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A. memo	William Sittmann to Deaver re reply to Sen. Cooper, 1p	3/8/82	<i>Opened 05/13/2008 JAC</i>

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1982

Dear Senator Cooper:

It was most enjoyable visiting with you when you came to the White House two weeks ago.

The ideas you have expressed are excellent. We definitely need to insure that every time the President is before a senior citizens group he sets forth his policy that basic Social Security benefits will not be threatened. I believe your sense of urgency in this matter is right on target.

I am quite intrigued by your proposed basic training plan for bolstering our military preparedness. I have taken the liberty of forwarding your suggestion to Secretary Weinberger's Office so that they can do further research into the feasibility of your plan.

Again, I am most grateful for your thoughts and your keen desire to assist the President.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. Cooper.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

The Honorable John Sherman Cooper
Covington & Burling
1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20044

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 8, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEAVEP

FROM: WILLIAM F. SITTMANN

SUBJECT: REPLY TO SENATOR COOPER

With regards to the attached letter from Senator Cooper, I think a standard thank you for your thoughts letter is appropriate after reading the letter a couple of times.

Senator Cooper's suggestion regarding basic training for young men has a lot of merit. However, since the U. S. Government is having a terrible time trying to have 18 year olds register with Selective Service Boards, this type of plan would probably reap havoc for the Administration.

His second suggestion regarding Social Security is very valid. But, aren't we already trying to include in every speech that the President gives before senior citizen groups the idea that basic benefits will not be cut.

Attached is a suggested letter from you to Senator Cooper.

Honorable John Sherman Cooper
Covington & Burling
1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20044

Dear Senator Cooper:

It was most enjoyable visiting with you when you came to the White House two weeks ago.

The ideas you have expressed are excellent. We definitely need to insure that every time the President is before a senior citizens group he sets forth his policy that basic Social Security benefits will not be threatened. I believe your sense of urgency in this matter is right on target.

I am quite intrigued by your proposed basic training plan for bolstering our military preparedness. I have staffed your suggestion to Secretary Weinberger's Office so that they can do further research into the feasibility of your plan.

Again, I am most grateful for your thoughts and your keen desire to assist the President.

With best wishes *to you and Mrs. Cooper*

Sincerely,

MKD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Full
~~Noted~~

Dear Mike,

I just want to say
thanks for your support
on the P-51 position -

And also want you to
know how much I'm looking
forward to working with you
more directly in the coming
months - Perhaps we'll
even have time to get your
son's game in shape before
you leave next year....
J

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1982

Dear Mary:

Here's some other facts.

Perhaps the slaughter of these poor Indians would interest Archbishop Hickey.

What kind of a military threat were the Miskito Indians to the Nicaraguans?

We've yet to see any demonstrations in this country on this issue, nor have we heard any religious leaders calling on anyone to defend these defenseless people.

Sorry to get so serious, but it is an area that you've shown some interest in.

Cheers!

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

P.S. Can't you do something about McGovern piano playing?

Miss Mary McGory
The Washington Post
1150 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20071

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

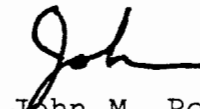
February 25, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ED MEESE
DAVE STOCKMAN
JIM BAKER
~~MIKE~~ DEAVER
ED HARPER
KEN DUBERSTEIN
DAVE GERGEN
LARRY SPEAKES
DICK DARMAN
CRAIG FULLER

*Take this
cover memo*

*off of send
report to
m. meyers
with attached
letter.*

Bill Clark wanted you to see the attached report.



John M. Poindexter
Military Assistant to the
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

Attachment



NEWS

FROM **FREEDOM HOUSE**

WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING

20 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018 • 730-7744

*Freedom House is a non-partisan, national organization devoted to the strengthening of free societies
For additional information: Leonard R. Sussman (nights and week-ends call YU 8-5137)*

EMBARGO TO 6:00 P.M. SUNDAY

100,000 Indians in Nicaragua Face "Systematic Violence" and Forced Evacuation
for Resisting Integration into the Sandinista Revolution; Human Rights Agencies
are Asked to Investigate Deaths, Firebombings and Expulsions.

New York, Feb. 22---The Nicaraguan government was reported today to have "condoned or directed" a policy of "systematic violence" against 100,000 Indians, mostly Miskitos, who have resisted integration into the Sandinista "revolutionary process."

The report, issued by Freedom House, provided a 30-month chronology that described:

- . forced mass evacuations of Indian communities, 20 villages emptied, five fire-bombed, and many Indians placed in "protected" hamlets;
- . burial alive of 15 Indians whose names are given by eyewitnesses;
- . imprisonment or expulsion of clergy and Indian leaders; and
- . destruction of Indians' economic and political as well as religious institutions.

The "net effect" of Nicaraguan policy toward the Indians for three years has been to deprive them of their "communal lifestyle, a democratically based selection of leadership and a passive way of life centered on their churches."

Directly affected so far, said the report, are 20,000 Miskitos forcibly removed from their tribal lands and denied traditional fishing and lumbering rights, another 10,000 who have fled north as refugees in Honduras, more than 1,000 imprisoned, and at least 200 killed in the past four months. These are more than 40 percent of the Indian population.

Freedom House, a nongovernmental organization that monitors political and civil rights around the world, is appealing to human rights agencies of the United Nations and the Organization of American States to investigate the status of the Indians in Nicaragua. The organization is also asking the State Department to urge friendly countries with interests in Central America to undertake similar investigations. Mexico, Venezuela and France were named. The Socialist International

of Western Europe and the United States were also asked to undertake their own investigations of the events.

"The net effect of (the Nicaraguan) policy suggests that the possibility of genocide should be investigated," the report concluded.

The report was prepared by Bruce McCole who directs the Caribbean Basin Program of Freedom House.

The report approximated the number of persons directly affected because the Managua junta has barred journalists and other investigators from Zelaya Province, the traditional land of the Miskitos. Last September the Sandinista junta declared a state of siege and martial law in the northeast coastal zone, the report stated.

It declared that "circumstantial evidence clearly suggests that the central government has embarked on a policy to eradicate the indigenous peoples of the coastal area." The junta was said to seek a militarily secure zone along the coast and the border of Honduras, as well as create a "showcase of socialism."

The Indian population has never posed a military threat to the Managua government and resisted the central authority only when traditional cultural or economic rights were violated, the report said. The Managua government's claim to have reacted to a security threat from guerrillas based in Honduras was termed by Freedom House a "gross over-reaction" even if the charge of some guerrilla activity is verifiable. One of the largest military operations in Nicaraguan history cannot be justified by "eleven raids of small bands of guerrillas," said the report.

Since last December, the government was said to be engaging in a massive resettlement effort. Large sectors of the Indian population have been moved into the interior. On several occasions, junta forces attacked unarmed Indian communities and imprisoned hundreds of persons. Many other Miskitos abandoned at least 21 coastal communities to escape government troops and have settled along the river banks of the interior.

In this process, ten Moravian missionaries were arrested, and two American priests and two nuns were expelled from the Indian area this month. Many of the churches along the Atlantic coast have been burned down.

Twenty villages with a population of about 20,000 Indians have been emptied. The Indian communities of Esperanza, Ipritigni, San Geronimo, Pransa, Wirapanjni, Bulsirpi and Carmen were firebombed and destroyed by the Sandinistas.

Immediately after the Somoza regime was overthrown in 1979, cadres were sent to the isolated coastal area to integrate the Indians into the Sandinistas' grassroots revolutionary organization. This objective clashed with the traditional authority of the Indians' Council of Elders. Another source of friction was the Sandinista literacy campaign which refused to allow education in the local languages, particularly English, the dominant tongue on the Atlantic coast. The Indians also objected to the presence of Cuban instructors used to indoctrinate Nicaraguans in Marxism-Leninism. The Indians also found offensive the atheist tracts distributed by government and Cuban teachers, the report stated.

(The full text of the 3,900-word report is provided.)

The Indigenous Peoples of Nicaragua's Eastern Coast
Their Treatment by the Junta of National Reconstruction
A Freedom House Report
February 1982

For the past two and a half years, the Nicaraguan government has adopted a series of policies that seeks to integrate the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast into the "revolutionary process." The Indian population, consisting of 63,000 to 100,000 Miskitos, Sumus, and Ramas lived in what the Junta of National Reconstruction thought a primitive lifestyle. It became government policy to create on the Atlantic Coast a showcase of socialism, which could be progressively adopted in the rest of the country. Historical traditions, the peoples' deep religiosity and own grassroots democratic political system quickly came up against Managua's policies. The ruling junta had several times agreed to allow the indigenous peoples the same rights granted in prior Nicaraguan treaties and signed agreements.

The Miskito Indians of the Caribbean lowlands of northeastern Nicaragua, the dominant tribe considered in this paper, are part of the "Jicaques" Indians, which also include the Sumus and the Ramas. The Miskitos were discovered by Christopher Columbus on his fourth voyage, and have been in contact with Europeans since the mid-17th century when England claimed the coastal area and in 1678 crowned a "King of the Mosquitia."

The Miskitos live in a communal manner, dividing their labor between agriculture, hunting and fishing. They elect their leaders through some 256 Councils of Elders governing the indigenous populations.

Nicaragua secured the Atlantic coastal land after the United States and England renounced their claims to the territory in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. In another treaty with Great Britain in 1860, Mosquitia would be incorporated normally into Nicaragua, but would remain an autonomous reservation. It was not until the Liberal Presidency of Jose Santos Zelaya (1893 to 1909) that complete jurisdiction over the Miskito people was established. Under a new convention between the Nicaraguan state and the residents of Mosquitia, the Reserve was later converted into the Department of Zelaya. In return, Mosquitia was guaranteed local government, use of its own taxes, and exemptions from military service. From the mid-1930s, Nicaraguan legislative decrees prohibited any alienation of Indian lands. In the 1950s, the government, competing with Honduras for the loyalties of the Indians, embarked on public health programs, agricultural projects and educational plans for the indigenous peoples.

The traditional rights enjoyed by the indigenous peoples have been: the right to self government, the right to dispense tax monies through their own political structure, the right to use their own language, the right to practice openly their own religion, the right to ownership over their communal lands, as well as total exemption from military service. Any encroachment on these legally binding rights has almost always resulted in rioting and uprisings against whatever government sits in Managua. After the rioting of 1893 led by Chief Clarence over these issues, subsequent Nicaraguan administrations have openly acknowledged these rights in exchange for a pledge of loyalty toward the central government.

The perceived erosion of the Indians' cultural integrity by any Managua Administration has usually resulted in the indigenous populations supporting insurgents against the government. (Their own efforts have tended toward passive resistance and the Indians have no tradition of guerrilla or other type of warfare.) The Miskito Indians aided Nicaraguan nationalist leader Augusto Cesar Sandino in the 1930s against the American occupation of the Atlantic Coast. The Indians also supported the guerrilla movements in the 1960s against the Somoza family dynasty and, most recently, the revolution against the Somoza dictatorship, even though little fighting took place on the coast.

Present Destruction of Indian Rights

From eyewitness reports, newspaper accounts, documents prepared by the indigenous peoples' Councils of Elders, and interviews with religious persons and others expelled from the coastal area, and officials of neighboring countries, there is clear evidence that the Nicaraguan government has embarked on a policy that includes:

- the forced, mass evacuations of Indian communities from the Rio Coco area and the northeastern coastal area;
- military incursions onto Honduran territory to attack refugee camps;
- burial alive of Indian peoples;
- imprisonment of clergy and Indian leaders;
- summary execution during the evacuation process of women and children;
- and legal and military destruction of the indigenous peoples' religious, economic and political institutions.

Circumstantial evidence heavily suggests that the central government has embarked on a policy to eradicate the indigenous peoples of coastal areas. The reason for this policy appears (as outlined below) to be the result of policy failures in the past and the Nicaraguan government's desire to create a militarily secure zone along the coast and the border of Honduras.

After numerous demonstrations by the coastal inhabitants against the government's policies, systematic violence, either condoned or directed by the central government, against the Indian communities and their elected representatives became policy in February, 1981. Since last November, Nicaraguan officials maintain that their military operation against the Indians is the largest since the Revolution. Most of these operations have targeted the 100,000 Miskitos in northeastern Nicaragua.

From government official statements, this policy has directly affected some 20,000 Miskitos, probably more, who were forcibly removed from their tribal lands; another 20,000 who have fled as refugees to Honduras (the official figures are 3,000 and 3,000 in the surrounding area); more than 1,000 imprisoned; and at least 200 dead in the last four months. From the confirmed reports of these actions, the Miskito population directly and systematically affected by Managua's policy is over 40 percent of the population.

The net effect of Nicaraguan policy toward the indigenous peoples of the Coast for the past three years is to deprive them of their socio-cultural identity, an identity based on a communal lifestyle, a democratically based selection of leadership and a passive way-of life centered on their churches.

Violation of Agreements of the Junta

While the Managua government has charged exiled indigenous leaders with counter-revolutionary plans to create an independent coast, the history of Nicaragua belies this attitude. Relationships with the indigenous peoples since the turn of the century have been cordial and without social unrest as long as the Indians' long tradition of quasi-autonomy was respected. During the past two and a half years, after severe policy disputes, leaders of the indigenous peoples as represented by the Misurasata have negotiated with the Managua government. The government on several occasions agreed in writing to respect the cultural integrity of the indigenous peoples and allow them control over their communal lands, natural resources and educational program.

However, as outlined below, a consistent pattern has emerged of the violation of these agreements by the central government and not by the indigenous peoples. Threats of genocide by high-ranking government officials have been regularly reported as a way to pressure the indigenous peoples to accept central-government policies that, for all practical purposes, would mean the destruction of the Indians' lifestyle that has existed since Columbus.

From the available evidence, Freedom House cannot help but conclude that, like the South African policy toward squatters, the Portuguese colonialist policy of creating strategic enclaves, and the liquidation policies of the Soviet Union against ethnic minorities, the Nicaraguan government has embarked on a deliberately brutal policy to eradicate spiritually, culturally and physically the peoples of the coastal region.

Recent efforts to move whole communities from their tribal lands to remote and inaccessible areas of Nicaragua suggest too clearly that Managua has abandoned any attempts at reconciliation with their fellow citizens and have opted instead for a military, perhaps "final" solution to the Indian question.

Chronology Leading to the Present Policy of Nicaragua toward the Indigenous Population

Summer, 1979-- Immediately after the triumph of the Nicaraguan Revolution, Sandinista cadres were sent to the Atlantic Coast to integrate the indigenous peoples into the Sandinista Defense Committee (CSE), the grassroots revolutionary organization. The indigenous peoples understood this policy as an effort to destroy their own democratically-elected Indian organization ALPROMISU (Alliance for the Development of the Miskitos and Sumu People). The organization was the traditional authority among the coastal communities with its Council of Elders elected from the 256 communities scattered along the coast. Clashes between Sandinista officials and the traditional leader and members of the Southern Indigenous Committee, which advocates autonomy for the English-speaking port city of Bluefields, increased. Leaders of ALPROMISU were arrested and accused of being separatists, racists and reactionary.

In August, the Managua government seized control of the economic infrastructure of the Atlantic coast, including the indigenous peoples' own food cooperatives, fishing fleets, and the transportation systems to the more remote areas. With the increased food scarcity created by government policies, ALPROMISU called for a general strike in Bluefields that led to violent government repression of the demonstrators. After arresting the most active Indian leaders, the Junta for National Reconstruction issued a decree to the local people saying, "Join the CDS and get your food at the Sandinista distribution centers with the signature of the CDS member in charge."

Fall, 1979-- Lumbering, a key source of revenue for the indigenous peoples, was prohibited along the Atlantic Coast. In violation of Nicaraguan treaty agreements and legal statutes, the government issued decrees alienating natural resources found on Indian lands from the communal lands, and declaring communal property was to be considered State property. This decree was taken by the indigenous peoples to be a frontal assault on their tradition of autonomy and their communitarian lifestyle.

In the second week of September, the Junta for National Reconstruction ordered that all Sandinista mass organizations--from government-controlled trade unions to the people's militia--be established in the Indian communities, thereby changing dramatically the traditional communal political structure that had existed from the time predating Columbus. The following week, Lyster Athders, an ALPROMISU community leader from Saklin Rio Coco, was arrested and taken to Puerto Cabezas where he was murdered in early October.

Another sore point with the indigenous communities was the refusal of Fernando Cardenal, the director of the government's literacy program, to allow education in the indigenous languages and, particularly, English, which is the dominant language of the Atlantic coast region. The literacy program conducted in Spanish was also found objectionable because of the heavy presence of Cuban instructors and the degree to which classes were used to indoctrinate the local population into Marxism-Leninism. Particularly offensive to the indigenous population was the atheist tracts distributed by the government and Cuban teachers.

In the third week of October, Zelaya Norte, an area with one of the largest concentration of Indians, was occupied by government military forces and brought under the central government's control.

Winter, 1979-80-- In December, leaders of the Misurasata, the indigenous people's organization that now included the Ramas of the southern region, met with the co-ordinator of the Junta, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, government theoretician Sergio Ramirez; Manuel Calderon Chavez, William Ramirez, and officials of the government economic and development agencies, IRENA, INRA, and IMPRESCA, to establish points of agreement between the government and the indigenous population, and to prepare a dialogue between the two groups. It was agreed in writing that the remains of Lyster Athders would be returned to his community for proper burial, the killers would be punished and the CDS would be removed from all Indian communities.

The National bank and the government agencies INEA and PROCAMPO, however, began forcing Indian communities to organize themselves in the government-controlled rural workers organization (ATC). Failure to do so entailed loss of bank loans, technical assistance and the shrinking of markets for Indian-produced goods.

Summer and Fall, 1980--On August 5, 1980, Misurasata leader, Steadman Fagoth Muller, signed an agreement with Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Moises Hassan and William Ramirez of the Junta that called for:

1. 80 percent of the value of the resources found on communal property would be left to the community.
2. Literacy programs would be conducted in the Miskito, Sumu and Creole languages.
3. Community-owned natural resources could be marketed through traditional institutions of the indigenous peoples.
4. A survey to establish the boundaries of Indian communal lands would be conducted by the government.
5. The indigenous peoples would have appropriate representation in government institutions to ensure greater harmony in integrating the coastal areas into the Revolution.
6. Those guilty of murdering Miskito Indians would be brought to trial.

Later in August, the government began to expropriate the Yulo Indian clan property southwest of Puerto Cabezas, the Tuapi Indian clan land north of Puerto Cabezas, and the properties of the Tadwapowne and Wulkiamp Indian clans. The next month, the Government issued a decree creating a 9,000-square-kilometer forest reserve in an area called Bosawas where many Indian communities were located.

The government's threat of abolishing the literacy programs in indigenous languages if Marxist-Leninist theory was not incorporated into the educational curriculum, prompted indigenous teachers to refuse cooperation with the Cuban and Sandinista organizers of the literacy campaign. The tension between the coastal peoples and the Central government came to a head in October 1980 when the people of Bluefields and other communities demonstrated for three days against the central government's policies and the presence of Cuban military personnel in the area.

A general strike closed down all stores, the local harbor facilities and the airport in the area. Because of widespread press reporting of the protest, the Junta issued decrees 511 and 512 prohibiting any reports to the outside world of events that occurred in Bluefields. Sandinista officials William Ramirez and Lumberto Campbel directed government forces to crack down on the protesters. Over 70 local leaders were arrested and accused by the Sandinistas over the state-run radio and television of being "counter-revolutionaries." On November 4, the Misurasata organization withdrew from the Council of State in protest against government policies toward the coast.

Winter and Spring 1980-81-- For three months, a government-sponsored committee composed of anthropologists, social scientists and political theoreticians studied the past troubles in the indigenous communities and developed a program for their integration into the "revolutionary process." The program called for transforming community property into state-owned ventures, and having Sandinista officials designate as Indian leaders those indigenous people more to the government's liking. Reports of imprisonment and assassination during these months were frequent but unconfirmed.

In February 1981, violent demonstrations by local communities in Rosita, Puerto Cabezas and Wapan rocked the coast and had to be quelled by government forces using tear gas. The same month, the government arrested the leaders of the Misurasata and 32 of their aides and transferred them to prisons in Managua. Deaths of four Indian leaders were reported in the communities of Prinzapoica and Alamikamba.

While imprisoned in the Loma de Tiscapa prison, Steadman Fagoth Muller, a Miskito leader, according to his own testimony, met several times with Interior Minister Thomas Borge, who said he would exterminate every Indian to implant Sandinismo on the Atlantic Coast. On March 18, 1981, the Indian communities in Waspan, Minerales and Puerto Cabezas demonstrated against the arrest of the indigenous leadership and demanded their release. The conditional release of the Miskito leaders was secured with the Indians being forced to accept the government's programs on the coast.

On May 20, 1981, the government forces isolated the Sandy Bay-Norte community, a Miskito community of 7,000 people, from the surrounding territory and cut it off from its fishing areas. The local labor union was abolished and the majority, several thousand Indians, fled to Honduras. During the summer months, several eyewitnesses and other unconfirmed reports state that the area's churches, particularly those of the Moravians who have the dominant influence over the Miskito communities, were subject to raids and occupation by Sandinista forces and government supporters. Many churches, usually the center of the Indian communities, were destroyed and their clergy imprisoned. On August 22, 1981, Steadman Fagoth and half the Council of Elders fled to Honduras.

Fall and Winter 1981-82-- Since early September of last year, the Nicaraguan government has declared a state of seige and martial law in the coastal zone. On September 23, 1981, the Managua government sent to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in Geneva, Switzerland, a pro-government organization of indigenous peoples using the name of the Misurasata. This newly appointed group, lacking the traditional authority of being democratically elected by the 256 Council of Elders, has also represented Nicaraguan Indians at the Regional Council of Indigenous Peoples from Mexico and Panama.

On October 24, 1981, government forces killed 14-year-old Felix Peralta in the Indian community of Saupuka and imprisoned 50 other Indians.

Beginning in November, large-scale government military operations began in Miskito territory adjacent to Honduras. The government claims that the Miskito leadership had joined hands with former Somocza National Guardsmen and other 'counter-revolutionaries' and made 11 incursions into Nicaragua between November 22 and January 2. The government also claimed that 26 people, mostly Sandinista soldiers, were killed in the incursions, and another 22 abducted and taken back to Honduras. The disputed territory is a 100-mile stretch along the Rio Coco between Waspan and the village of Raiti, a remote Indian outpost. In late November, the Nicaraguan army cut off the Indian communities along this land from access to the river where the communities fish for a living.

From December through February this year, the government embarked on a massive resettlement program, moving large sectors of the Indian population into the Nicaraguan interior. On several occasions, government forces attacked unarmed Indian communities and imprisoned hundreds of others. This policy by the central government has led the Miskito population to abandon their communities along the coast and move away from government troops into the interior along the river banks. According to Nicaraguan government officials who have spoken to reporters of the Washington Post, 10 Moravian missionaries have been arrested, and 20 villages, with a population of about 20,000 people, have been emptied. Another 3, - to 6,000 Miskitos have been officially designated refugees, having fled into Honduras, but recent visitors to Honduras claim that nearly 20,000 Indians have fled Nicaragua as a result of this military operation. The Zelaya Province, traditionally the land of the Miskitos, has been closed off to news media. The government has banned reports originating from there. During the past two months, government forces have sealed off the area to create a security zone. John Dinges, writing in the Washington Post, February 5, said the government acknowledges holding more than 40 Indian prisoners. Indians were also being taken to settlements near the isolated mining town of Siuna. Both the Post reporter and our Nicaraguan sources confirm that in January more than 80 army trucks transported Indians in the Miskito area, and that the high school at Puerto Cabeza has been turned into a prison.

Details of the Destruction of Communities

From eyewitnesses, the following details are emerging about the moves of the Nicaraguan government against the indigenous peoples:

The Indian communities of Esperanza, Ipritigni, San Geronimo, Pransa, Wirapanjni, Bulsirpi and Carmen were firebombed and destroyed by the Sandinistas.

The Indian communities of Siksayary, Andres Tara, Santa Isabel, Krasa, Santa Esquipulas, Sang Sang, Kitasqui, Krin Erin, Pilpilia, Namasca, Wiwinak, Santa Fe, Wirapajni, Wiswis, Laguantara, Kisalaya, Bilwaskarma, Uhry, Tanisca, Kaurotigni and Klisnac have been abandoned by their inhabitants. They have taken refuge either in Honduras or in the wilderness of the interior of Nicaragua.

Many of the churches along the Atlantic Coast have been burned down by the central government. Reverend Higinio Morazon of St. Carlos Rio Coco was imprisoned on December 30. Anselmo Nixon, a Catholic priest from around Sandy Bay, is reported jailed. Five American Catholics, two priests and three nuns, were expelled from the Indian area in early February.

Indigenous peoples are reportedly being prohibited from entering the port city of Bluefields. Theft of Indian livestock and property by local militia and government forces is widely reported throughout the coastal area. On December 26, 1981, 30 persons were jailed in Bluefields and a young churchworker was killed for refusing to join the local militia. Other youths from the city are reported being taken and jailed in the highlands.

On December 23, the community of San Carlos Rio Coco was bombed by government forces. Sixty Miskito males were killed and another 100 wounded. On December 27, the communities of San Carlos Rio Coco, Carrizal, Santa Isabel, Asang, and Krasa were told they would be resettled. Some 150 government forces and 75 Cuban soldiers allegedly occupied San Carlos Rio Coco and forced inhabitants to construct new encampments where the Indians were forced to stay under close observation of government troops. In the community of San Carlos on December 30, the following were imprisoned: Blandes Barru, Manuel Saballos, Juan Saballos, Higinio Morazan, Linton Nau and his wife, Leiman Febrid; Raily Beldy, Julian Manzanares, Jose Barru. Others are believed to have been buried alive.


Other communities were similarly attacked and occupied. Bilwaskarma was taken by government forces and its hospital converted into a prison. Indian inhabitants were also transferred to Puerto Cabezas. Among them was Barbara Dias, the daughter of Meravian pastor Moravo Silvio Diaz. 32 Indians from the community of Assang were captured and imprisoned in the neighboring town. Dozens from Leymus, Krasa, Waspuc and Sanda Bay were also rounded up and transferred to prisons. Approximately 200 people from these communities have been jailed. Currently, several hundred government forces occupy the Indian communities of Raity, Ainwas and Walakitan.

On December 26, as part of this military operation, the village of Leymus was occupied by government forces. The following people were buried alive: Jose Lino Mercado of Asang Rio Coco; Asel Mercado, and a man named Panthing of Krasa; Efraim Poveda of Slisnak Waspuc; Juan Poveda of Klisnak Waspuc; Luis Fajardo, Justo Martinez, Norma Castro, Rogelio Castro, Simeon Castro, Carlos Perez, Victor Perez, Rocio Gomez, Celso Flores and Ramiro Damacio, all of Raiti. The action by the government forces was witnessed by six inhabitants of Leymus who fled to Honduras, where they are hospitalized.

Along the Rio Principorca, Indian communities have moved further inland to avoid contact with government forces. Communities in this area are engaged in total passive resistance to the central government. Kamla, a community near the strategic area of Puerto Cabezas, was forced off its land for military security reasons. It is also reported that a concentration camp called Francia Sirpi, a short walk from La Tranwuera, currently houses 3,000 Miskito Indians. Descriptions of this encampment indicate that this is a kind of strategic-hamlet habitation. The Indians were forced to build their huts in a location surrounded and watched by Sandinista guards at all times. Twelve communities around Sandy Bay have vacated the area because of attacks by government forces.

Conclusions.

The government's claim to be reacting to a security threat from outside the country would be a gross over-reaction even if the charge of some guerrilla activity is verifiable. Eleven raids by small bands of guerrillas cannot justify one of the largest military operations in Nicaraguan history. This operation,

systematic and centrally ordered, has from the available evidence directly and negatively affected over half the indigenous population of the coastal region. From eyewitnesses, more than 200 Indians, perhaps a few thousand, have been killed in this operation. Another twenty thousand have been forcibly removed from their traditional lands. Another 6-to 20,000 have fled for their lives to neighboring Honduras. The number of Indians jailed may be in the thousands. The net effect of this policy suggests that the possibility of genocide should be investigated. 

Past autonomy arrangements and respect for Indian lands and customs by governments in Managua starting in the late 19th century indicate that the indigenous population itself has never posed a military threat to the central government if their rights were respected. From the brief history of the conflict between the revolutionary government and the indigenous population, it becomes apparent that efforts by Managua to accelerate the process of integrating the indigenous populations into the "revolutionary process" were wrongheaded and socially undesirable. Government policies of replacing traditional communal authority with another, downgrading the status of indigenous languages in an area where Spanish is not dominant, and the confiscation of Indian lands led to the initial anti-government demonstrations in the coastal communities. Repressive actions against Indian leaders, false accusations by the Managua government about the causes of these problems, and the forceful putting down of peaceful demonstrations only exacerbated the situation. Failure of the Junta of National Reconstruction to uphold two different agreements which they signed (and which could have calmed the situation) further contributed to the present tragedy.

It would appear that the Nicaraguan government realizing the failure of its past policies has, as of late November 1981, directed a ruthless campaign against the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic coastal regions.

We urge responsible human rights organizations to begin an immediate examination of the status of the indigenous peoples of Nicaragua, and the perceived threats to their lives and communal existence. We hope that the government of Nicaragua will cooperate in this inquiry.

We are addressing this appeal to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, the appropriate human rights committee of UNESCO, and the International Red Cross. We are also asking the Secretary of State, through the Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, to use this government's good offices with friendly states with demonstrated interests in Central America-- Mexico, Venezuela, France and others--to request from the government of Nicaragua an explanation of the perceived pattern of assault on the indigenous peoples of that country. We are also urging the Socialist International to investigate these matters. Finally, we urge the news media of the United States and Western Europe to undertake their own investigation of these events, coverage of which thus far has been sparse and spasmodic.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MARCH 9, 1982

TO: KATHY OSBORNE
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
SUBJECT: Presentation of The Papers of
Dwight David Eisenhower

Can you please discuss with the President and
see if this is something he'd be interested in.

If so, please let Greg Newell know.

BCC: G. Newell

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY 25, 1982

*describes
with PR*

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: MICHAEL DEAVER
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: GREGORY J. NEWELL, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

REQUEST: Brief meeting with delegation from John Hopkins
University including Dr. Milton Eisenhower

PURPOSE: Presentation of ~~The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower~~

BACKGROUND: The Presidential papers of Dwight Eisenhower are being
edited and published by the John Hopkins University.
Nine volumes of The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower
are now in print and eventually will be more than
twenty.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None

DATE: OPEN

LOCATION: Oval Office DURATION: 10 minutes

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Milton Eisenhower, President Emeritus of John
Hopkins; Dr. Steven Muller, current President of
John Hopkins; Jack G. Goellner, Director of John
Hopkins University Press; Professor Louis Galambos,
Editor of the Eisenhower papers.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: The group enters the Oval Office where the President
is presented with The Papers.

REMARKS REQUIRED: None at meeting. Group has requested that the President
present them with a letter of support for their editorial
undertaking.

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House Photographer.

RECOMMENDED BY:

OPPOSED BY: Ed Rollins
Red Cavaney (suggests possible Presidential visit to
John Hopkins campus)

PROJECT OFFICER: Ed Rollins or Elizabeth Dole

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1982

TO: TONY DOLAN
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
SUBJECT: State of the Union

It's after the fact, but thanks for your supportive note before the State of the Union speech. I thought it went extremely well.

Thanks for your help.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Thank
you*

Dear Mike,

The final draft is in -- it's been a very orderly if tiring process. This didn't turn into the last minute horror story of other administrations -- you and you alone deserve the credit for that.

The back and forth on this thing was very complicated -- the president may have questions about why something is in or out. I'll be instantly available and have a bag packed if necessary.

Thanks again, Mike, for making this thing work. And for the encouraging words the other day.

It's goin work.

Tony

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1982

To: Patricia Bye
From: Robert Moss *RM*
Re: Autograph from Michael Deaver

2791
Jan 1980
OK

The attached photograph was taken at the American Advertising Federation briefing on February 25, 1982.

Mr. Deaver was kind enough to stop by and meet with the group.

Could you please have him sign the pictures and return them to me so that I may send them out. I have attached cards with inscriptions and names that you will find helpful.

Thank you for your assistance on this.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1982

TO: JOHN MC CLAUGHRY
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
SUBJECT: Publication of President's Addresses

President Reagan would be happy to write a forward for your proposed project to publish some of his important speeches since 1964.

However, since they are his words, I'm sure he'd look more favorably on your suggestion if a portion of any profit from the project could go to Citizens For the Republic, or some other worthwhile program which supports his philosophy.

Let me know how you care to proceed.

cc: James A. Baker
Edwin Meese
Fred Fielding
Lyn Nofziger

10960

Peter D. Hannaford
960 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90024
213/477-8231

*Send Pete
a copy of my memo
to McClaughey*

March 8, 1982

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Mike,

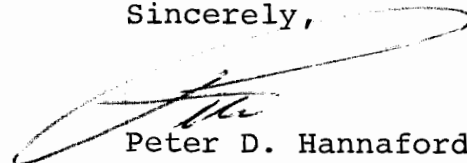
John McClaughry has told me about his interest in publishing a collection of President Reagan's most important speeches over the years. I understand Marty Anderson has forwarded John's plan to you. I believe there is a real place for such a book and that John would be a good person to organize it. It would be a useful historical document, but would have the more immediate value of demonstrating the development and strength of the President's philosophy.

John, as you know, supplied drafts for a number of radio scripts between the 1976 and 1980 campaigns and is attuned to the President's cadence and style. In selecting the speeches he would be sensitive to the importance of including materials that would have relevancy today.

I assume the speeches are in the public domain. If so, someone will no doubt publish a collection of them one day. It seems best to have a staunch Reaganaut do it rather than leave it to chance. As John may have told you, he would submit the material to the White House for approval before publishing it.

If I can be of any assistance on a volunteer basis on the project, please let me know.

Sincerely,



Peter D. Hannaford

cc: Ed Meese
John McClaughry

PDH/ell

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1982

Dear Royce:

Sorry to take so long to respond.

The best dates for me during the 4/9 to 4/19 period would be 4/12 to 4/14. As for hotels, they're all expensive, but I assume that makes little difference to a big land baron like you.

The Hay Adams is directly across from the White House and very historic. The Mayflower and the Capitol Hilton are within walking distance and downtown. The Four Seasons is in Georgetown and convenient to that scene. All are in the \$120.00 a day for a double range.

Let me know as soon as possible when you're coming so I can arrange some tours.

One additional thought. If you could postpone so that you could be there on the 19th, Queen Beatrix arrives at the White House and that would be something Scottie would always remember.

Call my Assistant, Shirley Moore, at 202-456-6475, and she'll take care of the rest.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Royce Conner
Northern California Properties
1180 N. Main Street
Lakeport, CA 95453

DEAR MIKE:

2/10/82

IT WAS A PLEASURE TO HEAR FROM YOU - THOUGH I HAVE TO ADMIT IT MADE ME A BIT NERVOUS TO GET A CALL FROM THE WHITE HOUSE OPERATOR.

GLAD TO KNOW ALL IS WELL WITH YOU AND CAROL AND THE KIDS - EVEN THO IT IS A STRUGGLE TO GET BY ON 60K A YEAR. MY, HOW TIMES CHANGE.

ARE YOU PLANNING TO MOVE BACK TO CALIF. SOON? SEEMS I READ THAT IN THE PALM SPRINGS PAPER.

I TALKED TO SCOTTIE, AND HE'D BE DELIGHTED TO SEE WASH. DC, AND SO WOULD I. HE'S OUT OF SCHOOL 4/9 TO 4/19, HOWEVER, WE COULD COME ANYTIME FOR A FEW DAYS, LET ME KNOW WHEN AND THE NAME OF A WELL-LOCATED HOTEL OR MOTEL AND I'LL HAVE A TRAVEL AGENT HERE MAKE THE ARRANGEMENTS.

FINIS SAID HI AND BEST REGARDS,
AND HE'S DOING GREAT - HE'S IN
THE FEB. 8 ISSUE OF FORTUNE
MAG. - THE OKIES ARE TAKING
OVER - BETTER SAVE YOUR
CONFEDERATE MONEY -

LET ME KNOW IF YOU'RE COMING
TO CALIF. SOON - I'LL MEET YOU
SOMEWHERE FOR DINNER.

BEST REGARDS -
Roy

Just a note

from

Northern California Properties

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1982

TO: JOHN MC CLAUGHRY
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
SUBJECT: Publication of President's Addresses

President Reagan would be happy to write a forward for your proposed project to publish some of his important speeches since 1964.

However, since they are his words, I'm sure he'd look more favorably on your suggestion if a portion of any profit from the project could go to Citizens For the Republic, or some other worthwhile program which supports his philosophy.

Let me know how you care to proceed.

cc: James A. Baker
Edwin Meese
Fred Fielding
Lyn Nofziger

*Cy of this memo
sent to P. H. Hunsford
3-12-82
per MKD*

Has the project proceeds going to CFTR?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 22, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MARTIN ANDERSON

FROM: JOHN McCLAUGHRY
SENIOR POLICY ADVISER *Mc*

Immediately upon my departure from the White House staff, I plan to compile and arrange for publication a collection of the President's most important addresses over the years. I would begin with his great television speech for Goldwater in 1964, and include such masterpieces as his California inaugural, his address on home ownership in 1968 (the first to which I had the honor of contributing); his 1974 YAF address; the 1975 Chicago Executive Club speech; and his more recent addresses through the historic 1982 State of the Union Message. Needless to say, I would select addresses which illustrate the essentials of the President's philosophy.

I intend to precede each address with a brief comment putting the event in contemporary perspective, but mainly the objective is to let the President's words speak for themselves.

I would appreciate it if you could secure for me, from the President, an agreement in principle to sign a brief foreward to this volume. With this agreement, it will be relatively easy for me to secure a publisher.

Upon completion of the introduction, selection of the addresses, and the comments with each speech, I would submit the manuscript to the White House for final review and approval, along with a draft of a brief foreward for the President's signature.

I have discussed this with Pete Hannaford, and have his support and encouragement.

I would appreciate it if you could get me an affirmative response as soon as possible, so that I may get this project in print for widespread use this summer.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1982

Dear Robert:

Thanks for sending along The Journal Record clipping by Jan Blake. I appreciate your thoughtfulness and your kind words about my piano playing.

I assume by now you have seen and heard the President's position to not pursue deregulation during this session.

Enclosed, please find our "official" comments.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Robert A. Hefner III
6441 N.W. Grand Boulevard
Oklahoma City, OK 73116



ROBERT A. HEFNER III

February 6, 1982

Dear Mike

It was good to see you again at the Phillips' lovely dinner party and as before your playing was super! and with Betty and Ford George's voices added it made for great entertainment!

On my favorite subject, natural gas policy: there is a large and growing group of independent producers (mostly Republicans) who oppose any ^{price} change to the NGPA. We believe its working well enough, with gas drilling at an all time high and supplies ~~to~~ now in sufficient surplus to meet the demand even of this cold winter. We also believe that to take up the issue at this time would be political disaster. How could the oil and gas industry or you

administration support legislation asking for more money for oil companies (one of the few currently profitable industries) while steel, autos and building is literally on "their knees" and unemployment is at post WWII highs?

Legislation to decouple old gas prices would only come with significant political cost to the Administration and surely will be accompanied with a "windfall profits tax" (thus trading one type of regulation, price controls for another, more taxes) while galvanizing the Democrats around an effective issue that will be politically divisive for the Republicans!

I hope you can take a few minutes to read the enclosed information. I hope we can speak further of the subject. Cordially, Robert DeFuer

Hefner 'Disappointed' with Decontrol Claims

By Jan Blake

Journal Record Staff Reporter

Robert A. Hefner III of Oklahoma City, chairman of the Independent Gas Producers Committee, has expressed "disappointment" with "mistaken and misleading criticism" of his position and the position of the committee in opposing decontrol of old flowing gas and a windfall profits tax on natural gas.

Hefner is president and managing partner of the GHK Companies of Oklahoma City.

His response followed a statement issued by Lloyd N. Unsell, executive vice president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, to the press Thursday in Washington, D.C.

Unsell takes the position in favor of immediate natural gas decontrol. In the conclusion of his statement, Unsell said:

"Robert Hefner's rhetoric is directed at preventing a perceived undermining of his present and future economic investment in deep drilling.... The problem is, the stake of the public and of the nation is not in Mr. Hefner's deep gas cause, but rather in the economic viability of thousands of gas producers who need economic incentives to explore all of the favorable sedimentary basins in America, not just one or two..."

Over the past several months, Hefner has been lobbying across America against the immediate decontrol of natural gas.

"At a time when the economy of our country is in trouble," said Hefner, "when the steel, auto and housing industries are on their knees, when more people are out of work than at any other time since World War II, when interest rates

are unbearably high, when the President is asking us to pull together, our country does not need and can not justify a sharp increase in prices for old flowing gas."

In the rebuttal issued by Hefner, he acknowledges a "growing split within the industry and within the membership," of the committee.

"That split is not," he said, "as the statement (issued by Unsell) suggests, between producers of deep gas and the rest of the industry."

"The split is increasingly between those of us principally engaged in the natural gas business who have a stake in the health of natural gas markets and those, including the major energy companies whose most important stake is in large reserves of old, associated gas."

"If old gas is deregulated now," said Hefner, "we will be adding to the forces feeding the high interest rates and inflation which hurt natural gas producers."

Consumer prices would rise as a result of deregulation of old gas, he said.

"Our markets will shrink in competition with other fuels," he pointed out. "Incentive prices, which in the next few years will apply to all new gas, will disappear."

"And, as surely as the sun rises, gas producers will be saddled with a so-called windfall profits tax. A windfall tax will deplete our resources for new exploration, and preserve in the tax code a regulatory structure which, under NGPA, is scheduled to end."

The debate, between the two sides, according to Hefner, is not a debate of shallow gas vs. deep gas.

"Fifteen thousand gas producing companies," he said, "are not 'locked into a regulatory system that defies explanation.' In fact, shallow gas drilling during 1981 reached the highest level ever recorded in the history of the industry."

"The 10 Kansas producers, who wrote Sen. Robert Dole this month opposing further legislation at this time, are shallow gas producers. So are many of the over 50 independent producers from Louisiana and elsewhere who two weeks ago wrote the President urging continued opposition to a windfall tax and strongly recommending against natural gas legislation at this time."

"And so am I," said Hefner, "as an explorationist whose production is divided almost 50/50 between shallow and deep."



The GHK Companies

6441 N.W. Grand Boulevard, Oklahoma City, OK 73116 405/848-9800 Telex 796107 TWX 9108313152

X035

December 29, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR

FROM:

SUBJECT: National Gas Policy

For the following reasons it is important that the Administration avoid a major battle over natural gas deregulation in 1982:

- o Total decontrol conflicts directly the highest domestic priority -- stabilizing and strengthening the economy. Even phased decontrol of all natural gas has a negative impact on each of the crucial economic indicators (employment, productivity, economic output, inflation and interest rates) over the next three years.
- o Opponents of the Reagan economic program would be delighted with the chance to shift public attention from urgently needed spending cuts to natural gas decontrol.
- o Inevitable linkage of total decontrol to a windfall profits or severance tax on gas would seriously hinder efforts to maintain Congressional budget discipline.
- o Natural gas producers are already divided on the question of whether to decontrol old, flowing gas. Faced with the threat of a significant new tax, many -- if not most -- producers will opt for current law.
- o An emotional battle over old gas decontrol is likely to harm Republican mid-term election chances not only in the Northeast and Midwest, but also in the Far West and South.

It is highly unlikely that the Administration could remain silent on natural gas decontrol throughout 1982 since producer trade associations are determined to press for Congressional action with or without Administration support. However, the timing, content and presentation of the Administration's recommendations can be carefully tailored to minimize potential harm to the President's highest priority goals. For example:

- o Any Administration announcement on natural gas policy should be deferred until well after the Congressional budget process is underway. Members of Congress should be made to understand that a natural gas tax is not a viable alternative to necessary budget cuts.
- o In place of a White House announcement, the Secretary of Energy should present the Administration's position on the decontrol issue during Congressional testimony in late March or April. The President's personal prestige, and the limited time and resources of the White House, should not be committed to this issue.
- o No specific bill should be submitted. In place of detailed legislative language, the Administration should follow an approach like that used for the Clean Air Act (articulation of general principles as a framework for Congressional consideration).

The Secretary of Energy's testimony should be framed to communicate clearly the following central points:

- o To reaffirm the Administration's commitment to end excessive federal intervention in the energy industry as quickly as possible.
- o To take credit for actions already initiated to reduce federal involvement in the natural gas industry such as easing of FERC rules governing high risk/high cost gas prices and reforming regulations affecting end use of natural gas.
- o To underscore the President's adamant opposition to any windfall profits or severance tax on natural gas.
- o To declare the Administration's support for immediate deregulation of natural gas discovered after January 1, 1982, and for repeal of existing authority to reimpose price controls on new natural gas after 1985.
- o To acknowledge -- despite the desirability of a completely free market -- the economic costs of old gas decontrol, and to defer a specific legislative recommendation on pre-1977 gas until after the economic recovery is underway.
- o To urge Congress to remove remaining demand constraints on natural gas including incremental pricing and the Fuel Use Act.

In the context of such a statement, the Secretary could candidly discuss the Energy Department's findings concerning the potential benefits and costs of total decontrol. While remaining firmly committed to the principle of full deregulation, the Secretary could emphasize the need to devote paramount priority to the economic recovery.

If such an approach were adopted, there would be predictable complaints from Washington-based industry trade association representatives. It is almost equally certain that natural gas decontrol would fade as a potentially serious obstacle to other more important Administration economic and political objectives.

Most natural gas producers understand that total decontrol legislation cannot be enacted in 1982 except in return for a stiff windfall profits or severance tax on gas. Many are worried not only about the impact of new windfall tax but, more importantly, about the potential loss of existing investment incentives (intangible drilling costs and the depletion allowance) as the price for old gas decontrol. For this reason, a growing number of producers are already mobilizing to advocate the retention of existing law. Virtually all producers perceive a strong stake in the success of the President's economic program and all but the least responsible would understand the need to temper their immediate demands to help make sure it is given a chance to work. Immediate deregulation of newly discovered gas only, would disarm decontrol critics since the initial cost is minimal and the cost over time directly linked to demonstrable consumer gains in the form of enhanced energy supplies.