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THE WHITE HOUSE bet address f Add to religious 1. ders mailing

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OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE



WASHINGTON DC 20301

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS 9 JUN 1983

In Reply Refer to: I-09414/83

Mr. J. Oscar McCloud General Director The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America 475 Riverside Drive New York, NY 10115

Dear Mr. McCloud:

Thank you for your letter of 15 April 1983 to President Reagan concerning the Administration's policy in Central America and Honduras. As your letter addresses matters dealing with Department of Defense policies, I have been asked to answer your letter on behalf of the President. First, let me assure you that the United States is not establishing a new military presence in Honduras. The project which you addressed in your letter, the Regional Military Training Center is not a United States base; it is a Honduran base, administered and secured by that country. Our participation in this project will be to provide, as we do for many security assistance cases in the region, a Mobile Training Team of United States military personnel to conduct the training of Honduran and Salvadoran troops.

As you know, the President of El Salvador has called for all parties to participate in elections in December 1983, a democratic process which the United States fully supports. He has also guaranteed the security of all participants. In order to improve the security environment for the upcoming electoral process, the training of Salvadoran soldiers is absolutely essential. They will provide the security shield behind which all political elements from right to left will be able to freely participate. Therefore, given the inability to train these soldiers in El Salvador itself, and the costly procedure of training them in the United States, Honduras has offered to establish a Regional Military Training Center where countries throughout the region, not just El Salvador, may avail themselves of training to better assist them in their own self-defense.

We recognize that the problems of the region are based on severe social, economic, and political inequities, however, those ills are being exploited by Soviet/Cuban/Nicaraguan armed subversion not ballot boxes. Until the democratic countries of Central America can check this external threat to their national integrity, there can be little movement toward solving their social and economic problems. We believe the majority of the people in the region want peace, but not at the cost of their individual liberty and national identity. I'm convinced the road to peace is the one we are travelling now and our success depends on our determination over the long haul, rather than an expedient near-term agreement that undermines the will of our friends in Central America. I hope the above information has served to assuage your concerns over United States participation in this small training project which provides assistance to a free and democratic electoral process in El Salvador. Please feel free to contact me if you have any further questions on this matter.

Sincerely,

NESTOR D. SANCHEZ

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Inter-American Affairs

Ex SecDef

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THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH



IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



Oscar McCloud, General Director

475 Riverside Drive, New York N.Y. 10115 (212) 870-2687 Room 1108

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April 15, 1983

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

Dear Mr. President,

I read several days ago in the New York Times a report of the Administration's intention to establish a military base in Honduras for the purpose of training soldiers for the government of El Salvador.

I write you to protest strongly any such action on the part of your Administration and the U.S. government. I am personally convinced that such an action on the part of our government can only be misunderstood by people in the Third World (particularly Central America), as well as other countries.

I urge you to direct discontinuation of any effort to establish a U.S. military presence in Honduras even if it is of a very limited duration and limited to training soldiers for El Salvador.

I trust you will very soon make known your own opposition to any such activity on the part of the Administration. I urge you to use your office and the resources of the U.S. Government to bring about a negotiated settlement of the conflict in El Salvador. Toward this objective you have my full support.

Sincerely,

Q. Green Wellerat

J. Oscar McCloud

JOM: jk

June 27, 1983 file MEMO To: Monton Blackwell From: Roeb Drogs Hypewriter - Oscribble -) Attached are copier Rechytiman Church declaration on Micaragua issue for US policy. attachment A is original draft May 17. - really far far left. Mr. Lee E Martin', retired US Government Inployee and Foreign offaire analyst in Rockinelle Md., and ordained Ruhing Cloter in the Restryterian Church and a Commessioner to the New Your Capital Union Prestyteng. Mr. Martin introduced on May 18 the Perolution draft (Attachment 8) supporting the Administration policy with aim of foreing a compromise version. The Compromie (attachment C.) is a much milder document which will be delived to the White House this week or next-- The result allows the President / Administration to note the resolution then cite general themen and their phile

Lee Martin har witten on article revealing that the July 2 anti-Cl Salvador Rally is using Wordson Wilson Center owned by the Prushytery as headquarter which is clegal male terms of the leave - His antich is on it's way to lime Contcher of Wash Time and Lu hopen she will arreys it for publication. (Can we call to help?) Ottechment D - Fy S is Lee Martin's peronation to his Prulyterian congregation which created the compromine stat draft.

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May 17, 1983

The International and Hunger Committee recommend the following resolution to Presbytery:

WHEREAS, Christians in Managua, Nicaragua have asked Christians in the United \mathcal{K} States to hear their plea and come to their aid by petitioning our government to stop interfering with theirs;

WHEREAS, the Nicaraguan government [continues to enjoy a broad base of support among fitting the Nicaraguan people^T three and one half years after the 1979 insurrection against Somoza;

WHEREAS, the Sandinista government has spent its scarce resources teaching people to read (illiteracy has been cut from over half of the population to less that oneseventh), creating agricultural communities, giving food to the hungry and extending medical and health services, as it promised it would;

WHEREAS, the Nicaraguan government has formally announced that it will hold elections in 1985 with campaigning to begin in 1984, and even now grassroots democracy is at work in the popular organizations which are represented by their elected officials on the Council of State;

WHEREAS, a wide variety of religious groups support the Sandinista regime and are permitted considerable freedom in criticizing it;

WHEREAS, much of the corporate commitment to build a more just society, which is so compelling about the Nicaraguan experiment, has its motive and source in the Christian Church and, therefore, deserves our special support as fellow Christians called by God to stand in solidarity with the poor and the oppressed;

WHEREAS, even so, approximately two-thirds of production in Nicaragua remains in private hands as an expression of Nicargaua's commitment to keep its economy mixed, a capitalism with a human face as it were;

WHEREAS, the Nicaraguan revolution was unusually generous and humane, resisting the vengeful urge to execute its opposition wholesale, taking them to trial and prison instead, and even now releasing many though they pose a continuing threat to the society;

WHEREAS, our own law, known as the Boland amendment, forbids U.S. assistance for the purpose of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras; and such acts are also a breach of international law under treaties of the OAS and Charter of the United Nations;

WHEREAS, many of our allies (Mexico, Venezuela, Spain, France, Columbia, Panama and Canada) disagree with current U.S. support of covert forces, and Mexico and Venezuela have offered to mediate a resolution of the Honduran/Nicaraguan border dispute;

And whereas our policy of intervention has proven to be conterproductive, driving the Nicaraguan government farther and farther to the left and then citing that development as grounds for further escalation--with logic that is circular, self-fulfilling and tragic

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the National Capital Union Presbytery protest and urge termination of all U.S. support for guerrillas fighting to overthrow the government in Nicaragua and that it request its commissioners and member churches to make their views known to their respective elected representatives.

may 18, 1983

SUBSTITUTE MOTION ON NICARAGUA: To replace the motion of the International and Hunger Committees at NCUP 5-17-83

WHEREAS: The Church in Nicaragua cries out for peace, justice, human dignity and reconciliation and for an end to foreign intervention in the Nicaraguan political process;

WHEREAS: The Nicaraguan government has not only persecuted the Church but has sought to humiliate its pastors and spokespersons and pointedly insulted the Pope on his recent visit there;

WHEREAS: The Sandinista government has squandered its scare resources on unnecessary armaments and military facilities and programs, to the extent that it has more men under arms than all the rest of Central America combined; and then threatening to Cancel,

WHEREAS: While promising, elections in 1985, the Sandinistas have not defined the form of such elections and have told Socialist observers that elections would be divisive and are just a "phony" form of democracy;

WHEREAS: The Nicaraguan government leadership has openly declared its Marxist orientation what offered the Soviet Union permanent port facilities and has offered to consider the emplacement of Soviet nuclear missiles in Nicaragua;

WHEREAS: Some two thirds of production in Nicaragua remains inprivate hands to keep the profitable sector of the economy happy economically while reducing its power politically;

WHEREAS: The Nicaraguan Sandinista revolution has so degenerated (even to the extent of practicing genocide against the Miskito Indians) that its original leaders and supporters have -- in large numbers -- resigned, gone into exile, and taken up opposition to the non-democratic and repressive Marxist regime;

WHEREAS: The Boland Amendment forbids U.S. assistance for the purpose of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras, while at the same time there is no internal legislative, juridical or effective popular constraint on the foreign military and political adventures of the Nicaraguan regime aimed at destabilizing and/oroverthrowing the Governments of El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica (among others); further, the United States is committed by its treaty with the Organization of American States to come to the aid of other Western Hemisphere members in resisting foreign aggression;

WHEREAS: The United States, many of its allies, and especially certain respected countries of the region have consistently called upon the Nicaraguan regime to hold free and fair elections and to negotiate openly and in good faith with all who would be parties to these elections to determine how, when and for what ends such elections should be held;

WHEREAS: The people of Nicaragua must alone, and without outside interference or internal intimidation, be free to determine their own form of government and their own local and national leaders in free elections;

THEREFORE: Be it resolved that the National Capital Union Presbytery shall call upon all persons of goodwill to pray for the establishment of just and compassionate social, political and economic institutions in Nicaragua through the democratic process of fair and peaceful elections open to impartial international observation. Further, the Stated Clerk of the NCUP is requested to convey this resolution to the Embassy of Nicaragua, 1627 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

ATTACHMENT C

SECOND READING/ACTION ITEMS - 13 -MINISTRY GROUP ON MISSION & WITNESS - 13 -INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE/HUNGER COMMITTEE

June 21, 1983

(Parliamentary guidelines for the discussion and vote on the Resolution on Nicaragua and the amendments received at the time of the First Reading, May 17, 1983:

The Rev. Robert I. Long, International/Hunger Committees, to present the main motion. Following seconding, Elder Lee Martin (Rockville) to be granted 10 minutes to speak to the amendments moved and seconded at the time of the First Reading at the stated meeting on May 17th. The Moderator will then call on speakers, alternating between pro and con, allowing two minutes per speaker. (Clerk to use timer). At conclusion of discussion, Mr. Martin to present a 5 minute summation. The same procedure and time frame to follow on vote of main motion.)

RESOLUTION ON NICARAGUA (revised)

1. WHEREAS: Christians in Nicaragua cry out for peace, justice, human dignity, and reconciliation, and for an end to foreign intervention in the Nicaraguan political process; and have asked Presbyterians visiting recently on study seminars and other Christians in the United States to hear their pleas and act on them;

2. WHEREAS: the Nicaraguan government continues to enjoy a broad base of support among the Nicaraguan people three and a half years after the 1979 insurrection against Somoza;

3. WHEREAS: the Nicaraguan Government has endeavored to spend its scarce resources, as promised, teaching people to read (literacy has increased from about 50 percent to almost 90 percent in less than three years), providing free medical and health care for all (infant mortality has decreased by one third), giving land to the landless (45,000 landless laborers received land the first year), and producing housing (over 2,000 units);

4. WHEREAS: the Nicaraguan government has announced that it will hold elections in 1985 with campaigning to begin in 1984, and even now grassroots democracy is at work in the popular organizations which are represented by their elected officials on the Council of State;

5. WHEREAS: a wide variety of religious groups support the government and are permitted considerable freedom in criticizing it;

6. WHEREAS: much of the corporate commitment to build a more just society, which is so compelling about the Nicaraguan experiment, has its motive and source in the Christian Church and, therefore, deserves our special support as fellow Christians called by God to stand in solidarity with the poor and the oppressed;

7. WHEREAS: approximately two thirds of all productive assets in Nicaragua remain in private hands as an expression of the government's commitment to keep its economy mixed, a capitalism with a human face as it were;

8. WHEREAS: the Nicaraguan government following the revolution was unusually generous and humane, resisting the vengeful urge to execute its opposition wholesale, taking them to trial and prison instead, and even now releasing many although they pose a continuing threat to the society;

9. WHEREAS: under our own law, the Boland Amendment forbids U.S. assistance for the purpose of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras; and such acts are also a breach of international law under treaties of the Organization of American States and the Charter of the United Nations;

10. WHEREAS: many of our allies (Mexico, Venezuela, Spain, France, Colombia, Panama,

and Canada) disagree with current U.S. covert support of opposition military forces, and Mexico and Venezuela have offered to mediate a resolution of the Honduran/Nicaraguan border dispute;

11. WHEREAS: our policy of military intervention has proven to be counter-productive, driving the Nicaraguan government farther and farther to the left, and then citing that development as grounds for further escalation - with logic that is circular, self-ful-filling, and tragic; and

12. WHEREAS: the people of Nicaragua should, alone and without outside interference or internal intimidation, be free to determine their own form of government and their own local and national leaders;

 \sim THEREFORE, be it resolved that the National Capital Union Presbytery shall respond to the pleas of Christians in Nicaragua and:

A. Call upon all persons of good will to pray for the establishment of just and compassionate social, political, and economic institutions in Nicaragua through fair and peaceful democratic processes, preferably including elections open to all and to impartial international observation;

B. Call upon the U.S. Government to assist the Nicaraguan Government and people in appropriate ways to achieve the above objective. These ways should include providing development assistance, encouraging mutually beneficial trade and investment, and working with the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the countries of Central America, and the Inter-American Development Bank;

C. Urge that all foreign governments terminate immediately all support for those who seek to overthrow the Government of Nicaragua or seize Nicaraguan territory by force of arms;

D. Request the commissioners to the Presbytery and member churches to make their views known to the President and Secretary of State and to their respective elected representatives in the U.S. Congress; and

E. Send copies of this resolution to the churches in Nicaragua, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, appropriate members of Congress, and the Embassy of Nicaragua in Washington. ATTACYMENT D

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June 21, 1983

SISTERS AND BROTHERS:

LISTEN WITH ME, IF YOU WILL. TO PORTIONS OF THE 27TH PSALM: "THE LORD IS MY LIGHT AND MY SALVATION; WHOM SHALL I FEAR? "WHEN EVILDOERS ASSAIL ME, UTTERING SLANDERS AGAINST ME, MY ADVERSARIES AND MY FOES, <u>THEY</u> SHALL STUMBLE AND FALL. "HEAR, O LORD, WHEN I CRY ALOUD, BE GRACIOUS TO ME AND ANSWER ME!... "TURN NOT THY SERVANT AWAY IN ANGER, THOU WHO HAST BEEN MY HELP. "TEACH ME THY WAY, O LORD; AND LEAD ME ON A LEVEL PATH BECAUSE OF MY ENEMIES. GIVE ME NOT UP TO THE WILL OF MY ADVERSARIES; FOR FALSE WITNESSES HAVE RISEN AGAINST ME, AND THEY BREATHE OUT VIOLENCE.

"I BELIEVE THAT I SHALL SEE THE GOODNESS OF THE LORD IN THE LAND OF THE LIVING. WAIT FOR THE LORD; BE STRONG, AND LET YOUR HEART TAKE COURAGE; YEA, WAIT FOR THE LORD!"

I HEAR THE CHURCHES AND PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA IN DAVID'S PSALM, PLEADING TO GOD FOR RELIEF FROM THEIR OPPRESSOR, AND I READ THE MAIN MOTION AS À SINCERE BUT CON-FUSED APOLOGY FOR THE GROSS TRANSGRESSIONS OF THAT OPPRESSOR -- THE MARXIST SANDINISTA REGIME IN MANAGUA. WHAT MESSAGE DO WE GIVE THE PERSECUTED CHURCH IN NICARAGUA IF WE DELIBERATELY IGNORE THEIR DEEPEST ANGUISH AND ACCEPT, INSTEAD, THE FALSE WITNESS OF THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT ANGUISH? WHAT A STRIKING CONTRAST BETWEEN THE MESSAGE THE MAIN RESOLUTION WOULD CONVEY TO THE OPPRESSED CHURCH IN NICARAGUA AND THE MESSAGE OF LOVE, SUPPORT, HOPE AND SOLIDARITY THE POPE IS CARRYING TO THE CHURCH, OUR SISTERS AND BROTHERS, IN POLAND!

BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

I AM HEARTSORE AND MISERABLE STANDING HERE BEFORE YOU THIS EVENING UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. I HAVE NEVER HAD ANY INTEREST IN INFLICTING MY POLITICS ON THIS COURT, NOR HAVE I EVER WISHED TO SEE THIS PRESBYTERY ENGAGED IN IDEOLOGICAL DEBATES IN WHICH THERE ARE NO WINNERS AND IN WHICH DIVERSITY LEADS TO ESTRANGE-MENT AND SEPARATION RATHER THAN CONSENSUS AND RECONCILIATION. I FEEL AS IF I HAVE BEEN PROVOKED INTO A CONFRONTATION, AND I FEEL TERRIBLY ALONE AMONG YOU AT THIS MOMENT.

I FEEL ALONE BECAUSE I AM ASKING YOU TO SET ASIDE A DULY PROPOSED RESOLU-TION ENDORSED BY TWO COMMITTEES AND A MINISTRY GROUP OF THIS PRESBYTERY, AND BECAUSE I MUST QUESTION THE AUTHENTICITY AND THE VALIDITY OF THE PEOPLE AND THE INFORMATION IN WHOM OUR REPRESENTATIVES BELIEVED AND UPON WHOM THEY HAVE RELIED. I KNOW, ENJOY AND RESPECT MY FELLOW COMMISSIONERS WHO HAVE PROPOSED THE MAIN RESOLUTION, AND I KNOW WE ARE ONE IN CHRIST, HOWEVER MUCH I MAY DISAGREE WITH THE SENSE OF THAT RESOLUTION. AS YOU REVIEW THE VOLUMINOUS MATERIAL OFFERED IN SUPPORT OF THE MAIN RESO-LUTION, YOU MUST NOTE THAT MOST OF IT COMES FROM SOURCES PURPORTING TO SPEAK FOR THE CHURCHES AND THE BELIEVERS IN NICARAGUA, BUT WHERE ARE THE COURAGEOUS PLEAS OF ARCHBISHOP OBANDO Y BRAVO, THE SPIRITUAL LEADER OF 90% OF THE PEOPLE? WHO REPEATS THE STIRRING CALL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND RECONCILIATION VOICED BY THE POPE IN NICARAGUA DESPITE THE JUNTA'S EFFORT TO HUMILIATE THE PONTIFF PUBLICALLY? WHO NOTES THE SEIZURE AND DESTRUCTION OF DOZENS OF MORAVIAN CHURCHES ALONG THE ATLANTIC COAST? WHO PROTESTS AND CENSURES THE SANDINISTA JUNTA'S CLOSURE AND SEIZURE OF THE ONLY SYNAGOGUE IN NICARAGUA AND THE SYSTEMATIC ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGN OF THE JUNTA SINCE ITS RISE TO POWER?

INSTEAD, WE HAVE A SORRY POLEMICAL PUBLICATION LIKE THIS WHICH WAS MAILED TO EVERY COMMISSIONER AND WHICH BLAMES THE CATHOLIC LEADERSHIP FOR SOWING CON-FUSION AND RESENTMENT AMONG ORDINARY CATHOLIC S WHILE CHARGING THAT POPE JOHN PAUL'S QUOTE LOADED POLITICAL SPEECH UNQUOTE PROVOKED THE GROTESQUE ORCHESTRATED INSULTS AT HIS APPEARANCE THERE. I TRUST MOST OF YOU HAVE READ THE FRONT-PAGE STORY IN SUNDAY'S WASHINGTON POST ON THIS EVENT, IF YOU NEEDED ANY FURTHER EXPLANATION FOLLOWING THE REPORTING LAST MARCH.

FRANKLY, IF ANYONE IN THIS SANCTUARY IS ABLE TO ACCEPT AT FACE VALUE THE CONTRIVED RATIONALIZATIONS IN THIS PUBLICATION AND MUCH OF ITS ACCOMPANYING MATERIAL CONCERNING THE CHURCH IN NICARAGUA AND THE POPE'S VISIT, THEN I'D LIKE TO DISCUSS A DEAL WITH YOU ON A LOCAL ENGINEERING MARVEL KNOWN HEREABOUTS AS THE WOODROW WILSON BRIDGE.

WHY, THIS SHEET CAN'T EVEN GET ITS BASIC FACTS STRAIGHT. IT OVERSTATES THE AREA OF NICARAGUA BY SOME 7,000 SQ. MI., JUST ABOUT THE AREA OF EL SALVADOR.

PLEASE RECALL, IF YOU WILL, THE IN-DEPTH ARTICLE A WEEK AGO IN THE WASHINGTON POST BY ITS CENTRAL AMERICAN EXPERT, KAREN DEYOUNG. SHE TOTALLY EXPLODES THE MYTH THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS HAVE FORCED A LEFTWARD REACTION BY THE SANDINISTA JUNTA. EACH WAS A CONVINCED MARXIST LONG BEFORE THE REVOLUTION, AND ALL AGREED ON THE GOAL OF ESTABLISHING A QUOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS UNQUOTE (READ: SOVIET SATELLITE) STATE..

WHERE IN THIS LITERATURE DO WE READ OF THE JUNTA'S PUTTING TEN TIMES AS MANY NICARAGUANS UNDER ARMS AS THE HATED SOMOZA? WHAT CENSURE IS THERE IN <u>ANY</u> OF THIS MATERIAL FOR THE DOCUMENTED AND IRREFUTABLE MASSIVE NICARAGUAN SUPPORT TO THE GUERILLA FORCES LAYING WASTE THE COUNTRYSIDE AND ECONOMY OF EL SALVADOR IN AN ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THAT LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT BY NON-DEMOCRATIC MEANS? WHERE DO WE HEAR OF THE MASSIVE FRAUD IN THE MUCH-VAUNTED LITERACY CAMPAIGN, DISCUSSED MORE OBJECTIVELY IN A <u>COMMONWEAL</u> REPORT WHICH YOU WILL FIND IN YOUR INFORMATION PACKET? WHERE IS THERE A SHRED OF PROOF THAT THE SANDINISTA JUNTA ENJOYS A BROAD BASE OF SUPPORT AMONG NICARAGUANS? WHERE IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE THAT THE SANDINISTA JUNTA HAS ANY INTENTION OF HOLDING FREE, DEMOCRATIC, MULTI-PARTY OPEN ELECTIONS BY SECRET BALLOT AT ANY TIME IN THE FUTURE. WHAT IS THE JUSTIFICATION FOR HOLDING OPOLITICAL PRISONERS IN NICARAGUA? WHAT, INDEED, IS THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE MAIN MOTION, AND WHY WAS IT BROUGHT BEFORE US IN THE FIRST PLACE?

THE SUBSTITUTE MOTION, WHICH YOU WILL NOW DEBATE, IS WRITTEN SIMPLY AND SINCERELY TO LET THE PEOPLE AND THE CHURCHES IN NICARAGUA KNOW WE DO INDEED HEAR THEIR PRAYERS AND SUPPORT THEM WITH OURS. IT IS WRITTEN TO SHOW THAT WE CHRISTIANS LOVE EACH OTHER, ESPECIALLY IN THIS PRESBYTERY, AND ARE DETERMINED THAT, PAINFUL THOUGH IT MAY BE, WE WILL STRIVE HAND IN HAND WITH OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO DISPUTE THOSE FALSE WITNESSES WHO ARE BREATHING OUT VIOLENCE AGAINST OUR BROITHERS AND SISTERS IN NICARAGUA AND WHO ARE SEEKING TO <u>DIS</u>INFORM OUR DISCUSSION AND OUR PURPOSE.

WHAT WE MAY SAY AND DO AS A PRESBYTERY MAY HAVE LITTLE POSITIVE EFFECT ON POLICIES AND ACTIONS PURSUED BY OUR GOVERNMENT, BUT IT CAN AND WILL HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE SUFFERING PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA. WILL WE, TONIGHT, OFFER THEM ALIENATION AND DISPAIR -- OR LOVE AND HOPE? I PRAY FERVENTLY THAT YOU WILL FEEL MOVED TO SUPPORT THE SUBSTITUTE RESOLUTION.

. . .

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1983

Mr. James E. Andrews
Mr. William P. Thompson,
Interim Co-Stated Clerks
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.)
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30365

Dear Sirs:

This is in response to your thoughtful letter to the President of August 18, 1983.

Pursuant to your suggestion, we have circulated your policy statement on Central America to the members of the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America. The Working Group includes policy staff from all the major departments and agencies concerned with Central America.

The statement is very interesting and remarkably consistent. Perhaps because I went more than forty years without knowing a Presbyterian adhering to this viewpoint with such purity, I found the document particularly illuminating.

Thank you for providing us with these views.

Sincerely,

Martin Hickory

Morton C. Blackwell Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison ID: 160417 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE DATE 830818 RECEIVED DATE 830825 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET (PREFIX) (FIRST) (LAST) (SUFFIX) JAMES E. MR. ANDREWS TITLE: INTERIM CO-STATED CLERK ORGANIZATION: PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.) OFFICE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY STREET: ROOM 1201 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE CITY: NEW YORK STATE: NY ZIP: 10115 COUNTRY: SUBJECT: SUBMITS POLICY STATEMENT, ADOPTED AT THEIR 195TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RELATIVE TO U. S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

AGY/OFF ACTION CODE TRACKING DATE PLMORE ORG 830825 C docist

STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN

MEDIA: L OPID: LW TYPE: IBA

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PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.) Office of the General Assembly James E. Andrews William P. Thompson Interim Co-Stated Clerks

341 Ponce de Leon Ave. NE Atlanta, GA 30365 404-873-1531 475 Riverside Drive Room 1201 New York, NY 10115 212-870-2005



Atlanta Office Flynn V. Long, Jr., Associate Stated Clerk Lucille S. Hicks, Assistant Stated Clerk Catherine M. Shipley, Assistant Stated Clerk Eugene D. Witherspoon, Jr., Assistant Stated Clerk

New York Office Otto K. Finkbeiner, Associate Stated Clerk Robert T. Newbold, Jr., Associate Stated Clerk Robert F. Stewnson, Associate Stated Clerk Mildred L. Wager, Assistant Stated Clerk

August 18, 1983

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

Dear Mr. President:

The 195th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the uniting assembly of the former United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., and the former Presbyterian Church, U.S., met in Atlanta, Georgia, June 7-15, 1983. The new church combines a membership of 3,166,000. The General Assembly is the highest governing body of this church. It is a representative governing body composed of an equal number of ministers and lay officers, known as elders, elected by the 195 presbyteries of this church.

The 195th General Assembly (1983) received two reports that had been prepared on Central America. These two reports were prepared by task forces appointed by the separate churches in 1982 with responsibilities to study the situation in Central America and to bring their recommendations to the respective Assemblies in 1983. These two task forces, whose members were drawn from the constituencies, worked separately through the year, visiting Mexico and all the countries in Central America, conferring with representatives of our government and the governments of the Central American countries, with church leaders, refugees and others as they studied the issues. The two groups came to similar conclusions and their recommendations were combined in a Policy Statement adopted by the united Assembly. As a substantial portion of the Policy Statement relates to United States' policy in Central America, we are transmitting this document to you, commending it to you and your staff for study.

The President August 18, 1983 Page 2

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The Policy Statement expresses our commitment to peace, justice, and stability in the region. It reflects concern for the long standing needs of the people in the region, as well as for the contemporary tragedy of the refugees, the displaced persons, and those suffering because of the brutalities of government and the ravages of civil war. The Policy Statement addresses the support of the United States for repressive regimes, and the covert and overt attempts by the United States to destabilize the government of Nicaragua.

We call your attention in particular to the Sections on Emergency Assistance and Refugees, Public Policy, Development Assistance, Human Rights and the References to Specific Countries.

We believe that the crisis in Central America is one of the gravest our country is facing. The Reports and the Policy Statement suggest that the directions of our present policy are such as to prolong the suffering of the peoples who live in Central America, to undermine the stability of the region, and ultimately to run counter to the best interests of the United States, not only there but in its global responsibilties.

We are prepared with members of our staff to explore these matters in appropriate ways with representatives of the Administration and of Congress.

Sincerely,

James E. Andrews Interim Co-Stated Clerk

William. t. Hompion

William P. Thompson // Interim Co-Stated Clerk

JEA:WPT:smw Enclosure

Approved by the 195th General Assembly (1983) Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) June, 1983

Adventure and Hope: Christians and the Crisis in Central America

Call to Faithfulness

A new reformation has begun in Central America. It is at the heart of the political and social turmoil in that region. The word "reformation" is not used lightly when describing the experience of faith that sweeps the Christian Church in Central America at this time.

The Bible is being read in a new way and with a fresh vision, as radical as the way in which <u>sola gratia</u> compelled Luther and Calvin. This new vision of liberation, as seen through the eyes of the poor and oppressed, calls for nothing less than a conversion experience.

The old political and economic structures are being threatened by a new theological vision of the Kingdom of God. Much as the feudal institutions of Europe could not withstand the challenges of Luther, Calvin, and Wesley, so all existing political and economic systems are threatened by the historical consequences of this new reformation.

The old structures of the church are being transformed. The new reformation is truly ecumenical, facing Protestant, Catholic, Pentecostal, Liberal, and Conservative with a new phenomenon: <u>la</u> iglesia que nace del pueblo--the church that is born from the people.

Over the past two decades within the Christian church in Central America there has been a struggle to live out a new faithfulness to the demands of the gospel. To a significant degree, the church has cast its lot with the poor and the dispossessed, rather than with the privileged and the powerful. In so doing, the church has nourished among the poor the hope of the gospel that God intends for all to have life and have it abundantly, not only in a spiritual sense, but in the fullness of life in its many dimensions. As it has shared this Word of God's love for the poor, has become directly identified with the plight of the poor and has nurtured hope for a better life, the church has come under violent attack from forces which resist changes in the prevailing patterns of dominance and exploitation in Central America.

In this process, the church in Central America has developed a new sense of its relation to the people, accepting the role of servant.

In this process, the church in Central America has developed a new understanding of evangelism, as witness to the gospel through immersion in the lives of the people.

In this process, the church in Central America has developed a new way of reading the Bible, the Good News in terms of the biblical promises held out to all, but with special preference to the poor.

Christians in Central America have heard with new power the good news of God's liberation and promised justice, have understood it as present promise, and are challenging the structures of oppression and privilege that have kept millions in desperate poverty. The church in North America cannot be the church in Central America, but it can stand with sister and brother Christians in the region as they cry out against the powers of death. It must seek to serve the God of life, justice, and mercy, the God who promises abundant life to all the world's people. God promises and requires justice in all human relations. The Reformed tradition is firm ground on which to stand, as new choices and decisions are called for. The response we make must not only inform positions related to the policies of the United States government but our life as a church as well.

This experience and witness of the church in Central America, and the suffering it has accepted for the sake of the gospel, pose a challenge of faith to us in the United States, an example by which to test our own faithfulness in witnessing to the Good News of the gospel.

Therefore, reaffirming and building upon the policy base provided by the actions of previous General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the 195th General Assembly (1983) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.):

Calls the church to respond to the new reformation in Central America by considering its implications for our own life and faith. We must test our faithfulness in light of the faithfulness of the church in Central America, and be open and vulnerable to the further unfolding of God's Word to us through its experience and witness. As historic circumstances have called forth declarations of faith from the church in the past, the present urges such a declaration again. The reunion of two Presbyterian churches with strong confessional traditions affords a creative opportunity to extend those traditions through a new word of new understanding and a new commitment.

I. Churchwide Emphasis

A. The 195th General Assembly (1983) urges that from July 1, 1983, through January 1, 1985, a special churchwide effort be made to help Presbyterians become familiar with the situation in Central America, to discern how God is at work there, taking advantage of all appropriate denominational and ecumenical means to respond as a community of faith. As part of that effort, this Assembly:

- Requests its program agencies to make resources available for education, worship, and action to facilitate greater understanding of the conditions, theology, politics, and history of Central America, as well as the involvement of the United States in the region, as a basis for faithful and effective action by governing bodies and individuals.
- Urges congregations to give special attention to the nationwide observance of the Central America Week in March 1984, when the martyrdom of Archbishop Romero and of thousands of other Central American Christians will be commemorated.
- Advocates a special focus on U.S. policy toward Central America at the legislative briefing in Washington, sponsored by IMPACT in March 1984.

- 4. Urges governing bodies and church organizations, in consultation with the General Assembly agencies and the Latin American office of the National Council of Churches, to develop exchange programs with churches and Christians in Central America. Such programs might include sponsorship of group visits to the region, seminary student and faculty exchanges, youth caravans, travel-study seminars, short-term assignments with churches and agencies of Central America, the itineration of Central American Christians in the United States and Central American Christians in residence in presbyteries or congregations for periods of time.
- 5. Directs its program agencies to take initiative in bringing about a national convocation, under the auspices of the National Council of Churches if possible, to be held in 1984 for the purpose of assessing the responses of the churches of the United States to the situation in Central America.
- 6. Urges that programs and centers for study and continuing education within the Presbyterian Church (e.g., seminaries, Ghost Ranch, Stony Point, Montreat, synod schools) include in their offerings a special segment on Central America.
- 7. Suggests that programs and organizations of the church, particularly the Peacemaking Program, Washington Offices, Presbyterian Women, and the Presbyterian Health, Education and Welfare Association, give special attention to public policy issues in relation to Central America, coordinating their efforts through the program agencies.
- 8. Urges the communication vehicles of the church (e.g., <u>Survey</u>, <u>Concern</u>, synod newspapers) to highlight continuing developments in Central America and the related actions taken by the General Assemblies.
- 9. Urges Presbyterian seminaries to incorporate the theological expressions of the new reformation as an integral part of contemporary theological education, both for those in training for the ministry and for those in continuing education experiences. To this end, we urge seminaries to consider arrangements for Spanish language instruction as a necessary tool for understanding and participating in the theological development that is emerging in the church in Latin America.

B. In Central America, the specter of communism is being used to justify terrible acts of brutality and inhumanity. In the United States the possibility of expanded Soviet and Cuban influence in Central America is being used to justify continuing military and economic support for governments that engage in systematic brutality against their own people.

Christians confess that the God of love, whom we know in Jesus Christ, is the Lord of history and of all demonic powers and principalities. In faith, we are therefore called to affirm life, justice, and mercy even in the face of death, injustice, and brutality. Christians must reject any fear or other rationale as justification for government policies and actions that destroy life, justice, and mercy. The use of Marxist analysis in understanding economic conditions does not necessarily indicate sympathy with political communism as it exists in totalitarian governments such as the Soviet Union; neither is it necessarily an endorsement of violent revolution. Viewing systems from the perspective of the poor and seeking change is emphatically not of itself Marxist nor an indication of Marxist or Communist control. Informed and responsible Christians must avoid simplistic formulations of the evils and threats of communism and seek a more informed and discriminating understanding of current realities.

To that end, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges Presbyterians to:

- Engage in programs of study and dialog to become better informed about the nature of communism today and the diversity that exists among Communist and Socialist societies.
- 2. Examine critically the anti-Communist claims of all governments and the activities that those claims are used to justify.
- 3. Explore their own sense of fear of communism to help discern differences between a legitimate fear of communism as one form of totalitarian repression of human freedom and anxiety over social change that may only challenge present arrangements of economic and social power and advantage.

II. Mission Partnerships

The definitive involvement of churches and Christians in Central America in the struggle for justice and human rights requires the Presbyterian Church to evaluate its own life and response, both as a community of faith and as an institution. The rationale for and patterns of mission involvement need a new look. New forms of mission in which witness to the gospel through identification with the poor and oppressed as the primary objective are called for. We must find forms appropriate to the needs of today and establish strong supportive relationships with churches and church agencies in Central America and ecumenical groups in the United States with these same commitments in witness and mission.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) requests its program agencies to:

- Facilitate presbytery partnerships in mission to promote resource-sharing and to facilitate mutuality in mission between Central American Christians and the Presbyterian Church.
- Explore new ecumenical partnerships in mission with churches, councils, and other appropriate organizations in Central America in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Christ in Central America; and seek greater proportional emphasis on mission partnerships in Central America during the next decade.
- 3. Pursue the possibility for an informal agreement with the Moravian Church in Honduras, Nicaragua, and the United States in a three-way convenantal relationship.
- 4. Enter into mission partnership with responsive Central America or Christian groups in El Salvador.

- 5. Continue and strengthen our cooperation with ecumenical groups outside Central America that impact this part of Gcd's creation and holy history.
- 6. Support the efforts of our Christian partners in Central America to minister to the needs of refugees and other victims of the present crisis working through the ecumenical channels available to us through Church World Service.
- 7. Use funds from the Pearl Wight Burnam Fund for Peacemaking in Central America in consultation with and in partnership (research, planning, staff, etc.) with ecumenical partners in Central America.
- 8. Continue to provide and increase, if possible, personnel and material resources (missionary staff, Volunteers in Mission, program support, emergency aid, refugee assistance, development aid, etc.) for Central America.
- 9. Review mission relationships of personnel, financial aid, and involvements with ecumenical organizations in terms of how they affect ministry with the poor and report findings and recommendations to a subsequent General Assembly.
- 10. Pursue dialog and partnerships with Roman Catholics in Central American countries, primarily through ecumenical channels, so that the church of Christ may make a stronger and more effective witness to God's love for all human beings.
- 11. Facilitate person exchanges between the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and Christians in Central America (e.g., seminary students, faculty exchanges, youth caravans, travel/study seminars, short-term assignments of Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) persons in churches and agencies of Central America and the itineration of Central American Christians in the U.S.).

III. Emergency Assistance and Refugees

Central America may be described as a region of refugees. Christians are called to seek amelioration of the conditions that create refugees and compassion for the special suffering experienced by displaced persons within or outside their national boundaries. Christian response must be humanitarian and pastoral. It must also be prophetic protest and advocacy to the institutions that create and perpetuate the turmoil that disrupts the lives and threatens the security of so many.

Christians in the U.S. should give high priority to the special consideration of needs of the refugee peoples and other victims of the present crisis in Central America, whether they are still within their own countries, in neighboring countries in the region, or within the United States.

- A. Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983):
 - Urges synods, presbyteries, congregations, seminaries, and individual Presbyterians to support programs for and with refugees by making contributions for Central American refugee projects in the United States and elsewhere to the Office of World Service

and World Hunger (General Assembly Mission Board) and the World Relief, Emergency and Resettlement Services (Program Agency) and for the First Asylum Project of the National Council of Churches.

- 2. Calls for continued prayer for the victims of the present tragedy in Central America, keeping informed about the reality of the situation in order that prayer may be an expression of a committed concern, and further giving substance to prayer by communicating with public officials to urge the enactment of legislation granting refugee or temporary resident status to persons not covered by existing regulations and by advocating change in policies of the United States government that are currently helping to create the present human tragedy in Central America.
- 3. Requests the program agencies to provide educational materials to raise consciousness of synods, presbyteries, and local churches toward responding to need of refugees and other displaced persons, especially seeking to share the interpretation given by our Christian partners in Central America with special attention to the concept and practice of "sanctuary."
- 4. Commends Presbyterian and ecumenical agencies for their support of work with the refugees from Central America.
- 5. Affirms the action of the 194th General Assembly (UPCUSA, 1982) endorsing the provision of sanctuary to refugees as an appropriate moral response to our government's policies toward Central American refugees in the United States, even though the current administration may consider this to be illegal.
- 6. Commends the congregations that have become places of sanctuary for Central American refugees and encourages synods, presbyteries, congregations, and seminaries to follow their example; and offers the support of appropriate agencies of the General Assembly to those churches, should the need arise.
- 7. Affirms the validity and need of ministry with Central Americans within the United States by providing personnel and material resources committed to constituency education and organization as well as to human service needs and to advocacy with regard to issues in Central America.

B. The 195th General Assembly (1983) also petitions the United States government through appropriate channels to:

- 1. Adopt a policy on persons who have fled or are fleeing Central American countries where there is violation of human rights and have entered or are entering the United States, that is without bias as to race, religion, and national origin; to stop deportations of these persons; and to grant to these persons extended voluntary departure status, temporary resident status, or refugee status (in accordance with the definition of "political" refugees as established by the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees and by U.S. law).
- 2. Continue to expand financial aid to Central American refugees in other nations through international organizations.

- 3. Take the initiative for the creation of a regional refugee policy that would provide safety and aid for all refugees within the area.
- 4. Provide emergency disaster assistance to Central American countries as needed without regard to their political situation.

IV. Public Policy

A. Our nation is providing support for the powers of death in Central America. This has occurred because we have often been motivated by concern for national security more than by concern for justice.

The concern for national security has focused on the perceived threat of expanding communist influence. Presbyterians have too often shared this fear. As a particular expression of this fear, the United States government has supported countries that violently repress their own citizens, denying the most basic human rights in the name of anti-communism. Yet, it is clear that poverty, oppression, and injustice are the primary causes of unrest in Central America. The demands for freedom and social change will continue as long as these conditions exist. The attempt to stifle these demands by reliance on arms and military strength has resulted in the spread of violence, destruction, oppression, and human suffering. There has been little change in the conditions that generate the conflict in the first place and little reason to believe that more repression will still the demand for change.

As long as injustice and gross inequity exist, there will be conflict. The more deeply embedded injustice and inequity become, the more inevitable revolution becomes. The words of John F. Kennedy have proven prophetic in Central America, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable."

Some form of social revolution in Central America is an unavoidable fact. The United States, with its great economic, political, and military power in the hemisphere, will inevitably affect the means, the directions, and the destiny of that revolutionary change. Rather than giving support to policies that encourage the powers of death, it is in the true national interest of the United States to follow policies that build justice and affirm life in Central America. In order to respond faithfully to the Christians of Central America, then, we must speak to the policies of our nation as they relate to the unique conditions, individual countries, and regional issues in Central America. We must speak to other involved nations as well.

Christians must advocate a foreign policy that seeks nonmilitary negotiated settlements to regional conflicts in Central America and supports policies that recognize the right of countries to determine their own destinies and develop governmental institutions appropriate to their own situations. Accordingly, governments ought not to promote revolution or counterrevolution.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) petitions the United States, Cuban, Soviet, Israeli, and other involved governments through all appropriate channels and persons to:

- Work toward negotiated rather than military solutions to regional conflicts in Central America and to support dialog among groups in conflict in Central America nations without preconditions, as a first step toward substantive negotiations.
- 2. Encourage and support both regional and bilateral negotiations and agreements in the pursuit of peace in Central America.
- 3. Press diplomatically for international agreements, with all parties involved, to eliminate immediately the traffic of arms into and within Central America.
- 4. Cease all covert and overt activities aimed at destabilizing governments in Central America.
- 5. Support an international agreement to demilitarize the entire region of the Caribbean and Central America, with the security of each member nation guaranteed.

Further, the 195th General Assembly (1983) petitions the United States to:

- End governmental military aid to Central America; cease the shipment of armaments already committed; prohibit arms export licenses to private U.S. companies; remove all U.S. military advisers from the region.
- Exercise the crucial influence of the U.S. government through strong support of all reasonable initiatives for peace in Central America by regional "Middle Powers" such as Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela, which would include all parties involved in the dispute.

B. Christians affirming the inherent worth of all persons must advocate governmental policies and practices that allow and facilitate the participation and expression of citizens in society and government. In the experienced democracy and developed society of the United States, national elections are the evidence and guarantor of the vitality of such democratic commitments. However, in other societies where the form is different, substantive manifestations of democratic process such as the involvement of people in decisions affecting their lives and the freedom to dissent openly from official policies are equally important.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government and its agencies to accept the principle of political diversity in relation to Central American nations, and thereby recognize the sovereignty of each country to determine its own political and economic institutions as long as those institutions do not involve the wholesale denial of human rights of citizens or aggression against neighboring states.

C. Christians of the United States are citizens of the dominant country in the Western Hemisphere, a country whose policies significantly affect the course of events in Central America and a country where political institutions are built upon the premise of democratic participation. We bear a special responsibility to advocate for public policies that will place the influence of our nation behind forces that seek social justice and human dignity, such as those outlined in this report. In order to make public policy advocacy effective, the 195th General Assembly (1983) therefore:

1. Requests its agencies:

- a. To engage in long-term advocacy for a change in policies of the United States government which are helping to create the present human tragedy in Central America.
- b. To encourage the work of the Washington Office on Latin America and participate in its efforts, when possible.
- c. To provide support for those within the church who are working for just U.S. public policies on Central America.
- 2. Urges synods, presbyteries, and sessions to develop special means to advocate policies taken by the General Assemblies with regard to Central America and for the continuation and strengthening of our cooperation with ecumenical groups related to the church's witness in Central America.
- 3. Commends the Moderators of past General Assemblies, the Stated Clerks and the staff of the program agencies for their advocacy with regard to human rights in Central America and urges continuation of these important efforts.

V. Development Assistance

A. The God of justice calls for economic relationships that enable nations and people to participate fully and fairly in the use and development of shared inheritance of resources. Such relationships should not lead to the dependence of one country on the other but to a just interdependence. Christians must advocate development policies that support the movement of individual nations toward selfdevelopment, self-determination, and self-reliance within the family of nations.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

- Exercise its influence with the World Bank to secure development loans and other multilateral aid for Central America, as a means of helping the nations of that region move toward self-development and full self-determination.
- 2. Increase U.S. Government development assistance and material resources to Central America to support work in food and nutrition, public health, public education, and community development.
- 3. Continue humanitarian aid in emergency and disaster situations.
- 4. Extend economic assistance, other than disaster relief, only to countries making serious attempts to narrow economic disparities among their people.
- 5. Apply even-handedly to all Central American countries the rules of human rights certification as a basis for U.S. aid.

B. Land reform is of special importance in Central America, where a large percentage of the population is still dependent on agriculture and where ownership is concentrated in the hands of a few. Christians

concerned for the opportunity for each person to live a full and productive life must advocate genuine land reform that is effectively implemented and safeguarded by the government. Too often land reform efforts have been blocked by uncooperative large landowners through military forces who intimidate farmers, driving them from their land. The leadership of new cooperatives has been subjected to torture and murder.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

- Link foreign assistance programs to land reform; i.e., use aid programs to encourage governments to provide people access to sufficient land to meet their basic needs.
- 2. Advocate agricultural development and land use plans that have priority commitment to use land in such ways as to meet the nutritional and economic needs of both the cultivators and the population as a whole.

VI. Human Rights

The God of justice and mercy calls us to recognize the inherent worth of all persons and to stand in opposition to policies that result in murder, repression, and human suffering. Christians must advocate the protection of human rights as a basic goal of U.S. foreign policy, with special reference to Central America.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

- Press diplomatically to see that all Central American governments give to all governmental and nongovernmental human rights commissions that exist in each country, direct, speedy access to channels of due process of law, supporting and cooperating with these commissions in the protection of human rights.
- 2. Instruct U.S. diplomatic representatives in Central America to inquire immediately into alleged human rights violations which are brought to their attention, and, through diplomatic channels, to encourage a cessation of violations that are confirmed and legal proceedings against those who appear, after investigation, to be guilty of the violations.
- 3. Press for investigation and legal judgment for the murders of all U.S. citizens and other foreign citizens in the region.

VII. References to Specific Countries

A. El Salvador

It is imperative that the United States government recognize the unjust social and economic conditions that underlie the conflict in El Salvador, and terminate its support for those who engage in wanton destruction of human life and inflict pain and suffering on the people in order to perpetuate an unjust system.

The violence and strife in El Salvador have caused the flight of hundreds of thousands of persons in legitimate fear for their lives. The refusal by the United States government to accord full refugee status to these persons causes great human suffering, has resulted in some deaths, and is doubly unjustifiable: first on humanitarian grounds; and second, because of United States government involvement in the violence they are fleeing.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) calls upon the United States government to:

- Accept the principle of negotiated settlement of the conflict in El Salvador and seek to facilitate the engagement of all major groups in negotiations toward a peaceful settlement.
- 2. Press for land reforms.
- 3. Establish an immediate moratorium on all military and economic aid to the government of El Salvador.
- 4. Withdraw immediately all military advisers and renounce armed intervention by the United States or surrogate military forces.
- 5. Use the full influence of the United States to protect the human rights of the Salvadoran people through bilateral channels and appropriate international organizations.
- Reduce diplomatic presence in El Salvador, as an expression of disapproval, as long as the current level of oppression continues.
- 7. Recognize Salvadorans seeking asylum in the United States as political refugees.
- 8. End immediately the deportation of Salvadoran nationals back to their homeland.
- 9. Assist Salvadorans in imminent danger to safe passage out of their country.
- 10. Use diplomatic means to advocate full protection of internal refugees in places of asylum within El Salvador.
- 11. Use international institutions to safeguard the lives of all Salvadorans and grant them fair and equal treatment as refugees throughout the region and neighboring areas. Special attention should be given to their conditions in Honduras, Belize, Costa Rica, and Panama.

B. Guatemala

The people and government of the United States must recognize the racial and class characteristics of the violence in Guatemala. We must not be deceived by cosmetic changes that are represented as fundamental changes and offered as a basis for foreign policy decisions. It is particularly important that Christians in the United States be alert to attempts to divert attention from oppression and persecution in Guatemala by concentrating on the public Christianity of the current leader, Efrain Rios Montt. We call upon all Presbyterians to pray for Efrain Rios Montt, to the end that God will sharpen his conscience as he attempts to deal with very complex political, social, and military issues. That he be granted wisdom as he leads the nation in the reforms that are necessary to correct century-old inequities. That he be protected from an untimely death at the hands of enemies, lest the country be plunged into an even worse blood bath than it has experienced during the past several years. And that his leadership of the nation will be a genuine reflection of his Christian profession. Policy must be evaluated by its effects, not by the personal piety of its promulgators.

An estimated one million Guatemalans are displaced within their country, and tens of thousands are in exile in other countries. This situation has been produced by the seizure of peasant and Indian land by large landowners and military forces. In addition the government counterinsurgency strategy, which includes torture, slaughter, and the disappearance of countless persons, has directly contributed to refugee problems.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) calls upon the United States government to:

- Reinstate the 1977 embargo on the shipment of military and support equipment to Guatemala, and seek compliance with such a policy by all other countries.
- 2. Prohibit the sale of arms and military equipment constructed with United States parts or under United States license by third party countries, such as Israel.
- 3. Withdraw all United States military advisers from Guatemala and halt all training of Guatemalan police, paramilitary and military personnel.
- 4. Use its influence with the government of Guatemala to bring to an end the confiscation of lands belonging to Indian peasant farmers and the assassination, torture and disappearance of many of those Indians in the process.
- 5. Condemn the numerous assassinations of those who protest the policies of the Guatemalan government.
- 6. Support the concept, and seek the establishment, of a permanent non-military, independent international presence in Guatamala to verify the conditions and safeguard the lives of displaced persons and indigenous peoples.
- 7. Support and cooperate with the use of international institutions to safeguard the lives of Guatemalan refugees throughout the region and adjacent areas, especially in the Mexican state of Chiapas.

C. Nicaragua

The peace and life of Nicaragua are threatened by current United States government policies that can lead to an increasingly defensive hard-line position by the Nicaraguan government, or to counterrevolution.

The consequences would be violence, destruction, and loss of human life in a nation that has had a surfeit of all three and now has a precarious absence of them. The unwillingness of the United States government to accept the fact of the Sandinist government in Nicaragua has led it to support counterrevolutionary forces that have a history of repressive and inhumane activity in the previous repressive Somoza dictatorship. The attempt to "destabilize" Nicaragua is publicly acknowledged and not only threatens and destroys life but intentionally diverts the energy and resources of the government of Nicaragua from the constructive tasks it has undertaken. The assistance of this nation should be bent toward recognition and encouragement of those forces within Nicaragua that have worked for and demonstrated the policies of justice and reconciliation.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) calls upon the United States government to:

- Affirm and support the right of Nicaragua to self-determination as a nation, even if that involves the development of a political and economic system that is not in conformity with strict democratic-capitalist ideals, to the degree that such development does not involve internal denial of human rights or aggression toward neighboring states.
- Immediately cease all efforts, direct or indirect, to destabilize the government of Nicaragua or to intervene in its internal affairs.
- 3. Invoke the provisions of the Neutrality Act in instances where counterinsurgents are being trained in the United States for the military overthrow of the government of Nicaragua, irrespective of arguments that such training is taking place on "private property."
- 4. Accept and insist upon Nicaragua as a participant in all regional negotiations.
- Cease all efforts to block international monetary aid to Nicaragua.
- 6. Resume economic aid immediately, beginning with payment of the \$15 million previously committed for 1982, which is still being withheld; the priority of aid should be determined through government-to-government negotiations.
- 7. Include Nicaragua in all future economic aid programs designed for the Central American or Caribbean regions.

D. Costa Rica

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The historic accomplishment of Costa Rica in disbanding its armed forces and creating a society with concern for human rights and political pluralism must be affirmed and celebrated. Now there is fear among Costa Ricans that proximity to the conflict in Central America and the flight of refugees into their country may jeopardize these achievements, as current United States policies seem to draw more and more nations into the regional conflict. Costa Rica's positive achievements need to be supported, its unique character should be preserved, and its democratic traditions strengthened.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

- Affirm Costa Rica's resistance to the militarization of its social order.
- Assist, encourage and strengthen the democratic tradition of the nation, especially at this time in the Costa Rica nation's history.
- 3. Express concern for the recent creation of paramilitary squads in Costa Rica.

4. Offer substantial economic aid, including favorable trade agreements, to ease the current strains in Costa Rica, which have developed as a result of regional events. This should be done without demanding excessive austerity measures that may require repression for effective enforcement.

E. Honduras

The strategic location of Honduras has led the United States government to an ill-advised military buildup in that country. This, in turn, has led to the increasing involvement of Honduras in regional tensions and has endangered its fragile democratic institutions.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

- Withdraw immediately United States military advisers and end further shipments of military hardware to Honduras, in order to strengthen the recent tentative steps toward democracy by the Honduran government.
- Increase economic aid that serves in a direct and verifiable way the poorest 30% of the Honduran people, by specific indicators.
- 3. Withdraw all economic and military support for incursions by counterrevolutionaries from Honduras into Nicaragua.
- 4. Encourage the disarming and dispersion of all counterrevolutionary camps along the border between Honduras and Nicaragua.
- 5. Encourage Honduras to seek a bilateral solution to the border conflict with Nicaragua.
- 6. Advocate an independent international presence in Honduras, in order to protect Salvadoran refugee camps from incursions by the Salvadoran military.
- Protest military actions by the Honduran army against Salvadorans fleeing from their country; and urge the protection of the human rights of Salvadoran refugees in Honduras.

VIII. As conscientious Christian citizens we feel a particular responsibility to speak the truth in love to our government. We cherish the freedom we have in this nation to speak on all these matters. We recognize that other governments, such as Cuba and the Soviet Union, have their own desires and objectives in this region. We call upon all governments to refrain from interfering in the affairs of the nations of the region.

THE UNITED PRESEYTERIAN CHURCH

- IN i TL LN AMERICA + .RCF ENTE: 475 EIV IK , N 1 - 1 Telephone 212 870-2005



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March 29, 1983

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The President The White House Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. President:

The 194th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, which convened in Hartford in June of 1982, specifically requested me to convey to you their urgent concern over the shape and direction of national policy.

The General Assembly is a representative gathering of over 600 Presbyterians, half lay persons and half clergy, elected by our church bodies all over the country to deliberate and decide on issues affecting our denomination's life and its witness in society.

The General Assembly was deeply concerned about the impact of current federal budget and economic policy on the people of this nation. It is persuaded that the priorities governing current policy are simply wrong. The General Assembly adopted several actions related to this conviction, including funding for a special program to assist communities facing massive economic dislocation.

The General Assembly opposes the conviction that has been openly expressed by some policy makers recently that government is not responsible for meeting the needs of its people. The delegates overwhelmingly approved a specific action to:

"Reaffirm the historic position of this church that meeting basic human needs and ensuring basic human rights are proper principles and urgent priorities of public policy."

The General Assembly believes that the current policy of regressive tax cuts, massive shifts of resources from human services to military hardware results not only in human suffering but also dangerously high budget deficits. The General Assembly believes that these policy directions are mistakes and dangerous and urges you to modify them.

We will follow the course of the administration's leadership in Congress, the nation and the world with prayerful hope in the immediate future.

Sincerely,

William P. Thompson

WPT:krh

THE WHITE HOUSE

Junger .

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

FROM MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Letter from William P. Thompson

As we have discussed, perhaps this schedule proposal got attached to the wrong letter.

William Thompson is probably the most militantly liberal of the denomination heads. On April 13, when the President had 128 major religious leaders to lunch at the White House, William Thompson alone took the opportunity to ask a very hostile question.

Careful reading discloses that Thompson does not represent all the leaders whom he lists. They are his invitees.

I suggest that we approach these questions separately. The first issue he mentions, kidnapping of converts to religious groups, does have wide interest across denominational lines. I think our office should take the initiative in involving concerned religious leaders in a discussion with Administration officials on this topic. It is neither necessary nor desirable that the President be involved in such a briefing.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

NOVEMBER 29, 1982

- TO: RED CAVANEY
- WILLIAM K. SADLEIR, DIRECTOR FROM: PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING
- SUBJ: REQUEST FOR SCHEDULING RECOMMENDATION

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR RECOMMENDATION ON THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULING REQUEST UNDER CONSIDERATION:

EVENT: Meet with group of Conservative Religious Leaders

Open DATE:

Cabinet Room LOCATION:

See attached BACKGROUND:

YOUR RECOMMENDATION:

Accept Regret Surrogate Message Other Priority____ Routine

IF RECOMMENDATION IS TO ACCEPT, PLEASE CITE REASONS:

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V.F

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

то:	WILLIAM SADLEIR
FROM:	RICHARD S. WILLIAMSON
REQUEST:	Meet with group of Conservative Religious Leaders
PURPOSE:	To discuss issues of concern to religious community.
BACKGROUND:	Conservative Religious Leaders across the country are concerned about government interference in religious matters.
PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:	None
DATE:	Open
LOCATION:	Cabinet Room
PARTICIPANTS:	Rich Williamson 15-17 Religious Leaders
LENGTH OF PARTICIPATION:	30 Minutes -
REMARKS REQUIRED:	Talking Points
MEDIA COVERAGE:	White House Photographer
RECOMMENDED BY:	Rich Williamson
PROJECT OFFICER:	Rich Williamson

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THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 1201 INTERCHURCH CENTER 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10115 7 Telephone 212-870-2005



William P. Thompson, Stated Clerk ... Otto K. Finkbeiner, Associate Stated Clerk and Treasurer Rev. Robert F. Stevenson, Associate Stated Clerk Rev. Robert T. Newbold, Jr., Associate Stated Clerk

November 4, 1982

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

Dear Mr. President:

In February, 1981, a conference was held in Washington, D.C., of which I had the honor to be chairman, on the subject of "Government Intervention in Religious Affairs." It was noteworthy because it was co-sponsored by the six largest religious federations or bodies in the country:

- The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., a federation of thirty-one Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations with an aggregate membership of over 40,000,000; The U.S. Catholic Conference, comprising a membership of nearly 50,000,000 in the U.S.;
- The Synagogue Council of America, comprising the Jewish community of 5,860,090;

The National Association of Evangelicals, an agency that includes 35 denominations plus other groups comprising altogether over 3,000,000;

The Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., a cooperative agency of major Lutheran bodies in the U.S., encompassing over 8,000,000 members:

The Southern Baptist Convention, over 13,000,000.

These groups invited other religious bodies not connected with any of them, and the 280 delegates who met together for three days represented over 90% of organized religion in this country, making it probably the most broadly inclusive religious gathering in the nation's history!

What brought them together from a wide range of theological traditions was their common concern about a pattern of increasing government interference in religious affairs. I listed seventeen evidences of such interference in my opening statement, which may be found at page 16 in the proceedings of the conference accompanying this letter. The President

Some forms of such interference have since been halted by the courts, others are seen mainly at state or local levels. But a few are federal and still continue, and it is about them that a group of religious leaders from the participating religious bodies would like to meet with you to express their concerns. They are the following:

> 1.) One is a policy of government inaction that threatens religious liberty and the very sanctity of conversion. That is the apparent refusal of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to enforce the kidnapping statute against the paid kidnappers of (adult) converts to religious groups unpopular with the convert's family. (This practice, called "deprogramming," is not limited to so-called "cults," but has been used against members of Episcopal, Catholic, Pentecostal and evangelical groups as well.) We have taken this up with the Justice Department without success, so the next step would seem to be to appeal to the White House.

> 2.) Another issue of great concern to all of us who have missionaries working abroad or with marginalized populations in this country is the possibility of their use as informants by federal intelligence agencies. A recent Executive Order (No. 12333*) setting forth the policies to be followed by those agencies fails to prohibit them from using clergy or missionaries as informants, (mis)representing their agents to be clergy or missionaries or setting up proprietaries ("fronts") purporting to be church agencies. It is not enough that many of us have directed our own missionaries not to let themselves be used in this way, since that does not prevent other missionaries from being used or intelligence agents from pretending to be church workers. Even the possibility that any church personnel may be "tools of the CIA" endangers all of our workers in troubled parts of the world, so it can be a life-and-death matter to us!

> 3.) Many religious bodies have objected to the regulations adopted by the Treasury in 1976 which exclude church-related colleges, hospitals, homes, pension boards, etc., from the definition of "integrated auxiliaries" of churches exempted from filing annual informational returns under Section 6033(c) of the Internal Revenue Code. Thus these church-related entities are required to file such forms because their "secular counterparts" do. Some institutions are refusing to do so because they are integral parts of the church's ministry, and litigation is imminent unless the matter can be resolved. A broad coalition of church representatives has approached the Vice President on this question in his capacity as chair of the President's Task Force on Regulatory Reform, but the Task Force seems to have

*Several of the bodies represented in the proposed delegation are seeking adjudication in the courts of the legality or constitutionality of various aspects of this Executive Order.

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found the Internal Revenue Service particularly intransigent, and so we are raising this concern with the President, since it is more a matter of substantive principle than just a simplification of regulations.

Realizing the pressures of your heavy schedule and its unpredictability because of world events -- as well as the similarly crowded schedules of the heads of major religious bodies -- I cannot anticipate that we could bring together on short notice all of the heads of ecclesiastical bodies who would like to meet with you on these three issues. I enclose a list of the persons to whom I have written inviting their participation in a possible meeting with you, subject of course to the exigencies of your calendar and theirs.

If you would be willing to meet with us for this purpose, I will undertake to get as many of them together as possible. I think an hour should suffice at most to communicate our concerns, and the details of the follow-up can be carried on with whomever you may designate in the Executive branch.

Your favorable response on this matter will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

William P. Thompson

Enc.

WPT/ea

OTHER INVITEES INCLUDE:

- The Right Reverend John M. Allin Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church
- Dr. James E. Andrews Stated Clerk, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
- Bishop James Armstrong President of the National Council of Churches
- Dr. Harold C. Bennett Executive Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention
- Dr. Ralph A. Bohlmann President, Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod
- Dr. Arie Brouwer General Secretary, Reformed Church in America
- Dr. Robert C. Campbell General Secretary, American Baptist Churches
- The Reverend James R. Crumley, Jr. President of the Lutheran Church in America
- Bishop Finis A. Crutchfield President of the Council of Bishops, United Methodist Church
- Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser Executive Vice President, Central Conference of American Rabbis
- Dr. John R. Houck General Secretary, Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.
- The Reverend Monsignor Daniel F. Hoye General Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Bishops and U.S. Catholic Conference
- The Most Reverend Archbishop Iakovos Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America
- Dr. T. J. Jemison President, National Baptist Convention in the U.S.A., Inc.
- Bishop Nathaniel L. Linsey Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
- Rabbi Bernard Mandelbaum Executive Vice President, Synagogue Council of America
- Dr. Billy A. Melvin Executive Director, National Association of Evangelicals

Aide the

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

August 4, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

THRU: DIANA LOZANO

FROM: MORTON C. BLA

MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Scheduling Request by William P. Thompson

I strongly recommend against setting up a private meeting for William P. Thompson with the President. If we get in the business of trying to set up private meetings with the President for individual denomination leaders, there will be no end to the requests and no way of avoiding badly bruised feelings of those not so honored.

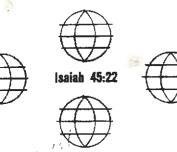
Moreover, Mr. Thompson is probably the last major denominational leader I would recommend for a private meeting with the President. He is militantly opposed to virtually every policy of the President, and he would surely make the most of such a meeting to raise his stature and the level of his anti-Reagan propaganda.

You will remember the actions of William Thompson at the meeting of the 128 top religious leaders in the country who were invited to lunch with the President at the White House in April. Thompson alone made a propaganda attack at the President at the luncheon. He attacked the President's economic policy as appearing callous toward the plight of the poor.

Thompson's letter with respect to the conflict in Lebanon is predictable. It places all the blame on the Israelis and argues from the standpoint of the Soviet Union's client, the PLO.

Earlier this year William Thompson led a delegation of National Council of Churches leaders on what he described as a "pastoral" visit to El Salvador. At his request I met with them in my office upon their return. Predictably, Thompson and his group urged that the U. S. stop all aid to the Salvadoran government and force that government into negotiations with the Marxist guerillas. I engaged them in some discussion about the results of similar advice which resulted in tragedies in Nicaragua and China. When I made the point that I knew of no one who did not affirm that the Chinese on Taiwan have greater freedom and human rights than the people on the Mainland, Thompson stoutly insisted he "saw no moral difference between the government on the Mainland and the regime on Taiwan".

I strongly urge that we not set up any one-on-one meetings for Mr. Thompson. It is entirely appropriate to have him present at meetings where a broad spectrum of religious leaders are to be invited. Special treatment for him would be highly counterproductive.



THE INDEPENDENT BOARD

FOR PRESBYTERIAN FOREIGN MISSIONS

246 WEST WALNUT LANE • PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19144, U.S.A. Phone: 215-438-0511 • Cable: INDEBOARD, Philadelphia

December 7, 1982

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

Dear Mr. President:

Today the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions received the enclosed communication by way of the State Department, revealing that the Kenya government has made the decision to exappropriate the mission hospital owned and operated by the IBPFM. This 100-bed hospital in Mwingi, established and operated by a mission staff, has more than 31 brick buildings and some thirty acres. The decision of the government to close our hospital and make it exclusively a government operation is based upon misinformation and statements concerning the hospital and the missions which are incorrect.

Reference is made to a letter of July 7 which was communicated to the United States Embassy. This letter has been unknown to this mission board and was never communicated by our government to us as the enclosed has been to us today. We do not know whose responsibility it was to have done this.

However, on the 12th of July, Dr. Carl McIntire, Vice President of the IBPFM, and Dr. James Shaw, General Secretary of International Christian Relief, flew to Kenya and conferred with three government officials; Dr. W. Koinange, Director of Medical Services of the Ministry of Health, Mr. Gakuu, and Dr. Karioki.

At no time in that conference was it indicated that the government had made a decision previous to their arrival, as apparently the July 7th letter states, to exappropriate the property, or that the government desired to negotiate any financial reparation. Specifically, the government representatives told Dr. McIntire and Dr. Shaw that they did not want the hospital, and Dr. Shaw proposed that "we return, start a crash program to secure a doctor," and Dr. Koinange acquiesed to this.

This was done and a doctor, Dr. V. M. Gaikwad and his wife, of Baltimore, Md., answered the call and went to Kenya on August 27. The allegation that licensed personnel "are not giving any services to the community at Mwingi" is not in keeping with the actual situation. The clinic at the hospital has never ceased to operate and has been serving over 500 patients a week continuously. Dr. Shaw and Dr. McIntire were given the clear understanding that the government would give time to secure the necessary personnel.

Another doctor and his wife are preparing to leave and will be at the Mwingi hospital within a week. Dr. Shaw and Dr. McIntire were specifically told, "If you

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have a doctor, you can operate the hospital." The hospital has only had one doctor at a time since its beginning.

We have been informed by the Mwingi mission that on Monday, December 6, government officials, together with a coterie of policemen, arrived on the property and informed Dr. Gaikwad they were obeying orders and were preparing to take over the property.

A cable was sent by myself, Dr. McIntire and Dr. Shaw to President Moi on Sunday evening, December 5, which reads as follows:

"Your announced ex-appropriation of Mwingi hospital vigorously protested. Shaw and McIntire conferred in Nairobi with your officials. Highly competent Doctor Gaikwad now at hospital operating clinic 6 days week, Doctor and Mrs. Eun preparing to leave here she a registered nurse. Others also coming for maximum operation of hospital. Am advising President Reagan today asking Embassy's help. Please refrain from government take-over and ending 40 years of Christian service at no cost to Kenya. Your action will have far reaching repercussions over the world among Christians."

Dr. McIntire is also president of the International Council of Christian Churches, and in 1975, when the ICCC met in its Ninth World Congress in Kenya with some 4000 delegates assembled in the United Nations Kenyatta Center, in Nairobi, it was Mr. Moi, at that time vice president of the Republic of Kenya, who took the step in having Dr. McIntire deported from Kenya two days before the ICCC assembly closed, and the morning after he was re-elected president. At that time it was said, "what would the country do to the hospital?" The ban against Dr. McIntire's presence in the country remained in effect until November 30, 1978.

The Independent Board mission itself has been responsible for the development in Kenya of the Independent Presbyterian Church which is now a denomination of over 80 churches. Its leaders are a part of the East African Christian Alliance, a regional of the ICCC, with headquarters in Nairobi. The EACA includes various Christian denominations in Kenya. Their men are prominent in ICCC activities, including Bishop Isaac Kivai Vonde of the Africa Church and president of the EACA, and Bishop A. Matthew Ajuoga from Kisumu, of the Church of Christ in Africa with more than 1,000,000 members. Bishop Ajuoga is president of the Central Africa Christian Council, another regional of the ICCC.

The Independent Board does not wish to surrender its missionary activities in Kenya and so far as we are aware, there has been no government objection to it.

The Independent Board mission also is responsible for the establishment and development of the East Africa Bible College located in Nairobi, and owns that

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property. On the Mwingi property, which the government has decided to exappropriate, is presently the Mwingi Bible School, an agency and function of the Independent Presbyterian Church.

It is our request and prayer that the decision to take the hospital away from the mission and end its Christian ministries in this respect be reconsidered.

It is the feeling of this Board that there has been a failure on the part of our government, especially in the matter of communication to appraise the Board of the seriousness and the nature of the issues involved.

The conferences which Dr. McIntire and Dr. Shaw had with the government officials were on an entirely different plane and level. However, it is clear that a decision has been made and this Board desires to take all necessary actions to protect what rights may be involved.

Dr. Gaikwad, who has been operating the clinic, did not receive his license until three weeks after he arrived in Kenya, although he carried a covering letter from us to Dr. Koinange. Dr. Gaikwad was not informed that he would not be able to open the hospital. He was informed one month after he received his license that he could not open the hospital in Mwingi until he had one laboratory technician and an additional registered nurse.

The first word that we, the Independent Board, had concerning the proposed take over of our property by the Kenya government, was a telephone call from our Mwingi mission saying that President Moi had made a speech announcing the state's action to take over the property.

In calling upon you, President Reagan, we solicit the full co-operation and assistance of the United States government. We request that immediate attention be given to this with whatever assistance we need to be provided. The Kenya government has sought to use our United States government as their servant against us. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, as well as all members of that committee.

We are, of course, requesting that the Kenya government itself reconsider its action.

Throughout these years of the Independent Board's service in Kenya, the mission has maintained one doctor at a time at the hospital. First there was Dr. Matthew Johnson. He was followed by Dr. Nelson Arriagada. Dr. Gaikwad, the doctor now at the Mwingi mission, operated and built an excellent mission hospital in Nigeria to the satisfaction of the government there.

You will note by the enclosed that it is said that the government "would take over the hospital after carrying out proper negotiations with the relevant Page Four

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authorities." Nothing of this nature has been initiated or even asked for. The situation as we understand it I am now reporting to you. I am sure there is a helpful and vital service which the United States government could render its citizens in this instance.

Finally, I must inform you that the laboratory technician which is desired we are prepared to supply, and if the government would give its permission, we will have met what we understand to be their present requirements before the end of December. Mr. Gabriel M. David, the laboratory technician, is presently in Israel and ready to enter Kenya. With Dr. and Mrs. Gaikwad, Dr. and Mrs. Eun, who is a trained nurse, and the technician, we have the necessary personnel to open the hospital before Christmas. For the government, under these circumstances, to press their decision will, Mr. President, mean that there are other factors involved in this take over by the government.

Assuring you of our deep appreciation and high regard, I am

Respectfully yours

Lynn Gordon

General Secretary

LGG/rt

PHD356(1942)(4-026213M340)PD 12/06/82 1941 ICS IFLDOSA WSH 0483 UG DLY WASHDC PMS DR L G GORDON INDPENDENT BOARD FOR PRESEY FOREIGN MISSIONS 245 W WALNUT LN PHILADELPHIA PA 19144

DR. GORDON, PER OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, HEREIN FOLLOWS THE DIPLOMATIC NOTE ON MWINGI HOSPITAL WHICH THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT REQUESTED WE TRANSMIT TO YOU:

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA PRESENTS ITS COMPLIMENTS TO THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND HAS THE HONOUR TO REFER THE LATTER TO A LETTER REF. NO. MI/6/49/VOL.1/102

W.U. 1201-SF (RS-89)

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12-07

DATED 7TH JULY, 1982 ADDRESSED TO THE EMBASSY BY THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA IN CONNECTION WITH THE INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN MISSION HOSPITAL AT MWINGI, KITUI DISTRICT WHICH WAS BUILT IN 1950S UNDER A LEASE AGREEMENT WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO EXPIRE IN 1986.

IN 1976, THE USA BASED INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN MISSION CLOSED DOWN THE HOSPITAL, THUS VIOLATING THE CONDITIONS OF THE LEASE AGREEMENT. ITS CLOSURE UNDOUBTEDLY DENIED A VERY ESSENTIAL MEDICAL SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE OF MWINGI AS IT IS THE ONLY HOSPITAL IN THE AREA.

WHEN HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT DANIEL ARAP MOI

PAID A VISIT TO KITUI DISTRICT EARLY THIS YEAR, HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA WOULD TAKE OVER THE HOSPITAL AFTER CARRYING OUT PROPER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RELEVANT AUTHORITIES.

THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA IN THEIR ABOVE QUOTED LETTER, INFORMED THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY THAT THEIR OFFERS RECENTLY MADE TO THE INDE-PENDENT PRESBYTERIAN MISSION FOR ASSISTANCE WITH QUALIFIED MEDICAL STAFF TO FACILITATE THE RESUMPTION OF ESSENTIAL SERVICE WERE REJECTED BY THE BOARD OF THE INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN MISSION. THE LATTER ALSO FAILED TO RESPOND TO THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH S REQUEST TO RE-OPEN THE HOSPITAL IN JULY THIS YEAR.

W.U. 1201-SF (R5-69)

AS A RESULT OF THIS DEVELOPMENT, THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH OF THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA HAS DECIDED: -

1) TO CLOSE THE HOSPITAL WITH EFFECT FROM 31ST DECEMBER, 1982.

2) TO RE-OPEN THE HOSPITAL AS A GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL IN 1983.

3) PRACTICING LICENSES FOR HEALTH PERSONNEL CURRENTLY ATTACHED TO MWINGI HOSPITAL WILL NOT BE RENEWED IN 1983 AS THEY ARE NOT GIVING ANY SERVICES TO THE COMMUNITY AT MWINGI.

W.U. 1201-SF (RS-89)

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA WOULD HIGHLY APPRECIATE IF THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WOULD CONVEY THE ABOVE KENYA GOVERNMENT

DECISION TO THE INDEPENDENT PRESBYTERIAN MISSION. DEPT OF STATE, WASHINGTON D.C. 9291

NNNN

June 19, 1981

Morton Blackwell Special Assistant to the President Room 134 Old Executive Office Building Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

Following upon our conversation yesterday, I am writing you as an ordained ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, a Presbytery Commissioner, and a life-long Republican and concerned supporter of this Administration. I want to bring to your attention a rapidly growing movement within the leadership of the Presbyterian Church, especially within the National Capital Union Presbytery (113 congregations in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area.) The movement consists of a deepening concern with, and a negative evaluation of, the President's economic program -- primarily the cuts in social programs and the enhanced defense budget.

The criticism is more emotional than rational or logical, with some of our more prominent clergy feeling called upon to voice what amounts to an adversary posture. While it is not likely at this time that these Presbyterian leaders represent a consensus of clergy and lay Presbyterians in this area, it is obvious that their natural concerns over the "threat" to those in need are not adequately informed. Statistics, "fact" sheets, statements, and Christian education presentations are proliferating on the presumed impact of the budget cuts on the "needy poor" in the immediate future, with the Administration's motives and sincerity being called into question.

Under the circumstances, I feel that it would be most useful for a number of prominent Washington area Presbyterians to receive the Administration's side first hand, free of jargon, catch phrases, condescension or patronizing gestures. Certainly the church ought to share the Administration's goals under the economic program and should accept that equally concerned citizens and Christians may debate the means to those goals and seek a common ground on which to proceed. Fortunately, your office is taking the initiative in planning a White House conference with area church leaders to inform them and to discuss with them the imperatives of the situation. I recommend that you consider inviting to such a conference the following leaders in the National Capital Union Presbytery (NCUP):

The	Rev.	Edward A. White	Presbytery Executive	244-4760
The	Rev.	Julia P. Simmons	Moderator, NCUP	(301) 377-7141
/		Louis H. Evans, Jr.	(The President's Pastor)	537-2860
The	Rev.	Richard C. Halverson	Chaplain of the Senate	

	The	Rev.	Arthur McKay	Pastor, New York Ave. Presbyterian Church	393-3700
	The	Rev.	John Wimberly	Chairman, NCUP Social Concerns Committee and Associate Pastor, Bradley Hills Presbyterian Church	365-2850
	The	Rev.	Lincoln ("Lon") Dring	Executive Director, Commun- ity Ministry of Montgomery County	762-9407
	The	Rev.	Whitty Bass	Executive Director, Commun- ity Ministry of Prince Georges County	899-2882
	The	Rev.	Mansfield M. Kaseman	Director, United Church Cent- er for Community Ministries and Co-Pastor, Rockville United Church	762-9407
			James H. Adams Margaret Adams	Co-Pastors, Rockville Presbyterian Church	762-3363
	The	Rev.	Lance L.M. Brown	Pastor, St. Andrews Pres-(703) byterian Church, Purcell- ville, Va.	338-4332
>	The	Rev.	John Pharr	Pastor, Fifteenth St. Pres- byterian Church (the Oldest black Presbyterian Church in Washington)	234-0300

This does not constitute a list of "problem personalities" to be wooed but, rather, a cross section of thoughtful, dedicated and influential church personalities of national as well as local stature whose understanding, if not all out support, would be invaluable in the critical months before us. To give you a feel for the misunderstanding and pressures under which they have been laboring in recent months, I have taken the liberty to enclose samples of the printed materials which have been circulating in this area since early spring. As you can see, the issue has even reached the floor of the Presbytery -- without any authoritative presentation of the Administration's case.

If I can be of any assistance to you in structuring the proposed conference or in reviewing and commenting on presentations to be made, please do not hesitate to call on me. My home phone is 926-3127 (after 7:00 P.M. weekdays), and my office phone is 252-5191 (8:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. weekdays).

Sincerely

Lee E. Martin