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October 30, 1984

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Dear Earl:

Thank you very much for your letters. I agree with you about our friend Marcos. I recently met with Prelate Sin when he was here who is concerned about the situation. We're trying to work with Fernando on his economic problems but not out in front to the point of giving a kiss of death.

Earl, you were kind with regard to the debate but I felt flat -- sort of like a fighter leaving his fight in the locker room. I did feel better about the second "go round." But I thank you for your words of support.

Nancy sends her love and from both of us to Lesly. As you can imagine we're both counting the days.

Best regards,

RON A

Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith
1021 North Ocean Boulevard
Palm Beach, Florida 33480

RR:AVH:pps

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841106

HANDWRITING FILE

To Amos. Earl. E.T. Smith 1021 No. Ocean Blvd.

Dear Earl

Palm Beach Fla. 33480

Thank you very much for your letters. I agree with you about our friend Marcos. I was a little taken aback recently when the Prelate Sin was here. I'd always known of him as a strong supporter but he sounded a little as if he'd cooled. We're trying to work with Fernando on his ec. problems but not out in front to the point of giving a basis of death.

Earl you were kind with regard to the debate but I felt ~~flat~~ flat - sort of like a fighter leaving his fight in the locker room. I did feel better about the second "go round". But I thank you for your words of support.

Nancy sends her love & from both of us to Leely. As you can imagine we're both counting the days.

Best Regards
Ron

1021 NORTH OCEAN BOULEVARD
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA 33480

October 8, 1984

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Heartiest congratulations on the debate. As always, you were a gentleman in the true sense of the word.

In the next debate, may I suggest that you remind Senator Mondale of the consistent annual budget deficits the American people have had under Democrat administrations (including the Carter-Mondale administration).

The enclosed article of the October 8th WALL STREET JOURNAL points out that "after watching its economic clout erode throughout much of the 1970s, the United States is again flexing its muscles as the world's pre-eminent economic super power.

With affectionate regards to Nancy and yourself from Lesly and



Earl E. T. Smith

Enclosure

1021 NORTH OCEAN BOULEVARD
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA 33480

October 1, 1984

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President

President Marcos is under the impression that the Philippines are Cuba all over again. Representatives of Marcos in Washington asked for sufficient copies of my book "The Fourth Floor"-an account of the Castro Communist Revolution - for every member of the House and Senate. This was not possible as the plates have been destroyed by the publisher, Random House.

Although I am sure you are thoroughly familiar with the Senate staff report made public that "It's a foregone conclusion that the Marcos era is in its terminal state" - perhaps the enclosed New York Times article of September 30, 1984 may be of interest.

Well do I remember in a similar situation, the words of President Franklin D. Roosevelt: "He may be a son of a bitch, but he is our son of a bitch."

You have captured the hearts of America. Florida is yours for sure. Senator Mondale is doing a great job of convincing the American people of his complete lack of good judgment.

With affectionate regards to Nancy and yourself from Lesly and



Earl E. T. Smith

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

84 OCT 1984 OCT 14 4 1: 18

DATE: 10/4/84 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: LETTER OF OCTOBER 1 FROM EARL E.T. SMITH

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REMARKS:

The original has gone forward to the President.

RESPONSE:

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
Ext. 2702

U.S. Analysts Find Marcos Government in Danger

By LESLIE H. GELB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 — Reagan Administration and Senate staff analysts have concluded that the Philippine Government of President Ferdinand E. Marcos is in serious political trouble and may not survive.

The analysts have also found that Communist insurgents are growing in strength throughout the country.

According to a Senate staff report made public today, "many Filipinos" see it as "a forgone conclusion that the Marcos era is in its terminal stage."

To the Senate staff analysts, the widespread view in the Philippines is that "if Marcos and his group cling to the reins of government by force of arms, there will be a vastly reduced chance for the restoration" of democracy in the country.

Carl W. Ford and Frederick Z. Brown, who wrote the analysis based on two recent visits to the Philippines over a 19-day period, did not find the Marcos regime "to be in physical jeop-

ardly in the short term, one or two years." But they said they had found the political, economic and security problems facing the nation to be "fundamental."

State Department and Pentagon officials who monitor developments in Asia were said to share this general assessment and particularly the judgment of the growing power of the Communist-led insurgency.

In reaction to alarming reports this summer from the United States Embassy in Manila, Administration officials said, the State Department in August organized a special inter-departmental group on the Philippines that has been meeting at least once a week since then. This group was said to have prepared a 60-page paper similar in analysis to the Senate report but going beyond that report in making recommendations for urgent action by the United States Government, including increased economic and military aid. The officials would not provide specifics.

The same officials said the study had not been forwarded to Secretary of State George P. Shultz or the National Security Council for decisions. They said that work on the study and recommendations were continuing and that there was increasing sentiment among Administration experts that the Philippines would be better off if Mr. Marcos relinquished power.

At the same time, the expert view within the Administration remains that the United States should do nothing to precipitate Mr. Marcos's removal, they said.

The Senate report described the leadership in the Philippines as "virtually bankrupt in terms of public confidence," and said Filipinos doubted that the Marcos Government "understands fully or can cope effectively with the Communist threat."

The report also made these points: ¶ "Most disturbing is the fact that the insurgency — the rationale for imposing martial law 14 years ago — is stronger today than ever before."

¶ The assassination of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the opposition leader, last year was "a potent blow to the Marcos regime's credibility" and "changed the political scene fundamentally."

¶ The insurgent front, "which is heavily influenced by the Communist Party," also contains non-Communists, and the "moderate oppositionists who hope to stay within the democratic system are increasingly caught in the middle."

¶ "There is widespread resentment of corruption, cronyism and economic inequality."

While the Senate staff analysts expressed the view that Mr. Marcos could retain power "indefinitely one way or another," they also felt that "his tenure appears increasingly insecure."

Based on their interviews, Mr. Ford and Mr. Brown concluded that the insurgents, barring a total collapse of the Marcos Government, did "not appear ready to mount a sustained nationwide offensive." They estimated the insurgents' armed strength at 12,500 "countrywide and growing."

Administration experts said the insurgents got most of their arms and funds from stealing and from popular support. "We have no feeling of massive outside support," said one.

The Senate report asserted that there was still a strong feeling among Filipinos that democracy could and should be made to work. It cited the National Assembly elections of last May 14 as an "outpouring of popular support for the democratic process," and called attention to the fact that the opposition won almost one-third of the 183 seats that were contested.

The election "created at least the possibility of an effective parliamentary opposition, although opposition elements are not yet united in tactics and goals," the report said.

**National Security Council
The White House**

System # _____
Package # 7498

84 OCT 4 P 2: 20

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I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other Sizer
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COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
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RECEIVED 04 OCT 84 14

TO PRESIDENT

FROM SMITH, EARL

DOCDATE 01 OCT 84

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KEYWORDS: PHILIPPINES

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SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM EARL SMITH RE SITUATION IN PHILIPPINES

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84 DEC 27 P4:48

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UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8434312 & 8433525

Date December 27, 1984

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan From: Preston Wright and (Sandra Climaco)

Date: Nov. 14, 1984 Subject: Mrs. Climaco's Letter

WH Referral Dated: December 13, 1984 NSC ID# 280531 (if any)

The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

previously closed
copy

Action Taken:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
- Other.

Remarks:

DRAFTED: EAP/PHL: R [initials]

Cleared: EAP/PHL: JF Maisto
EAP: PD Wolfowitz [PW]

Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

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United States Department of State

Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs

PAT

'84 DEC 22 P9:37

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 22, 1984

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am writing in response to your letter dated November 14, 1984, to President Reagan concerning the recent killing of your father-in-law, and my good friend, Cesar Climaco.

The Department, the American Embassy in Manila and all the U.S. officials who knew and dealt with Cesar share your sadness and frustration over his death. Cesar was highly respected by the many Department and Embassy officers with whom he had contact over the years. We considered him a staunch friend of the United States principally because Cesar Climaco shared our faith in the democratic ideal and insisted upon democratic solutions to resolve the political and economic problems of the Philippines. Support for the Filipino people as they work to revitalize their own democratic institutions is the heart of U.S. policy toward the Philippines.

Like the Climaco family and Cesar's friends and supporters, we are also concerned about the possible political implications of this assassination. We believe the appointment of Acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Ramos to head the investigation is a positive step. I want to assure you that we are following developments very closely.

I will miss Cesar very much, and so will the United States. However, the people of Zamboanga, whom he understood so uniquely, and his countrymen from all over the Philippines will miss him much more. Please accept my condolences.

Sincerely yours,

Michael H. Armacost
Michael H. Armacost

Mr. Preston W. Wright
3509 Avalon Way
Hood River, Oregon

Drafter: EAP/PHL:RLHuf
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United States Department of State

*Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs*

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 22, 1984

Dear Mrs. Climaco:

I am writing in reponse to your recent letter to President Reagan concerning the murder of your father-in-law, Cesar Climaco.

I want you and the entire Climaco family to know that the Department of State, the American Embassy in Manila and all the U.S. officials who knew and dealt with Cesar share your sadness and sense of loss over his death. Your father-in-law was well-known and respected by all the American officials who knew him over the years. Cesar Climaco believed in the democratic idea, and he insisted upon democratic solutions to resolve the political and economic problems of the Philippines.

U.S. support for the Filipino people as they work to revitalize their own democratic institutions is the basis of our policy toward the Philippines, as we have stated publicly so often. Our Ambassador in Manila, Stephen Bosworth, who was also a friend of Cesar, eloquently spoke about that U.S. commitment in a speech in Manila prior to Cesar's death. I enclose a copy of that speech. I know Cesar shared those beliefs strongly.

The U.S. is very much aware of the problems that exist in the Philippines, including the human rights abuses. Our concerns about these abuses have been made and will continue to be made clear to Philippine Government officials through our public statements and through our private diplomatic contacts. However, at the same time we believe it is important that we continue to demonstrate our friendship for the Philippines and for the Filipino people, and to help them where we can. Thus, we believe our economic assistance -- school construction, public works, farm-to-market roads, public markets, water and sewage systems, power generation plants and emergency feeding programs -- benefit many of the most needy Filipinos, and we do not believe that elimination of such assistance would directly contribute to improvement in the human rights situation, including the resolution of your father-in-law's tragic killing. I had the opportunity to discuss this policy with your father-in-law on several occasions.

Mrs. Sandra Climaco
807 Lincoln Highway
Fairview Heights, Illinois

84068401934

The United States is concerned, as are you, about the possible political implications of Cesar's murder. We believe the appointment of Acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Ramos to head the investigation is a positive step. I want to assure you that we are following developments very closely.

I will miss Cesar very much, and so will the United States. His grandchildren, while they will miss his warmth and wise counsel, can nevertheless take pride in their grandfather's wholehearted dedication to building a Philippines where all Filipinos can live in peace and friendship. Please accept my condolences.

Sincerely yours,



Michael H. Armacost

Enclosure:
As Stated.

84068401935

The Democratic Ideal and U.S. National Security

October 25, 1984



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Following is an address by Stephen W. Bosworth, Ambassador to the Philippines, before the Rotary Club of Makati West, Manila, Philippines, October 25, 1984.

Our confidence in democracy and in the rule of law in our approach to the rest of the world is, of course, a projection of our own national experience. Beyond that, however, it has proven to be an effective force—perhaps the most effective force—in our foreign policy. We emphasize our support for democracy not only because our own experience gives us great sympathy for the democratic aspirations of other people; we have also become convinced through hard experience that our own national interests are best served through the creation and strengthening of functioning pluralistic democracies in other countries.

Democracy serves as the essential link between our view of ourselves as a nation and our concept of our responsibilities as a global power. Global power and the responsibilities that go with it are still relatively new experiences for the United States. These are burdens which we assumed reluctantly. Indeed, for the first 150-odd years of our existence, sheltered by two oceans, we concentrated almost exclusively on the development of our own nation. But the relentless advance of technology, with all its implications for global peace, and the irreversible interdependence of the world economy drew us permanently out of our isolation.

Realism and Constructive Engagement

Our approach toward the rest of the world is based on the reality that our own security and prosperity require our constructive engagement in the world beyond our own frontiers. Realism compels us to recognize that we are locked in a global competition with forces whose objectives and methods are diametrically opposed to the values on which our own society is based. Yet realism and concern for the future of humanity also compel us to search for ways to manage that global competition peacefully, while we maintain the strength necessary to deter aggression by our adversary.

Realism also compels us to recognize that our own economic well-being can be threatened by disruption of oil supplies, by debt crises in countries which have borrowed in our capital markets, or by a contraction of the world trade on which a large and growing number of American workers and farmers depend for their livelihood.

But we have also learned that for us, because of our own national experience, an approach toward the rest of the world based only on a calculation of our own self-interest is inadequate. We are, for better or for worse, a product of our own national experience. Our country was settled by people seeking religious and political freedom. Our independence was won by Americans seeking self-government and determined to control their own future. The struggle

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for the independence of the United States was, in a sense, a rebellion against the elitist principles of 18th-century Europe. That same egalitarianism continues to mark our society today, and it inevitably shapes our approach toward the rest of the world.

We are a curious tribe. We have a profound—some would say exorbitant—faith in the perfectibility of man. Yet we are intensely suspicious of the concentration of power, either economic or political. We place our faith, therefore, in a system of accountability which is based on the openness and transparency of government, the zeal of a free press, and the integrity of an independent judiciary.

At the same time, we are committed to a process of change: technological change, economic change, and, unavoidably, political and social change. For us it is not a question of how to avoid change; it is rather a question of how change can best be managed and absorbed. It is our acceptance of change that perhaps most distinguishes us from the other nations of Europe and which most identifies us with the newer, vibrant societies of the developing world. We have no commitment to a blind, relentless defense of the status quo. We are realistic enough to accept the inevitability of change and confident enough to believe that change can be managed so as to bring benefits to the bulk of the population.

Fundamental Values and U.S. Foreign Policy

Our approach to the rest of the world is based on these same principles and concepts:

- Having ourselves struggled to gain our independence as a nation, we have been a consistent champion of national independence for other countries.
- As perhaps the most pluralistic and diverse society the world has ever known, we have a strong bias toward pluralist democracy as a unifying system of government in other nations.
- Intensely suspicious of elitist pretensions and the concentration of power, we are unwavering believers in the need for transparency and accountability in government.
- Ourselves the beneficiaries of change, we are convinced that change cannot be resisted. We are confident that, when it is accommodated in an open, competitive system, change is a positive process.

- As a nation committed to the rule of law and the peaceful settlement of disputes, we are opposed to the use of violence and subversion as instruments of political change.

Pluralism, competition, change, and accountability have worked for us. We do not see ourselves as unique. We believe these same principles work for others.

We have also learned that, because of our particular national experience, our approach toward the rest of the world cannot be divorced from the fundamental values on which our own society is based. Thus, our foreign policy encompasses an extra dimension, giving it a far more profound content than some narrow calculation of our own national interest. Secretary of State George Shultz put it well in a recent speech on the objectives of American foreign policy when he said:

Finally, and most importantly, among the broader objectives of American foreign policy in the coming years are goals that are not technical or material, but moral. The United States has always stood for the rule of law as a civilizing force in international relations; our foreign policy has always embodied a commitment to foster democracy, freedom, and human rights.

We have learned the hard way that, if we lose sight of these fundamental values in our foreign policy, we will not succeed. An American foreign policy which is not grounded in our own democratic values will not be supported by the American people and cannot be sustained.

The Record of Democracy

Skeptics and critics argue that our stress on democracy is either a reflection of hopeless naivete, with no hope of realization in any but a very few countries, or a cynical shield behind which we exercise some sort of *realpolitik*. But let's look at the facts. They show quite a different reality. They show that the democratic ideal is a powerful and effective tool of our foreign policy.

First, it is a matter of historical record that democracies offer little threat to their neighbors. Democracies are able to resolve differences with one another through diplomacy and compromise, without the threat or use of force. Thus, the promotion of democracy contributes directly to our interest in the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

Second, it seems to us undeniable that democratic countries are much more successful in absorbing

technological and societal change. Their institutions give them the internal flexibility and resiliency needed to accommodate pressures from shifting internal constituencies. Through a process of pragmatic political compromise, these countries readjust and redefine their social compact, forging and reforging national consensus. As we have seen in recent years, most notably perhaps in Iran, those countries in which power is concentrated in the hands of a few and which lack institutional mechanisms to assist internal compromise are less able to accommodate pressures for change. Change may be resisted, but when it breaks through—as it inevitably will—it disrupts societies and even tears them asunder.

Third, pluralistic systems are most effective in stimulating and sustaining economic growth. Because they encourage competition and provide a process of self-correcting accountability, democratic societies are better able to avoid rigidities in economic markets and are better able to “deliver the goods” to their citizens.

Fourth, democracy is the only truly effective guarantor of human rights. Only when those doing the governing are fully accountable to those being governed through regular, open elections and an independent judicial process can human rights be fully secured.

And finally, functioning democratic systems have proven to be a strong defense against communist penetration and subversion. People who live within a democratic system with individual freedom and guarantees of justice are not susceptible to the blandishments of Marxism-Leninism. In effect, democracy has proven to be the most effective doctrine of national security. This is being demonstrated in El Salvador, where a still fragile but rapidly growing democratic process is cutting the ground from under a major communist insurgency.

The record of democracy in recent years is an encouraging, even an exhilarating one. In Latin America, for example, more than 90% of the population now live in countries which are either fully functioning democracies or are countries which are well along the road to democracy, with popularly elected governments. Five years ago, only 35% of Latin Americans lived under democratic systems. But Argentina, Honduras, Brazil, Bolivia, Panama, and El Salvador have now joined Venezuela,

Colombia, and others in the democratic column. Credit for the success of democracy must go to Latin Americans themselves. They are the ones who worked, sacrificed, and risked. But U.S. support for their efforts has been unrelenting, and we take great satisfaction in the surge of this democratic wave.

Democracy and the Philippines

Our support for the establishment and strengthening of democratic institutions is not, of course, limited to Latin America. Here in the Philippines, the democratic ideal strikes deep chords of resonance. Democracy has a long history in this country. We Americans sometimes forget that the struggle for democracy began well in advance of our own arrival here.

The writings of Filipino patriots—like Marcelo H. Del Pilar, Jose Rizal, Emilio Jacinto, and those of the great theoretician of the Philippine revolution, Apolinario Mabini—expound a number of concepts which are very familiar to Americans.

- All men are born with "natural rights" which no one may usurp;
- Governments are established to protect these "natural rights" of their citizens; and
- Governments derive their power from the consent of the governed.

Thus, the Filipino democratic tradition is homegrown. It is not simply some transplanted American hybrid. Nonetheless, we do take some satisfaction in having helped to give life and substance to longstanding aspirations for democratic government in the Philippines. During the early years of our colonial presence here and, most importantly, during the commonwealth period,

the Philippines acquired practical experience in the democratic system, a system which continued to flourish after your independence. This experience with functioning democracy, with its roots in the uniquely Filipino democratic thought of the 19th century, constitutes a fundamental part of your national heritage.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there is now such a strong national effort to revitalize your democratic institutions and to assure that they function fully. It is similarly not surprising that the United States, by reason of our own values, our unique experience here in the Philippines, and our unwavering faith in the strength of democracy, fully and unswervingly supports this Filipino effort.

It is clear, I believe, that a process of political change is underway in this country. It is not necessary or, indeed, appropriate for us to express our views on each issue as it arises. That is the responsibility and prerogative of the Filipino people, speaking and acting through their own institutions and expressing their judgment in free, open elections.

But as friends and as passionate observers of events here, we do conclude that the process of change is healthy and constructive. There is a greater degree of pluralism in the political system. There is an increasing transparency in the process of public administration. And there is, just this week, new, dramatic evidence of progress in the strengthening of a process of accountability. These are all trends which can only add to your national strength, to the international credibility of your nation and government, and to the reconciliation of national differences. We recognize that many Filipinos are concerned about the pace of change. Some consider it too slow and some fear

it may be too rapid. That is a balance you will strike yourselves through the interplay of your political process.

Conclusion

One final point: we remain convinced that here in the Philippines, as in many other countries, a vigorous, functioning democratic system is not only feasible but must, and, indeed, will be achieved. Here in the Philippines, democracy can be your national security doctrine.

In his classic work, *El Filibusterismo*, Jose Rizal wrote:

Governments are established for the welfare of the people, and in order to accomplish this purpose they have to follow the suggestions of the citizens, who are the ones best qualified to understand their own needs.

That thought is the linchpin of the democratic ideal. It is the concept on which our own government is based, and it is clearly the preferred concept of government of the overwhelming majority of the Filipino people.

You can count on our firm, unwavering support. We do not seek to substitute our judgment for yours, but we consider ourselves activists in the struggle for democracy. As President Reagan put it when he addressed the British Parliament in 1982: "We must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings." ■

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8434312

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

DECEMBER 13, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

3 ID: 280531
9 MEDIA: LETTER
1 TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
0 FROM: MRS. SANDRA CLIMACO
8 807 LINCOLN HIGHWAY
4 FAIRVIEW HEIGHTS IL 62208
6 SUBJECT: PROTESTS U. S. SUPPORT OF MARCOS IN THE
4 PHILLIPINES WHO ALLEGEDLY HAD HER FATHER -
0 IN - LAW KILLED

8 PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

S/S 8433525

November 14, 1984

37
11/16/84
DOD

279457

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Tonight, my wife and I grieve for my father-in-law, Mayor Cesar C. Climaco, who was brutally assassinated today in Zamboanga City, Philippines.

He was a man who loved democracy and freedom more than life itself. In turn, he was a very outspoken opponent of the Marcos regime.

While other members of the Filipino opposition preferred to go underground or to exile themselves in the United States, he chose to stay in the Philippines, where the bull could be grabbed by the horns.

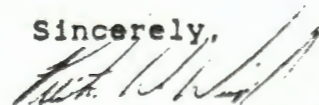
He fought Marcos, his corrupt cronies, and henchmen with his old typewriter, the ballot box, and his fiery speeches. His only weapons were truth, honesty, and a great deal of courage. For the past fifteen years, he has struggled to regain his country's freedom. Now he has been silenced by a coward's bullet in the back of his head.

Mr. Reagan, our country must not let Marcos continue to strangle democracy in the Philippines. The Filipino people deserve our support, both economically and politically. Mr. Marcos does not.

The United States must bring great pressure to bear on Marcos to restore the American-style 1935 constitution and eventually force him to step down from the throne he has placed himself upon. Only when true democracy is restored to the Philippines will the communist threat lose it's support.

America, democracy and freedom have lost a great ally and friend with the murder of Cesar C. Climaco. Sadly, he cannot be brought back to us, but there are many others in the Philippines who yearn for freedom and democracy just as my father-in-law did. We must not let these people down, for if we do, I fear all of those fighting for their freedom in the Philippine Islands will be silenced, as my courageous father-in-law was.

Sincerely,



Preston W. Wright
3509 Avalon Way
Hood River, OR 97031

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Family of slain Filipino
political leader questioning
U.S. support of Marcos.

8434312

280531

S Kealey

Dear President Regan,

I went to the Arch in St. Louis to support your re-election and I voted for you. My six children were very excited and proud to see the "President of the United States". But now they are grieving the loss of their grandfather, Major Cesar C. Climaco, the opposition leader of Zamboanga City, Mindanao, Philippines. He was assassinated Wednesday morning by the Marcos forces.

This man, my father-in-law was the ideal Christian. Even though the bible says "If you have two coats give one to your neighbor." If he had one coat, he would give it to his neighbor. In fact, he was killed while helping fire victims.

Your administration supports the Marcos regime, vocally and with American dollars. Why? Just to have a military base? Marcos tortures, kills and arrests citizens whose political views are different from him. He has the world's largest list of Human Rights violations. Please stop support-

84068401940

ing this evil man in the guise of "Free elections." My father-in-law was killed because he caught the Marcos regime rigging elections. As I have said in the past Marcos is still no. 1 widow and orphan maker in the world. He has just left 15 children without a grandfather. Mayor Cesar Cortez Climaco still had many years of wisdom, humor, knowledge and love to pass on to these 15 children.

Please re-examine your views on the Dictatorship in the Philippines. Many families are starving and living in filth and disease while Marcos and cronies wallow in the wealth of the country.



Marcos Killed Our Grandfather.

Respectfully,
Sando Climaco
807 Lincoln St
Fairview Heights
Ill 62208

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21175

84068401941

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

280531

C 0 125

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8434312 & 8433525

Date December 27, 1984

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan From: Preston Wright and Sandra Climaco

Date: Nov. 14, 1984 Subject: Mrs. Climaco's Letter

WH Referral Dated: December 13, 1984 NSC ID# 280531
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

Handwritten: C 8/12/3
DOS A 12/22/84

Action Taken:

 A draft reply is attached.

 A draft reply will be forwarded.

 A translation is attached.

 XX An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.

 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.

 Other.

Remarks:

Handwritten Signature:
Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

Luella — —

No record in system

Vm

S/S 8434614

United States Department of State

Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 22, 1984

Dear Mrs. Climaco:

I am writing in reponse to your recent letter to President Reagan concerning the murder of your father-in-law, Cesar Climaco.

I want you and the entire Climaco family to know that the Department of State, the American Embassy in Manila and all the U.S. officials who knew and dealt with Cesar share your sadness and sense of loss over his death. Your father-in-law was well-known and respected by all the American officials who knew him over the years. Cesar Climaco believed in the democratic idea, and he insisted upon democratic solutions to resolve the political and economic problems of the Philippines.

U.S. support for the Filipino people as they work to revitalize their own democratic institutions is the basis of our policy toward the Philippines, as we have stated publicly so often. Our Ambassador in Manila, Stephen Bosworth, who was also a friend of Cesar, eloquently spoke about that U.S. commitment in a speech in Manila prior to Cesar's death. I enclose a copy of that speech. I know Cesar shared those beliefs strongly.

The U.S. is very much aware of the problems that exist in the Philippines, including the human rights abuses. Our concerns about these abuses have been made and will continue to be made clear to Philippine Government officials through our public statements and through our private diplomatic contacts. However, at the same time we believe it is important that we continue to demonstrate our friendship for the Philippines and for the Filipino people, and to help them where we can. Thus, we believe our economic assistance -- school construction, public works, farm-to-market roads, public markets, water and sewage systems, power generation plants and emergency feeding programs -- benefit many of the most needy Filipinos, and we do not believe that elimination of such assistance would directly contribute to improvement in the human rights situation, including the resolution of your father-in-law's tragic killing. I had the opportunity to discuss this policy with your father-in-law on several occasions.

Mrs. Sandra Climaco
807 Lincoln Highway
Fairview Heights, Illinois

The United States is concerned, as are you, about the possible political implications of Cesar's murder. We believe the appointment of Acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Ramos to head the investigation is a positive step. I want to assure you that we are following developments very closely.

I will miss Cesar very much, and so will the United States. His grandchildren, while they will miss his warmth and wise counsel, can nevertheless take pride in their grandfather's wholehearted dedication to building a Philippines where all Filipinos can live in peace and friendship. Please accept my condolences.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Michael H. Armacost".

Michael H. Armacost

Enclosure:
As Stated.

United States Department of State

*Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs*

Washington, D.C. 20520

84 DEC 22 P9:37

December 22, 1984

Dear Mr. Wright:

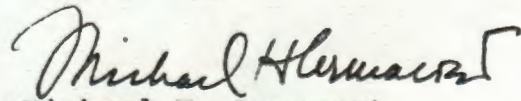
I am writing in response to your letter dated November 14, 1984, to President Reagan concerning the recent killing of your father-in-law, and my good friend, Cesar Climaco.

The Department, the American Embassy in Manila and all the U.S. officials who knew and dealt with Cesar share your sadness and frustration over his death. Cesar was highly respected by the many Department and Embassy officers with whom he had contact over the years. We considered him a staunch friend of the United States principally because Cesar Climaco shared our faith in the democratic ideal and insisted upon democratic solutions to resolve the political and economic problems of the Philippines. Support for the Filipino people as they work to revitalize their own democratic institutions is the heart of U.S. policy toward the Philippines.

Like the Climaco family and Cesar's friends and supporters, we are also concerned about the possible political implications of this assassination. We believe the appointment of Acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Ramos to head the investigation is a positive step. I want to assure you that we are following developments very closely.

I will miss Cesar very much, and so will the United States. However, the people of Zamboanga, whom he understood so uniquely, and his countrymen from all over the Philippines will miss him much more. Please accept my condolences.

Sincerely yours,


Michael H. Armacost

Mr. Preston W. Wright
3509 Avalon Way
Hood River, Oregon

Drafter: EAP/PHL:RLHuff
S/S No. 8433525 & 843412
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Clearance: EAP:JCMonjo
EAP/PHL:JFMaiso

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RF (jab)

United States Department of State

*Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs*

Washington, D.C. 20520

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Sincerely yours,



Michael H. Armacost

Enclosure:
As Stated.

The Democratic Ideal and U.S. National Security

October 25, 1984



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Following is an address by Stephen W. Bosworth, Ambassador to the Philippines, before the Rotary Club of Makati West, Manila, Philippines, October 25, 1984.

Our confidence in democracy and in the rule of law in our approach to the rest of the world is, of course, a projection of our own national experience. Beyond that, however, it has proven to be an effective force—perhaps the most effective force—in our foreign policy. We emphasize our support for democracy not only because our own experience gives us great sympathy for the democratic aspirations of other people; we have also become convinced through hard experience that our own national interests are best served through the creation and strengthening of functioning pluralistic democracies in other countries.

Democracy serves as the essential link between our view of ourselves as a nation and our concept of our responsibilities as a global power. Global power and the responsibilities that go with it are still relatively new experiences for the United States. These are burdens which we assumed reluctantly. Indeed, for the first 150-odd years of our existence, sheltered by two oceans, we concentrated almost exclusively on the development of our own nation. But the relentless advance of technology, with all its implications for global peace, and the irreversible interdependence of the world economy drew us permanently out of our isolation.

Realism and Constructive Engagement

Our approach toward the rest of the world is based on the reality that our own security and prosperity require our constructive engagement in the world beyond our own frontiers. Realism compels us to recognize that we are locked in a global competition with forces whose objectives and methods are diametrically opposed to the values on which our own society is based. Yet realism and concern for the future of humanity also compel us to search for ways to manage that global competition peacefully, while we maintain the strength necessary to deter aggression by our adversary.

Realism also compels us to recognize that our own economic well-being can be threatened by disruption of oil supplies, by debt crises in countries which have borrowed in our capital markets, or by a contraction of the world trade on which a large and growing number of American workers and farmers depend for their livelihood.

But we have also learned that for us, because of our own national experience, an approach toward the rest of the world based only on a calculation of our own self-interest is inadequate. We are, for better or for worse, a product of our own national experience. Our country was settled by people seeking religious and political freedom. Our independence was won by Americans seeking self-government and determined to control their own future. The struggle

for the independence of the United States was, in a sense, a rebellion against the elitist principles of 18th-century Europe. That same egalitarianism continues to mark our society today, and it inevitably shapes our approach toward the rest of the world.

We are a curious tribe. We have a profound—some would say exorbitant—faith in the perfectibility of man. Yet we are intensely suspicious of the concentration of power, either economic or political. We place our faith, therefore, in a system of accountability which is based on the openness and transparency of government, the zeal of a free press, and the integrity of an independent judiciary.

At the same time, we are committed to a process of change: technological change, economic change, and, unavoidably, political and social change. For us it is not a question of how to avoid change; it is rather a question of how change can best be managed and absorbed. It is our acceptance of change that perhaps most distinguishes us from the other nations of Europe and which most identifies us with the newer, vibrant societies of the developing world. We have no commitment to a blind, relentless defense of the status quo. We are realistic enough to accept the inevitability of change and confident enough to believe that change can be managed so as to bring benefits to the bulk of the population.

Fundamental Values and U.S. Foreign Policy

Our approach to the rest of the world is based on these same principles and concepts:

- Having ourselves struggled to gain our independence as a nation, we have been a consistent champion of national independence for other countries.
- As perhaps the most pluralistic and diverse society the world has ever known, we have a strong bias toward pluralist democracy as a unifying system of government in other nations.
- Intensely suspicious of elitist pretensions and the concentration of power, we are unwavering believers in the need for transparency and accountability in government.
- Ourselves the beneficiaries of change, we are convinced that change cannot be resisted. We are confident that, when it is accommodated in an open, competitive system, change is a positive process.

- As a nation committed to the rule of law and the peaceful settlement of disputes, we are opposed to the use of violence and subversion as instruments of political change.

Pluralism, competition, change, and accountability have worked for us. We do not see ourselves as unique. We believe these same principles work for others.

We have also learned that, because of our particular national experience, our approach toward the rest of the world cannot be divorced from the fundamental values on which our own society is based. Thus, our foreign policy encompasses an extra dimension, giving it a far more profound content than some narrow calculation of our own national interest. Secretary of State George Shultz put it well in a recent speech on the objectives of American foreign policy when he said:

Finally, and most importantly, among the broader objectives of American foreign policy in the coming years are goals that are not technical or material, but moral. The United States has always stood for the rule of law as a civilizing force in international relations; our foreign policy has always embodied a commitment to foster democracy, freedom, and human rights.

We have learned the hard way that, if we lose sight of these fundamental values in our foreign policy, we will not succeed. An American foreign policy which is not grounded in our own democratic values will not be supported by the American people and cannot be sustained.

The Record of Democracy

Skeptics and critics argue that our stress on democracy is either a reflection of hopeless naivete, with no hope of realization in any but a very few countries, or a cynical shield behind which we exercise some sort of *realpolitik*. But let's look at the facts. They show quite a different reality. They show that the democratic ideal is a powerful and effective tool of our foreign policy.

First, it is a matter of historical record that democracies offer little threat to their neighbors. Democracies are able to resolve differences with one another through diplomacy and compromise, without the threat or use of force. Thus, the promotion of democracy contributes directly to our interest in the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

Second, it seems to us undeniable that democratic countries are much more successful in absorbing

technological and societal change. Their institutions give them the internal flexibility and resiliency needed to accommodate pressures from shifting internal constituencies. Through a process of pragmatic political compromise, these countries readjust and redefine their social compact, forging and reforging national consensus. As we have seen in recent years, most notably perhaps in Iran, those countries in which power is concentrated in the hands of a few and which lack institutional mechanisms to assist internal compromise are less able to accommodate pressures for change. Change may be resisted, but when it breaks through—as it inevitably will—it disrupts societies and even tears them asunder.

Third, pluralistic systems are most effective in stimulating and sustaining economic growth. Because they encourage competition and provide a process of self-correcting accountability, democratic societies are better able to avoid rigidities in economic markets and are better able to “deliver the goods” to their citizens.

Fourth, democracy is the only truly effective guarantor of human rights. Only when those doing the governing are fully accountable to those being governed through regular, open elections and an independent judicial process can human rights be fully secured.

And finally, functioning democratic systems have proven to be a strong defense against communist penetration and subversion. People who live within a democratic system with individual freedom and guarantees of justice are not susceptible to the blandishments of Marxism-Leninism. In effect, democracy has proven to be the most effective doctrine of national security. This is being demonstrated in El Salvador, where a still fragile but rapidly growing democratic process is cutting the ground from under a major communist insurgency.

The record of democracy in recent years is an encouraging, even an exhilarating one. In Latin America, for example, more than 90% of the population now live in countries which are either fully functioning democracies or are countries which are well along the road to democracy, with popularly elected governments. Five years ago, only 35% of Latin Americans lived under democratic systems. But Argentina, Honduras, Brazil, Bolivia, Panama, and El Salvador have now joined Venezuela,

Colombia, and others in the democratic column. Credit for the success of democracy must go to Latin Americans themselves. They are the ones who worked, sacrificed, and risked. But U.S. support for their efforts has been unrelenting, and we take great satisfaction in the surge of this democratic wave.

Democracy and the Philippines

Our support for the establishment and strengthening of democratic institutions is not, of course, limited to Latin America. Here in the Philippines, the democratic ideal strikes deep chords of resonance. Democracy has a long history in this country. We Americans sometimes forget that the struggle for democracy began well in advance of our own arrival here.

The writings of Filipino patriots—like Marcelo H. Del Pilar, Jose Rizal, Emilio Jacinto, and those of the great theoretician of the Philippine revolution, Apolinario Mabini—expound a number of concepts which are very familiar to Americans.

- All men are born with “natural rights” which no one may usurp;
- Governments are established to protect these “natural rights” of their citizens; and
- Governments derive their power from the consent of the governed.

Thus, the Filipino democratic tradition is homegrown. It is not simply some transplanted American hybrid. Nonetheless, we do take some satisfaction in having helped to give life and substance to longstanding aspirations for democratic government in the Philippines. During the early years of our colonial presence here and, most importantly, during the commonwealth period,

the Philippines acquired practical experience in the democratic system, a system which continued to flourish after your independence. This experience with functioning democracy, with its roots in the uniquely Filipino democratic thought of the 19th century, constitutes a fundamental part of your national heritage.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there is now such a strong national effort to revitalize your democratic institutions and to assure that they function fully. It is similarly not surprising that the United States, by reason of our own values, our unique experience here in the Philippines, and our unwavering faith in the strength of democracy, fully and unswervingly supports this Filipino effort.

It is clear, I believe, that a process of political change is underway in this country. It is not necessary or, indeed, appropriate for us to express our views on each issue as it arises. That is the responsibility and prerogative of the Filipino people, speaking and acting through their own institutions and expressing their judgment in free, open elections.

But as friends and as passionate observers of events here, we do conclude that the process of change is healthy and constructive. There is a greater degree of pluralism in the political system. There is an increasing transparency in the process of public administration. And there is, just this week, new, dramatic evidence of progress in the strengthening of a process of accountability. These are all trends which can only add to your national strength, to the international credibility of your nation and government, and to the reconciliation of national differences. We recognize that many Filipinos are concerned about the pace of change. Some consider it too slow and some fear

it may be too rapid. That is a balance you will strike yourselves through the interplay of your political process.

Conclusion

One final point: we remain convinced that here in the Philippines, as in many other countries, a vigorous, functioning democratic system is not only feasible but must, and, indeed, will be achieved. Here in the Philippines, democracy can be your national security doctrine.

In his classic work, *El Filibusterismo*, Jose Rizal wrote:

Governments are established for the welfare of the people, and in order to accomplish this purpose they have to follow the suggestions of the citizens, who are the ones best qualified to understand their own needs.

That thought is the linchpin of the democratic ideal. It is the concept on which our own government is based, and it is clearly the preferred concept of government of the overwhelming majority of the Filipino people.

You can count on our firm, unwavering support. We do not seek to substitute our judgment for yours, but we consider ourselves activists in the struggle for democracy. As President Reagan put it when he addressed the British Parliament in 1982: “We must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings.” ■

Published by the United States Department of State • Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of Public Communication • Editorial Division • Washington, D.C. • November 1984
Editor: Cynthia Saboe • This material is in the public domain and may be reproduced without permission; citation of this source is appreciated.

8434312

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
REFERRAL

DECEMBER 13, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 280531

MEDIA: LETTER

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MRS. SANDRA CLIMACO
807 LINCOLN HIGHWAY
FAIRVIEW HEIGHTS IL 62208

SUBJECT: PROTESTS U. S. SUPPORT OF MARCOS IN THE
PHILLIPINES WHO ALLEGEDLY HAD HER FATHER -
IN - LAW KILLED

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

51

Family of slain Filipino
political leader questioning
U.S. support of Marcos,

8434312

280531

S Keeley

Dear President Regan,

I went to the Arch in St. Louis to support your re-election and I voted for you. My six children were very excited and proud to see the "President of the United States". But now they are grieving the loss of their grandfather, Mayor Cesar C. Climaco, the opposition leader of Zamboanga City, Mindanao, Philippines. He was assassinated Wednesday morning by the Marcos forces.

This man, my father-in-law was the ideal Christian. Even though the bible says "If you have two coats give one to your neighbor." If he had one coat, he would give it to his neighbor. In fact, he was killed while helping fire victims.

Your administration supports the Marcos regime, vocally and with American dollars. Why? Just to have a military base? Marcos tortures, kills and arrests citizens whose political views are different from him. He has the world's largest list of Human Rights violations. Please stop support-

ing this evil man in the guise of "Free elections." My father-in-law was killed because he caught the Marcos regime rigging elections. As I have said in the past Marcos is still no. 1 widow and orphan maker in the world. He has just left 15 children without a grandfather. Mayor Cesar Cortez Cimaco still had many years of wisdom, humor, knowledge and love to pass on to these 15 children.

Please re-examine your views on the Dictatorship in the Philippines. Many families are starving and living in filth and disease while Marcos and cronies wallow in the wealth of the country.



Marcos Killed Our Grandfather.

Respectfully,
Sandra
Cimaco
807 Lincoln
Fairview High
Tel 62208

380211
034375

S/S 8433525

November 14, 1984

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Kil...
DOS

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

279457

Dear Mr. President:

Tonight, my wife and I grieve for my father-in-law, Mayor Cesar C. Climaco, who was brutally assassinated today in Zamboanga City, Philippines.

He was a man who loved democracy and freedom more than life itself. In turn, he was a very outspoken opponent of the Marcos regime.

While other members of the Filipino opposition preferred to go underground or to exile themselves in the United States, he chose to stay in the Philippines, where the bull could be grabbed by the horns.

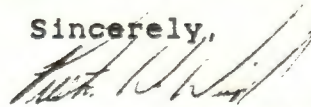
He fought Marcos, his corrupt cronies, and henchmen with his old typewriter, the ballot box, and his fiery speeches. His only weapons were truth, honesty, and a great deal of courage. For the past fifteen years, he has struggled to regain his country's freedom. Now he has been silenced by a coward's bullet in the back of his head.

Mr. Reagan, our country must not let Marcos continue to strangle democracy in the Philippines. The Filipino people deserve our support, both economically and politically. Mr. Marcos does not.

The United States must bring great pressure to bear on Marcos to restore the American-style 1935 constitution and eventually force him to step down from the throne he has placed himself upon. Only when true democracy is restored to the Philippines will the communist threat lose its support.

America, democracy and freedom have lost a great ally and friend with the murder of Cesar C. Climaco. Sadly, he cannot be brought back to us, but there are many others in the Philippines who yearn for freedom and democracy just as my father-in-law did. We must not let these people down, for if we do, I fear all of those fighting for their freedom in the Philippine Islands will be silenced, as my courageous father-in-law was.

Sincerely,



Preston W. Wright
3509 Avalon Way
Hood River, OR 97031

NAFTA

ID# 303850

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

00125

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 07, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE ELIZABETH P. ARPIOLA

SUBJECT: RESOLUTION, REGARDING NEGOTIATING AN
EXTRADITION TREATY BETWEEN THE U. S. AND THE
PHILIPPINES WITH A SPECIAL PROVISION FOR GUAM

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
ROBERT GLFASON	ORG	85/05/07	<i>TR</i>	<i>C 85/06/13</i>
<i>ML99 DOS</i> REFERRAL NOTE:	<i>R</i>	<i>85/10/17</i>		
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:				

COMMENTS: _____

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 2200 _____

IA MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION CODES: | *OUTGOING | * |
| * | * | * CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *R-FOM-SPFC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNED | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | * CODE = A | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT REC* | | * OUTGOING | * |
| *P-DIPFC REPLY W/COPY * | | * | * |
| *S-POP-SIGNATURE | * | * | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY | * | * | * |
- *****

PLEASE QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 7B, OPOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

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UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8517882

Date August 6, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

The Honorable
Elizabeth P. Arriola
Senator

Reference:

To: The President From: _____
Date: April 26, 1985 Subject: Resolution regarding negotiating
an extradition treaty between

U.S. and the Philippines with a special provision for Guam


WH Referral Dated: June 17, 1985 NSC ID# _____
(if any)

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

- _____ A draft reply is attached.
- _____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- _____ A translation is attached.
- X An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- _____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
- _____ The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
- _____ Other.

Remarks:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 5, 1985

The Honorable
Elizabeth P. Arriola
Senator and Legislative Secretary
Eighteenth Guam Legislature
P.O. Box CB-1
Agana, Guam
U.S.A. 96910

Dear Senator Arriola:

Thank you for your letter of April 26, 1985 to the President forwarding a copy of Resolution No. 60 adopted by the Eighteenth Guam Legislature. That resolution recommends that the Secretary of State negotiate an extradition treaty with the Republic of the Philippines with special provision for Guam. Your letter has been referred to this office which has responsibility within the Department of State for the negotiation of extradition treaties.

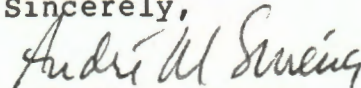
As noted in Resolution No. 60, the United States recently negotiated a treaty with the Philippines that would have provided authority for extradition to or from Guam. That treaty has not been submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification, and remains under review by the Executive Branch.

While we may not have recourse to formal extradition procedures at the present time to resolve the fugitive problem noted in Resolution No. 60, the Department would consider, in consultation with the Department of Justice, an approach to the Philippines on behalf of Guam with a view to requesting expulsion, deportation or other forms of law enforcement assistance as maybe appropriate in a particular case. The appropriate Guam authorities should contact directly the Office of International Affairs, Criminal Division, Department of Justice. That office can advise Guam authorities whether any particular request for law enforcement cooperation with the Philippines may be usefully pursued.

You may also want to explore with the Department of Justice (Civil Division) and the Department of Interior whether the United States or the Territory of Guam may have recourse in the courts of the Philippines to recover government funds or other property that has been diverted to that jurisdiction.

Please advise if I may be of any further assistance in these matters.

Sincerely,



Andre M. Surena

Assistant Legal Adviser
Law Enforcement and Intelligence

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
REFERRAL

8517882

JUNE 17, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 303850
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED APRIL 26, 1985
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: THE HONORABLE ELIZABETH P. ARRIOLA
SENATOR
EIGHTEENTH GUAM LEGISLATURE
POST OFFICE BOX CB-1
AGANA GU 96910
SUBJECT: RESOLUTION, REGARDING NEGOTIATING AN
EXTRADITION TREATY BETWEEN THE U. S. AND THE
PHILIPPINES WITH A SPECIAL PROVISION FOR GUAM

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDESIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OF DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

85076700629



#

Eighteenth Guam Legislature

P.O. Box CH-1
Agana, Guam H.S.A. 96910

301/882

April 26, 1985

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
President
United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Reagan:

Please find attached a copy of Resolution No. 60, duly
and regularly adopted by the Eighteenth Guam Legislature.

We welcome any response or comments you deem proper.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth P. Arriola
ELIZABETH P. ARRIOLA
Senator and
Legislative Secretary

Enclosure

850/6700631

EIGHTEENTH GUAM LEGISLATURE
1985 (FIRST) Regular Session

Resolution No. 60 (LS)

Introduced by:

F. R. Santos
J. F. Ada
J. P. Aguon

E. P. Arriola
J. G. Bamba
F. F. Blas
H. D. Dierking
E. R. Duenas
C. T. C. Gutierrez
F. J. Gutierrez
A. C. Lamorena III
P. C. Lujan
M. D. A. Manibusan
J. G. Miles
T. S. Nelson
D. Parkinson
F. J. Quitugua
J. M. Rivera
J. T. San Agustin
T. V. C. Tanaka
A. R. Unpingco

Relative to requesting the U.S. Secretary of State to negotiate an extradition treaty between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines with a special provision for Guam.

1 BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE TERRITORY OF
2 GUAM:

3 WHEREAS, no treaty currently exists between the United States of
4 America and the Republic of the Philippines providing for the extradition of
5 fugitives from the law; and

6 WHEREAS, criminal suspects from the United States have taken refuge
7 in the Republic of the Philippines; and

8 WHEREAS, because of Guam's geographic proximity to the Philippines,
9 the island functions as a gateway to the United States for Filipinos seeking
10 to establish U.S. residence, or seeking temporary employment, and thus
11 there are large numbers of Filipinos residing within the territory, which

85076700632

1 factors create a close relationship between the Republic of the Philippines
2 and the territory of Guam, and create unique opportunities not only for
3 Filipinos but others, including U.S. citizens, to commit crimes and flee to
4 the Philippines; and

5 WHEREAS, several persons have in fact fled the territory of Guam for
6 the safety of the Philippines following the commission of a crime, including
7 the ringleader of a massive \$600,000 food stamp fraud case, and an
8 accountant employed by the United States Naval Station Commissary, who
9 flew out of Guam with the sum of \$107,000 stolen from a safe; and


10 WHEREAS, the Eighteenth Guam Legislature is aware that negotiations
11 have, in the past, taken place between the United States of America and
12 the Republic of the Philippines to conclude a mutual extradition treaty; and

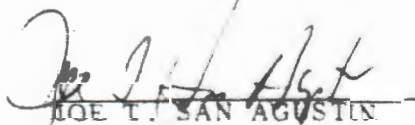
13 WHEREAS, it is a matter of urgency that territorial law violators be
14 apprehended, extradited to Guam, and brought to justice; now, therefore,
15 be it

16 RESOLVED, that the members of the Eighteenth Guam Legislature
17 request that the United States Government proceed to negotiate an
18 extradition treaty with the Republic of the Philippines which would give
19 special consideration to the plight and needs of the territory of Guam, and
20 which would provide a "Guam only" extradition clause; and be it further

21 RESOLVED, that the Speaker certify to and the Legislative Secretary
22 attest the adoption hereof and that copies of the same be thereafter
23 transmitted to the President of the United States; to the Secretary of State;
24 to the Secretary of the Interior; to the United States Attorney General; to
25 the Consulate General of the Philippines on Guam; to Guam's Congressman,
26 and to the Governor of Guam.

DULY AND REGULARLY ADOPTED ON THE 23RD DAY OF APRIL, 1985.


ELIZABETH P. ARRIOLA
Senator and
Legislative Secretary


JOE L. SAN AGUSTIN
Acting Speaker

85076700633

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

0025

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 10, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE RONALD V. DELLUMS

SUBJECT: WRITES CONCERNING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES AND REAFFIRMATION OF SUPPORT FOR THE MARCOS GOVERNMENT

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
M. B. OGLESBY	ORG	85/05/10	MO. A	85/05/21
STATE REFERRAL NOTE:	R	85/05/23		/ /
REFERRAL NOTE: Will back				/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:				/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:				/ /
REFERRAL NOTE:				/ /

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: 0021 MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1230
MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

- *****
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION CODES: | *OUTGOING | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | OF SIGNER | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | CODE = A | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* | | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | OUTGOING | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY * | | | * |
- *****

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE (ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

CO 125

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 10, 1985

8515870

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE RONALD V. DELLUMS

SUBJECT: WRITES CONCERNING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
PHILIPPINES AND REAFFIRMATION OF SUPPORT FOR
THE MARCOS GOVERNMENT

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
M. B. OGLESBY	ORG	85/05/10	MD. A	85/05/11
STATE				
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE: Will Ball	R	85/05/11		
REFERRAL NOTE: LA Ogle	A	85/07/09	AB	85/07/10
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:				

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: 0021 MEDIA; L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1230

MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

- *ACTION CODES: *DISPOSITION CODES: *OUTGOING
- *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION *A-ANSWERED *CORRESPONDENCE
- *C-COMMENT/RECON *B-FOR-SPEC-REFERRAL *TYPE RESP-INITIALS
- *D-DRAFT RESPONSE *C-COMPLETED *OF SIGNER
- *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET *S-SUSPENDED *CODE - A
- *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT REC * *COMPLETED - DATE OF
- *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * *OUTGOING
- *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * * *
- *X-INTERIM REPLY * * *

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 79, OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8515870

Date July 8, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: The President From: Hon. Ronald V. Dellums

Date: May 9, 1985 Subject: Express concern over the recent developments in the Philippines and the reaffirmation of your support for Marcos

WH Referral Dated: May 27, 1985 NSC ID# 303988
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

Action Taken:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- XX An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
- Other.

Remarks:

for Tom Collier
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

JUN 13 1985

Dear Congressman Dellums:

The letter dated May 9, 1985, concerning recent developments in the Philippines which you and 21 of your Congressional colleagues sent to President Reagan was referred to the Department of State for further consideration.

The Philippines has been undergoing serious political and economic difficulties. Longstanding economic problems were exacerbated by the political uncertainties stemming from the assassination of former opposition leader Benigno Aquino in August, 1983. The Philippines is also faced with a growing, communist-led insurgency. Because of the historically close relationship between our two countries, the U.S. has a stake in the successful resolution of these problems in the Philippines. However, we recognize that this responsibility lies first and foremost with the Filipino people themselves, and we have encouraged their efforts to this end.

The basic thread of U.S. policy toward the Philippines is support for fundamental reforms needed to revitalize democratic institutions, maintain stability and restore economic health. We support strengthened democratic institutions, especially free and fair elections, which will help to assure both stability in the present and an orderly transition to the next generation of responsible leadership. While the Filipinos seek to resolve their political problems, the U.S. is prepared to continue to support Philippine efforts to overcome current economic difficulties and create a basis for stable, long-term growth. We will continue to cooperate with the International Monetary Fund, and other international institutions, and private banks to provide bilateral assistance, as befits our relationship with our oldest ally in Asia. Finally, our military bases and mutual security treaties will continue to be vital to the defense of our security interest in the East Asian and Pacific area. The military assistance we provide is closely related to our interest in helping the Philippines institute needed military reforms in order to prosecute a more effective effort against its communist-led insurgency.

With regard to U.S. economic aid to the Philippines, most of our bilateral assistance is used for projects directly benefitting the Filipino people such as school construction, public works, farm-to-market roads, public markets, water and sewage systems and power generation plants.

The Honorable
Ronald V. Dellums,
House of Representatives.

ORIGINAL FORWARDED BY H.
RVS/ck

Including development assistance and PL-480, we have proposed a total of \$275 million in assistance to the Philippines in FY 86, \$173 million of which is economic.

The military aid we provide enables the Armed Forces of the Philippines, which is very poorly equipped, to develop the ability to play its necessary role in dealing with the nation's problems. Our aid, most of which is for non-lethal equipment such as trucks and communication gear, is aimed at building a more effective, professional, apolitical military force. While the Philippines receives significant economic aid from a host of bilateral and multilateral donors, the U.S. is the only donor of material military assistance to the Philippines. U.S. military assistance represents only 7.5 percent of total foreign assistance to the Philippines.

Military assistance is vital to the achievement of our objectives in the Philippines for a number of important reasons. First, it is clear the the Armed Forces of the Philippines badly needs our assistance for basic, largely non-lethal equipment to deal with the growing communist insurgency. The result of cutbacks in our proposed level for FY 86 will be further deterioration of existing equipment or no new purchases, either of which would play into the insurgents' hands.

Second, our proposal for military aid is made in the expectation that reforms in the Philippine military which have already begun will continue and expand. Serious professional military officers within the Armed Forces of the Philippines have developed a highly satisfactory plan for utilizing the assistance to improve the Philippine military capabilities. This plan has been worked out in close consultation with our military assistance group in Manila, and represents a joint assessment of minimum needs. We think it is vitally important for the future stability of the Philippines to have a solidly professional military institution.

Third, it represents a Presidential commitment. By letter to President Marcos, President Reagan pledged best efforts to secure \$900 million in security assistance over the five-year period beginning in FY 85, of which \$425 million is to be military aid. It is clear that we must begin to make up the shortfall resulting from the Congressional decision in FY 1985 to "front-load" the economic component of security assistance if we are to have any hope of achieving the promised level of military aid over the five-year period.

The Department of State recognizes, as you also state in your letter, that human rights abuses are a problem in the Philippines, and we pay close attention to the human rights situation there. We believe the existence of two armed insurgency movements, particularly the communist-led New People's Army, contributes significantly to reports of human rights abuses in the Philippines. The extent to which the local military commander exercises disciplinary powers is a crucial factor in whether or not human rights abuses occur. Where local commanders have good rapport with the local population and take seriously their responsibility to the people, there are few reports of human rights abuses. In this regard, we view the recent public attention given by Acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Ramos to improving civil-military relations as a positive step.

As Assistant Secretary Paul Wolfowitz pointed out in his speech to the National Defense University last February in Honolulu, the problems facing the Philippines are profound and will not be resolved quickly. Moreover, the problems are interrelated, and progress in each area will be needed for further progress in the others. Mr. Wolfowitz noted that the appropriate U.S. role is to encourage the revitalization of Philippine institutions, while recognizing that it is the Filipinos who must choose their particular path to reform and who must make the reforms they judge necessary. Our aid is aimed at encouraging that process.

The Department of State shares your concerns about the difficulties currently facing the Philippines, and we look forward to working with the Congress to meet the challenges which now confront us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant Secretary
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

~~Enclosure: Correspondence returned.~~

Drafter: EAP/PHL:RLHuff *RLH*
5/29/85 632-1221
S/S No. 8515870
0628a

Clearance: EAP/PHL:JFMaisto *JFM*
EAP: Staff Asst.
H: RBock



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

ACTION SLIP

unc

(Classification/Downgrader)

SADIXED

DATE: *5/28/85*

S/S CONTROL NUMBER

8515870

ACTION ASSIGNED TO: *EAP*

DUE IN S/S BY: *6/3/85*

ACTION REQUESTED

H *CT*

- STATE TO NSC MEMO
- STATE TO OVP MEMO
- STATE TRANSMITTAL FORM TO NSC _____ OVP _____
- DIRECT REPLY ON BEHALF OF _____ FOR SIGNATURE BY _____
- REPLY FOR SIGNATURE BY *H* _____
- RECOMMENDATION FOR _____ UNDER COVER OF AN ACTION MEMO
- with Memorandum for the President
- APPROPRIATE HANDLING
- with Draft reply for signature by _____
- with Comment or Recommendation
- travel authorization
- provide info copy under cover of State-NSC transmittal form
- provide comeback copy for _____
- with reply for signature
- FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ATTACH THIS ACTION SLIP AND ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE TO ANY SUBMISSION TO S/S

REMARKS/SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:
CLEAR WITH:

Congressional

*Dellano + multiple (H) -
Lab 24 Refused*

4/13 RB

COPIES TO:

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| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> MGT. ANAL. | <input type="checkbox"/> M/MO | | | _____ |

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32*

FROM:

S/S-S
TEAM:

Stadia Sulis

A- *RB* B- C-
632-1522 632-8338 632-8062

8515870

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MAY 27, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ATTN: WILL BALL

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 303988

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MAY 9, 1985

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: THE HONORABLE RONALD V. DELLUMS
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC 20515

SUBJECT: EXPRESS CONCERN OVER THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS
IN THE PHILIPPINES AND THE REAFFIRMATION OF
YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE MARCOS GOVERNMENT.
STATE THAT ENHANCED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC
ASSISTANCE WILL UNNECESSARILY BOLSTER
MARCOS' DICTATORIAL RULE AND "FURTHER
FRUSTRATE THE FILIPINO PEOPLES' JUST DEMANDS
FOR GENUINE DEMOCRATIZATION." THEREFORE,
URGE YOU TO RECONSIDER AUTHORIZATION OF AID
TO MR. MARCOS.

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

May 21, 1985

Dear Ron:

Thank you for your May 9 letter to the President, cosigned by 21 of your colleagues, indicating your opposition to economic and military aid to the Marcos government in the Philippines.

Please know that your concerns have been conveyed to the President and his foreign policy advisers. I am certain that the issues you raised with respect to U.S. policy toward the Philippines will be reviewed.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

M. B. Oglesby, Jr.
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Ronald V. Dellums
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

cc: w/copy of inc to Will BALL, Cong Affrs, State - for DIRECT response

✓cc: w/copy of inc. to NSC Secretariat - FYI

MBO/KRJ/ech-MB05

303988

37
no

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

May 9, 1985

Honorable Ronald Reagan
President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are concerned about the recent developments in the Philippines and the reaffirmation of your support for the Marcos government.

Upon reviewing these developments, we find that the political and military reforms necessary to re-establish democracy there have not been implemented. President Marcos continues promulgating decrees under the emergency powers given him to Amendment 6 of the Philippine Constitution, thereby rendering the duly elected parliament impotent.

Despite their highly publicized policy of "maximum tolerance," the military and the police have continued using violence to silence legitimate dissent, from the forcible dispersal of peaceful protests to the arbitrary arrest, torture and even outright murder of suspected members or supporters of the opposition. To further demonstrate his intolerance of any form of dissent, Marcos recently dismissed his Foreign Minister Arturo Tolentino and castigated his Labor Minister Blas Ople for publicly differing with his government policies. From the point of view of the Filipino people, President Marcos has become the main stumbling block to the democratization of their society.

In the meantime, a broad-based democratic opposition movement has continued to grow. This movement consistently calls for a number of basic reforms toward genuine democratization, among which are the repeal of Amendment 6, amnesty for all political prisoners and offenders, and justice in the Aquino murder trial.

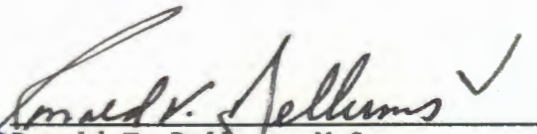
We, therefore, feel that once again we are following a policy of support for an unpopular government without adequate regard for the sentiments of the people of that country. We know only too well the disastrous impact this policy has had for us in Iran and Nicaragua.

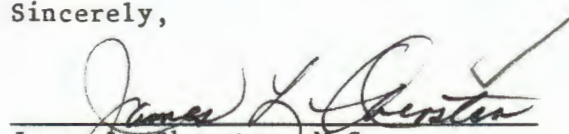
We believe that enhanced military assistance and greatly increased economic assistance will unnecessarily bolster Marcos' dictatorial rule and further frustrate the Filipino peoples' just demands for genuine democratization. We, therefore, urge you to reconsider the authorization of

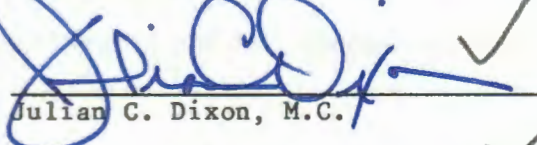
Honorable Ronald Reagan
May 9, 1985
Page Two

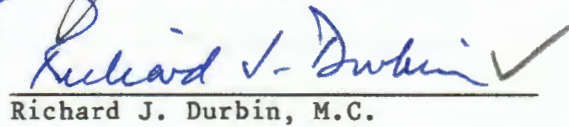
unconditional economic and military aid to Mr. Marcos, and to do everything in your power to encourage the evolution of a democratic process in the Philippines.

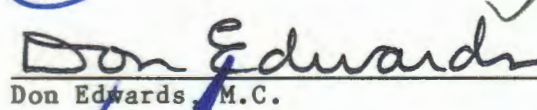
Sincerely,

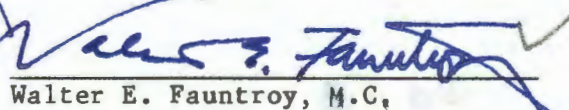

Ronald V. Dellums, M.C.

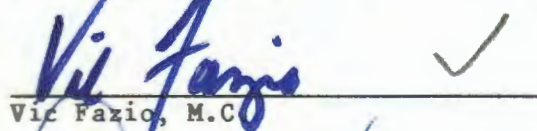

James L. Oberstar, M.C.

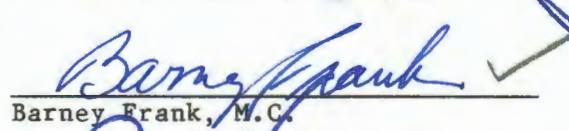

Julian C. Dixon, M.C.

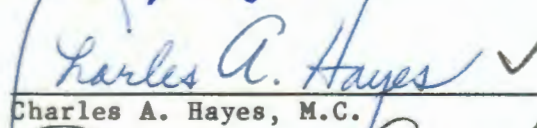

Richard J. Durbin, M.C.

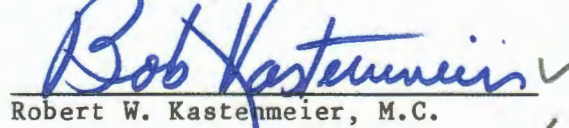

Don Edwards, M.C.

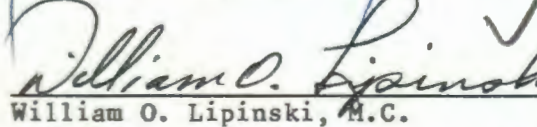

Walter E. Fauntroy, M.C.

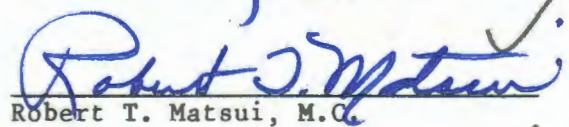

Vic Fazio, M.C.

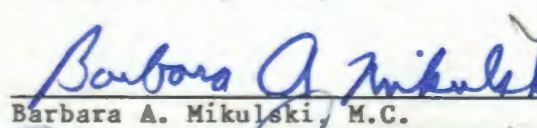

Barney Frank, M.C.

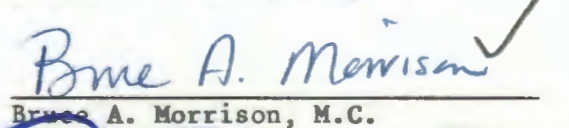

Charles A. Hayes, M.C.

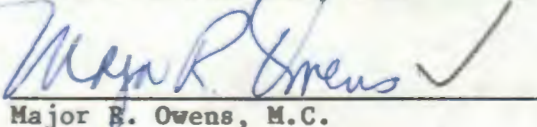

Robert W. Kastenmeier, M.C.

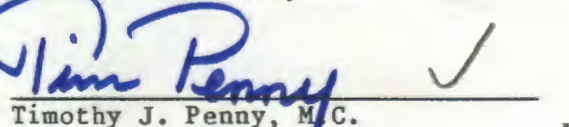

William O. Lipinski, M.C.

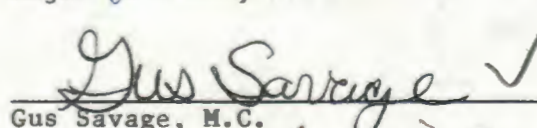

Robert T. Matsui, M.C.

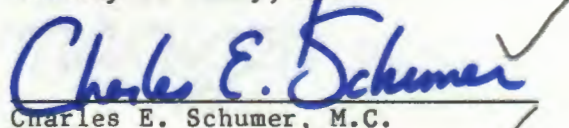

Barbara A. Mikulski, M.C.

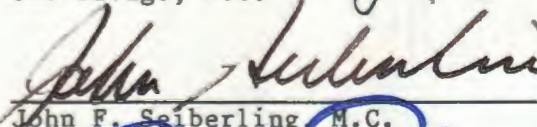

Bruce A. Morrison, M.C.

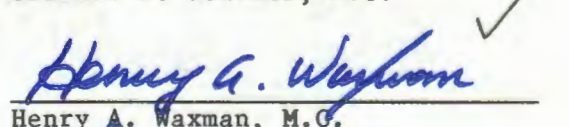

Major B. Owens, M.C.

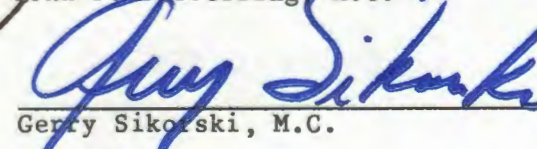

Timothy J. Penny, M.C.

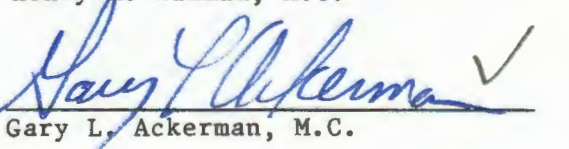

Gus Savage, M.C.


Charles E. Schumer, M.C.


John F. Seiberling, M.C.


Henry A. Waxman, M.C.


Gerry Sikorski, M.C.


Gary L. Ackerman, M.C.

