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FOIA

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SYSTEMATIC

927

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
95492	PAPER	ELECTION OBSERVERS IN NICARAGUA <i>R 9/15/2022 DEPT. OF STATE WAIVER</i>	6	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

NICARAGUA

PHILIPPINES

Voting Procedures:

"I think the consensus...was the elections were fair, honest; they represented a broad political spectrum, and the Sandinistas did everything possible to create a favorable election climate."
(LASA observer)

"It looks as though someone is managing the results of this election and that's deeply disturbing." (Senator Lugar)
"The overwhelming fraud we saw was from the Marcos people. We didn't see any fraud from the Aquino people." (Aide to the Governor of Ohio)

Electoral Law:

"Satisfactory...we are satisfied with the final system." (Swedish observers)

"...nuns clutching ballot boxes in hopes the goons wouldn't get them. The government was showing its muscle and showing it would do what was necessary." (Senator Lugar)

Intimidation of Voters:

"...a remarkable achievement. Everyone we talked to felt perfectly free to express dissenting views. We found no basis for concluding that the process itself was anything but fair." (Lawyers' Committee)

"It was beyond my wildest dreams, the kind of fraud and intimidation that went on." (Canadian observer)

The Campaign:

"We found the elections to have been free, fair, and hotly contested. All seven parties were given free television and radio time and campaign expenses; an energetic press actively criticized the junta and the FSLN, and rallies and campaigning took place throughout the country." (NYC Commission on Human Rights)

No significant comment.

Range of Choice of the Voter:

"A close inspection of the platforms of the seven parties listed on the November 4 ballot reveals that the Nicaraguan voter had a wide range of options on major issues." (LASA observer)

No significant comment.

"The wide participation of opposition parties alone demonstrates that these elections are truly free." (German Deputy)

General:

"I am convinced once again that these elections are democratically pure."
(Austrian-Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee)

"Marcos...is a dictator who has tried to murder democracy in the Philippines." (Senator Carl Levin)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
LARRY M. SPEAKES
MITCHELL E. DANIELS, JR.

SUBJECT: Philippines/Nicaragua Election Comparison

We have been impressed by the extremely different approach taken by Western observers to the Philippines election of 1986 and the Nicaraguan election of late 1984. It will come as no surprise to any of you that the reaction to the Philippines election was overwhelmingly negative. In contrast, the vast majority of observers of the Nicaraguan elections spoke favorably about what they had seen. This revealed the tendency to make excuses for left-wing dictatorships that would be considered unpalatable if made for right-wing dictatorships. Not only the observations but also the recommendations for future action were remarkably different. For example, those observing the Nicaraguan election proposed various steps to accommodate to the election results while observers in the Philippines suggested Marcos should step down.

I have attached for your background a report on this subject prepared by the community and brief schematic of the different treatment on certain of the key issues.

Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A Study on Nicaraguan Elections

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ACTION

April 17, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: Philippines/Nicaragua Election Comparison

You requested the attached study (Tab III). The key points are in the Conclusions. The reaction to the Philippines election was overwhelmingly negative. In contrast, the vast majority of observers to the Nicaraguan election spoke favorably about what they had seen. This reveals a tendency to make excuses for left-wing dictatorships that would be considered unpalatable if made for right-wing dictatorships. Interestingly, conservative political observers watching the Philippines elections reported fraud when they saw it. On the other hand, observers in Nicaragua of liberal/leftist political views allowed their prejudice to interfere with reporting any abuses they saw. The recommendations for future action were also diametrically opposed. Those observing the Nicaraguan election proposed various steps to accommodate to the electoral results while observers in the Philippines suggested Marcos should step down. No one suggested Ortega should step down. I have prepared a few side-by-side comparisons to sharpen the contrast. At Rod McDaniel's suggestion, I have prepared a brief memorandum for you to send to the President (Tab I). Rod has also recommended that he send a memorandum to Larry Speakes, Pat Buchanan, and Mitch Daniels.

RECOMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

Approve Disapprove

That you authorize a similar memorandum be sent to Speakes, Buchanan, and Daniels (Tab II).

Approve Disapprove

not available out of tank
Ray Burghardt concurs.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President

Tab A Chart

Tab II Memo to Speakes, Buchanan, and Daniels

Tab A Study on Nicaraguan Elections

ELECTION OBSERVERS IN NICARAGUA

A November 2, 1984 article in the Toronto Globe & Mail took note that the vast majority of Western European governments were not sending observers to view Nicaragua's voting process, the exceptions being Holland and Sweden. It noted that governments spanning the spectrum from conservatives in Britain and West Germany to Socialists in France and Italy had declined to send observers. It also noted that although some Canadians had suggested that Canada send an observation team to "report on the fairness of the voting procedures," this "would have been a hollow exercise, since what counts is not the voting procedures but the ability of groups in Nicaragua to organize for the vote."

"... ability to organize for the vote" was what the European Democratic Union monitored in their September 1984 fact-finding mission to Nicaragua. The EDU report on this mission stated, "The preparation for the elections and the country's political climate being what they are, free voting by individual citizens cannot be expected.... The elections are being shaped and exploited by the Government of Nicaragua to the end of consolidating its own power and of facilitating further measures on the road to a Marxist-Leninist regime. The government for these reasons cannot afford free elections because they would conjure up the serious danger of its losing the majority."

Persons who did not pay close attention to the situation prior to the election were more likely to call what they observed "fair." Unofficial observers from the U.S. were generally sponsored by groups having radical views on Central American affairs. A group sponsored by the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) included Representative James Shannon (D-Mass.) and former Congressman Charles Whelan. "The Sandinistas went to great lengths to make it a real election although they were clearly under a lot of pressure," Shannon stated, "I was surprised at the degree to which the opposition is alive and well and participating." The report issued by this group claimed that the range of parties provided voters with meaningful choices, and that parties were for the most part able to communicate their messages to the voters. It also stated that there was no evidence of fraud in the casting or counting of ballots.

Another group of observers was sponsored by the Lawyers Committee on Central America. Boston lawyer Ralph Fine, a member of this "team," called the elections a "remarkable achievement. Everyone we talked to felt perfectly free to express dissenting views. We found no basis for concluding that the process itself was anything other than fair." Frederick Snyder, an Assistant Dean at Harvard Law School, said, "I found massive support for the Sandinistas, and a sense of freedom and security that is not characteristic of totalitarian regimes."

The "Nicaragua-Honduras Education Project" sent 30 observers. On returning to the United States, one member of the delegation,

Lois Whitman, Counsel of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, defended the election in a November 16 letter to the New York Times. "We found the elections to have been free, fair, and hotly contested," she wrote, adding, "All seven parties were given free television and radio time and campaign expenses; an energetic press actively criticized the junta and the F.S.L.N., and rallies and campaigning took place throughout the country."

An observer team of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) reported that "A close inspection of the platforms of the seven parties listed on the November 4 ballot reveals that the Nicaraguan voter had a wide range of options on major issues...." The LASA report also claimed, "the Supreme Electoral Council functioned in a professional and impartial manner, both before and during the electoral campaign," and added, "in this campaign the FSLN did little more to take advantage of its incumbency than incumbent parties everywhere (including the United States) routinely do ... by Latin American standards (it) was a model of probity and fairness." Richard Sinkin, a University of Texas professor who directed this group, went even further, "I think the consensus of the delegation was the elections were fair, honest; they represented a broad political spectrum, and the Sandinistas did everything possible to create a favorable electoral climate."

Most foreign unofficial observers were not as enthusiastic as the U.S. groups, although some of these observers found some excuses for the Sandinistas.

Slightly more qualified an endorsement was given by Lord Chitnis, representative of British Liberal Party leader David Steele, who said, "Imperfect though this election has been, it has certainly been better than the one in El Salvador, about whose legitimacy the British and U.S. Governments have no doubts." These views were echoed by another unofficial British observer, who added, "Here, some (parties) withdrew only because they felt the conditions were unsatisfactory."

Most other foreign observers were wholly laudatory of the election. Bernard Allen Trism, Irish Member of Parliament, stated, "I came to Nicaragua very doubtful about the process, but after speaking freely with all political sectors I believe that the GRN has made a great effort to have democratic elections." Alejandro Paz Barnica, Honduran Liberal Democratic Revolutionary movement, "We have seen ideological pluralism." Rudolph Binding, German SPD Deputy, "The appreciation of the wide participation of opposition parties alone demonstrates that these elections are truly free." Matti Rossi, President of Finnish Peace Committee, "One notes the meticulousness and care with which these elections are carried out." Herwing Buechele, Austrian-Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee, "I am convinced once again that these elections are democratically pure." The Nation reported that former West German Chancellor Willi Brandt "had lavish praise for the elections and the parties that were participating."

One of the few foreign observers to see through the Sandinista deception (and publicly state his views) was Friedrich Koenig, Austrian Christian Democratic Deputy. He stated, "The desired pluralism does not exist. I have found that there is a large discrepancy between what is practiced and what is said in the Electoral Law. For example, when Leon Arguello (Supreme Electoral Council) visited Vienna, he told us that the press censorship would soon be lifted and we see that it still exists. I accept that there is censorship when it deals with security but not when it is censorship of anti-government criticism because that is what the opposition does. I am sorry that the freedom of the press does not exist in Nicaragua, because there is censorship and often it has nothing to do with security. That censorship I have seen in the paper La Prensa. Therefore I regret that the elections could not be representative for all the political forces in the country. I also fear that after the elections not much will change...."

In contrast, reports from virtually all unofficial observers of the Philippine elections were unfavorable; official observers praised the democratic commitment of the Filipino people while condemning the abuses which occurred. (See, e.g., Wattenberg, The Wall Street Journal, March 7, 1986.)

The official U.S. observer team was headed by Senator Richard Lugar, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and Representative John Murtha. (Other Congressional members were: Senators Thad Cochran and John Kerry, and Representatives Bob Livingston, Bernard Dwyer, Sam Stratton, and Jerry Lewis. Other members of the observer team were from the Center for Democracy, Congressional Research Service, U.S. News and World Report, American Enterprise Institute, and U.S. Chamber of Commerce; also included a retired Admiral and former Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet.)

Senator Lugar made periodic statements regarding his observations. The day after the election, he stated, "It looks as though someone is managing the results of this election and that's deeply disturbing." The observer team report given by Lugar at the Manila Hotel on February 10 cited additional examples of fraud. Lugar noted that "We're concerned about the workers who left COMELEC (the official vote-counting body), who've charged they were asked to manipulate certain results in that process We've pointed out, as a matter of fact, for several days that we believe that manipulation of the counting process was taking place."

Upon returning to the United States, Lugar commented, "The fact the government had total control means responsibility comes there. The basic fraud came in the counting." In some instances, he noted, there were "nuns clutching ballot boxes in hopes the goons wouldn't get them. The government was showing its muscle and showing it would do what was necessary." He also revealed other forms of fraud, including issuing of incomplete

voter lists so that Aquino supporters could not vote (he estimated that 20% of the people were disenfranchised by this method). Lugar added that he would support an aid cutoff if the election were "stolen," "In the event that we've lost all of our leverage with our aid then we ought not to end it."

Senator Carl Levin, who was not on the official observer team, but who went to the Philippines with Senators David Boren and David Prior after February 7, called Marcos "a dictator who has tried to murder democracy in the Philippines." He urged the United States to freeze all military and economic aid to the Philippines until Marcos stepped down. (Two other Senators who did not visit the Philippines, Bob Dole and Sam Nunn, urged re-evaluation of U.S. base location in the Philippines.)

Unofficial U.S. observers were included in a bi-partisan team from the International Observers Mission (International Initiative of the Republican and Democratic Parties). Gerald Austin, an aide to the Governor of Ohio, reported instances of fraud in casting and counting ballots. "The overwhelming fraud we saw was from the Marcos people. We didn't see any fraud from the Aquino people." As an example he noted that three priests in a particular precinct told him they voted for Aquino, but when he heard the vote tally announced for that precinct, Aquino received zero votes. He also saw the name "Marcos" written in different handwriting over the name "Aquino" on numerous paper ballots. He stated that Marcos officials also attempted to bribe voters, and gave bonuses to precinct captains having a 100% turnout (more often than not, 100% Marcos). (The Mission's report also praised the Filipino people's interest in the democratic process.)

An unofficial Canadian observer, Senator Alistair Graham, was part of this same team (including persons from 19 countries) which monitored 350 polling places in the Philippines. He reported, "It was beyond my wildest dreams, the kind of fraud and intimidation that went on." He noted the occurrence of vote-buying (voters handed the equivalent of \$25 U.S.), dishonest counting of ballots, and intimidation of opposition voters. Graham urged his government to cut direct aid to the Marcos Government.

Conclusions

Reaction to the Philippine election was overwhelmingly negative. In contrast, the vast majority of observers to the Nicaraguan election spoke favorably about what they had seen.

This does not mean that the Nicaraguan election was fair. On the contrary, what it reveals is a tendency to make excuses for left-wing dictatorships that would be considered unpalatable if made for right-wing dictatorships. The observers in the Philippines who had conservative political viewpoints did not let that get in the way of reporting fraud when they saw it; on the other hand, the observers in Nicaragua who had leftist political

viewpoints generally allowed this to interfere with reporting any abuses they saw.

Similarly, observers who viewed conditions in the Philippines prior to the election stated their doubts that a fair election could occur. (Allen Weinstein, who was later sent as an official U.S. observer, told Congress in December 1985 that from what he had seen of the Philippines earlier that month, the election would probably not be fair.) In contrast, few observers viewed the Nicaraguan campaign process, or took into account the repressive conditions under which the campaigning took place. They instead focussed on the "fairness" of the electoral law, or the "meticulousness and care" with which "the elections were carried out." Extreme sentiments were also voiced regarding Nicaragua which had no basis in reality, such as "... the wide participation of opposition parties alone demonstrated that these elections are truly free." Nobody ventured to suggest that the participation of Aquino's coalition in the Philippine election was in itself sufficient evidence that the election was truly free.

The recommendations for future action were also diametrically opposed. Many observers of the Philippine election saw cutting funds as the appropriate response to the electoral abuses. Some observers of the Philippine election suggested that Marcos should step down; in contrast, no observers of the Nicaraguan election suggested Daniel Ortega should step down.

Two elections occurred, the "results" of which did not reflect the will of the people. One returned to power a right-wing autocrat (although only temporarily), another a left-wing dictator who remains in power.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3-19

Walt

Pls condense the findings to a one page side by side comparison.

Prepare 2 cover memos:

- 1) JMP to President
- 2) MCD to Speaker
Buckman
Daniels

Rod

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G. F.

1995

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

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INFORMATION

March 17, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: Philippine/Nicaragua Election Comparison

You requested the attached study (Tab I). The key points are in the conclusions: The observer remarks mark a willingness to make excuses for left-wing dictatorship and not right-wing dictatorship.

out of town *ON* *not available*
Ray Burghardt, Ollie North, and Phil Hughes concur.

Attachment

Tab I

Election Observers in Nicaragua Study

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DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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DECLASSIFIED

Authority State Waiver

BY dl NARADATE 9/15/2022

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ELECTION OBSERVERS IN NICARAGUA

A November 2, 1984 article in the Toronto Globe & Mail took note that the vast majority of Western European governments were not sending observers to view Nicaragua's voting process, the exceptions being Holland and Sweden. It noted that governments spanning the spectrum from conservatives in Britain and West Germany to socialist in France and Italy had declined to send observers. It also noted that although some Canadians had suggested that Canada send an observation team to "report on the fairness of the voting procedures," this "would have been a hollow exercise, since what counts is not the voting procedure but the ability of groups in Nicaragua to organize for the vote."

"...ability to organize for the vote" was what the European Democratic Union monitored in their September 1984 fact-finding mission to Nicaragua. The EDU report on this mission stated, "The preparation for the elections and the country's political climate being what they are, free voting by individual citizens cannot be expected....The elections are being shaped and exploited by the Government of Nicaragua to the end of consolidating its own power and of facilitating further measures on the road to a Marxist-Leninist regime. The government for these reasons cannot afford free elections because they would conjure up the serious danger of its losing the majority."

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Most foreign unofficial observers were not as enthusiastic as the U.S. groups, although some of these observers found some excuses for the Sandinistas. [THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM CABLE 84-566081, CLASSIFIED "CONFIDENTIAL"] Former Norwegian Defense Minister Thorwald Stoltenberg, in Nicaragua on behalf of the Socialist International, issued a report to the president of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, in which he argued that the election had to be evaluated "in context." He listed "five facts" which needed to be taken into account: "A) There is a war going on in the country, B) There is a fear of an invasion, C) There is poverty, D) There is no democratic tradition, E) The world is focusing on Nicaragua...This tends to make us more critical to every aspect of the development in the Nicaraguan society than to most other countries in the area in particular and in other parts of the world in general." He then analyzed different facets of the electoral process.

The electoral law was described as "satisfactory"; the structure for implementation of the election was checked by "Swedish electoral experts" who "are satisfied with the final system." (He did mention that opposition parties registered three minor complaints, two of which were dealt with.) In commenting on the campaign itself, he stated, "The impressions of a foreign observer is [sic] that of a fierce campaign with strong attacks from all parties concerned. This was the case in newspapers, radio, and television. The parties had their political advertisements in the press, posters on the roadside, etc."

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Stoltenberg mentioned that four parties did withdraw, and briefly noted that "political discrimination took place in the form of harassment at opposition party meetings, not equivalent time in radio and television and censorship on some material relating to the election campaign." He added regarding censorship, "With a war in the country it is understood that censorship may be necessary on military and security matters. This, however, is no excuse for censoring news and statements regarding elections. This happened, which is to be regretted."

He then looked at what he called "the most difficult question for a foreign observer to answer": "how free is the individual decision on what to vote?" He noted three different responses from Nicaraguans regarding the block committees (CDSs). Some stated their block doesn't have such a committee functioning; others stated the committee in their neighborhood limited itself to "administrative matters, health, educational and defense of the local area"; still others stated that the CDS in their area put undue political pressure on individuals. Stoltenberg thus never really answers the question as to whether individual voters were free in their choice. (He did add, however, that "The working conditions in Nicaragua were excellent. Everything possible was made to facilitate the work as observer."

Stoltenberg's solution for the Nicaraguan situation? More economic aid.
(END CONFIDENTIAL CABLE MATERIAL)]

Slightly more qualified an endorsement was given by Lord Chitnis, representative of British Liberal Party leader David Steele, said, "Imperfect though this election has been, it has certainly been better than the one in El Salvador, about whose legitimacy the British and U.S. governments have no doubts." These views were echoed by another unofficial observer, , who added, "Here, some [parties] withdrew only because they felt the conditions were unsatisfactory."

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[(THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM CABLE NUMBER 84-5740253, WHICH IS CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL) Jean Natiez, French Socialist deputy (and member of the Franco-Nicaraguan Friendship Circle) said the elections were "technically remarkable" and said he could affirm that pluralism had been demonstrated. He claimed the CDSS merely contacted people to get them to vote without telling them whom they should vote for. (END CONFIDENTIAL CABLE MATERIAL)]

One of the few foreign observers to see through the Sandinista deception (and publicly state his views) was Friedrich Koenig, Austrian Christian Democratic deputy. He stated, "The desired pluralism does not exist. I have found that there is a large discrepancy between what is practiced and what is said in the Electoral Law. For example, when Leon Arguello [Supreme Electoral Council] visited Vienna, he told us that the press censorship would soon be lifted and we see that it still exists. I accept that there is censorship when it deals with security but not when it is censorship of anti-government criticism because that is what the opposition does. I am sorry that the freedom of the press does not exist in Nicaragua, because there is censorship and often it has nothing to do with security. That censorship I have seen in the paper La Prensa. Therefore I regret that the elections could not be representative for all the political forces in the country. I also fear that after the elections not much will change..."

In contrast, reports from virtually all unofficial observers of the Phillipine elections were unfavorable; official observers praised the democratic commitment of the Filipino people while condemning the abuses which occurred. (See, e.g. Wattenberg, The Wall Street Journal, March 7, 1986.)

The official U.S. observer team was headed by Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and Representative John Murtha. (Other congressional members were: senators Thad Cochran and John Kerry, and representatives Bob Livingston, Bernard Dwyer, Sam Stratton, and Jerry Lewis. Other members of the observer team were from the Center for Democracy, Congressional Research Service, U.S. News and World Report, American Enterprise Institute, and U.S. Chamber of Commerce; also included a retired admiral and former commander of the U.S. Pacific fleet.)

Senator Lugar made periodic statements regarding his observations. The day after the election, he stated, "It looks as though someone is managing the results of this election and that's deeply disturbing." The observer team report given by Lugar at the Manila Hotel on February 10 cited additional examples of fraud. Lugar noted that "We're concerned about the workers who left COMELEC [the official vote-counting body], who've charged they were asked to manipulate certain results in that process....We've pointed out, as a matter of fact, for several days that we believe that manipulation of the counting process was taking place."

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Conclusions

Reaction to the Philippine election was overwhelmingly negative. In contrast, the vast majority of observers to the Nicaraguan election spoke favorably about what they had seen.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This does not mean that the Nicaraguan election was fair. On the contrary, what it reveals is a tendency to make excuses for left-wing dictatorships that would be considered unpalatable if made for right-wing dictatorships. Take, for example, the "facts" of Stoltenberg: ~~(THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM CABLE 84-566081, WHICH IS CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL)~~ that the nation is at war, that it is impoverished, that the world is focused upon it and is therefore noticing irregularities which would go unnoticed elsewhere in the world (END CONFIDENTIAL CABLE MATERIAL)--did anyone make such excuses for the abuses of the Philippine election? No, even though such "facts" exist in the Philippines. Furthermore, the observers in the Philippines who had conservative political viewpoints did not let that get in the way of reporting fraud when they saw it; on the other hand, the observers in Nicaragua who had leftist political viewpoints generally allowed this to interfere with reporting any abuses they saw.

Similarly, observers who viewed conditions in the Philippines prior to the election stated their doubts that a fair election could occur. (Allan Weinstein, who was later sent as an official U.S. observer, told Congress in December 1985 that from what he had seen of the Philippines earlier that month, the election would probably not be fair.) In contrast, few observers viewed the Nicaraguan campaign process, or took into account the repressive conditions under which the campaigning took place. They instead focused on the "fairness" of the electoral law, or the "meticulousness and care" with which "the elections were carried out." Extreme sentiments were also voiced regarding Nicaragua which had no basis in reality, such as "...the wide participation of opposition parties alone demonstrates that these elections are truly free." Nobody ventured to suggest that the participation of Aquino's coalition in the Philippine election was in itself sufficient evidence that the election was truly free.

The recommendations for future action were also diametrically opposed. Many observers of the Philippine election saw cutting funds as the appropriate response to the electoral abuses; in contrast, observers of the Nicaraguan election, such as Stoltenberg, ~~(THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS TAKEN FROM CABLE 84-566081, WHICH IS CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL)~~, advocated increasing aid to the Sandinistas as the appropriate response to the electoral repression. In addition, some observers of the Philippine election suggested that Marcos should step down; in contrast, no observers of the Nicaraguan election suggested Daniel Ortega should step down.

Two elections occurred, the "result" of which did not reflect the will of the people. One returned to power a right-wing autocrat (although only temporarily), another a left-wing dictator who remains in power.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



March 12, 1986

~~UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~With CONFIDENTIAL Attachment~~

ms 4/30/10

MEMORANDUM FOR VADM JOHN M. POINDEXTER
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Philippine/Nicaragua Election Comparison

The report requested in Rodney McDaniel's memorandum of March 5, 1986, regarding observer reactions to the Nicaragua and Philippines elections is attached.

Bonckmley
or Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

~~UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~With CONFIDENTIAL Attachment~~

Raymond 1769

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Perdy

March 5, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR NICHOLAS PLATT
Executive Secretary
Department of State

JOHN H. RIXSE
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

RICHARD MEYER
Executive Secretary
Agency for International Development

RONALD POST
Acting Chief of the Executive Secretariat
U.S. Information Agency

SUBJECT: Comparative Comment on the Nicaraguan and
Philippine Elections

The NSC requests the development of a paper analyzing comparative comment by Western observers who were on the ground during the Nicaraguan and Philippine elections. We request that this analysis be coordinated by the Public Diplomacy Coordinating Office for Central America in the Department of State and include comment by both the official observation team (Philippines), unofficial observation teams, and other observers. We are particularly anxious to see the differences in treatment by various political sectors, internationally and in the U.S., to these two elections. This analysis should be completed no later than COB, March 10.

Rodney B. McDaniel
Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

ACTION

March 5, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: Comparative Comment on the Nicaraguan and
Philippine Elections

John Poindexter tasked me to develop a comparison of the Philippine and Nicaraguan elections, particularly as seen through the eyes of Western observers. Given the fact that several agencies will make input to this study, I thought it worthwhile to put out a small tasker. I have already talked informally to USIA and State. They should have no difficulty meeting the deadline as they are both at work on the issue now.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to the agencies.

Approve *WR* Disapprove _____
not available
Ray Burghardt concurs.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Agencies
Tab II PROF Note Taskings

03/03/86 15:00:03

NOTE FROM: Walter Raymond
Subject: COMPARISON OF ELECTIONS

*** Forwarding note from NSKS --CPUA 02/27/86 09:00
*** To: NSJMP --CPUA

*** Reply to note of 02/27/86 08:40
NOTE FROM: KARNA SMALL
Subject: COMPARISON OF ELECTIONS

This is really an excellent idea...just talked to Otto Reich who is going to pull together some press reports, using their Nexis capability over there. There were no US observers at Nicaraguan election, of course - but some comment. It's significant that many US Congressmen did NOT comment on Nicaraguan elections at all -- which can be included in our comparison. I will get this info to Walt as soon as possible for inclusion in overall comparison for you.

cc: NSWR --CPUA NSPBT --CPUA
NSRBM --CPUA NSWRP --CPUA
NSRTC --CPUA NSDRF --CPUA
DONALD FORTIER

03/03/86 15:00:42

NOTE FROM: Walter Raymond Subject: COMPARISON OF ELECTIONS
Pls print and bring both in to me and I will dictate out a
tasker. *** Forwarding note from NSJMP --CPUA 02/27/86
08:40 *** To: NSWR --CPUA WALT RAYMOND

-- SECRET --

NOTE FROM: JOHN POINDEXTER
SUBJECT: COMPARISON OF ELECTIONS

I WOULD LIKE TO GET A COMPARISON OF THE NICARAGUA AND
PHILIPPINES ELECTIONS BASED ON THE RESPECTIVE OBSERVER
REPORTS. WE NEED TO REALLY HAMMER THIS COMPARISON AND THE
DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE REACTIONS OF THE LIBERALS TO THESE
TWO CASES.

cc: NSDRF	--CPUA	DON FORTIER	NSRBM	--CPUA
ROD MCDANIEL				
NSPBT	--CPUA	PAUL THOMPSON	NSWRP	--CPUA
BOB PEARSON				
NSRFB	--CPUA	RAY BURGHARDT	NSRTC	--CPUA
DICK CHILDRESS				
NSKS	--CPUA	KARNA SMALL		

Shc
USIA
AD
CIA

**National Security Council
The White House**

JM

System # _____

Package # 1995

DOCLOG CB A/O _____

3/13 11:37

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>X</u>
Rodney McDaniel	<u>2</u>	<u>4/3-19</u>	
Don Fortier			
Paul Thompson			
Florence Gantt			
John Poindexter			
Rodney McDaniel			
NSC Secretariat	<u>4/3</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>Nothing w/ me</u>
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other WRP

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

*3/13
WR
CB told state no
extension, must
have ASAP
BP*

**National Security Council
The White House**

System # _____

Package # 1995

DOCLOG BT A/O _____

86 APR 18 17 All: 20

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>A</u>
Rodney McDaniel	<u>2</u>	<u>u r-h</u>	
Don Fortier	<u>3</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>A I</u>
Paul Thompson		<u>f</u>	
Florence Gantt			
John Poindexter	<u>4</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>A</u>
Rodney McDaniel	<u>5</u>	<u>u 5-12</u>	
NSC Secretariat	<u>6</u>	<u>SM 5/12</u>	<u>D</u>
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

RECEIVED 13 MAR 86 08

TO POINDEXTER

FROM PLATT, N

db 2/30/86

DOCDATE 12 MAR 86

RAYMOND

17 MAR 86

RAYMOND

17 APR 86

KEYWORDS: NICARAGUA

PHILIPPINES

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

SUBJECT: STATE RESPONES PHILIPPINE / NICARAGUA ELECTION COMPARISON

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR POINDEXTER DUE: 21 APR 86 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BURGHARDT

NORTH

HUGHES

MCDANIEL

PEARSON

CHILDRESS

COMMENTS

REF# 8607267

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NSCIFID

(LF V)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
				<i>Childress ✓</i>
				<i>Raymond ✓</i>

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

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BB

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 12, 1986

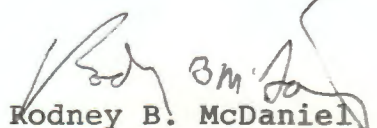
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MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
LARRY M. SPEAKES
MITCHELL E. DANIELS, JR.

SUBJECT: Philippines/Nicaragua Election Comparison

We have been impressed by the extremely different approach taken by Western observers to the Philippines election of 1986 and the Nicaraguan election of late 1984. It will come as no surprise to any of you that the reaction to the Philippines election was overwhelmingly negative. In contrast, the vast majority of observers of the Nicaraguan elections spoke favorably about what they had seen. This revealed the tendency to make excuses for left-wing dictatorships that would not be considered unpalatable if made for right-wing dictatorships. Not only the observations but also the recommendations for future action were remarkably different. For example, those observing the Nicaraguan election proposed various steps to accommodate to the election results while observers in the Philippines suggested Marcos should step down.

I have attached for your background a report on this subject prepared by the community and brief schematic of the different treatment on certain of the key issues.


Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A Study on Nicaraguan Elections

NSC #8601995

A

ELECTION OBSERVERS IN NICARAGUA

A November 2, 1984 article in the Toronto Globe & Mail took note that the vast majority of Western European governments were not sending observers to view Nicaragua's voting process, the exceptions being Holland and Sweden. It noted that governments spanning the spectrum from conservatives in Britain and West Germany to Socialists in France and Italy had declined to send observers. It also noted that although some Canadians had suggested that Canada send an observation team to "report on the fairness of the voting procedures," this "would have been a hollow exercise, since what counts is not the voting procedures but the ability of groups in Nicaragua to organize for the vote."

"... ability to organize for the vote" was what the European Democratic Union monitored in their September 1984 fact-finding mission to Nicaragua. The EDU report on this mission stated, "The preparation for the elections and the country's political climate being what they are, free voting by individual citizens cannot be expected.... The elections are being shaped and exploited by the Government of Nicaragua to the end of consolidating its own power and of facilitating further measures on the road to a Marxist-Leninist regime. The government for these reasons cannot afford free elections because they would conjure up the serious danger of its losing the majority."

Persons who did not pay close attention to the situation prior to the election were more likely to call what they observed "fair." Unofficial observers from the U.S. were generally sponsored by groups having radical views on Central American affairs. A group sponsored by the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) included Representative James Shannon (D-Mass.) and former Congressman Charles Whelan. "The Sandinistas went to great lengths to make it a real election although they were clearly under a lot of pressure," Shannon stated, "I was surprised at the degree to which the opposition is alive and well and participating." The report issued by this group claimed that the range of parties provided voters with meaningful choices, and that parties were for the most part able to communicate their messages to the voters. It also stated that there was no evidence of fraud in the casting or counting of ballots.

Another group of observers was sponsored by the Lawyers Committee on Central America. Boston lawyer Ralph Fine, a member of this "team," called the elections a "remarkable achievement. Everyone we talked to felt perfectly free to express dissenting views. We found no basis for concluding that the process itself was anything other than fair." Frederick Snyder, an Assistant Dean at Harvard Law School, said, "I found massive support for the Sandinistas, and a sense of freedom and security that is not characteristic of totalitarian regimes."

The "Nicaragua-Honduras Education Project" sent 30 observers. On returning to the United States, one member of the delegation,

Lois Whitman, Counsel of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, defended the election in a November 16 letter to the New York Times. "We found the elections to have been free, fair, and hotly contested," she wrote, adding, "All seven parties were given free television and radio time and campaign expenses; an energetic press actively criticized the junta and the F.S.L.N., and rallies and campaigning took place throughout the country."

An observer team of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) reported that "A close inspection of the platforms of the seven parties listed on the November 4 ballot reveals that the Nicaraguan voter had a wide range of options on major issues...." The LASA report also claimed, "the Supreme Electoral Council functioned in a professional and impartial manner, both before and during the electoral campaign," and added, "in this campaign the FSLN did little more to take advantage of its incumbency than incumbent parties everywhere (including the United States) routinely do ... by Latin American standards (it) was a model of probity and fairness." Richard Sinkin, a University of Texas professor who directed this group, went even further, "I think the consensus of the delegation was the elections were fair, honest; they represented a broad political spectrum, and the Sandinistas did everything possible to create a favorable electoral climate."

Most foreign unofficial observers were not as enthusiastic as the U.S. groups, although some of these observers found some excuses for the Sandinistas.

Slightly more qualified an endorsement was given by Lord Chitnis, representative of British Liberal Party leader David Steele, who said, "Imperfect though this election has been, it has certainly been better than the one in El Salvador, about whose legitimacy the British and U.S. Governments have no doubts." These views were echoed by another unofficial British observer, who added, "Here, some (parties) withdrew only because they felt the conditions were unsatisfactory."

Most other foreign observers were wholly laudatory of the election. Bernard Allen Trism, Irish Member of Parliament, stated, "I came to Nicaragua very doubtful about the process, but after speaking freely with all political sectors I believe that the GRN has made a great effort to have democratic elections." Alejandro Paz Barnica, Honduran Liberal Democratic Revolutionary movement, "We have seen ideological pluralism." Rudolph Binding, German SPD Deputy, "The appreciation of the wide participation of opposition parties alone demonstrates that these elections are truly free." Matti Rossi, President of Finnish Peace Committee; "One notes the meticulousness and care with which these elections are carried out." Herwing Buechele, Austrian-Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee, "I am convinced once again that these elections are democratically pure." The Nation reported that former West German Chancellor Willi Brandt "had lavish praise for the elections and the parties that were participating."

One of the few foreign observers to see through the Sandinista deception (and publicly state his views) was Friedrich Koenig, Austrian Christian Democratic Deputy. He stated, "The desired pluralism does not exist. I have found that there is a large discrepancy between what is practiced and what is said in the Electoral Law. For example, when Leon Arguello (Supreme Electoral Council) visited Vienna, he told us that the press censorship would soon be lifted and we see that it still exists. I accept that there is censorship when it deals with security but not when it is censorship of anti-government criticism because that is what the opposition does. I am sorry that the freedom of the press does not exist in Nicaragua, because there is censorship and often it has nothing to do with security. That censorship I have seen in the paper La Prensa. Therefore I regret that the elections could not be representative for all the political forces in the country. I also fear that after the elections not much will change...."

In contrast, reports from virtually all unofficial observers of the Philippine elections were unfavorable; official observers praised the democratic commitment of the Filipino people while condemning the abuses which occurred. (See, e.g., Wattenberg, The Wall Street Journal, March 7, 1986.)

The official U.S. observer team was headed by Senator Richard Lugar, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and Representative John Murtha. (Other Congressional members were: Senators Thad Cochran and John Kerry, and Representatives Bob Livingston, Bernard Dwyer, Sam Stratton, and Jerry Lewis. Other members of the observer team were from the Center for Democracy, Congressional Research Service, U.S. News and World Report, American Enterprise Institute, and U.S. Chamber of Commerce; also included a retired Admiral and former Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet.)

Senator Lugar made periodic statements regarding his observations. The day after the election, he stated, "It looks as though someone is managing the results of this election and that's deeply disturbing." The observer team report given by Lugar at the Manila Hotel on February 10 cited additional examples of fraud. Lugar noted that "We're concerned about the workers who left COMELEC (the official vote-counting body), who've charged they were asked to manipulate certain results in that process We've pointed out, as a matter of fact, for several days that we believe that manipulation of the counting process was taking place."

Upon returning to the United States, Lugar commented, "The fact the government had total control means responsibility comes there. The basic fraud came in the counting." In some instances, he noted, there were "nuns clutching ballot boxes in hopes the goons wouldn't get them. The government was showing its muscle and showing it would do what was necessary." He also revealed other forms of fraud, including issuing of incomplete

voter lists so that Aquino supporters could not vote (he estimated that 20% of the people were disenfranchised by this method). Lugar added that he would support an aid cutoff if the election were "stolen," "In the event that we've lost all of our leverage with our aid then we ought not to end it."

Senator Carl Levin, who was not on the official observer team, but who went to the Philippines with Senators David Boren and David Prior after February 7, called Marcos "a dictator who has tried to murder democracy in the Philippines." He urged the United States to freeze all military and economic aid to the Philippines until Marcos stepped down. (Two other Senators who did not visit the Philippines, Bob Dole and Sam Nunn, urged re-evaluation of U.S. base location in the Philippines.)

Unofficial U.S. observers were included in a bi-partisan team from the International Observers Mission (International Initiative of the Republican and Democratic Parties). Gerald Austin, an aide to the Governor of Ohio, reported instances of fraud in casting and counting ballots. "The overwhelming fraud we saw was from the Marcos people. We didn't see any fraud from the Aquino people." As an example he noted that three priests in a particular precinct told him they voted for Aquino, but when he heard the vote tally announced for that precinct, Aquino received zero votes. He also saw the name "Marcos" written in different handwriting over the name "Aquino" on numerous paper ballots. He stated that Marcos officials also attempted to bribe voters, and gave bonuses to precinct captains having a 100% turnout (more often than not, 100% Marcos). (The Mission's report also praised the Filipino people's interest in the democratic process.)

An unofficial Canadian observer, Senator Alistair Graham, was part of this same team (including persons from 19 countries) which monitored 350 polling places in the Philippines. He reported, "It was beyond my wildest dreams, the kind of fraud and intimidation that went on." He noted the occurrence of vote-buying (voters handed the equivalent of \$25 U.S.), dishonest counting of ballots, and intimidation of opposition voters. Graham urged his government to cut direct aid to the Marcos Government.

Conclusions

Reaction to the Philippine election was overwhelmingly negative. In contrast, the vast majority of observers to the Nicaraguan election spoke favorably about what they had seen.

This does not mean that the Nicaraguan election was fair. On the contrary, what it reveals is a tendency to make excuses for left-wing dictatorships that would be considered unpalatable if made for right-wing dictatorships. The observers in the Philippines who had conservative political viewpoints did not let that get in the way of reporting fraud when they saw it; on the other hand, the observers in Nicaragua who had leftist political

viewpoints generally allowed this to interfere with reporting any abuses they saw.

Similarly, observers who viewed conditions in the Philippines prior to the election stated their doubts that a fair election could occur. (Allen Weinstein, who was later sent as an official U.S. observer, told Congress in December 1985 that from what he had seen of the Philippines earlier that month, the election would probably not be fair.) In contrast, few observers viewed the Nicaraguan campaign process, or took into account the repressive conditions under which the campaigning took place. They instead focussed on the "fairness" of the electoral law, or the "meticulousness and care" with which "the elections were carried out." Extreme sentiments were also voiced regarding Nicaragua which had no basis in reality, such as "... the wide participation of opposition parties alone demonstrated that these elections are truly free." Nobody ventured to suggest that the participation of Aquino's coalition in the Philippine election was in itself sufficient evidence that the election was truly free.

The recommendations for future action were also diametrically opposed. Many observers of the Philippine election saw cutting funds as the appropriate response to the electoral abuses. Some observers of the Philippine election suggested that Marcos should step down; in contrast, no observers of the Nicaraguan election suggested Daniel Ortega should step down.

Two elections occurred, the "results" of which did not reflect the will of the people. One returned to power a right-wing autocrat (although only temporarily), another a left-wing dictator who remains in power.

NICARAGUAPHILIPPINES

Voting Procedures:

"I think the consensus...was the elections were fair, honest; they represented a broad political spectrum, and the Sandinistas did everything possible to create a favorable election climate."
(LASA observer)

"It looks as though someone is managing the results of this election and that's deeply disturbing." (Senator Lugar)
"The overwhelming fraud we saw was from the Marcos people. We didn't see any fraud from the Aquino people." (Aide to the Governor of Ohio)

Electoral Law:

"Satisfactory...we are satisfied with the final system." (Swedish observers)

"...nuns clutching ballot boxes in hopes the goons wouldn't get them. The government was showing its muscle and showing it would do what was necessary." (Senator Lugar)

Intimidation of Voters:

"...a remarkable achievement. Everyone we talked to felt perfectly free to express dissenting views. We found no basis for concluding that the process itself was anything but fair." (Lawyers' Committee)

"It was beyond my wildest dreams, the kind of fraud and intimidation that went on." (Canadian observer)

The Campaign:

"We found the elections to have been free, fair, and hotly contested. All seven parties were given free television and radio time and campaign expenses; an energetic press actively criticized the junta and the FSLN, and rallies and campaigning took place throughout the country." (NYC Commission on Human Rights)

No significant comment.

Range of Choice of the Voter:

"A close inspection of the platforms of the seven parties listed on the November 4 ballot reveals that the Nicaraguan voter had a wide range of options on major issues." (LASA observer)

No significant comment.

"The wide participation of opposition parties alone demonstrates that these elections are truly free." (German Deputy)

General:

"I am convinced once again that these elections are democratically pure." (Austrian-Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee)

"Marcos...is a dictator who has tried to murder democracy in the Philippines." (Senator Carl Levin)

Voting Procedures:

"I think the consensus... was the elections were fair, honest; they represented a broad political spectrum, and the candidates did everything possible to create a favorable election climate."
(LISA observer)

Electoral Law:

"Satisfactory... we are satisfied with the final system." (Linda (observer))

Intimidation of Voters:

"...a remarkable achievement. Every one we talked to felt perfectly free to express dissenting views. We found no basis for concluding that the process itself was anything but fair." (Lawson, Chairman)

The Campaign:

"We found the elections to have been free, fair, and well conducted. All seven parties were given the same vision and radio time and campaign expenses; an energetic press actively criticized the party and the issue, and rallies and campaigning took place throughout the country." (LISA Commission on human rights)

Range of Choice of the Voter:

"A close inspection of the platform of the seven parties listed on the November 4 ballot reveals that the Nigerian voter had a wide range of options on major issues." (LISA observer)

"The wide participation of opposition parties alone demonstrates that the elections are truly free." (German Deputy)

General:

"I am convinced once again that elections are democratically pure." (German-Nigerian Solidarity Commission)

"...and dividing ballot boxes in ways the 'good' didn't get them. The government was showing the results and the way it would do what was necessary." (Linda (observer))

"...it was beyond my wildest dreams, the kind of free and fair election that went on." (Linda (observer))

No significant comment

No significant comment

"...it is a great day for the Nigerian people." (German Deputy)

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

CO125

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 30, 1986

20 MAY 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE CHARLES E. BENNETT

SUBJECT: REQUESTS TO BE ADDED TO ANY WHITE HOUSE
LIST FOR EVENTS WITH REGARD TO THE VISIT OF
PRESIDENT AQUINO OF THE PHILIPPINES

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
WILLIAM BALL <i>FC FAU</i>	ORG	86/04/30	<i>WB</i>	<i>A86105109</i>
REFERRAL NOTE:				
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COMMENTS:

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

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

CO125

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 30, 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE CHARLES E. BENNETT

SUBJECT: REQUESTS TO BE ADDED TO ANY WHITE HOUSE
LIST FOR EVENTS WITH REGARD TO THE VISIT OF
PRESIDENT AQUINO OF THE PHILIPPINES

*LP response
to Bennett 5/22
w/ccc to Ball*

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D
WILLIAM BALL	ORG	86/04/30	WB	A86105109
<i>Fc FAU</i> REFERRAL NOTE: _____	<i>A</i>	<i>86105119</i>		<i>1</i>
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COMMENTS: _____

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

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

May 22, 1986

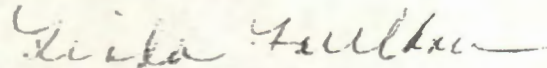
Dear Mr. Bennett:

William Ball, III, Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, has forwarded to me your request to be included in any event the White House might host for President Aquino of the Philippines.

Please be assured that we will keep your request in mind should such event be scheduled, and we certainly thank you for letting us know of your interest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Linda Faulkner
Social Secretary
to the White House

The Honorable Charles E. Bennett
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

cc: Will Ball/West Wing

May 9, 1986

Dear Mr. Bennett:

Thank you for your April 29 letter expressing your interest in attending any White House event which may be scheduled should Mrs. Aquino visit the United States.

We appreciate your special interest in this regard, and you may be assured that the White House Social Office has been made aware of your request.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Charles E. Bennett
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MBO:KRJ:MDB:mdb

cc: w/copy of inc to Linda Faulkner - for further action
WH RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIGINAL INCOMING

391304

CHARLES E. BENNETT
MEMBER
3D DISTRICT, FLORIDA

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN OF SEAPOWERS SUBCOMMITTEE
MEMBER OF RESEARCH AND
PERSONNEL SUBCOMMITTEES

MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES
COMMITTEE

HOUSE DEMOCRATIC STEERING AND
POLICY COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN OF FLORIDA CONGRESSIONAL
DELEGATION

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

April 29, 1986

W. DEKLE DAY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JODY H. MOONEY
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT
SHARON H. SIEGEL
BARBARA L. FETHEROLF
DARLA E. SMALLWOOD
BARBARA R. BRADBURY
MARIA G. PAPPANO
RUSSELL W. HOUSTON
ETHEL M. SCHISSELL
PATRICIA McDONOUGH
STAFF

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2107 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
TELEPHONE 202-225-2501

JOHN W. POLLARD, JR.
BRENDA C. DONALDSON
DONNA M. WELDON

JACKSONVILLE OFFICE:
314 PALMETTO STREET
JACKSONVILLE, FL 32202
TELEPHONE 904-791-2587

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

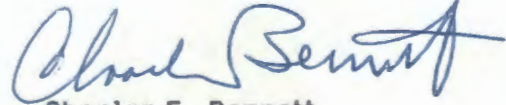
WB

Dear Mr. President:

I note in the media that you will probably be visited by President Aquino later this year. I have strongly supported her, and we have corresponded somewhat. I was a guerrilla leader in the Philippines in World War II, and I think I am the only one in Congress with that kind of background. If I may be bold enough to suggest it, I would like to suggest that when your staff is making up the invitation list for events with regard to Mrs. Aquino, perhaps a dinner at the White House, I would like to be considered as a guest, together with my wife, if that is possible.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,


Charles E. Bennett

CEB:ems



THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

JD# 391473

CO125

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 28, 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE LIZ VAN LEEUWEN

SUBJECT: FORWARDS COPY OF LETTER FROM MISSIONARIES IN
THE PHILIPPINES

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED YY/MM/DD
KAE RAIRDIN		ORG	86/04/28	KKR	A	86/5/12 TR
<u>LD of State</u>	REFERRAL NOTE:	K	86/05/15 TR		A	86/05/29 TR
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS: _____

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 2200 _____
IA MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8615059

Date June 20, 1986

For: VADM John M. Poindexter
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

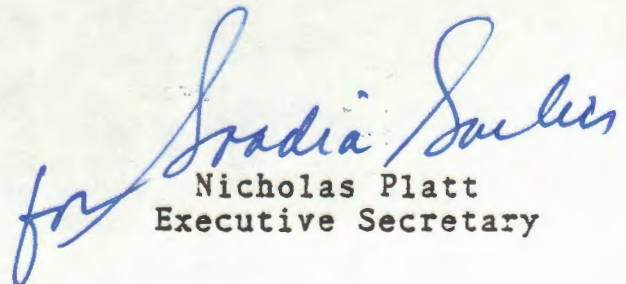
To: President Reagan From: Liz VanLeeuwen
Date: April 23, 1986 Subject: Forwards copy of letter
from Missionaries in the Philippines.
Referral Dated: May 15, 1986 ID# 391473
(if any)

 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:

for 
Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)



United States, Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

MAY 29 1986

Dear Ms. VanLeeuwen:

Your letter of April 23, 1986 to President Reagan was referred to my office. The letter from your friends who work in the Philippines has been forwarded to the Office of Philippine Affairs in the State Department for their information.

It was thoughtful of you to share the insights of your friends into the current Philippine situation with the President and the State Department. Thank you for taking the time to do so.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jayne Plank", written in a cursive style.

Jayne Plank
Director, Intergovernmental Affairs
Office of Legislative and
Intergovernmental Affairs

The Honorable
Liz VanLeeuwen,
Oregon House of Representatives.

8615059

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
REFERRAL

MAY 15, 1986

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 391473

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED APRIL 23, 1986

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: THE HONORABLE LIZ VAN LEEUWEN
OREGON HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SALEM OR 97310

SUBJECT: FORWARDS COPY OF LETTER FROM MISSIONARIES IN
THE PHILIPPINES

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

LIZ VanLEEUEWEN
LINN COUNTY
DISTRICT 37

REPLY TO ADDRESS INDICATED:

- House of Representatives
Salem, Oregon 97310
 27070 Irish Bend Loop
Halsey, Oregon 97348-9731



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SALEM, OREGON
97310

391473

8615059

K. Raindin

April 23, 1986

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

Dear President Reagan,

Geo. and I have friends (3 couples) who are missionaries in various parts of the Philippines. We have heard from all of them since the revolution there. (Norma Paulus met one family, the Billings, when she was there overseeing the elections.)

The accompanying letter which we received 4-22-86 really sums up what all of them have said and we felt it was information your staff and other leaders should have. I am reluctant to include the name and address of the sender since this becomes public when I send it to you but welcome a call for that verification if you need it.

Thank you for having the courage as our President to make the necessary though sometimes difficult decisions in matters of foreign affairs.

On the domestic front, I recognize and appreciate the need to balance the Federal budget, but am concerned that some of the current proposals may place an unfair burden on Oregon. Oregon is still really suffering from all the adverse conditions affecting the U.S. timber industry and agriculture. This is especially true of my legislative district which is dependent on forestry and agriculture for most of it's employment and income.

With best wishes,

Liz VanLeeuwen

Liz VanLeeuwen
State Representative
District 37

LVL/ss

WEST PORTLAND UNITED METHODIST CHURCH
4729 SW Taylor's Ferry Road
Portland, OR - 97219

March 18, 1986

Dear Friends,

It has not been very long since we sent out a letter, but things have been happening so rapidly here that anything over two weeks old seems like ancient history. I know that the Philippines was in the news in the USA so I will not repeat most of what you have already seen and heard, but I do want to share with you some of what God has done now that I can speak freely. Since 1972 we have not been free to speak and write of some of the burden upon our hearts, and now you can understand why.

For the past 7 or 8 years there has been a revival going on throughout the Philippines, even in the Roman Catholic churches, through the Charismatic movement. Hundreds and thousands of people have stopped playing at religion and have become involved in the life of prayer and trust in Christ.

Ninoy Aquino had been studying the teachings of Martin Luther King during his three years in Boston, following his conversion while in prison. He intended to teach those principles in the Philippines but was cut down even before he touched Philippine soil. This one act shocked hundreds of thousands of people into non-violent action, mostly Christian people. The prayers were perpetual and massive. They took to the streets to make those prayers felt by the powers-that-be, also. They had more influence than they realized.

In 1985 these same people organized the NAMFREL to ensure clean elections. It did not ensure that in 1985, but it really helped, and a few opposition candidates got into the nations assembly which was heavily dominated by the Marcos KBL party, in spite of massive fraud.

When President Marcos was goaded last October into calling a snap election on February 7, everyone was certain that it would also be loaded with fraud, but each did his and her best to make it work, anyway. Opposition candidates had a hard time uniting at first but finally settled on Cory, the wife of Ninoy Aquino. She had never held a political office but she had worked with her husband for many years and has shown herself to be a very capable person, an analytical thinker with tremendous self-control and high ethics. Intimidation and vote buying by the KBL was massive and murders were commonplace during the campaign period but such activities inflamed the Christians to stronger non-violent efforts. The Communists had little to do with the real action. The Aquino campaign was actually run by the population. People bought their own T-shirts, ribbons and banners.

Finally on election day the NAMFREL volunteers were out before the polls opened to prevent as much fraud as they could. They had access to a couple of radio stations and kept the people informed. That alone brought thousands of people to precincts where fraud was being attempted or actually occurring, but the news showed huge numbers of people were disenfranchised in areas known to be strongly for Cory. As the votes began coming in, the NAMFREL count, which was very professionally done, showed Cory was still ahead from the beginning. The government count through COMELEC showed Marcos ahead most of the time, but after 24 hours, with hundreds of thousands of people out in the streets watching the counting both at NAMFREL AND COMELEC, the people's prayers showed its impact and 30 computer operators at the COMELEC walked out testifying that the COMELEC results were being doctored in favor of Marcos even though the actual precinct reports still favored Cory.

About this time President Reagan made some public statements which seemed to favor Marcos and public disgust with with the USA was overwhelming.

Marcos had already arranged that the Assembly would be the one to declare the winner after making the final count. There was no doubt in most people's minds what the result would be. The public outcry was lead by the middle class but everyone was involved, especially the dedicated Christians.

President Reagan finally got some better information and made some public comments which were closer to the truth but still did not, at the time, admit that the actual vote was overwhelmingly for Cory.

Things merely simmered for a few days until Marcos felt he should try to protect himself by cleaning out any pockets within the military which might not be 100% loyal. This was aimed primarily at a REFORM group within the military, and that is when Minister Enrile and General Ramos finally decided that enough-is-enough. They refused to accept Marcos as the commander-in-chief anymore, setting up their offices at Camp Crane and made their action public through Radio. The response was a flood. We found out that the two had only 800 men with them at the time, but the civilians poured into the streets praising them and preventing any actions against them. They forced some and encouraged others in the military to align themselves with Ramos until within 36 hours about 85% of the military had done so. Marcos sent helicopters to bomb them out. The pilots landed at the camp and joined Ramos; he sent tanks to blast them out and pastors, seminarians, youth, aged, even wheelchair patients surged into the streets and sat and knelt in front of the tanks to prevent them from moving. The people gave refreshments and fed soldiers on both sides. Because there were still free radio stations, all military activities were broadcast publically with everyone supportive in reporting all that happened.

We were finally amazed to hear the swearing in ceremony of Cory Aquino being broadcast with two supreme court justices performing the ceremony. A couple of hours later Marcos with a couple of other justices at the Palace had a swearing in ceremony for himself, but his vice-president did not make it. A few hours later Marcos and a few of his close friends and family were transported by land, sea, and air transportation to the USA via Guam.

Cory immediately went to work to protect and audit the government offices before all of the documents were destroyed. Several of our friends are involved in these activities. All of them are highly ethical people and are doing this as a public service. The new cabinet is highly regarded. There are a few political appointees, but they are good and most of the others are appointed purely on the basis of their capabilities and ethical qualifications.

None of the people involved in this revolution seem to have had any 'plan' about it. Ramos and Enrile just did what they felt their consciences required them to do at the moment without any long term plan as to what they should do next. The more than two million people who came out into the streets did not have any plans. They just knew that they had to be there, knees shaking, tanks or no tanks. Ramos did know that he had to keep at least some of the radio stations open, and they did so. Cory was way down south in Cebu and learned about the happenings in Manila later. As hour by hour passed, things just fell into place. God made His plans in answer to the floods of prayers.

The tasks are not finished. Everyone is working diligently to bring order out of chaos and we hope that the economy can be rebuilt soon, although it will take years. One of the damaging things done during the last twenty years was the flooding of counterfeit money into the nation, printed within the Palace using paper and plates taken from the Central Bank. Some of this probably was exchanged into dollars and used to buy huge properties in the USA, Australia and elsewhere, for the Morcos's, breaking the economy.

We are doing our best to make it possible to continue our work with the churches and the high school in spite of these financial problems. We are opening a dormitory that will make it possible for students with very limited funds to stay here by providing them gardens and animals so they can provide their own food while they study. Our salaries are still about 3 months behind, but we are rushing a marketing contract on jams and jellies and are hopeful that there will be enough market to enable us to come closer to balancing our budget. The gifts that you have sent have been 'God-sent' and help to tide us over this critical time. Thank you very much.

We continue to open one or two more congregations each year and the churches continue to grow, not only in numbers but also in commitment and faith.

Continue to pray for us here. There is no way to measure the power of prayer and the capability of God. Praise the Lord.

