

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 11, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH WHITTLESEY

THRU: FRANK DONATELLI

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER

SUBJECT: Attached Schedule Proposal

This is Fred Balitzer's project. Jim Cicconi is for it as well - possibly on Memorial Day.

cc: Jim Cicconi

The attached proposal was sent to Faith for her signature.

Jim - If you want to move forward on this we need to focus on the details of the Ronald Reagan Center with the University to make certain that it is structured appropriately.

MBB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1984

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: FREDERICK J. RYAN, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: FAITH WHITTLESEY

REQUEST: Presidential acceptance of Honorary Degree from Tel Aviv University.

PURPOSE: To provide the President with an opportunity to secure Jewish support.

BACKGROUND: The American Friends of Tel Aviv University have invited the President to accept an Honorary Degree from Tel Aviv University on recognition of his numerous achievements as President and for his interest in higher standards for education. The doctrate would be awarded at a dinner in Los Angeles to be attended by over 2000 Jewish leaders.

The University intends to announce the establishment of a Ronald Reagan Center for the Study of the American political tradition. Aspects of this center would be operational by this fall. Tel Aviv University is Israel's largest university with over 25,000 students.

DATE AND TIME AND LOCATION: To be arranged to accomodate the President's schedule. One possibility would be the President's trip to the West Coast in May. Los Angeles, CA.

PARTICIPANTS: Prominent members of American Friends of Tel Aviv University, including Guilford Glazer and dinner guests.

OUTLINE OF EVENT: The President would be presented with an honorary degree, told of the University's plans to name the Ronald Reagan Center at Tel Aviv University, accept the award and deliver appropriate remarks concerning educational values and Jewish tradition.

REMARKS: Remarks

PRESS PLAN: Full Press

RECOMMENDED BY: Faith Whittlesey
Jim Cicconi

OPPOSED BY:

PROJECT OFFICER: Marshall Breger

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES CICCONI

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER *MB*
SUBJECT: Potential Tel Aviv University Event

Relative to our discussion about the Tel Aviv University honorary degree, some lead time is needed so as to move the degree through the university honorary degree committee.. Ambassador Samuel Lewis has told me that the degree committee meets May 23 and June 23 and that the process takes upwards of six weeks. While there will be no difficulty with the decision.. Lewis believes that it is important that the regular honorary degree process be followed so that there is no suggestion that the degree is being rushed through.

That being the case, I need a "go" signal on the degree as soon as possible although the exact date of the dinner can be flexible.

// It is my understanding that the President may be on the West Coast circa August 1-14. Can I discuss this with you tomorrow, at your convenience. - *ref to Fred R.*

To: Fred Ryan

This relates to the suggested event that we were going to check w/ Rollins.

How does it look?

Thanks
Jim Cicconi
5/21

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

M.B. 4/16

April 10, 1984

DUPLICATE PROPOSAL

FREDERICK J. RYAN, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FAITH WHITTLESEY *FW*

EST: Presidential acceptance of Honorary Degree from Tel Aviv University.

GOAL: To provide the President with an opportunity to secure Jewish support.

BACKGROUND: The American Friends of Tel Aviv University have invited the President to accept an Honorary Degree from Tel Aviv University on recognition of his numerous achievements as President and for his interest in higher standards for education. The doctrate would be awarded at a dinner in Los Angeles to be attended by over 2000 Jewish leaders.

The University intends to announce the establishment of a Ronald Reagan Center for the Study of the American political tradition. Aspects of this center would be operational by this fall. Tel Aviv University is Israel's largest university with over 25,000 students.

DATE AND TIME: To be arranged to accomodate the President's schedule. One
LOCATION: possibility would be the President's trip to the West Coast in May. Los Angeles, CA.

PARTICIPANTS: Prominent members of American Friends of Tel Aviv University, including Guilford Glazer and dinner guests.

DESCRIPTION OF EVENT: The President would be presented with an honorary degree, told of the University's plans to name the Ronald Reagan Center at Tel Aviv University, accept the award and deliver appropriate remarks concerning educational values and Jewish tradition.

REMARKS: Remarks

PRESS PLAN: Full Press

RECOMMENDED BY: Faith Whittlesey
Jim Cicconi

APPROVED BY:

SUBJECT: Marshall Breger
OFFICER:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES CICCONI

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER *MB*

SUBJECT: Jerusalem Bill

You should be aware that as of 9:00 a.m. today the "pro-Jerusalem" forces have 49 Senators signed on to the Jerusalem Bill. By the end of the week, my sense is that they will have over 50 co-sponsors.

We could discuss this and other matters at your earliest convenience.

4:00 PM
Jim - There are now 50
sponsors. Sum to be 51.

OPB - Relig
Outreach

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

Copy to
Cicconi
Action
Completed
1/12/84
MOT

January 11, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO MARGARET TUTWILER

FROM: ED ROLLINS *ER*

SUBJECT: The Nebraska 7 Case

Today, in Cass County, Nebraska, 6 men are in jail on contempt-of-court citations for refusing to testify in a case brought by the state of Nebraska against Faith Baptist Church of Louisville, Nebraska, which is operating an un-accredited school with uncertified teachers and curriculum. (The Nebraska 7 were reduced to 6 last week when one of the men chose to testify, and was promptly released by the judge, whose name is Ronald E. Reagan.)

The men are parents of children who attended the school, which has been violating state law for the past seven years. They and their wives were involved in operating the school and were subpoenaed by Judge Reagan. The men refused to testify and were jailed; the women fled the state with their children and are currently fugitives, the judge having ordered bench warrants for them and for the founder of the school, Rev. Everett Sileven.

It is reported in Nebraska that Sileven moved to the state in 1977 for the express purpose of violating the state law requiring accreditation of all schools, including church schools. (According to Rep. Hal Daub's office, 13 other states have similar requirements.)

There are two court cases here: the state's case against the school and Sileven, and the civil-rights case against Judge Reagan's actions and the law itself. The state's case continues; the civil-rights case was rejected by the Nebraska Supreme Court, which upheld Judge Reagan, and is currently being reviewed by a federal district judge in Nebraska.

It is also reported by Rep. Daub's office that Sileven is under investigation by the IRS for refusing to pay certain taxes in connection with the school.

Democratic Governor Robert Kerrey has appointed a four-person task force to review the matter. Congressman Hal Daub, who represents Louisville, sought to mediate the case with county attorneys and the fundamentalists, to no avail.

Analysis

Sileven is far-out even among the fundamentalist community. He is traveling throughout the country, rallying audiences to his side by suggesting that the fathers have been jailed for being Christian, for wanting to teach their kids independently, etc.

The Nebraska Legislature is currently considering legislation to modify the state's strong requirements. If the law passes -- and that is by no means certain -- Sileven may not be mollified, even if the other church leaders might be.

According to Daub's office, the situation in Nebraska is one of weariness of the issue and growing realization that their state is being invaded by national religious types -- from Jerry Falwell on down -- who have no appreciation for the state's traditions or laws. The Catholic Church in Nebraska is on the state's side; they have had little problem over the years with the requirements.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson has said that he agrees in principle with what much of the ministers are saying, and promised to act on his views before the Syrian trip. No further developments are known at this time.

The fundamentalist community is very upset with the lack of White House response on behalf of the church school. They feel "used" by the White House, and are staking much on the resolution of this problem, even though it is a state issue. They want to see the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division involved in the investigation of the case. Clarence Pendleton of the Civil Rights Commission is reportedly interested in the case, and may visit there shortly to examine the situation first-hand.

They want action, though it is not clear whether the White House can effect much change in the situation. Even if the White House or another third party were to mediate a compromise, Sileven and his extreme band might reject the whole thing. And the opinion back in Nebraska seems to be trending for the state and against the (out-of-state) fundamentalists. Nebraska is a quiet state with a proud tradition of quality education, and they appear to be standing firm on this one.

Political Consequences

In the state of Nebraska there is really no short or long term political consequences for the President, no matter what action he takes in this case.

January 11, 1984

Nationally, there can be some erosions of a base constituency for the President if he does not show some concern for the "Nebraska 7." That constituency is the Fundamentalist religious groups that generally support the President on most issues.

Whether this is short-term erosion or long-term cannot be determined at this time. My assumption is that it is short term.

Conclusion:

The President should express his feelings on this case, but should say that a compromise is necessary for both religious liberties and the will of the people of Nebraska to be served. The President should encourage, perhaps even aid in solution and settlement between the parties. Both sides are in some ways right here.

A meeting with the President and some of the National leadership of the Fundamentalist religious groups may show sufficient concern.

f (event never held)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1984

Memorandum for: Jim Cicconi
From: Marshall Breger (MB)
Subject: Invitation to Participate in Jewish Heritage Week Ceremony

Tuesday morning, May 8, at 11:00 a.m., Faith Whittlesey will be hosting a small ceremony in honor of Jewish Heritage Week in the Roosevelt Room. At this ceremony, the President's proclamation announcing Jewish Heritage Week will be read and handed over to representatives of the Jewish community. Since taking office, President Reagan has set aside one week every Spring in honor of Jewish Heritage Week.

The guests will represent a cross section of American Jewry. Primarily present will be New York Jewish leaders representing local and national Jewish groups. While I realize that Mr. Baker's schedule is very tight, I would be grateful if there is any possibility, at all, of his dropping by and briefly addressing the group for 2-3 minutes. I would be happy to prepare suitable remarks for Mr. Baker.

We have been unable to secure the President or the Vice-President for this event.

Proclamation issued

Jim - Is there a chance of Mr Baker "popping" his head in. I would organize the program to suit him. (MB)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 3, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CICCONI

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER *MB*

SUBJECT: Speaking Request for Jim Baker

On Thursday, April 5, the President will be addressing a Jewish group at the Plaza Hotel in New York City at 4:00 p.m. In addition to the President's address, the theme of the meeting will focus on family and neighborhood values and the private sector initiative approach to neighborhood improvement.

As Mr. Baker will be accompanying the President to New York, would it be possible for him to address the Jewish group sometime between 3:30 and 5:00 p.m. on some dimension of the domestic agenda? Mr. Rudy Guiliani, U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, will be addressing the issues of neighborhood crime at this same meeting.

At your earliest convenience, please let me know if Mr. Baker will be available for this speaking engagement. Thank you.

NOTE: informed Breger that
JAB would not be able to
do.

me
4/3/84

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1984

TO: JAB III

Marshall Breger has been told by Faith that you agreed to host the AIPAC reception described in the attached memo.

If so, they will need to firm up a date (either a Sunday or a Tuesday). Also, they are very flexible on the format and location. AIPAC will pick up all costs. I can work with Marshall to set this up in the most painless way, but need some guidance from you.

Reception and dinner (as VP did)?

No

Or just a reception?

Yes

Location: home?

No

WH/EOB?

Yes

Hotel?

(Remember, this involves 75 to 100 people.)

If this isn't nice enough.

How much time do you want to commit to this as the host?

You tell me

JAB

3/20 conveyed above
to Breger - will
talk further re details.

For
Jim Cicconi

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 15, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO FAITH WHITTLESEY

FROM: Marshall Breger MB

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee has requested that a high Administration official host a cocktail party for their "Capital Club" (read "heavy hitter") members on Sunday, April 8, or Tuesday, April 10 in conjunction with their 25th annual policy conference.

Vice President and Mrs. Bush hosted a buffet dinner and reception at the Vice President's residence for AIPAC last year. The event was attended by approximately seventy-five people and was paid for by AIPAC.

As we discussed, this social event might provide an opportunity for Jim Baker to develop ties with the AIPAC leadership that would be of benefit to this Administration. In my view, the details of any participation could be worked out in a manner amenable to Mr. Baker should he be interested and available. I would be grateful if you could let me know if Mr. Baker were interested in principle.

- could host at home or other location
- bill would be sent to AIPAC

MB/ps

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12 Jan. 1984

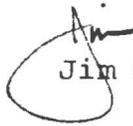
TO: JACK COURTEMANCHE

Jack, we've penciled this in on Jim Baker's schedule for 3:00 on the 18th per your note.

Roosevelt Room would be best if we could get it.

Also, this list includes 24 people, which is a far cry from the five people Morton and Carolyn suggested in their first memo (attached). Why do we need to do such a large group, especially with several Presidential events set for next 6-8 weeks? Can't we pare this list down significantly? A smaller group would be much better in terms of meeting dynamics, etc. If problem, let's talk on this point, OK?

Thanks.


Jim Cicconi

TO: JAB III
I assumed you'd feel the same way about this.

Jim

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 11, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK COURTEMANCHE

FROM: MORTON BLACKWELL
CAROLYN SUNDSETH

SUBJECT: Meetings on Religious Freedom and Recognition of
the Vatican

We have indicated with an * the ones who will be in town on January 18 for the meeting of the coalition on religious freedom. The other names are the ones we feel should be invited. With heavy public schedules, we believe the acceptance rate will make it just the right size group.

- Highlighted names are those suggested in 1/6 memo from Blackwell.*
- Dr. Ben Armstrong, Exec. Dir., National Religious Broadcasters
 - Jim Bakker, PTL Network
 - * William Bentley Ball, Constitutional Lawyer from Pennsylvania
 - * Bill Bright, Campus Crusade for Christ
 - Paul Crouch, Trinity Broadcasting
 - Jim Dobson, Radio and Tape Ministry on family
 - * Jimmy Draper, Head of Southern Baptists
 - Bob Dugan, Exec. Dir. National Assoc. of Evangelicals
 - * Jerry Falwell, Old Time Gospel Hour & Moral Majority
 - * Rabbi Joshua Haberman, Washington Hebrew Congregation
 - * Tim LaHaye, Radio and tape ministry to the family
 - Rex Humbard, TV evangelist
 - Don Howard, Accelerated Christian Education
 - Al Janney, American Association of Christian Schools
 - * James Kennedy, Evangelism Explosion, Coral Gables Presbyterian
 - Paul Kienel, Association of Christian Schools International
 - Oral Roberts, TV Evangelist; President of Oral Roberts Univ.
 - * Pat Robertson, Christian Broadcasting Network
 - * James Robison, TV and traveling evangelist
 - * Charles Stanley, Large Baptist Church in Atlanta & TV ministry
 - * Jimmy Swaggart, TV evangelist, Louisiana
 - Bob or Marte Tilton, Word of Faith Ministries, Dallas
 - * Bishop Thomas Welch, Roman Catholic Continental Supervisor of Education (Bishop of Allentown, PA - formerly Arlington)
 - * Ed Rowe, Church League of America

Ed Meese is available at 2:30 or 3:00. Jim Baker's scheduler had gone home. Bud McFarlane can do the Vatican briefing at 4:00. We will schedule the slide show on the family in this building immediately following, at 4:30. I will check on the room tomorrow.

of OPL - Religious

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/12/84

TO: Jim

FROM: Jack L. Courtemanche

*Sent note
to Bob C.
re why
increased
from 5 to
21 people*

- Recommended Action
- Review & Comment
- Information
- Other

FYI -

*Format Request will be
coming -*

*Could we do 3:00 on
1/18. - Jack*

1/11 JC
EMM + J will
meet with.
JMB

Discussion
w/ EMM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 6, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK COURTEMANCHE

FROM: CAROLYN SUNDSETH *Carolyn*
MORTON BLACKWELL *M*

SUBJECT: Nebraska 7

We suggest the following for the meeting with Faith and Ed Meese:

- Jerry Falwell (Independent Baptist)
- Jimmy Swaggart (Assemblies of God)
- Pat Robertson (CBN)
- James Kennedy (TV Minister, Coral Gables Presbyterian)
- Jimmy Draper (President, Southern Baptists)

If Mr. Meese would like to be briefed ahead of time, it would be good if a phone conversation could be arranged with William Bentley Ball. I am sure you know he is one of the outstanding constitutional lawyers in the U.S. and has been very active in the Christian school cases across the country, including the Carl Godwin case in Lincoln.

If more than two of the five cannot come, we would suggest contacting others in the coalition.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CICCONI, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE
PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT REILLY, ^{RR} SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO
THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Background Press Briefing on Religious
Persecution in Nicaragua

I have discussed the subject of this briefing with our White House Interagency Working Group on Central America as well as with some of the private sector participants in our Wednesday briefings. I suggest that we present at the briefing five representatives of various religious demoninations in Nicaragua who have been eye witnesses to the events there.

We could begin the briefing with a short introduction to the subject along with the distribution of the White House Digest on the Persecution of Christian Groups in Nicaragua and then briefly introduce the five representatives who could be seated together at the table. They then would each give short statements concerning their experience and then we could open the session for questions.

The following people have been suggested as effective witnesses to the religious persecution. Umberto Belli is the former editor of La Prensa. He used to be a Marxist but converted to Christianity. He has just published a book on the subject of the Sandinistas and religion. Miguel Bolanos Hunter was an agent of the State security system of the Sandinista regime. He helped plan disruptions of the Pope's Mass in Managua and recruited priests as agents of influence. I

attach a very powerful interview with him which the Institute on Religion and Democracy published. Geraldine Macias is the wife of Edgard Macias who was the Vice Minister of Labor under the Sandinistas. She is a former Maryknoll Nun. Along with Bolanos, she has participated in White House briefings and has done a superb job. Issac Gorn and Gabriel Levy are possible witnesses in the Jewish community. George Archibald is a Black creole from the Anglican Church who is very familiar with the persecution on the Atlantic Coast. Jose Gonzalez, a former priest, was head of a human rights organization in Nicaragua and also a confidante of Archbishop Obando Y Bravo. He currently resides in Costa Rica. We might consider having a representative from the Salvation Army, Colonel Ernest Miller or John Wiggins, who is in charge of their Latin American office and who is a former Maryknoll priest. Also recommended was Sylvio Diaz, a Moravian priest.

If we can set a propitious time for this background briefing, we can begin with a careful selection process and a more detailed arrangement.

cc: Bob Sims, NSC
Faith Whittlesey
Frank Donatelli

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST
is a service provided by the
White House Office of Media Relations and Planning

February 29, 1984

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIAN GROUPS IN NICARAGUA

"The religion of the workers has no God, because it seeks to restore the divinity of Man."

Karl Marx

"Every religious idea, every idea of a god, even flirting with the idea of a god, is unutterable vileness of the most dangerous kind, 'contagion' of the most abominable kind. Millions of sins, filthy deeds, acts of violence, and physical contagions are far less dangerous than the subtle spiritual idea of a god."

Lenin

History has shown us that Communist regimes inevitably seek to either eradicate the Church or to subvert it. Ideologically, the Church's existence is repugnant to them. Allegiance to God prevents total allegiance to and subjugation by the State, which, according to Marx, is the salvific vehicle for the secular transformation of man into god.

The Communists cannot tolerate this limitation on their absolute power. Thus, in the Soviet Union all but a tiny percentage of churches have been closed and religious affiliation routinely brings the loss of precious privileges and sometimes brings more serious persecution.

In Nicaragua, the self-admitted Marxist-Leninist (1) leaders of the government are following the same path. They are seeking to turn the Catholic Church, by far the largest in Nicaragua, into an arm of the government.

A small number of Catholic clergy have the government's official approval and sponsorship. They are used to generate support for the government, to spread the idea that only Marxists are true Christians, and to defame and divide the mainstream Church.

Meanwhile, the Sandinistas have harassed, persecuted and defamed legitimate church leaders, including Pope John Paul II. Church telecasts are subject to prior censorship and the Sandinistas seek to isolate the Church leadership from the people.

Suppression of minority Protestant groups has been much more brutal. Dozens of Protestant churches have been burned, Protestant leaders have been arrested, beaten, and deported. Certain Protestant churches have been officially denounced as instruments of American imperialism.

THE CHURCH VS. SOMOZA

Under the Somoza dictatorship, which was overthrown in 1979, the Catholic Church had been in the forefront of those forces calling for reform. Indeed, in 1979 the prelate of Nicaragua, Archbishop Obando y Bravo, took the extraordinary step of announcing that the Somoza regime had become intolerable and that Christians could in good conscience revolt against it.

At that time, the revolution against Somoza was broad based and included most of the mainstream leadership of Nicaragua. The revolution was publicly committed to democracy and pluralism. But, shortly after Somoza's ouster, the Communist faction -- with the control of the military -- began to consolidate its power.

Despite early danger signals, the Catholic hierarchy was initially supportive of the revolutionary government.

THE FIRST STEP

But, in October of 1980, the Sandinistas took their first real step toward the dual Communist goal of a) limiting the Church's influence, and b) coopting what is left of that influence for the government.

In a publicly promulgated policy on religion, the Sandinistas declared that Christians were not permitted to evangelize within Sandinista organizations. Moreover, only those religious who fully accepted the objectives of the Revolution, as put forth by the Sandinista leadership, were to be permitted to take an active role in public affairs. (2)

The Bishops responded swiftly and firmly, saying that such attempts to limit the influence of the Church were "totalitarian." Totalitarian systems, the Bishops argued, seek to turn the Church into an "instrument" by tolerating only those activities the government finds convenient. (3)

Edgard Macias served the Sandinista government as Vice Minister of Labor, but left Nicaragua when he realized the Sandinistas were intent on establishing a totalitarian Marxist-Leninist regime. Of the Sandinistas' attempt to turn the Church into an "instrument" Macias writes:

"The FSLN (the governing Sandinista organization) has had its plan of action drawn from the beginning, including unremitting harassment and the reduction and suppression of the social programs of the churches...They wish to reduce them [the churches] to a strictly liturgical function, which would be to keep them within their temples...the social pastoral of the churches should not exist since it generates an influence that 'interferes' with the unique leadership that the Front pretends to be." (4)

For some time after this exchange between the Bishops and the Sandinistas, the Church went out of its way to say conciliatory things about the regime, hoping to salvage a relationship. The Sandinista leadership is attempting to publicly represent itself as being pro-Church, something the overwhelming majority of the Catholic clergy seriously doubts. The historical record underscores these reservations.

PRIESTS AND POLITICS

In 1981, responding to Pope John Paul II's desire to keep the Church free of political entanglements, the Nicaraguan Bishops called on all Catholic clergy to limit their political activities to something less than full time devotion to the regime, or to any political faction.

A long controversy ensued. The Sandinista clergy refused to leave their posts. The Bishops, stymied, agreed that the Sandinista priests could temporarily remain in government as long as they did not exercise their priestly functions.

These high-ranking Sandinista priests that chose to discontinue their priestly functions while continuing to occupy political office are: Miguel D'Escoto, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Fernando Cardenal, director of Sandinista youth organizations; and his brother Ernesto, Minister of Culture.

Since that time, the Sandinistas campaign to rigorously support church factions responsive to its interests steadily intensified. Priests who have expressed a desire to leave the regime have been told by the Junta that they cannot resign from their posts, according to Edgard Macias.

THE "PEOPLE'S CHURCH"

The first step was to coopt and expand a unique Latin American institution called the Christian base community.

The base community is a neighborhood group of Catholics who meet for prayer and religious services but who also work together for social and political reform. Over the years, most of these groups have not been Marxist, but have worked for reforms that most Americans would recognize as basic.

However, the bishops had long recognized that the base communities have had the potential to become "prisoners of political polarization or fashionable ideologies which want to exploit their immense potential." (5)

The Sandinistas began to exploit that potential. Many base communities have remained loyal to the Catholic hierarchy, but many have been made instruments of the revolution, part of what the Sandinistas refer to as "the People's Church," a church subservient to the government.

The Sandinistas began to speak openly of two churches, one, the "Popular Church" which is the friend of the people, and the other which oppresses the people.

Macias again:

"It is ridiculous to see the 'revolutionary commanders' (who are declared Marxist-Leninists) using Christian terminology and even ... giving homilies on what the role of religion and the bishops should be. They say that while there is Sandinismo (FSLN) there will be Christianity, letting it be understood that outside of themselves there is no Christianity...No better example of how a political group can 'appropriate' religion and model it to its objectives can be found...Remember that the structure of the FSLN as a political party is fascist and anti-democratic, where the National Directorate has been artificially mythified..." (6)

In reference to the traditional and "popular church", Sandinista junta member Sergio Ramirez stated that one of these "churches" was not revolutionary, but the other church was:

"[A] church of change. This church became the people's ally. This church boosted the revolution and committed itself to this revolution. This church is participating in the revolutionary process and is incorporating the patriotic and revolutionary priests of whom we are very proud into the government." (7)

In response, Archbishop Obando y Bravo has condemned "those who are trying to divide the Church" and spread the idea that there is "one bourgeois church and another church for the poor." The Vatican has become so alarmed at the attempt of the Sandinistas to divide the church in Nicaragua that the Pope issued a Pastoral letter on June 29, 1982 which criticized advocates of the "popular Church" for their

"...infiltration of strongly ideological connotations along the lines of certain political radicalization of the class struggle, of acceptance of violence for the carrying out of political ends. It is not through a political role, but through the priestly ministry that the people want to remain close to the Church."

THE CHURCH AND THE SECRET POLICE

One of the first steps the Sandinistas took was to combine many of the so-called Sandinista Defense Committees with Christian base communities. The Defense Committees provide a network of informers and neighborhood surveillance, and have the authority to bestow certain privileges, such as internal travel permits or rationed items. These basic units of totalitarian control are also found in the Soviet Union, Eastern Bloc and Cuba.

According to Edgard Macias these these "people's churches," made up of the combination of the base communities and the defense committees, are under the supervision of Interior Minister Tomas Borge, whose portfolio includes the internal security/-secret police apparatus.

The People's Church accounts for only a minority of Nicaraguan Catholics. But the Sandinista controlled media pays enormous attention to their every action in support of the regime. The government endorses "liberation theology," the doctrine of the People's Church that portrays Christ as a Marxist revolutionary.

An underground publication from Honduras designed for group study, entitled "Reflections of an Honduran Christian Marxist," gives the typical perspective on "liberation theology": "[love for the poor] consists not only in giving them food, but in doing away with the cause of their poverty, that is their capitalist/-imperialist system. And in order to do this a Christian not only can be, but must be a Socialist, Marxist-Leninist, violent revolutionary."

Geraldine O'Leary Macias, Edgard's wife, was for many years a Maryknoll missionary in Nicaragua where she worked for social reform. She has seen first hand the Communists' attempt to coopt genuine Christianity for their own purposes:

"The Marxists have been very astute in using liberation theology to make it appear Marxist, making being a Christian synonymous with being a Sandinista, and defining revolution as Marxism. The only major change in this approach has been brought about by the non-Nicaraguan Marxists. As the Cubans, Bulgarians and East Germans have taken major roles as advisors to the police, army and militia, their anti-religious fervor has made apparent the very real contradictions between what the people of Nicaragua want and what the Sandinistas want." (8)

CENSORSHIP

While publicizing the People's Church, the Sandinistas, by July of 1981, had begun to cut off the Church's access to the media. Customarily, the Archbishop, or a priest designated by him, had celebrated mass every Sunday on Managua television, giving a sermon in the course of the Mass.

But in July, 1981, the Sandinistas announced that televised Masses would be rotated among Catholic priests. The Archbishop, seeing that pro-Sandinista "priests" would be chosen, refused. The televised Masses were cancelled.

According to Macias:

"The Archbishop's television Mass was suppressed when Commander Tomas Borge, Minister of the Interior, decided to impose a system that would eliminate his presence, substituting him for Sandino-Christian priests. The strategy was to substitute the authority of the Archbishop and his faculty of leadership of his faithful with the authority of the Supreme Chief of State Security [Borge] and his small group of loyal priests." (9)

Catholic Radio has since fallen under heavy daily censorship. Since March 1982, the independent newspaper La Prensa, through which the Archbishop also communicated with the people, has fallen under censorship at times far more severe than that of the Somoza dictatorship. However, the Archbishop is still permitted to publish his homily in La Prensa. (10)

By Easter of 1982, church leaders were required to submit their homilies to the Ministry of the Interior to be approved for broadcasting.

CENSORING THE POPE

In June 1982, the Pope sent a pastoral letter to the people of Nicaragua denouncing the government's attempts to establish a parallel Church, but publication of the letter was initially refused.

Archbishop Obando y Bravo has commented extensively on the Pope's letter. His comments shed light on some of the specific groups and mechanisms the Sandinistas have used to create a parallel church:

"I believe that there is a true internal intention of dividing the Church as is mentioned by His Holiness. When we speak of a 'Popular church' we should understand that in Nicaragua there are several centers that support it. Five centers have been created, all very well supplied and organized: Centro Antonio Valdivieso, CEPA, Eje Ecumenico, CEPAD, and the Instituto Historico Centroamericano. Their resources are abundant, they have full-time employees, theologians and laity, recording and printing facilities and abundant international aid. These groups enjoy exclusive access to the State communications network which runs 100% of the television channels, 90% of the radio stations and two out of three newspapers...."

"The virulence of their attacks has already reached the extreme of physical violence against some bishops. Externally the promoters of this popular church have mounted vast international propaganda campaigns...Vehicles for this are the international editions of Barricada...also their connections with other organs of Liberation Theology and akin religious groups distributed throughout the world." (11) (Emphasis added.)

Several of the Centers the Archbishop mentioned are often cited in this country.

According to Edgard Macias, the Sandinistas are even trying to create a new religious rite, the Sandino-Christian rite, complete with icons to Augusto Sandino, prayers to a new pantheon of martyred Sandinistas who are to be revered as saints, and even the beginnings of a cult of resurrection:

"Hung on the front of the old cathedral in Managua [was] an enormous picture of General Sandino in his most characteristic pose, but drawn within a white host, which is bordered by the red and black colors of the FSLN flag...The Nicaraguans were not over being surprised by this when on radio and television the campaign for the third anniversary of the revolution was spearheaded by a short ad in which the dead are no longer simply Sandinista heroes, but are now 'the Sandinista saints.' One named Navarrito, it is said 'died with worms eating his feet but he arose the same day,' thus comparing him with Jesus Christ, who, as we all know, took three days to do the same."

The most brazen use of the "People's Church" was made during John Paul II's visit to Nicaragua when he said Mass at a huge open square in Managua. Film taken by the Sandinista television network clearly shows that the Sandinistas used the occasion to stage a demonstration against the Pope during Mass.

As happens nearly everywhere the Pope goes, he was received with fervent enthusiasm by the crowd. During his homily he was interrupted again and again by friendly applause and cheers and shouts of "Long live the Pope!" The applause was particularly strong during those parts of his homily in which he denounced the "People's Church."

However, as the Sandinistas' own television film makes obvious, the places in the square nearest to the Pope were reserved for Sandinista activists, preequipped with microphones.

As the Pope came to the end of his homily these activists began to chant political slogans. When the Pope reached the most sacred part of the Mass, the Consecration of the bread and wine, the activists equipped with microphones actually began to make speeches, nearly drowning out the words of Consecration. The speakers demanded that the Pope insert into the Mass a prayer for the Sandinista martyrs -- perhaps as part of the plan to legitimize the Sandino-Christian rite.

The nine Sandinista "commandantes," who hold the real power in Nicaragua, stood on a platform near the Pope. They urged the demonstrators on, shouting slogans themselves and raising their fists in the air. At one point, uniformed men led the shouting activists in a protest march around the altar. Later, reliable sources revealed that the microphones used by the activists were actually being controlled by the same Sandinista technicians controlling the Pope's microphone.

UNDERMINING THE CHURCH HIERARCHY

The Sandinistas have begun to interfere with the hierarchy's right to assign priests to parishes. There are reports that replacement priests appointed by the Archbishop have been harassed by Sandinista controlled mobs. These mobs, organized by the Sandinista defense committees and the internal security forces, are referred to as las turbas divinas -- "the divine mobs."

Priests who do not preach or accept Marxist "theology," have been harassed by the mobs. Especially in the countryside, legitimate priests often have their services interrupted. Sometimes the mobs will turn the Mass into a political meeting.

In Managua the Sandinistas have staged physical attacks against the legitimate clergy, including the Archbishop Bosco Vivas, the auxiliary bishop of Managua, who was shoved and pushed to the ground by a Sandinista mob last August. (12)

The Sandinistas have also mounted campaigns to discredit Church leaders, such as Father Bismark Carballo, the director of Catholic Radio and public spokesman for the Archbishop. Having been called to the home of a parishoner, he was forced to disrobe by security force personnel and then forced into the street in front of T.V. cameras and Sandinista mobs planted in advance.

After the pictures of the incident and the story were printed in the Nicaraguan press, the Sandinistas were badly embarrassed by this transparent attempt to frame a major Church spokesman.

By September 1982 the situation had gotten so serious that Archbishop John R. Roche, the President of the U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops, issued a statement criticizing the Sandinistas:

"In recent weeks, institutions and persons of the Church, including bishops, have been subjected to attacks of a serious, at times disgraceful nature...We cannot fail to protest in the strongest possible terms, the attempted defamation and acts of physical abuse directed at prominent clerics, the inappropriate exercise of State control over the communications media, including those of the Church, the apparent threats to the Church's role in education, and, most ominous of all, the increasing tendency of public demonstrations to result in bloody conflict." (13)

Edgard Macias sums up well the treatment of the Catholic Church by the Sandinistas:

"It [religion] is something to be provisionally permitted because it already exists and despite their wishes, has to be permitted as a 'lesser evil' that cannot be immediately eliminated. But it has been sentenced to a gradual and progressive extinction." (14)

PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANT GROUPS

Persecution of Protestant groups has been even more direct and brutal because their smaller size has left them more vulnerable.

While the Sandinistas were still consolidating their power immediately after the revolution, they did little to harass the Protestant groups. According to Humberto Belli, a former editor of La Prensa, the only independent newspaper in Nicaragua, up through 1981 there was little persecution except for harassment of some village pastors.

Says Belli: "the Protestant pastors...were conscious of their vulnerability and tried to abstain from any kind of commentaries touching the political field. Some of them even preferred to reassure the government of their loyalty." (15)

Occasionally groups of "revolutionary Christians" published leaflets attacking Protestant denominations as agents of U.S. imperialism. The government controlled media often propagated these charges.

In 1982 these attacks became direct. According to Belli:

"In March, just a few days before the government cancelled all individual rights and decreed a state of emergency, Barricada, the official newspaper of the Sandinistas, published two front-page, 8 column reports on the Protestants, entitled: 'The Invasion of the Sects.'...In that Report many Protestant denominations such as the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jehovah's Witnesses were portrayed as groups of fanatics and superstitious people who liked to manipulate people's emotions and were part of a world-wide strategy of cultural penetration orchestrated by U.S. imperialism."

"Shortly after these publications the attacks grew more and more vocal and the first physical threats were issued. Commander Tomas Borge...said there would be religious freedom for those who were with the revolution, but for those who were deceiving people and preaching negative attitudes their days were numbered." (16)

On July 30, 1982, Radio Sandino covered a speech on the subject by Borge. According to Radio Sandino:

"Borge said that the religious sects -- the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Adventists, the Mormons and other groups opposed to the revolution -- are under investigation...He noted that a bill is being submitted to the State Council that will require religious sects to register with the authorities before they begin operation." (17)

In a speech on July 17 Borge had said:

"There are a large number of sects that are being funded by the CIA...Some of them have mother churches in the United States. The most famous sects -- and it is best for the people to know their enemies -- are: Jehovah's Witnesses, the Mormons and the Adventists...Other sects are the Voice of Acclamation and the Wesleyan Church, whatever the hell that means...It is evident that we have to make a serious study to counteract their diversionist activity financed by the CIA of the United States and take measures of a police nature according to the laws of the revolution in order to control and neutralize certain activities that disrupt the country's internal order. To begin with, a large number of these sects are not registered with the pertinent government offices, thus making them illegal." (18)

Borge encouraged mob action against the Protestant churches. By August 1982 more than 20 Managua Protestant Churches had been seized by the "divine mobs." Some, but not all, of the confiscated properties were returned, but only on condition that the ministers refrain from criticizing the government.

Among the Christian organizations forced out of Nicaragua is the Salvation Army, whose charitable and religious activities there ended in August, 1980 after "ominous verbal threats from authorities, and, finally, instructions to close up the program and leave the country." (19)

Religious persecution has also affected the small Jewish community in Nicaragua. The community had been so intimidated by Sandinista actions and rhetoric during and after the revolution that virtually the entire community has fled the country. An article by Shoshana Bryen in the Wall Street Journal summed up the situation well when it said:

"There are some who believe the actions taken against Jewish citizens were the result of severe Sandinista anti-capitalism, but the death threats, the immediate confiscation of businesses and private property, the torching of Managua's synogogue (and later its confiscation) and the arrest and harrassment of Nicaragua's Jews were not examples of burgeoning socialism... Other small, politically vulnerable communities in that area may suffer a fate similar to the Jews in Nicaragua, where the PLO is assisting the Soviet Union in the export of revolution and anti-Semitism." (20)

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION OF THE INDIANS

Perhaps the most tragic case of persecution perpetrated by the Sandinistas is that inflicted on the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians of Nicaragua's isolated Atlantic Coast.

Most of the members of these tribes are members of minority Protestant Churches, especially the Moravian church. Living in isolation from most of Nicaragua, they have had little to do with any government. The Moravian missionaries filled the gap by providing most of the schools, hospitals and support organizations that maintained the area.

The campaign of persecution against the Indians has thus far been directed largely at their religious leaders and institutions. In attacking the Indians' religious leaders, the Sandinistas are attacking their source of unity and strength more than attacking their religion itself.

As Belli explains, "When the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, they immediately announced that their top priority was to 'rescue' the Atlantic Coast." Cuban and Nicaraguan personnel began to flood into the area.

The Sandinistas began a heavy-handed attempt to redesign the lives of the Indians along Marxist lines, and "started to replace the people's own leaders with [the Sandinistas'] own authorities -- many of whom were Cuban teachers and strangers." Resentments, repression, and riots followed in short order. Reports Belli:

"The Sandinistas blamed the events on counter-revolutionary and CIA inspired forces, and began attacking the most influential Moravian pastors. Some of them were jailed and others expelled, stimulating new waves of protest and repression. [The government] stepped up its attacks and dismantled the network of charitable organizations that, after a century of work, the Moravians had established." (21)

The Sandinistas sealed off the entire Atlantic coast. Travel to the region was allowed only by special permit. Indians were drafted into the militia. Those who refused were shot or forcibly relocated. Villages were forcibly evacuated and then burned. According to Edgard Macias, by midsummer 1982 the Sandinistas had destroyed 55 Moravian churches.

Ministers who are still allowed to preach in the region must submit their sermons to local Sandinista censors. Indian leaders have been rounded up and jailed. The three-tribe umbrella organization created to represent the Indians' interest to the government was shut down.

Two of the most prominent Moravian leaders, Rev. Norman Bent and Rev. Fernando Colomens had been prevented from staying in the Atlantic Coast area. The Moravian Social Action Committee has been closed by the FSLN.

In November of 1982, the Misurasata Council of Ancients (elders), the legitimate representatives of the people of the three tribes, officially denounced the Sandinista government before the Organization of American States.

In that denunciation the Ancients explained that, despite their "active participation in the struggle for liberation [against Somoza] and our decided support for the revolutionary government headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front...", their people had been subjected to "intense repression, lack of respect for our religious beliefs and traditions, imprisonment of our leaders, massive captures of peasants, women, the aged and children, rapes, beatings, torture, and the death and disappearance of prisoners..."

"The situation has progressively worsened... They have expelled us from the land we received from our ancestors... Thousands of members of our communities are at this time kept, on Nicaraguan territory, in concentration camps under strict military vigilance, while more than 1,500 Indians have been obliged to seek refuge in the sister republic of Honduras..."

"They live in refugee camps, almost at the mercy of the elements, with grave health and nutrition problems especially amongst the children who walk around practically naked and suffer from parasites and many illnesses."

The details of this persecution are particularly horrifying.

According to the Council of the Ancients, in January and February of 1982: "the FSLN with the pretext of 'spreading national sovereignty' destroyed 49 communities, burning more than 4,000 houses, and then, so that no one could return to their land of origin, cut down the fruit trees, shot all the domestic animals ... and forced the persons that lived there to begin a forced march that took 11 to 15 days in order to arrive at the different concentration camps..."

"During the forced march ... the invalids, lame, blind and paralyzed persons were gathered together in the village of Tulinbilia, they were put inside the Church and they were burned -- 13 persons thus died."

In February also, Rev. Sandalio Patron, the leader of the Sumo Indians, was imprisoned.

Throughout the year the same story was repeated. In the third week of March, according to the Ancients, four more villages were burned, all the houses, churches, and domestic animals destroyed.

In April, religious leader Rev. Abel Flores and 13 deacons were arrested, mounted into a government helicopter and whisked away. No one is told where they were taken. A community called Suma de Kuahbul was occupied by the military. The villagers were forbidden to leave their homes, making normal life, including food gathering, impossible.

In May all churches in North Zelaya were told they must submit all messages for publication to the approval of State Security. The Indian community of Raity was destroyed; half the population fled to Honduras.

In June the Sandinista troops carried out the massacre of Musawas. Only the direct words of the Council of Ancients can adequately convey what happened in Musawas:

"On June 29, 1982, another military regiment of about 40 men appeared at about 9:00 PM. They captured [abducted] Mrs. Aquilina Robin, Calilda Lopez [and] Virginia Benjamin, and placed them in the church; about 30 minutes after, another group of soldiers brought two girls of 12 years each, [Maria Hernandez and Lodena Lopez] and they too were placed in the church. The women began to scream; about 11 o'clock that night, the relatives of the three women and two girls, filled with indignation and family love, approached the church and asked why they were ill-treating the women. They were also taken prisoners and brutally conducted into the church."

"Sometime around 12 o'clock that night, the Sandinista troop took the women out of the church. The girl, Maria Hernandez, of 12 years, was dragged out; because, after she was violated by the troop, she was unable to walk..."

"After the five women were carried outside the church, they were placed face down on the ground; one of the soldiers yelled 'not even as women are they any good; not even satisfaction can they give; I still remain with the desire, stinking daughters of sluts.' Presently a group of soldiers came out of the Church and machine gunned them."

Over the next 24 hours, 15 more villagers were murdered by the troops. "This act dispersed the community of Musawas. They went to the woodland looking how to save their lives. Thirty-three were captured and held hostage."

"The Community of Musawas presently in refugee camp in Mocoson is witness to all that took place at Musawas."

In July martial law was declared in the communities of Tuara, Sisin, Kuaquil, Boomsirpi and Yulotigni. The villagers were not allowed to leave their homes or celebrate religious services. According to the Indian elders, eight armed Sandinistas raped the 12 year old daughter of Rev. Serminio Nicho, a religious leader in Ninayeri Sandebay North.

According to the Ancients, the "months of August, September and October are a true Calvary for the 10 Indian communities of Puerto Cabezas. The communities are put under a state of siege. The villagers are prohibited from fishing in the ocean, communal lands are expropriated, villagers are forbidden to leave the village. Masses and religious services are frequently closed down or can be celebrated only with previous permission."

The tactic of restricting the villagers to the village and of prohibiting them from fishing in the ocean or from using their communal lands is devastating because it can put the villagers on the brink of starvation. (22)

The Indians have given the Organization of American States (OAS) many pages of detailed eyewitnesses accounts of torture and murder by the Sandinistas. There is no need to recount all the gruesome stories here.

CONCLUSION

As the Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega has made clear, "Marxism is the scientific doctrine that guides our revolution ... our doctrine is Marxism-Leninism." (23) Conforming to that doctrine, the Sandinistas are systematically attempting to coopt religious organizations that might threaten the FSLN's ability to dominate Nicaraguan political and social life.

Due to the strength of the Catholic Church, the Sandinista strategy has been to infiltrate, censor and control, rather than to eradicate outright.

At times, particularly when the weight of foreign opinion has been high, the Sandinistas have backed off, at least overtly, their persecution of the Church. During this five-day period, however, the following actions were taken against the Church:

Midnight, Oct. 29, 1983: Mobs began to demonstrate at twenty-two churches in the Managua area, and at an unknown number of churches outside Managua. The mobs, which ranged in size from 50 to 200 persons, interrupted Masses, chanted at churchgoers, and in several cases threatened priests.

0800 Oct. 30: A mob armed with clubs arrived at Saint Jude church in Managua. According to the pro-government press, the mob was acting against a church planned demonstration against the new national military service law. The mob interrupted Mass, and reportedly struck Father Silvio Fonseca. The mob refused to allow Monsignor Bosco Vivas to enter the Saint Jude area. A second mob prevented the holding of a church bazaar (kermesse) later that day.

1030 Oct. 30: Catholic Church leadership (Curia) decided to cancel Masses for the day. Curia was unable to contact some priests, who carried out scheduled activities.

1700 Oct. 30: A mob armed with clubs interrupted Mass at the San Francisco church in the Bolonia area of Managua, breaking church windows and vandalizing cars.

Night of Oct. 30: A mob gathered in front of the Santa Maria church in the San Juan neighborhood of Managua. Another mob burned a tire on the front steps of the Santa Carmen church.

Oct. 31: The government revoked the residency of two foreign priests, in effect exiling them. The two priests were Luis Corral Prieto, of Spain, and Jose Maria Pacheco, of Costa Rica, respectively the director and assistant director of Salesian school in Masaya.

Oct. 31: The Government announced the arrest of a Father Antonio (a citizen of Italy) for allegedly preaching against the national military service and advocating counterrevolutionary activities.

Nov. 2: The Catholic Church leadership postponed religious services for November 2, (All Souls' Day), calling instead for a day of fasting and prayer. The postponed masses were held November 3.

Sixty-five years of applied Marxist-Leninist doctrine have shown that communism will not accept co-existence with any religion that does not concede supreme authority to it. To the extent that Marxist-Leninist regimes allow churches to operate they do so because they are forced to, as in Poland, or for tactical reasons aimed at the ultimate objective of eradicating religion from society.

The overwhelming evidence of the wide-spread persecution of Christian Churches in Nicaragua is a sad reminder of the sometimes forgotten nature of Marxism-Leninism and its total antipathy for freedom of religion.

FOOTNOTES

1. See for example: August 25, 1981 speech of Humberto Ortega; Managua Domestic Service (Radio) 23 April, 1982 (Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) 28 April, 1982 p. P9); Managua Radio Sandino 26 February, 1983 (FBIS 28 Feb., 1983 p. P17)

2. "Comunicado Oficial de la Direccion Nacional del FSLN sobre la Religion," Barricada, October 7, 1980.

3. "Contestacion al Comunicado del FSLN sobre la Religion (October 17, 1980)," Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano, July-December, 1980.

4. Macias, Edgard; "The Sandinista Revolution and Religion" presented to the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America; (July, 1983).

5. "Jesucristo y la Unidad de su Iglesia en Nicaragua," (Carta Pastoral, October 22, 1980), Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano, July-December, 1980.

6. Macias, op. cit.

7. Radio Sandino, Managua, June 10, 1981.

8. Geraldine O'Leary de Macias; "Christians in the Sandinista Revolution," (January, 1983).

9. Macias, op. cit.

10. Washington Times, July 26, 1983.

11. Archbishop Obando y Bravo, "Comments on the Papal Letter," La Prensa, Managua, August 14, 1983.

12. Archbishop John R. Roche, comments on the United States Catholic Conference, Washington, D.C., September 9, 1982.

13. Roche, op. cit.

14. Macias, op. cit.

15. Humberto Belli, "Persecution of Protestants in Nicaragua: The Neglected Story," 1983.

16. Belli, op. cit.

17. FBIS Central America, August 2, 1982, p. 7.

18. FBIS, Central America, July 21, 1982, p. 13.

19. Letter, September 12, 1983 from Salvation Army LTC Ernest A. Miller.

20. Shoshana Bryen, The Wall Street Journal, August 24, 1983.

21. Belli, op, cit.

22. Miskito Indian Council of Ancients of Misurasata. Testimony presented to the Organization of American States, May, 1981 - October, 1982.

23. Humberto Ortega, quoted by Branko Lazitch in Est et Ouest (Paris) August 25, 1981.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Sent CRS in; anything
productive they can do;
monitor situation for DOJ.

CRS v. eff. in trying to
calm things down, but
only in direct proportion to
ability to work quietly.
Cannot ballyhoo...

tell Cribb

Gov Blue Ribbon report due
at end of month -

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH WHITTLESEY

THROUGH: Jack Courtemanche *JCF*

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*

SUBJECT: Development of the Nebraska Church-State
Confrontation

Our religious supporters are close to boiling over because of the Administration's failure to express any sympathy, much less solidarity, with the Christian schools under attack by state authorities in Nebraska.

Three times Reverend Jesse Jackson has called Dr. Jerry Falwell, attempting to arrange a personal meeting to be followed by a joint visit to Nebraska to show support for the seven imprisoned parents and many church-related schools in legal difficulties there.

The first Jackson-Falwell meeting was to be at Jackson's home on the Monday after Christmas, the alternate choice was to be the Hay-Adams for supper. Falwell got out of both invitations, but the pressure on him for action is intense.

Just before Jackson left for Syria, he called Falwell again to say he wants to pursue the matter of freeing those imprisoned in Nebraska as soon as he returns to the United States.

Dr. Falwell's top assistant, Dr. Ron Godwin told me Tuesday, "We cannot ignore this any longer. I don't know of any issue which has caused us to be so beat up by our constituency. The people at the grassroots are saying, 'Falwell has been co-opted by the White House and has taken a walk.' We've got to show some leadership."

On Tuesday, the Nebraska situation was featured powerfully on Pat Robertson's 700 Club live, national broadcast. Robertson plans a second segment on this topic for his program today.

No major group in the United States would be surprised and none except the National Education Association would be

outraged if the President released some statement expressing concern for the civil rights and religious freedom of those being attacked by the Nebraska authorities. This is virtually the only state where such objectionable controls are held to be mandatory on religious schools.

The situation is rather analogous to the segregation issue twenty years ago. In this case, the constitutional question relates to religion rather than to race. But feelings run just as high among supporters of these embattled clergy, faculty, and parents as ever they did among the Freedom Riders of the last generation. This and related church freedom struggles are becoming the civil rights issues of the 1980's.

If there continues to be silence on this issue from this Administration, I am sure there will shortly be a non-partisan, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish coalition of nationally prominent clergy in Nebraska, perhaps including Jesse Jackson. They will loudly proclaim, "Neither the President nor the Republican Party nor Democratic Party has responded in this crisis, so we are taking our case to the American people!" When things come to that point, the religious groups most supportive of the 1980 Reagan winning coalition will be effectively uncoupled from the President.

MCB:jet

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: MORTON C. BLACKWELL

FROM: William Cattan *WC*

SUBJECT: Washington protest for Faith Baptist Church

This past Thursday, December 15, a protest was held in Lafayette Park by supporters of Dr. Everett Sileven, Pastor of Faith Baptist Church, Louisville, Nebraska, and the seven members of his church who were jailed November 23 on contempt of court charges.

The National Park Police estimated the crowd at 500, and perhaps a quarter of those there had made the trip directly from Louisville. The rest of the crowd were mainly Baptists from churches all over the east coast (Massachusetts to Florida) and the mid-western states.

During the opening of the protest all of the Pastors and lay representative of religious organizations introduced themselves, and there were about 65 individual churches represented.

The main point of most of the posters and speeches was to draw an analogy between Christian persecution in the Soviet Union and what they saw as the rising specter of Christian persecution in America. One poster queried: "How is Nebraska like Russia. Answer: they both have Nebraska corn and Christian persecution."

The judge who ordered the arrest warrants for the seven men presently in jail, and the Governor of Nebraska, came in for the most criticism, with President Reagan a close third. The criticism of the President was two-fold. First, the protesters said that they, and other Christian evangelicals, although appreciative of all that the President had done for them in the past, felt that the real test of his friendship would come in this situation when the chips were really down and individual freedoms were at stake. Secondly, they rejected the claim that the Justice Department could not get involved in State issues citing, for example, the Carter Administration's intervention in Nebraska courts when litigation was taking place over the State's decision on the extension of the ERA.

The protest lasted several hours, and was orderly and without incident. Following the protest, ten of the religious leaders met with Secretary of Education Bell.

Churches pushing voter registration

BY A WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF WRITER

The National Council of Churches and more than a score of religious agencies have launched a massive voter registration and education program in 30 areas of the United States where there are the highest numbers of unregistered poor people.

The new effort is known as Churches' Committee for Voter Registration/Education, and if successful, could offset intensive efforts by Moral Majority and other New Right organizations to register voters and enlist them for causes which they espouse.

Buoyed by efforts in the 1960s when church agencies were active in having large numbers of the poor in the South register, the new group said this will be the first national effort specifically by church groups.

The Rev. Paul L. Kittlaus, director of the United Church of Christ's Washington Office for Church in Society, said the effort is planned along non-partisan lines and is "to help poor people participate in government and, hopefully, to make Congress more accountable to poor people."

Despite the disclaimer that it will not

be partisan, as with the efforts during the 1960s it is expected that if large numbers of the poor are registered and follow through on voting, it would be a decided assist to the Democrats. The New Right efforts, some of it by religious groups, have been in behalf of conservative causes.

In the new group's education efforts, once poor people are registered to vote, insofar as much of the orientation of the religious groups involved is toward liberal domestic policies, this likewise is expected to work to the advantage of Democrats.

The committee has hired Deborah Livingston, staff associate of the National Association of Social Workers, as project manager of the committee for a 14-month period. The CCVRE seeks \$387,000 in grants. The United Church of Christ Board for Homeland Ministries at the outset contributed the largest single amount, \$35,000.

Workers in voter registration are spurred in their efforts by statistics which indicate that only about 30 percent of eligible low-income people claim to have voted, while more than 70 percent of those having incomes of \$25,000 or more vote.

— William F. Willoughby

RONALD REAGAN LIBRARY
TRANSFER/PARALLEL FILE SHEET

Please circle "preservation" (put in AV, etc.), "classified" (parallel filed in vault/annex), "collection" (misfile, provenance), "RD/FRD" (parallel file)

PRESERVATION CLASSIFICATION COLLECTION RD/FRD

FROM:

Collection Ciccoci James W.: Files

Series II. Subject File

File Folder Title/Casefile #/NSC # [Personnel]

Box Number 11

Description of Material:

Casefile re proposed First Amendment speech,
5/2/84, 3p.

TO:

Collection: Ciccoci, James W.: Files

Series: II. Subject File

File Folder Title/Casefile #/NSC # [Religious Groups]

Box Number: 12

Transferred by: C. Baston

Date: 8/29/04

NEED ONE COPY IN ORIGINAL LOCATION
SECOND COPY WITH ITEM PARALLEL FILED OR TRANSFERRED
THIRD/FOURTH* COPY FOR COLLECTION FOLDERS - * IF TRANSFERRING TO/FROM TWO
COLLECTIONS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES CICCONI

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER *MB*

SUBJECT: Attached Memorandum regarding
First Amendment Speech

The enclosed correspondence follows up on a point we discussed some time ago. I would be grateful if you could liase with Mr. Fielding and Ted Olsen to organize an administration position on the need for pluralism in First Amendment jurisprudence.

*tasked w/ Breger re this
5/7 gwc*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED FIELDING

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER *MB*

SUBJECT: Ted Olsen - First Amendment Speech

As you will remember you had agreed to speak with Ted Olsen about giving a First Amendment speech which would calm church-state fears in the Jewish community. My understanding is that Ted had requested a letter to the Attorney General requesting such a speech from you or some other senior staff member at the White House.

I believe it is important to underscore to those citizens concerned about church-state issues that our focus on free exercise considerations in no way necessitates a desire to establish any particular religion. An authorized speech by Ted Olsen would be useful in that effort. I have no doubt that it would be helpful in quelling continuing fears in the Jewish community - fears that have already been seized upon by those unsympathetic to the Administration.

Attached is the dreaft letter you had asked me to prepare for you to send to Ted Olsen - should he still wish one. If you feel that another White House official would be more appropriate to get this ball rolling or that someone other than Olsen should give such a speech, please let me know.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

DRAFT LETTER

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1984

Dear Bill:

I understand Marshall Breger in Public Liaison has spoken with Ted Olsen about the possibility of having the Justice Department articulate the Administration's position on the establishment and free exercise clauses by giving a cleared speech on our church-state policy to a major Jewish organization. Such a speech would be designed to quell apprehensions in the Jewish community that the Administration's support for school prayer is intended to read the Jews out of the American "civil religion."

I think this is a good idea. It is important for us to underscore our belief that encouragement of spiritual values and support for equal access will not lead to religious exclusivity.

Please let me know what your thoughts are on this matter.

Sincerely,

Fred F. Fielding
Counsel to the President

The Honorable William French Smith
United States Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.