. Such countries feel insecure and threatened, and for good reason. And these causes for their feelings are not particularly Christian.

I know of your sincerity in saying these things; you are not a politician

I am not a bishop but a politician

I must deal with real and difficult problems
We have faced many dangers for many years
We have striven to maintain our independence.

An example is the U.S. infringement on our independence through radio and now through television.

U.S. t.v. shows drugs, sex and violence, commercialism.

Cuban t.v. is not perfect, but in some ways healthier than U.S. t.v.

The only way to peace, the only means of defense available to us is our unity.

unity of the people,
patriotism,
sacrifice,
cohesion,
heroism.

LAW:

The U.S. needs to develop a more consistent policy for this hemisphere to promote fraternity and mutual respect. For many years now, the U.S. has been in need of a better approach

The gulf which separates nations must be bridged.

An example of the reality of interdependence and the need to work together for solutions is the growing external debt of the U.S.

CASTRO:

What can the Church do to reduce tensions between the two countries

LAW:

It takes two to tango; the Bishops can provide the music. It is necessary to try to find the way to interdependence, without losing the gains of the past.

CASTRO:

The situation of Europe has complicated matters

Before, the U.S. was willing to talk

an example were the accords on South Africa

Now that Eastern Europe has crumbled, the U.S. has changed its attitude.

from a realistic readiness for dialogue, now the U.S. has decided that Cuba can not long resist. The U.S. just waits.

There is no willingness to talk seriously.

Now the premise must be to show that Cuba will survive.

I knew of the weaknesses inherent in Eastern European countries

There was a distance between the party and the people.

Here is the source of the difficulty

I knew these things and even publicly talked about them

T.V. made matters worse for them

I am not a bishop

Here you will see a reflourishing of the patriotic spirit

I anyone thinks that Cuba will crumble, they are quite wrong.

LAW:

I asked President Bush Saturday if he had any hope for change. He said that he did.

There are, then, two Presidents who hope for change: this is the first step.

This is very important for Cuba.

What is most important for Cuba, both internally and externally, is the development of Cuban society.

Here the Church can be of help.

There must be space allowed for those who love their country but speak about the conditions of human rights, for example.

In these things, what must be kept in mind is their intrinsic value for the people of the country.

CASTRO:

Such things can come as a consequence, if there is a change in the atmosphere. These things can not be in the form of an imposition of conditions by the U.S.; that can not be accepted.

LAW:

I am not speaking of a change of government nor of a system; but I speak of the realization of certain values for their intrinsic worth.

CASTRO:

The U.S. administration is willing to make notable concessions to the government of China as regards the record of human rights, etc, because China is large and important; Cuba is small and unimportant to the U.S.

LAW:

If the U.S. can have relationships with China, why not with Cuba? Be Cuba big or small, what is needed is not paranoia, but a willingness to follow a path towards more freedom and development.

The Cardinal then asked whether Castro would be willing to have a meeting with President Bush. Castro indicated his willingness, but with an air that he did not think such a thing would happen.

The conversation then changed tone towards a more informal exchange of comments on particular matters.

There are many examples of how the Church can be of help in building mutual understanding and cooperation.

Eg. After the Mexican earthquake, the Archdiocese of Boston sent \$800,000/- to help build houses; the Church projects were the first to complete new units. This helped the Church in Mexico attain the possibility to be involved in public social works.

CASTRO:

Cuba sent money for schools, without much publicity. Expressed surprise at the amounts of Church aid to Mexico, and wondered whether we would respond to a hurricane disaster in Cuba.

Asked if Law had any recent news of Nicaragua. Both thought that the Sandinistas would win.

Asked if Cardinal Etchegaray was in Panama during the invasion.

He mentioned that Cuba was in contact with Archbishop Laboa during the crisis. He had met him previously.

Noticed a list of names among Cardinal Law's papers and inquired what it might be.

LAW:

Presented list of 15 new prisoners to see if they might be released.

Presented names of three Cubans in jail for attempting to leave without permission.

CASTRO:

Complained that the U.S. authorities allow those who escape from Cuba to stay, even though they enter the U.S. without visas. This tempts many to try to leave illegally.

The following topics were mentioned in brief comments:

China Castro inquired about the state of the Church in China; how many Catholics there were etc.

Vietnam

Hong Kong The problem of the refugees and the British desire to send them back to Vietnam..

Hunger strikes in Spain

Castro asked what the Church's view was concerning those who died of hunger strikes, or of forced feeding by prison authorities.

Suicide

Castro thought that the socialist duty would be to persevere in life and to struggle to correct the wrongs.

Extraordinary means of preserving life.

Castro asked what the Church's position was concerning the removal of extraordinary means.

Capital Punishment

Castro inquired about the Church teaching in this regard.

It was said that States do in certain cases have the right to take the life of a guilty person, but in practice, because of the injustice involved and because of the promotion of the value of life, the Church intervenes against the execution of prisoners.

Castro noted that world opinion was growing against capital punishment.

At the end of the meeting, Castro indicated he might not be able to come in the evening, since there was so much to do in preparation for a meeting he had in the morning. Cardinal Law pointed out the importance of his presence. Castro agreed to come for dessert.

MONDAY EVENING, NUNCIATURE

The Cardinal returned to the Nunciature, where he met the Cuban Bishops, Msgr. de Cespedes and Archbishop Sainz.

The Cardinal reviewed in general the course of his meeting with Castro.

The official guests for the dinner began to arrive, including the Vice-President Carlos Rodriguez, a member of the Council, and Dr. Carneado.

President Castro arrived at 9:40, for dessert. The first period of conversation was dominated by the Nuncio, and centered on non-issue matters.

During the dinner, Cardinal Law mentioned the matter of visas for the priests of the Saint James Society. Castro responded that there might be some difficulties; it was perhaps, not the right time for North American Priests to be introduced in the country. The Bishop responded that the priests were much needed and would be very welcome. Castro changed his resistance to the idea, and said that it could be done, Dr. Carneado was to see to the details. The Vice-President and the member of the Council did not enter the conversation, and did not seem pleased that Castro seemed to change his mind in response to the Bishops' protests.

Archbishop Ortega had an opportunity to speak directly with Castro about the proposed letter of the Bishops to Castro criticising the current state of the country. Castro did not appear to be very pleased, but indicated that Ortega could proceed with the correspondence.

Castro remained until after midnight.

The occasion was significant as the first informal encounter between Castro and the Bishops, and was important for the Bishops to have the experience of the give and take of the conversation as it developed.

REPORT: VISIT TO HAITI
MARCH 7-8, 1990

1. Invited by the Nuncio, Archbishop Paolo Romeo, Magr. William Murphy of Cardinal Law's staff went to Haiti to discuss the current situation of that country with the Nuncio and other persons. Prior to his departure, Msgr. Murphy had been contacted by Mr. Robert Holly of the U.S. State Department and received a FAX from Mr. Peter Johnson of the Caribbean/Central America Action group. Both were expressing their concern about the situation.

2. Msgr. Murphy, with the Nuncio, met successively with: 1. Mr. Alexander of the U.S. Caribbean Initiative with Mr. Jeff Gallagher of the U.S. Embassy in Haiti; 2. the Canadian Ambassador; 3. the two auxiliary bishops of Port au Prince, Msgrs. Kebrou and Lafontant; 4. The U.S., Canadian, French and German Ambassadors at Ambassador Adams' residence; 5. Msgr. Kebrou with Fr. Constant, the bishops' conference secretary for education; 6. Msgrs. Kebrou and Lafontant with a side visit to a house of formation for future priests; 7. finally Msgr. Murphy and the Nuncio reviewed together the previous twenty four hours prior to lunch and the trip to airport for the return to Boston.

3. The situation is tense. Everyone is aware that change is in the air. All are agreed that Avril must go. In meetings with the Nuncio and later with the U.S. Ambassador on Wednesday, Avril indicated that he knows that the end is at hand. He is maneuvering for time and for the best arrangement he can get.

4. What to do? This question was posed by Mr. Adams Wednesday night. Opinions vary from opting for immediate action to preferring some sort of delay even up to several months in order the better to organize the transition.

The latter position is that of the French Ambassador who seems concerned to make space and give time to the parties (particularly the socialist and communist parties) to deal with the current crisis. The former opinion, immediate action, is that of the American Ambassador and is shared with some modification or nuance by everyone else including the Nuncio.

5. There is a consensus that Avril must go as soon as possible. There is consensus that placing another military man, such as General Abraham, in power will not work and will be considered inappropriate inside and outside the country. There is consensus that elections for President should be held as soon as possible : 90 days after Avril leaves according to the constitution. There is consensus that everything necessary must be done to avoid violence and social unrest among the people

right through the time of the elections. There is also consensus that U.N. and O.A.S. personnel can and should be called in to supervise elections. Mr. Perez de Cuellar has already accepted to do this. Such personnel must also aid the C.E.P. (Provisionary Electoral Committee) in this process because the CEP is weak in itself. There is also consensus that assistance must be given (1) to the interim government in order to maintain calm and to keep the economy on an even keel and then (2) to the new president in a substantial way in order to get specific projects moving and the future of the country in a good direction. There is also consensus that the political parties are to be invited to take part in the electoral process but that they then are expected to support the results.

6. Some suggestions to help achieve a peaceful and positive resolution of the current crisis.

6.1. Avril need not be given an ultimatum but rather a choice: to leave now or to remain as a figurehead for three months until elections. The conditions for his remaining for three months until elections would be that he renounce his role as head of the army and that he renounce all power over the government by naming a prime minister who would actually govern for three months until the elections. He thus becomes merely a figurehead. It is unlikely that he would accept the second. However failure to accept one or the other option would leave him, his family and his possessions outside Haiti, in an uncertain state.

6.2. It would be wise to keep as close to the terms of the constitution as possible. The proposal for a year long interim "to prepare for elections" would be disastrous, creating chaos while claiming to be developing political roles. That proposal from the "Group of 11" should be rejected. They also propose a "Conseil d'Etat" whose role vis a vis the interim president would seem to be contestatory and thus harmful. Those proposals that would have included Catholic priests as part of this are also to be rejected.

Instead, Avril should "finish his mandate" and offer his resignation immediately according to the norms of the constitution. With his resignation, power goes to the Cour de Cassation, the Supreme Court, whose ranking Judge, beginning with the Chief Justice, becomes interim Head of State until elections can be held within 90 days. He/she will empower the CEP to prepare elections with the help of the U.N. and O.A.S. personnel as well as with any new members of the CEP as may be needed. To assist him/her in those three months there need be only four competent ministers: Foreign Affairs, Justice, Interior and Finance. There are qualified persons ready to take those posts and Ambassador Adams knows who to consult on these. The other ministries can continue along for the next three months. Regarding the Supreme Court justices, some, like

Abp. Gayot, President of the Bishops' Conference, are in favor of Chief Justice Ostend (sp?) and believe he could do a good job as an essentially independent person. Some have proposed a woman justice, Mme. Triault (sp?) while others wonder about the wisdom of having a woman head of state in a country so influenced by African culture.

6.3. It is imperative to maintain social calm in this period. Crucial to this are the prices of basic commodities, sugar, wheat or flour, gasoline or oil, cement. If these are subject to inflation, then the people will most likely react. Assistance will be needed to keep prices steady. The cost for this type of assistance for the three month period is estimated at \$15 million. It is said that ESF and HP 480 funds are available for this assistance. Care should be taken how this money is distributed. If the matter is left simply to the free market, it is likely that the money will disappear and prices may well go up because of speculators who may look for a quick return. The fact is that the government needs cash. Therefore the assistance funds might better go to the government to buy the commodities that they then could sell at a guaranteed price. This would stabilize the price, give the government a role to play and allow the government to regain money, even making a slight profit because of the parallel market. Most important, however, is this maintenance of calm through the maintenance of prices.

6.4. The political parties must cooperate with the interim government and with the CEP in the electoral process. In addition to U.N. and O.A.S. personnel, it would be good to consider having observers for the elections. The parties must pledge to abide by the elections and support the winner as the legitimate. Needless to add, a better way of preparing, distributing and counting the ballots must be devised.

6.5. General Abraham has told Amb. Adams that he does not want the army to be involved again in politics. The army, according to him, has become traumatized by all the politics of the last four years. The army must be helped to play an ancillary role in society. Scholarships for officers to U.S. military schools have already been requested. A gradual restructuring of the army with certain incentives and a separation of the army from the civil police are in order.

6.6. The Church is ready to play its proper role. It must be the conscience of the nation and of the people. It will work to help maintain calm among the people. It can and will propose the ideals and the principles for the good of the society. It will also urge the people to take part in the political process. The Nuncio is ready to assist in this action. The Nuncio and the American Ambassador maintain close relations. If questions arise about the participation of the Church or Church agencies in particular programs, they should best be resolved by the Ambassador, the Nuncio and the bishops

themselves rather than by technical assistants or regional directors of projects. The bishops are always ready with information to help people understand the proper role of persons and groups in the Church. One factor is that Church personnel are expected to act always according to Church law. In all this the historic role of Catholic bishops in a predominantly Catholic country should be noted.

6.7. After the elections, the new President must be helped and strengthened to be able to serve a full term with as much productivity as possible. This will be the true test for the future of Haiti. C/CA A has already indicated that private investment is ready to enter the country. Free enterprise will do well for many reasons which need not be listed here. In the meantime, however, the country will need about \$150 million worth of long range assistance above the \$15 million for the interim period. The criterion should be "both more money and more controls". Moneys should be for specific concrete projects that are measureable both by the investor and by the people. Seed money given for vague purposes, like "to encourage free enterprise", actually encourage only profiteering. City Bank and Bank of Boston are the two major U.S. banks in Haiti. They should become involved in this effort. The key must be accountability for visible projects that truly build the local economy and make it productive and competitive.

7. Conclusion. In recent times, whenever a Haitian leader has had to give up power, it has been a Friday night when the change comes and the person in question leaves the country. This report is not based on that. Neither is this a blueprint for the future of the country. It addresses only the present crisis. Ambassador Adams is acting well for U.S. The Nuncio acts well for the Church. It is fortunate that they also work well together. The Church has good local leadership, especially with the President, Abp. Gayot of Cap Haitien and the two auxiliary bishops of Port au Prince, Msgrs. Kebrou and Lafontant.

While the immediate challenge is to change Avril, the future of the country depends in great measure on the kind of stability guaranteed by social institutions that are marked by honesty and by a concern to involve the citizens according to their abilities. That those skills and abilities need to grow and be developed is beyond question. This will demand time, understanding, patience and the investment of personnel and resources to reverse thirty and more years of mismanagement.

It is crucial to have free and fair elections as soon as possible. It is equally crucial that a new president be able to execute his Office and complete a full term of office. To that end the U.S. government has a number of roles to play and contributions to make. The Catholic Church, including the Church in the U.S. will also have to take up its own proper responsibility. In the end, however, a people with a rich culture must be given the opportunity to build on that culture by sound economic and social programs that will prepare Haiti for the next century.