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EL SALVADOR FREEDOM FOUNDATION

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THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE SALVADOREAN TRAGEDY.

It is difficult to clarify El Salvador's complex situation in a few pages. The purpose of this paper, presented to Young Americans for Freedom, is to provide important data, which we hope will contribute to a better understanding of the events in our country and the role played by some elements of the Catholic Church.

Few events have evoked more US reaction than the 1980 murders of Archbishop Romero, three Maryknoll Sisters and a Maryknoll lay worker, murders still unsolved, as are most crimes committed in El Salvador during the past two years. But these events are only a small, though visible part of the general, castro-inspired terrorism that has caused more than twenty thousand deaths since the fall of neighboring Nicaragua, two years ago.

Almost a dozen priests have died, some of them totting arms, while siding with the terrorists. In one case, that of Fr. Antonio Barrera-Motto, the FPL, El Salvador's largest terrorist organization distributed leaflets praising his militancy in that group, after he died in a clash with government forces.

The fact that the first Junta, organized in October 1979, was composed by numerous members of extreme-left political parties, as well as delegates from Jesuit-run Universidad Centroamericana, UCA, is no coincidence.

On the other hand, american public opinion is not informed that salvadorean bishops are not all supporters of guerrilla agression, excepting San Salvador's acting-Archbishop Rivera. The majority of salvadorean priests, as most salvadoreans, back up the armed forces' efforts to defeat the cuban-led attack and pacify the country.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF RECENT EVENTS IN EL SALVADOR.

The Catholic Church has traditionally played a vital, constructive role within Latin American societies, especially as a defender and keeper of religious and moral values. The Church has protected the family, the deprived and the abandoned. And even though the Church sustained a prudent relation with public powers, in numerous occasions it effectively aided those persecuted by governments, trying, when possible, to avoid political repression.

As a result of the separation of Church and State, which occurred in most Latin American countries in the nineteenth century, the church was divested of most its property. In order to finance itself, it sought the support of parishioners and others. Important income was obtained through educational institutions, which were also the backbone of its pastoral work and its charities.

It is important, however, to point out that an overwhelming portion of Church welfare came from private donations, obtained through the Church's catalyzing action. Only a minimal portion came directly from Church monies or labor.

The salvadorean catholic Church showed itself very capable in organizing assistance groups and collecting, for their support, money from individuals and institutions. Many hospitals, orphanages, rest homes and mental institutions were subsidized in part through the enthusiastic work of priests and nuns, but primarily thanks to citizens' contributions. In the specific case of El Salvador, Jesuit-operated Universidad Centroamericana was built entirely on private donations from wealthy families who hoped to counteract the National University's indoctrination and disorder.

Care should be exercised when talking of the Church's help to the poor. This was not done from ecclesiastic funds, but with resources from charitable individuals. In El Salvador, for example, the number of priests is very small - less than three hundred - which makes their assistance virtually insignificant in relation to the government's own assistance programs, involving the majority of hospitals, doctors, health brigades and giant schools system, which provides education to almost half a million young salvadoreans. It must be remembered that El Salvador was the Latin American country which spent the largest portion of national income in social ends, after Costa Rica.

Many salvadoreans participated in charitable or service institutions, helping blood banks, starting Boy Scout groups, donating to old people's homes and acting as voluntary nurses, medics, or lifeguards. Priest's were helpful, but their's was always a minimal portion of what charitable lay volunteers did.

We mention all this not to minimize the Church's and its member's valuable role, especially in the religious and moral fields, but to place in the proper perspective the contribution made by private salvadorean citizens, who also maintain government welfare programs through taxes.

Let us examine, for example, the Minimum Housing program, implemented in slum and rural communities by a private foundation. One of the program's original promoters was a jesuit priest. He was helped by well-to-do salvadoreans. Thanks to the efforts of this group and to influential simpathizers in government and in international organizations, thousands of small homes were built. But this effort has been unjustly presented overseas as the Church's work for the poor. The truth, however, is that the World Bank, The Interamerican Development Bank, a salvadorean government subsidy and private donations in man-hours and money, built up this proyect. The Church contributed only the work of one priest, who, coincidentally, proceeded to indoctrinate participating dwellers.

The same happened with "Fe y Alegria" a school construction program, widely propaganized through mass media and supported by private donations, which was effective in building several schools in peripheral areas around San Salvador and other major cities. Unfortunately, it was eventually used by a group of Jesuits to indoctrinate slum children.

Many priests, especially from the Jesuit and Maryknoll orders, have found in marxism a "psychological guide of conduct", as declared by nicaraguan Jesuit Ernesto Cardenal to the Miami Herald on August 8, 1981. He added that "since I work with the Sandinistas, I have never found, never, anything that contradicts my Chistian faith; nothing that clashes with my Christian morality. Never. All the contrary, for me, the Frente Sandinista has been the channel through which I have authenticated my Christian faith. That is to say, with actions."

Another pathetic case that shows the attitude of many nuns and priests, is that of Maryknoll Sister Diana Oughton, sent by her order to work with rural communities in Guatemala. She got involved with a priest and ended blown to pieces, march 6th, 1970, by a terrorist bomb she and her two co-members of a Weathermen cell were assembling in New York. Her case triggered a series of newspaper articles by John Powers, who later was awarded the Pulitzer Price for his reporting and wrote a book, published by Houghton Mifflin, on the same subject.

El Salvador was not spared of this international trend toward subversive, priestly activity. But it would be a grave mistake to assume that the majority of salvadorean priests sympathised with this trend. It must be noted, in the first place, that the country's Episcopal Council, made up by all the bishops, always rejected such tendency. It was only San Salvador's Archbishop Romero and his sucesor, the Bishop of Santiago de Maria, who along with some close collaborators and priests from Universidad Centroamericana, UCA, backed such tendency.

The struggle within El Salvador's ecclesiastic hierarchy divided the Church in two groups: a small, but active leftist band and the passive, traditional majority. The schism became more pronounced when deceased Archbishop Romero destituted a group of conservative priests, including Fr. Rogelio Esquivel of the San Jose de La Montana Parish, whose last mass in the aforementioned church turned into a parishioners' demonstration in his favor.

Salvadorean society, however, did not realize for a long time what took place within the Church. Special "Christianity courses" (Cursillos de Cristiandad) were given to cover up the maneuvers of subversive priests. These were a kind of Spiritual Conclaves, interpreted by many as true brain-washing. Participants exaggerated liturgy, obsessed by an unusual proselytism. Outstanding men and women adopted rules and customs symilar to those of lay churchmembers, arousing suspicion in a society that was only beginning to emerge from the region's traditional "machismo". The movement gained sudden prestige when then-President, Colonel Julio A. Rivera, joined a "Cursillo".

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

By the end of the sixties, the Church's infiltration became obvious, even for casual observers. Sermons, writings, political alliances and attitudes transpired the Church's new trend. Spanish Jesuits and some belgians from Louvain University unashamedly accepted revolutionary preaching, making their ideological positions no different from those entrenched at the National University. The role they played in disorienting the so-called Christian-Democrat Youth Movement was crucial. Within this movement was born El Salvador's first terrorist "group", guilty of Mr. Ernesto Regalado's kidnap and murder. Father Alfonso Navarro, parish priest in small San Martin township hid the abductors, finally discovered on account of a murdered patrolman who had caught one of them while calling a Regalado employee from a public phone booth.

As the seventies advanced, Jesuit-controlled Universidad Centroamericana, UCA, gained importance in the salvadorean subversive movement. While students were openly recruited by terrorists within the University's grounds, causing many to abandon their studies as a result of constant threats, the University's publications openly advocated "deep, structural changes" leading to socialism. Visible leaders in this movement were Ignacio Ellacuria, Luis de Sebastian, Segundo Montes and Jon Sobrino, all spanish, Jesuit priests. On the lay side, there were Roman Mayorga Q., Guillermo M. Ungo, Leonel Gomez, Hector Dada H., Ruben Zamora, Eduardo Stein and others. These are the people who, through Archbishop Romero's maneuvering, were included in the first Revolutionary Junta of October 1979. A few months later, after resigning from the Junta, they formed the Frente Democratico Revolucionario, FDR, which is a facade of the Directorio Revolucionario Unificado, DRU, formed in Havana by the four most important terrorist groups, at the insistence of Fidel Castro himself.

But subversive indoctrination was not confined to the UCA. In many of the church-owned, private schools, children were imbued with marxist theory, being forced to take part in activities designed to fanatize them against traditional values. This led to open resistance from their parents, and the eventual withdrawal of many children that were then registered in lay schools. In the decade of the seventies, and as a result of this growing problem, a great number of

non-catholic, grammar and secondary schools were formed, many sponsored by foreign governments like the british, german and french academies, others funded by private groups, such as Colegios de El Salvador. Their student bodies were drawn from institutions such as the Sacred Heart, which had adopted the subversive line. It must be noted that in another school, the jesuit-run "Externado San Jose", the Samayoa brothers held important administrative and teaching posts until they joined the FPL terrorist organization.

On the other hand, the majority of salvadorean and resident foreign priests led exemplary lives, showing a profound religious devotion and a willingness to help others. These men, as well as the many women who as nuns or Sisters of Charity worked in hospitals, health centers, orphanages and other similar institutions, conducted themselves according to the catholic Church's traditional teaching and following the guidelines given by his holiness Pope John Paul II in Puebla and elsewhere. Their dedicated work, which should be an example to fellow clergymen and to future generations, was ignored by the majority of politicians and mass media, which preferred instead to publicize the subversive preaching of the so-called progressive clerics linked to subversive or openly delinquent movements operating in El Salvador.

It must be pointed out that the participation of catholic priests in political activities was condemned by Pope John Paul II, who gave a time limit for all involved priests to abandon government posts and to return to their strictly religious functions. The disobedience of nicaraguan priests to this warning made necessary a conciliatory formula which prohibited such priests to perform religious acts until they complied with the the Pope's guidelines.

Four examples will suffice to show the involvement of the so-called progressive clergymen with subversive and terrorists movements in El Salvador. These cases prove that their acts are not only contrary to christian morals and doctrine, but also promote a social system which is contrary to the prevailing schemes of life in the U.S., Western Europe, Japan and democratic countries in the developing world. Additionally, the terrorism which these individuals have supported, contravenes penal codes in all civilized nations.

THE CASE OF ANTONIO BARRERA MOTTO.

This priest died in a clash against salvadorean security forces on november 28, 1978, after refusing to surrender when troops surrounded the house that he and three other terrorists inhabited. Weapons of all kinds, marxist propaganda and FPL flags were found in the house. Before dying, the group burned documents and and great amounts of money, believed by the authorities to be the product of kidnap ransoms.

The eclesiastic hierarchy pretended in a subsequent communique, that Barrera "was only visiting the place", and was a man "dedicated to his religious duties". His body was buried in the floor of a catholic church, contravening specific, municipal prohibitions to burials in non-authorized places.

But a few days after father Barrera's death, on December 9 of that year, the countries newspapers published an FPL communique lamenting his death and declaring him an "exemplary member of the revolutionary struggle" and member of said organization. It was also stated that Barrera was known as "Felipe", praising his "heroic resistance in performance of revolutionary duty".

The FPL took responsibility for the 1977 murder of Mauricio Borgonovo, then salvadorean Minister of Foreign Affairs, South Africa's ambassador Archibald Dunn, in 1979 and uncounted murders, kidnaps, arsons and bombings. The FPL is the principal organization within the Directorio Revolucionario Unificado, sponsored by Fidel Castro.

THE CASE OF MARYKNOLL ROY BOURGEOIS.

At the end of april 1981, Roy Bourgeois came to El Salvador, not as a maryknoll priest, but as an interpreter for a CBS film crew. A few days later, and after asking the hotel's doorman for the address of a near-by drugstore, and saying that he was leaving only for a few minutes, Bourgeois left the hotel and dissapeared without trace. In a few hours his "kidnaping by the extreme right" was denounced, insinuating that he had been murdered by his abductors. Many religious groups demanded then that the Reagan administration suspend aid to El Salvador and that diplomatic relations be broken.

A true international commotion was produced automatically, whereby the salvadorean government was accused of having kidnaped

and murdered Bourgeois, asking for sanctions to be applied. The case received ample coverage in U.S. media.

A few days later, on May 1st., a body believed to be Bourgeois's was found in San Salvador. The body was dressed in Bourgeois clothing and had similar physical characteristics. A new wave of indignation swept the world, renewing demands to suspend aid to El Salvador.

But suddenly, Bourgeois appeared in the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, where he declared that he had joined the subversive groups because "there are moments in a person's life, when one cannot remain silent or passive at the sight of human suffering".

It is evident from this, that Bourgeois's disappearance was concocted only to arouse opposition against El Salvador, a scheme that went to the extent of murdering a man in order to deceive the public.

However, his reappearance went unnoticed in most international media, as were the apologies rendered to the salvadorean government by the Superior of the Maryknoll order.

THE CASE OF JESUIT LUIS DE SEBASTIAN.

De Sebastian was one of the main activists at Universidad Centroamericana, UCA, having published many works on the economic and social structure of El Salvador. His works not only reflect a marxist point of view, but propose the establishment of a socialist regime as the "only solution" for the country's problems.

De Sebastian left El Salvador when the ties of many jesuits and leftist clergymen to terrorist movements began to be known. It is of significance that De Sebastian has since been the FDR's spokesman in Europe, political facade of the salvadorean guerrilla groups.

THE CASE OF FATHER AMILCAR TORRUELLA.

The salvadorean police recently discovered a large cache of arms and subversive propaganda in a house owned by Torruella, presently director of San Salvador's archdiocese publication. Torruella claimed that he did not know who were his tenants, but it is rare in the country to rent a house without securing all pertinent information regarding potential occupants of a house.

Reproductions of four documents are attached to the paper "THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE SALVADOREAN TRAGEDY". They are:

1) Copy of the United Press Story as published may 10, 1981, in DIARIO LAS AMERICAS, of Miami, Florida, reporting the Salvadorean Armed Forces' communique on the case of the Maryknoll Roy Bourgeois and the investigation concerning the body of a man wearing his clothes;

2) An ad published in EL DIARIO DE HOY, of San Salvador, discussing the case of Roy Bourgeois;

3) An open letter to the Superior General of the Maryknoll order in the United States, by El Salvador's Junta President, Napoleon Duarte, condemning the affaire Bourgeois;

4) An interview given by Mons. Pedro Arnaldo Aparicio, bishop of San Vicente, El Salvador, published June 14, 1981, in the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REGISTER.

PRESIDENTE DUARTE DA A CONOCER A LA ORDEN MARYKNOLL LAS MANIOBRAS DEL SACERDOTE ROY BOURGEOIS



Ing. José Napoleón Duarte
Presidente de la Junta Revolucionaria de Gobierno

SAN SALVADOR, 7 de Mayo de 1981.-

Padre Superior General
Orden Maryknoll,
U. S. A.-

Hace algunos días usted vino a El Salvador, consternado por la repentina desaparición del señor Roy Bourgeois, quien siendo sacerdote Maryknoll había ingresado al país como miembro del equipo de periodistas de la CBS de Chicago.

En la entrevista que sostuvimos, usted me indicó que no era posible que el señor Bourgeois pudiera haberse ido a la guerrilla, pues esa actitud era contraria a su espíritu religioso y defraudaría a usted, a la Orden Maryknoll y a sus propios principios.

Usted me pidió que el Gobierno hiciera todo lo posible en buscarlo y yo le expliqué acerca de todos los esfuerzos que hacíamos en ese sentido; inclusive acordamos contratar una institución Internacional de Investigación para encontrar al Padre Bourgeois.

Como usted me pidió que le informara de cualquier novedad, permítame expresarle que, de acuerdo a lo manifestado por el señor Frederick Chapin, Encargado de Negocios de la Embajada Americana, "El señor Bourgeois llegó solo y caminando a pie hasta la Embajada de los Estados Unidos", donde confirmó que de su puño y letra había escrito una carta en la cual declaraba haberse incorporado a la lucha armada, porque la consideraba justa, aún cuando advertía que personalmente no tomaría las armas. Asimismo solicitó a la Embajada sus oficios para regresar a los Estados Unidos.

A pesar de que la sola declaración del señor Bourgeois le convertía en delincuente, la Embajada Americana solicitó autorización al Gobierno salvadoreño para salir del país y así el señor Bourgeois partió rumbo a Miami en el vuelo 310 de TACA del día 7 de mayo de 1981.

Considero que con esta carta cumplo con mi compromiso y no me resta más que lamentar que el señor Bourgeois haya hecho exactamente lo que usted consideraba "inaudito"; más aún si ello era parte de una maniobra que nada tendría de cristiana por la generación de ansiedad y expectativas aprovechadas publicitariamente para fines inconfesables.

Atentamente,

EL "CASO BURGOIS": OTRA HUMILLACION PARA EL PUEBLO SALVADOREÑO

El pueblo salvadoreño acaba de sufrir la afrenta de otra humillación en lo hondo de su dignidad con el caso del "cura" Roy Burgois.

Todos conocemos la grotesca comedia que este "pastor" de la Iglesia, perteneciente a la tristemente celebre Orden Maryknoll, vino a escenificar a nuestro país, con el evidente propósito de que la crítica mundial se volcara en nuestra contra y nos exhibiera como pueblo que todavía practica la reducción de cabezas humanas y cosas por el estilo.

Los salvadoreños tienen presente cada paso de la pantomima que este terrorista disfrazado de sacerdote, como desgraciadamente los hemos tenido y visto desfilar a montones en el suelo patrio, vino a representar:

Primero, abusa de la proverbial hospitalidad de nuestro pueblo y entra al país vistiendo la sotana y haciéndose pasar como "traductor" para un grupo de periodistas de televisión, que no se sabe si estaban en connivencia o si también fueron sorprendidos por la picardía maryknolliana de Burgois.

Segundo: preparado todo el tinglado para que en su momento explote la bomba de tiempo de la campaña mundial de desprestigio, se deja ver a la luz del día que abandona el cómodo hotel "para ir a comprar unas medicinas"... Por lo que parece, quiso ir a comprárselas a sus compañeros terroristas en el campo de batalla, mientras tal vez aprovechaba para transmitir consignas y entregar alguna buena suma de dólares para seguir la malévol obra de destrucción contra nuestro pueblo.

Tercero: mientras Burgois se reúne (?) con los terroristas aparece el cadáver con ropas y zapatos de su pertenencia, para hacer creer que el muerto es él y se desencadene el escándalo mundial, como en veces anteriores, queriendo comprometer y responsabilizar a la Fuerza Armada salvadoreña. El truco está bien montado, pero en el momento final, falla al establecerse que el cadáver no corresponde a Burgois. Entonces, como todo un "angelito" Maryknoll, el payaso de sotana aparece tranquilamente y rápidamente busca la inmunidad de la Embajada de su país, que lógicamente lo acoge y tramita prontamente su salida del país, como todo un respetable ciudadano. Ahora estará saboreando los resultados de su maquiavélica acción y quién sabe si no también los rublos que recibió en paga.

Cuarto: Aunque también fracasó la campaña mundial de condena contra El Salvador, al descubrirse la truculenta maniobra personificada por este Maryknoll —que hacía honor a las ejecutorias de otros miembros de la misma Orden, aquí en el país—, quedó un hecho concreto: EL CADÁVER DEL QUE IBA A SUPLANTAR AL "CURA" TERRORISTA Y QUE CON TODA PROBABILIDAD CORRESPONDIA A UN CIUDADANO SALVADOREÑO, ESCOGIDO DE EX PROFESO PARA TAN MACABRA COMEDIA Y CUYO ASESINATO QUEDARA IMPUNE, PERO DEL CUAL DEBERIA RESPONSABILIZARSE DIRECTAMENTE A ESTE PERSONAJE DEL CUENTO.

Quinto: Todos los salvadoreños nos quedamos estupefactos al ver cómo se permitía la salida sin la menor restricción del "cura" Burgois cuando abiertamente había confesado que se reunió con grupos terroristas y, cuando tras sus pasos quedaba una persona asesinada, en cuyo hecho lógicamente quedaba involucrado.

Lo que toda la gente sensata piensa al respecto es que para enmendar esta falla debería gestionarse la inmediata extradición de Burgois para seguirle proceso en calidad de sospechoso y cómplice de un asesinato. Porque si estamos hablando de justicia, éste es un caso en que debe aplicarse.

Finalmente, ANTE LAS REPETIDAS INTERVENCIONES DE ELEMENTOS DE LOS MARYKNOLL EN APOYO DE LOS GRUPOS QUE TANTO DOLOR, MUERTE Y DESTRUCCION ESTAN CAUSANDO AL PUEBLO SALVADOREÑO, PEDIMOS CONCRETAMENTE A LA JUNTA REVOLUCIONARIA DE GOBIERNO LA EXPULSION DEL PAIS DE TODOS ELLOS.

San Salvador, 15 de mayo de 1981.

Persona Responsable:

Francisco Antonio Mercado Renderos
C. de I.P. 1-14-000565

Desaparición Religioso Formaba Parte de un Plan contra EE.UU.

SAN SALVADOR, Mayo 9 (EFE) - La fuerza armada de El Salvador dijo ayer, viernes, que el sacerdote norteamericano Roy Bourgeois "desapareció" para salirse a los izquierdistas en un plan premeditado contra la ayuda de los Estados Unidos a El Salva-

do". Un comunicado de prensa de la fuerza armada señala que "el objetivo era incentivar a la opinión pública mundial, especialmente al pueblo norteamericano, con respecto a la manifestación de simpatizantes del terrorismo sal-

vadoreño que realizarían el domingo 3 de mayo en Washington, contra la política de ayuda estadounidense a El Salvador".

"Primero, el sacerdote desaparece de su hotel en San Salvador el 26 de abril, segundo, el 30 de abril aparece un cadáver con el traje y el calzado del padre Bourgeois, en los alrededores de la capital, y tercero, el 3 de mayo se realiza la manifestación mencionada", agrega el comunicado.

"Se puede establecer, pues, que a misión de este clérigo era promover a nivel internacional el éxito de los manifestantes en la capital estadounidense", afirma el documento.

Agrega que "en muchas de las informaciones hubo intención de involucrar a la fuerza armada y a los cuerpos de seguridad como victimarios del religioso, que ahora ha aparecido sano, después de haber cumplido su misión".

El sacerdote norteamericano Roy Bourgeois, quien pertenece a la orden Maryknoll, viajó a Miami, después de pedir protección diplomática en la embajada estadounidense en esta capital.

EL SALVADOR FREEDOM FOUNDATION

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STATEMENT OF ENRIQUE ALTAMIRANO BEFORE THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 29, 1981

The following statement was rendered by Enrique Altamirano before the House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee on April 29, 1981, and published, at the suggestion of representative Jack Kemp of New York and by unanimous consent of the Subcommittee, in the May 1, 1981 issue of the Congressional Record.

Representative Kemp's introduction to the statement was as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, the subcommittee on Foreign Operations this week had the opportunity to hear the testimony of Enrique Altamirano, the publisher of El Salvador's largest newspaper, El Diario de Hoy, and an astute observer of the domestic situation in his country. He candidly reports on the sad economic decline in El Salvador, a decline that cannot be explained away as solely the unhappy consequence of the military turmoil afflicting that country, but a decline that is driven by ill-advised economic policies.

"These are the sorts of concerns the United States must recognize and work to alleviate, as we craft economic assistance programs to foster development in El Salvador and throughout Central America. And I would hope that our efforts will be directed to the promotion of free enterprise and free market practices, so that the countries we assist will have a true chance to prosper. If we do not meet this responsibility, our foreign aid dollars will only buy us growing dependence on U.S. assistance, rather than successful development toward economic self-reliance".

STATEMENT OF ENRIQUE ALTAMIRANO

My name is Enrique Altamirano. As a citizen of El Salvador, I am most grateful to this honorable subcommittee for inviting me to submit my views on economic and military aid by the United States to El Salvador. I believe such aid to be imperative if our country is to be saved not only from falling into the Cuban-Soviet orbit, but also from an economic and institutional collapse which, in any event, would open the door to Marxism.

I am the Publisher of El Diario de Hoy, one of the two widely circulated daily newspapers in Central America. El Diario de Hoy is one of El Salvador's four major daily newspapers.

In regard to the amount and nature of military aid desirable, I believe that professionals in military affairs of the two countries are in a much better position than I to advise; for this reason, I shall limit myself to concrete aspects of the economic problem.

Contrary to persistent reports, El Salvador was never -- absolutely never -- a country governed entirely for the convenience of a handful of families, at a cost of misery and suffering for the great majority of the population. The truth is that, since the beginning of the decade of the 1960's, it has suffered a population explosion which is responsible in large part for comparatively low living standards and for deficiencies in all fields of development.

A nation which sorely needed to generate working and investment capital, to develop and train its labor force, to attract resources of all kinds from abroad and to shake off the cultural and productive lethargy afflicting some sectores of its population, has for twenty years had from successive governments just the opposite of the policies needful in each of these respects. For twenty years, El Salvador has had one of the highest personal and corporate tax scales in Latin America, and this has placed in the hands of government a higher proportion of the national wealth than in any other country of the Western Hemisphere except the United States and Venezuela.

It should be recalled that the country's central banking system was nationalized just about two decades ago, in a "Catch-Twenty Two" fashion that marked the beginning of our internal national woes. Meanwhile, rigid exchange controls have burdened us, price controls have been applied to almost innumerable products and services, exporting of basic products has been regulated, and the financial system has been subject to regulatory supervision even more diligent than that of the United States.

It is therefore not surprising that El Salvador's economic progress and its monetary stability have fallen far below their achievements of the 1950's.

These observations may surprise some people who were unaware that the root problems are of such long standing and so broad, not arising simply from business management's outrunning market levels. Essentially, our problems are the consequence of government policies that follow socialist blueprints.

Salvadorean private enterprise has paid, on the average, salaries and employee benefits totalling two-thirds of gross income, retaining less than seven percent as profit. This one fact demonstrates the fallacy of insisting that perhaps "a better distribution of the wealth" could raise the living standards of the Salvadorean people. The fact is that what is "distributed" are the disassembled parts of a most efficient set of production systems, thanks to these socialistic schemes, bringing more misery to the country's inhabitants.

Salvadorean free enterprise had made of its country one of the world's four leading coffee producers, using for this feat less than seven percent of the country's land area. This was done by achieving the highest yield per cultivated area in this crop of any country in the continent.

In cotton and sugar, we were always among the first three countries in yield per cultivated area. We also had the greatest beef production for area dedicated to cattle in America after Cuba and Guatemala. We were the country that used the most fertilizers for agricultural area in all of Spanish America.

And according to the FAO (United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization), El Salvador was the only nation in the Caribbean and Central America to have achieved self-sufficiency in the production of basic staple foods, despite our density of population.

The population density which El Salvador has had to feed to achieve this produces some startling statistics. If the United States had El Salvador's population density, your population would be two billion people. For our economy simply to keep up with the need-to-feed is evidence of significant achievement.

But at the same time that private enterprise was growing by dint of great effort, in the process creating the largest middle class numerically in Central America, the government was fueling inflation by pouring the enormous funds collected in taxes into hideously expensive

public works, some yielding scant benefit, and others no benefit at all. For example, a sugar refinery built by the government cost nearly four times the price of another like it built by private enterprise.

Various experiments with agrarian reform had been undertaken in our country prior to 1979, among them one instituted by the assassinated ex-presidente of the FDR (Frente Democratico Revolucionario, political arm of the Salvadorean leftist guerrillas), Enrique Alvarez, when he was Minister of Agriculture. All of these experiments failed of their objectives, in the process destroying lands that had been very productive.

Unfortunately, none of this dissuaded the Carter administration from inflicting upon El Salvador, to our sorrow, a larger dose of what had made the patient ill to begin with.

In recent months, the Salvadorean government has requested economic aid of the United States to continue its reformist programs, and lately, also to cover serious shortages in its balance of payments. Lack of foreign exchange has kept the country from purchasing fertilizers, raw materials for industry, and various consumer goods and services. To make matters worse, the government has failed to collect a good part of the taxes it had on overseas sales in the past, due to the drop-off of the harvests of cotton, sugar and, to a lesser extent, in coffee, caused by the decree of agrarian and financing reform.

Put briefly, we need assistance now to buy what previously we purchased on our own, with resources earned by our exports.

In part, the lack of funds our country suffers today is an indirect consequence of the reigning violence. But it is notable that Guatemala, also under leftist terrorist assault, has not found itself obliged to ask for aid to buy essentials. Similarly, Peru a few years ago was driven to bankruptcy with no significant guerrilla violence, but due to a similar socialism. In our case, national bankruptcy is about eighty percent due to the reforms imposed by the Department of State under the past North American administration.

One year after the imposition of agrarian reform, and the statization of private banking and exports, all of El Salvador's economic indicators bear witness to the scheme's failure. Although for the present, the greater part of our farms remain in private hands, the

constant threat of their eventual nationalization, the severe restrictions on credit and the continual harassment of the country's free enterprise, have brought work on these farms almost to a standstill. This is now making itself felt as unemployment, and will severely affect crop yields in the future.

But in coffee, perhaps the principal cause of the decline is that, upon the government's taking control of the internal buying price (since the producer cannot export but must sell to the government), price rises on the international market, which once made up for losses in bad years, also now are absorbed by the government, which alleges that this is for "social benefit".

This amounts to leaving the coffee-growers with all the risks while depriving them of compensating cushions of good-year benefits.

In cotton, two factors have brought about a reduction in planting, which is down from 120,000 manzanas in typical past years to 80,000 manzanas this year (from about 200,000 acres down to about 136,000 acres).

The first factor discouraging cotton planting is that smallholders do not want to rent their land to tenant farmers as they traditionally have done, fearing to lose the land under the provisions of Decree 207 (which may be applied to "give" farmlands to renters). The second factor is restrictions on credit, which exclude renters, those whose properties are mortgaged, those who have not paid past obligations, and others.

In addition, the huge agricultural machines that were the key to high yield on agribusiness farms that are now the property of the state have nearly all fallen into disrepair, through lack of maintenance, stealing or stripping by thieves, or simple neglect. Meanwhile, various essentials such as fertilizers have not been supplied, and the time for planting some crops has been allowed to pass due to delays in obtaining credit.

In sugar, which has been a valuable export, El Salvador will scarcely cover domestic consumption this season. The present sugar crop is estimated at 3,500,000 quintals -- half the 7 million quintals of 1977. Plantings have been reduced by terrorist burnings, but the greatest factor is the decline of investment.

The other sectors of the economy have been hit by the undermining of confidence by prevalent hostility toward private initiative, which the government appears to share. When this is added to terrorism and governmental threats to go ahead with an economic program which, in Duarte's own words, "goes far beyond what the extreme left proposes", it is not surprising that there is a total paralysis of investment, a mass flight of entrepreneurs, professional men, technicians, skilled workers and ordinary citizens -- the human ingredients essential to development.

As of now, the construction industry is virtually stagnated. And for the first time in moder history, the consumption of electrical energy, up by twenty times the kilowattage of thirty years ago, this year has fallen below last year's level.

All forms of commercial advertising have dropped by 40 percent compared to the levels of 1979.

Aside from the descent to below zero reserves, the most striking demonstration of the failure of the reforms is that domestic retail prices have nearly doubled in the past fifteen months, including the price of corn, the population's basic food. Meanwhile, there is an enormous scarcity of many common consumer products -- from medicines and surgical gloves to cosmetics, from machine parts to automobiles, from sewing-machine bobbins to vaccines. The only thing that has increased is unemployment, which in the construction trades has idled more than one-half of the entire work force.

Because a great number of factories have shut down or are working part time, the prospects of a solution to unemployment are discouraging. The government, like governments elsewhere, has made efforts to "create jobs" through public works. But the probability is that, for every job thus created, two have disappeared in private industry and business.

It is unrealistic to say that there can be some magic formula which could at a stroke solve all the problems of my country. The first priority, beyond a doubt, is to put an end to terrorism, the cause of the terrible bloodletting and destruction taking place. To accomplish this, the United States should neutralize the Soviet adventurism which



we find that food price rises in the ensuing year have cost the Salvadorean people a sum equal to the value of the expropriated lands.

Unquestionably, when private properties have been seized on such a scale, it is difficult to reverse the process equitably. But unless and until just compensation is paid to the former owners -- and remember that they paid salaries and fringe benefits to a legion of rural workers, as well as taxes -- the mistrust now seriously affecting production will persist.

One desirable step would be to give clear title of ownership to the members of the new cooperatives, leaving them free to sell or otherwise dispose of their shares as they may wish, once these have been paid for. Credit thus generated could be made available to dispossessed landowners, for their payment of taxes, for purchase of properties now in government hands, and the like. Also, the farm worker would thus become a proprietor, with a vested interest in his land and in the system.

Finally, it should be noted that when Phase I properties were statized, the government lost a sizable part of its tax base -- enough to require that 40 percent of this year's national budget be financed by loans from the Central Bank. At the same time, due to exorbitant operating costs, a great number of cooperatives will be unable to make payments this year on the credits they received.

The government has proven itself to be a very inefficient farmer, and a farmer sometimes corrupt. The United States could make no better use of its economic and political leverage than to encourage the re-establishment of a free agricultural system in El Salvador, if only because it is the most efficient.

The nationalization of the export business has done the country serious economic harm while yielding no advantage -- not even politically. The chief damages are the following:

1. Suppression of free-market sales of coffee wiped out brand names, some with generations of institutional prestige, also putting an end to their trading in futures;

2. In the ensuing period, the inexperience of government functionaries has cost the country 40 million dollars through failure to sell at the right time in anticipation of international prices. Clumsily,

governmental traders have sought to sell the entire crop, speculating on prices with disastrous effects;

3. Coffee growers have lost the short-term credit for the year extended to them by processors and exporters, and so are obliged to contract mortgage credit with state banks. Due to government control of coffee prices -- which it sets below world market prices -- growers now find themselves in danger of losing their lands. In other words, the state continues to strip farm owners of their properties, in this case by manipulating credit and prices.

There is no economic, legal or ethical barrier to returning the export trade to the private sector.

Despite the many advantages which the law for years has given the government-run banks of El Salvador, Salvadoreans have preferred to deal with private banks. This became impossible with the confiscation of all private banks last year. Ill effects are now making themselves felt. A few of these are:

1. The granting of credit has been politicized;
2. Certain lines of credit have disappeared, for instance, one-year credit primarily on mortgage backing. This has left many businesses out in the cold;
3. With the incursion of government into all aspects of banking, the confidentiality of banking transactions and accounts has been invaded;
4. With all banking, as well as banking supervision, in the hands of the state, the fox has charge of supervising the chicken coop. One of several dangers this involves is that the savings of private citizens are subject to use for political purposes;
5. Instead of market forces channeling the uses of deposit funds, their use is determined by bureaucratic imperatives.

Salvadorean citizens have now had time to suffer the effects of these disadvantages of banking's nationalization individually and personally. Unquestionably, they would now support the return of banking to competent private hands. This could be accomplished by opening a line of credit for the former stockholders of the private banks in the amount of their confiscated shares. Meanwhile, new private banking institutions should be permitted the preferential rights and

privileges previously accorded to the governmental banks (e.g., monopoly of government-agency accounts, more attractive interest rates, etc.).

The arguments in favor of calling a constitutional assembly are not persuasive. Justice does not need to be re-invented; the suspended Salvadorean constitution is a model of its kind. Moreover, the climate of violence and unrest we are living through rules out a genuine political campaign and the public debate to afford our people a realistic grasp of means of resolving their present tragedy. With huge numbers of civic, professional and business leaders having fled the country in fear of their lives, with restrictions on the information media, and faced with the impossibility of safeguarding the lives of candidates for a constitutional assembly, elections these days would hardly represent the nation's unbiased thinking.

For many years now in El Salvador, fruitless efforts have been aimed at finding "political solutions". Political solutions for underdevelopment, political solutions for subversion and for terrorism, and for the various crippling scars our people have suffered.

It is high time to bring economic criteria to bear on economic problems, political criteria on the political ones, and military solutions upon the drive to impose an alien will upon our people by paramilitary force.

Special Section

Interview

Enrique Altamirano on the Revolution in El Salvador

File
El Salvador

Enrique Altamirano is editor and publisher of El Diario de Hoy, one of El Salvador's largest newspapers. In 1979, he was assaulted by leftist terrorists at his home in San Salvador. Today, he runs the newspaper from a temporary home in Miami.

Altamirano, a former student of Nobel-winning economist F.A. Hayek, has studied at the university level in Italy and Germany. In the United States, he has testified before Congressional committees on the revolution in El Salvador, and spoken at events organized by Young Americans for Freedom.

NG: Mr. Altamirano, in your view, what would a collapse of El Salvador's pro-Western government mean both for United States security and the future of freedom in Central America?

Altamirano: On account of its geographic situation, its high population density, its economic substructure, and the lively and active nature of its people, El Salvador is the key to Central America. Whoever controls El Salvador will be in a position to control the rest of the region. Historically, I would like to mention that the only two occasions in which the region was unified occurred when the forces for integration emerged from El Salvador in the late 1800s and again almost a century later with the founding of the Central American Common Market and the Organization of Central American States, which was to be the political instrument towards the goal of unifying the region.

If El Salvador were to fall into the Communist orbit, Honduras and Guatemala, which would be the only remaining anti-Communist nations in Central America, wouldn't be able to withstand the combined attack of the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan armies -- particularly if this force received, like it almost certainly would, a massive supply of armaments and logistical support from Cuba and other Communist countries.

It shouldn't be forgotten that the border El Salvador shares with Honduras and Guatemala is very long, highly populated, and has a far better network of roads and communication facilities than the other two countries.



If Nicaragua -- with only half the population of El Salvador -- has been able to form an army of 50,000 men with a backup of 100,000 militia for a total of 150,000 men under arms, El Salvador could easily form an army of 300,000 men. That means that the combined forces of two countries -- Nicaragua and El Salvador -- would number almost a fourth of the present standing army of the United States. If all of Central America fell to Communism, then Cuba, the five Central American countries, and Panama would have an army of more than a million men between them, located almost at the borders of the United States. Even Mexico would not be able to resist a force of that magnitude.

Since the present Salvadoran government is fundamentally pro-Western, much care should be exercised in dealing with it. Certainly, the regime opposes Communism and the guerillas and supports the anti-Communist foreign policies of the United States and other Western governments. However, its economic policy is clearly socialist, purporting to steer a middle way between capitalism and Communism but being in actuality collectivist. Only with difficulty can El Salvador's economy be differentiated from the social-

ist systems developed in a great number of Third World countries. If El Salvador has not yet become entirely socialistic, it is because of the resistance of its independent citizens, pressures from the Reagan Administration, and the examples provided by the failure of the prior socialist reforms.

But if the process is not reversed, El Salvador's social and economic structure will become similar to Poland's and that of many other socialist countries. If this happens, it is probable that El Salvador would begin looking for alliances with countries of similar ideology -- like those behind the Iron Curtain.

NG: Do you believe that with American aid, Salvadoran resolve, and a sound military strategy, the guerillas could be defeated once and for all? Or do you see the guerilla offensive as continuing far into the future -- if not always as a serious threat to the government, at least as a persistent bother hampering the government's efforts to bring stability to the country?

Altamirano: The armed forces of the Salvadoran government would be fully capable of defeating the guerillas if not for the help they receive from the Soviet Union



"The armed forces of the Salvadoran government would be fully capable of defeating the guerillas if not for the help they receive from the Soviet Union and Cuba through Nicaragua." Above: a column of Salvadoran troops moves up Conchagua Mountain.

and Cuba through Nicaragua. The guerillas are defeated time and time again, but the foreign help enables them to regroup, rearm and launch new assaults elsewhere. As long as there is Communist influence in Central America, through the actions of Cuba, there will be no lasting peace in the region.

But there is another aspect that is extremely serious. The economic deterioration the socialist reforms have caused might lead us to a social condition so chaotic that it would trigger a popular uprising. If unemployment continues growing, if the availability of basic foodstuffs and consumer goods continues to diminish, and if the people lose faith in the capability of their government to promote peace and development, a moment could be reached where the population rebels en masse against the status quo and provokes a revolutionary war. Then, it would be very difficult to save El Salvador from anarchy and eventual Communism without the direct intervention of the United States and other pro-Western countries.

NG: Some view President Duarte as a great friend of capitalism and democracy -- others feel that he is not, pointing to the rather radical land redistribution reforms to bolster their point. What is your view on this?

Altamirano: I cannot dispute the proclaimed democratic devotion of Jose Napoleon Duarte, the present leader of the Salvadoran junta, if by democracy we mean the system that leaves in the hands of the electorate the absolute power of a nation, without a system of balances and constitutional restraints like in the United States. In this respect, I will say that personally I believe that the essence of democracy lies in the majority's respect for the fundamental rights of minorities and separate individuals.

But President Duarte has expressed his repudiation of capitalism and embraced instead what he calls "comunitarismo," a doctrine indistinguishable from socialism. In an interview in January on Ocean Radio, a Cuban radio operating in Miami, Duarte said that his program contained "the most radical reforms ever taken in the continent or in the whole world, including Cuba." As a matter of fact, the reforms carried out in El Salvador would be totally unconstitutional in the United States. They also would violate the Charter of Rights of the United Nations, and they run counter to the Ten Commandments of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

The nationalizations carried out in El Salvador -- the so-called agrarian, bank and export reforms -- did nothing but dispossess the rightful owners of the affected property without compensating them a single cent. Now, it has even reached the point where the government is trying to force the former owners to pay the passive accounts and land taxes due on these properties.

In my judgment, the right to property cannot be separated from a framework of human freedoms, and lies, in fact, at the root of Western Civilization itself. If the Communists have been able to create the most despotic form of government in history, it is precisely because they have abolished the right of the citizens to own property.

NG: Could you tell us a little about your own experiences as a publisher in El Salvador? How has the conflict affected you in your occupation as an anti-Communist opinion leader?

Altamirano: Like Goethe said, the right to freedom must be conquered each day. I believe that this is the privilege and also the duty of a Salvadoran editor aware of his mission. When there is an explosion of passion and sentiments, and diverse groups try to grab power for themselves or dominate significant sectors of a people, one needs a great deal of serenity and valor to maintain his own conduct within the bounds of rationality and ethics. In El Salvador, this obliges us to be in a state of permanent personal and professional alert; I have suffered an attempt on my life, while *El Diario de Hoy* has been bombed, machine gunned, and menaced in other ways.

NG: Before President Reagan was elected, what was the view among anti-Communists in El Salvador as to the nation's future? I understand that some believed that if Carter had been reelected, El Salvador would have been doomed.

Altamirano: Until the last days of his term, ex-President Carter made strenuous efforts -- the most visible of them through the U.S. Ambassador to Honduras, Mr. Binns -- to achieve what he called "a political solution to the Salvadoran problem,"

which in his mind was incorporating representatives of Cuba's terrorist front groups into the government of the country. Had he been reelected, Carter most certainly would have continued to push this destructive policy.

In El Salvador, it was known since the beginning of the insurrection against Somoza (in neighboring Nicaragua) that guerrilla movements, both in Nicaragua and the rest of Central America, were inspired, led, and armed by Cuba, and that their eventual objective was to bring the entire region under the influence of Cuba and Communism. It also was known that the flow of arms to the Salvadoran terrorists was increasing day by day, and that these groups, under Cuba's direction, participated in the fight against Somoza -- not because the Sandinistas needed the Salvadoran terrorists' support, but so the Salvadorans would receive the training and experience necessary for future action against their own country.

Carter's answer to the increasing political violence was to force a series of "economic reforms" upon El Salvador that has brought it to bankruptcy. He also suspended military aid and equipment sales. In addition, Carter's Ambassador, Robert White, never took care to hide his sympathy for groups of the extreme left. He launched a systematic attack against private enterprise -- which was, until the reforms, the economic support of the nation.

NG: To what extent is the uprising indigenous? Is there truly a large degree of popular support for the leftists, as they so often claim?

Altamirano: The immense majority of Salvadorans rejects the terrorist groups that attack the country's citizens and institutions. If the terrorists had its support, the country already would have fallen to Communism. The most tangible demonstrations of the people's rejection of the terrorists is that in the past they have spurned appeals for a nationwide general strike and have locked themselves in their homes when the terrorists tried to occupy cities and towns in our nation's interior. It is because of this that terrorists never have been able to take a town for more than a few hours.

NG: In terms of economic and military assistance, how much do you think is needed from the United States to ensure the safety of Duarte's government?

Altamirano: At the moment, more than direct military aid, El Salvador needs the United States' assistance in stopping the flow of arms and troops from Cuba and Nicaragua to terrorists along its frontiers. And due to the economic deterioration caused by the socialist reforms, El Salvador needs a great deal of economic aid as well. I believe the United States owes us that aid,

because the U.S. forced upon us the reforms and nationalizations that led to such a dire situation in the first place. The U.S. also needs to pressure the junta to start taking a different road towards economic recovery. If presently bread must be dispensed at breadlines, we have to correct the causes that created the breadlines.

NG: What can be done to counter the adverse effects on the government when Salvadoran troops kill leftist suspects -- especially when the victims turn out to be innocent civilians, as they sometimes do? Is there any way the government can stop this?

Altamirano: Terrorism always provokes cruel and terrible reactions from the countries and governments that are menaced by it. Since terrorists do not wear uniforms and only carry arms the moment they act, it is very easy for the groups that lend them support and secretly identify themselves with their causes to talk about "innocent civilians" when the security forces of a country eliminate terrorist cells or execute individual terrorists. It is very significant that until 1979, in El Salvador, nobody spoke about "death squads" for the simple reason that the populist government tolerated subversive movements for electoral convenience, to place itself in the "center" of the political spectrum. This "benign neglect" manifested itself in bitter and horrible reality the moment the terrorists started their violent drive to power.

And to this problem, we must add another. Due to the chaotic conditions the country suffers, common delinquency has increased manifold. This, coupled with the politically-inspired crimes, causes our country to suffer a level of violence without precedent in America.



As always, innocent nonparticipants bear the brunt of the violence and economic dislocations caused by civil unrest. Above: a poverty-stricken woman and her son in the northern town of Cinquera.

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May 18, 1983

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
Office of Public Liaison
191 Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton,

Enclosed are the names, addresses and phone numbers of all the individuals who have been asked to attend the past two strategy meetings on El Salvador at Richard's home.

A few points about the list:

- 1) I've checked for you those individuals who attended the May 17th meeting (you may or may not need this information)
- 2) John Grecco, who attended Tuesday's meeting, is not on the list simply because he was a substitute for Paul Weyrich
- 3) At Tuesday's meeting there were two uninvited guests who accompanied Dr. Joe Churba and Cong. Mark Siljander. I'll try to get their names and have my secretary call Maiselle with the information.

If you have any questions about the names, please call me.

Sincerely,

Mike

Mike Korbey

MNK/kb

Enclosures

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TO: *Martin*

FROM: Joan P. Moreci
Room 128, Ext. 7140

JUL 12 1983

APPROPRIATE ACTION

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COMMENTS:

JUL 12 1983

July 6, 1983

Mr. Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Whittlesey:

Attached are copies of the letters sent to President Ronald Reagan, Ambassador Otto Reich, and Assistant Secretary Langhorne Motley.

As you can see there is big inconsistency in our U. S. Foreign Policy especially when we allow a two value system to exist when dealing with the air charter service to Cuba or THE SPY SHUTTLE and Lanica's air charter service to Nicaragua.

Being the former much more dangerous to U.S. security than the later, since the Cubans are the professors of Spionage and Revolution and the Nicaraguans the students, we must take corrective action or our American credibility is at stake.

Thank you very much.

July 6, 1983

Ambassador Otto Reich
U. S. State Department
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Reich:

I am writing to you in reference to the charter flight service from Miami to Cuba, also called the Spy Service. Since we have a new Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, I am also writing to him and attaching you a copy of the letter.

I hope this security gap will be closed soon, since it is almost impossible to understand that while we are applying pressure to stop the Cubans, the Nicaraguans and the Russians from promoting revolution in Latin America, we are, on the other hand:

1. helping Cuba obtain needed dollars to export its revolution to Latin America and
2. allowing Cuba to operate a communication network with its communist agents in the U.S.; by allowing this charter flight service to go on.

I sincerely trust this security gap be closed and resolved immediately for U. S. security's sake as well as American credibility.

Thank you very much

P.S. Sources in Miami informed me that in order to justify the legitimacy of the air charter service to Cuba, it has been renamed "THE SPY SHUTTLE" ever since the U. S. government suspended the operation of Lanica's airline charter service to Managua, Nicaragua. Apparently there is U. S. Foreign Policy inconsistency when we allow a two value system to dominate the implementation of our U.S. Foreign Policy. It is something like attacking the symptoms of the illness (Nicaragua) when ignoring the cause of the illness (Cuba). Unfortunately, this inconsistency in our U.S. Foreign Policy is affecting the credibility of the United States of America.

June 1, 1985

Mr. Langhorne Motley
Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs
U. S. State Department
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Motley:

- Attached is a copy of the letter and magazine articles sent to President Ronald Reagan submitting to his attention a weak spot in U.S. security and Castro's way to obtain needed dollars to export his revolution to El Salvador, Central and South America.

Ever since the Carter's Administration, there are charter flights back and forth from Miami to Cuba taking Americans (Cuban-americans) to Cuba and Cubans to visit the U.S. By allowing these flights to go on the US government is violating our very own U.S. laws. It is also allowing Castro to have a communication network with his DGI agents planted in the U.S.

These communist agents come to the U.S. on these charter flights pretending to be visitors who come to see their relatives. Also Castro's communist agents in the U.S. go to Cuba on these very same charter flights pretending to visit relatives in Cuba (when in reality they go to receive orders from the DGI) and then return to the U.S. without any complication under the protection of the U. S. government.

I don't really know what interest these flights are suppose to be serving other than weakening and threatening U. S. security. Besides the agencies running this charter flight services to Cuba are administered and operated by Castro's very own communist agents in the U.S. under the complete control of Havana's DGI. Below are the name and locations of the agencies involved.

EBENEZER
2319 NW 7 St.
Miami, Florida

VACUBA
285 NW 27th Ave.
Miami, Florida 33125

HISPAMER
2022 SW First St.
Miami, Florida

I believe it is time to put and end to this charter flight service or Spy Service and I will ask you to use your prestige and office to follow through and investigate. Bear in mind that for a Cuban to be allowed by the DGI to visit the USA he or she must have a connection with the elite of the communist party. And in turn, he or she must repay for this favor by providing and/or passing information or performing any service, as requested by the DGI, to harm or damage the security of the United States of America.

Thanks.

I am not signing this letter for fear of reprisal against my family in Cuba.

February 28, 1983

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I want to bring this beach in the US security to your attention and hope this letter will reach you personally for you are a great American patriot.

Since President Carter's Administration, offices in Miami have been running charter flights (on American planes) to Cuba taking US citizens (usually Cuban-American) to visit Cuba and Cuban nationals to visit the USA for a determined period of time.

The United States does not have relations with Cuba and the US citizens (naturalized Cuban born) most get a Cuban passport to enter Cuba as required by the Castro regime. This is in violation of our laws since the minute a US citizen gets a Cuban passport, he or she is no longer a US citizen as we do not have dual citizenship agreement with Cuba. However, the US Government is allowing all this to happen and looks the other way.

For a Cuban national to visit the USA, a relative or a sponsor must secure an affidavit declaring all its belongings and last income tax return to the USA government so that a visa is issued to the prospective Cuban visitor (in order to enter the USA to spend a month in America). Giving the US Government this information of all our belongings is fine (we do it whenever we file an income tax return) but lately the Cuban government is requiring their travel offices in Miami to send to Cuba copies of the affidavits and last income tax return of the sponsors. Providing the government of Cuba this information (which has no business requesting it nor receiving it) could bring about the following consequences.

1. There could be political kidnapping on US soil and ransom money could be requested from the people who fill these affidavits in the USA. After all with the Mariel Boat Lift in 1980, the Cuban government planted all the agents they wanted in America. It is also a common practice the guerrillas have been using in Latin America for years to obtain needed dollars.
2. The money obtained in this manner will be used to finance guerrilla activities in El Salvador, Colombia, Central and South America.

I urge to investigate this matter as the great American that you are. After all "this flight service back and forth to Cuba should be stopped immediately in the interest of American security", since the only purpose of this flight service is:

- a) Bring the Castro's regime the dollars needed to bring guerrilla activities to Latin America. (These travel offices are taking advantage of the Cuban-Americans who visit Cuba and their relatives in the USA who send for their families and friends by asking tremendous amounts of money for their services).

Mr. President

- 2 -

- b) Give the Cuban Agents easy access to the USA. (They have an airline charter service at their disposal and they come and go mixed together with the Cuban visitors who want to vacation in America).
- c) Keep Castro's drug connections with the underworld open by having his agents flown back and forth from Cuba to the USA without a single problem. In the meantime, the drugs are destroying our American society.
- d) Maintain Castro's agents who control and operate these travel offices living in the US and interfering with American security.

Let me remind you that before all this began to happen, only Cubans seeking political asylum were allowed to enter the USA (none were allowed to come for vacations and then returned back to Cuba). Also in order for an American citizen to visit Cuba he or she had to request a very special permit from the U. S. State Department (who issued the permits only in extreme circumstances), since US citizens were not allowed to visit Cuba and was so printed on all US passports.

I believe these security measures should again be enacted as they are in the best interest of American security (the people who visited Cuba before were students dissidents seeking communist training and American criminals trying to escape justice). I also believe the US State Department should have knowledge and control of the people entering the USA and visiting a hostile country.

I am attaching some articles that appeared on Reader's Digest that will allow you to see the link of Castro's regime with what I have stated above. Let me tell you that these are only a few articles, there have been many more on Reader's Digest during the past two years and in Spanish newspapers published in Miami.

Please let me thank you for your kind attention as I urge you to investigate this matter.

Sincerely,

P.S. I am not signing this letter for fear of reprisal against my family in Cuba.

Central America/The Caribbean:
Suggestions to Win Support
for US Policy

Melville E. Blake, Jr.

The dismissal of Assistant Secretary Enders and mounting concern over developments in Central America present an opportunity to make progress; however, that opportunity is being undermined by the preception that the Government plans a tougher (military) approach on El Salvador. To head off preoccupation with El Salvador and to focus attention where it belongs - on the region - the Administration should urgently:

-- emphasize that US assistance to Central America/the Caribbean Basin is consistent with US policy since World War II. The situation in El Salvador is akin to the situation in Greece in 1946-7; and situation in Central America/Caribbean Basin is akin to the situation in Western Europe in the late 1940's.

-- The United States began with economic assistance to Greece and subsequently with the Marshall Plan for Western Europe because of economic and social distress.

-- Military aid to Greece and the establishment of NATO followed the economic assistance because economic and social progress required a security shield behind which to operate.

The President indicated the parallel in his address to the Joint Session of Congress. It deserves notice, however, that President Truman and a Democratic-controlled Congress required Republican support, led by Senator Arthur Vandenburg, to succeed.

To break the preoccupation with El Salvador - and the military situation - and to put matters on a level that Democrats and the public will support, the Administration should continue to emphasize that it seeks to assist the countries of the region in economic and social reform but of necessity - not by choice - must supply military assistance to satisfy legitimate defensive needs. When the insurgency abates, the level of military assistance will be reviewed and adjusted as appropriate.

To break the preoccupation with El Salvador and to focus attention on the region, the Administration should:

-- announce that the Office of Central American Affairs and the Office of Caribbean Affairs, within the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, at the State Department, are being placed under the direction of a Deputy Assistant Secretary. (this move can be made administratively.)

-- increase efforts to complete enactment of Caribbean Basin legislation.

-- establish an advisory body of distinguished Americans, representing the political spectrum to increase bipartisan appeal, to make recommendations to the President on Central American/Caribbean Basin policy, as well as on proposed legislation for consideration by the next Congress. (The Deputy Assistant Secretary, proposed above, could provide staff support for the study.

Guidelines for the work of the advisory committee might include:

-- a review of US political, economic and cultural relations with the region to identify (a) positive elements to emphasize and (b) negative elements to eradicate or minimize;

-- suggest ways to reinvigorate the Central American Common Market by building upon the Central American Democratic community, thereby encouraging nonmembers to subscribe to the principles of the CADC.

-- study ways to link the CADC/CACM to CARICOM.

-- examine US legislative and regulatory impediments to closer US economic and commercial relations with Central America/the Caribbean Basin and propose changes where appropriate.

-- suggest improvements in the Executive Branch so that it may respond more rapidly and effectively to the needs of the region and to the involving requirements of US regional policy.

Domestically, these proposals build upon the altruistic sentiment that is still strong in the American society and the broadly held belief that something needs to be done to help our Southern neighbors and, in the process, enhance our national security. The timing is propitious because Congress and the public recognize more than ever that positive steps must be taken. Action on these proposals would demonstrate to the countries of the region that the United States is interested in longterm solutions, not quick military fixes. Moreover, they would offer an alternative to leftist regimes in the region and, it is to be hoped, persuade them to recognize that it would be to their long-range advantage to moderate their behavior and to cooperate with the United States and the region's democracies.

CONSERVATIVE COALITION

CENTRAL AMERICA

PROJECT

DRAFT PROPOSAL

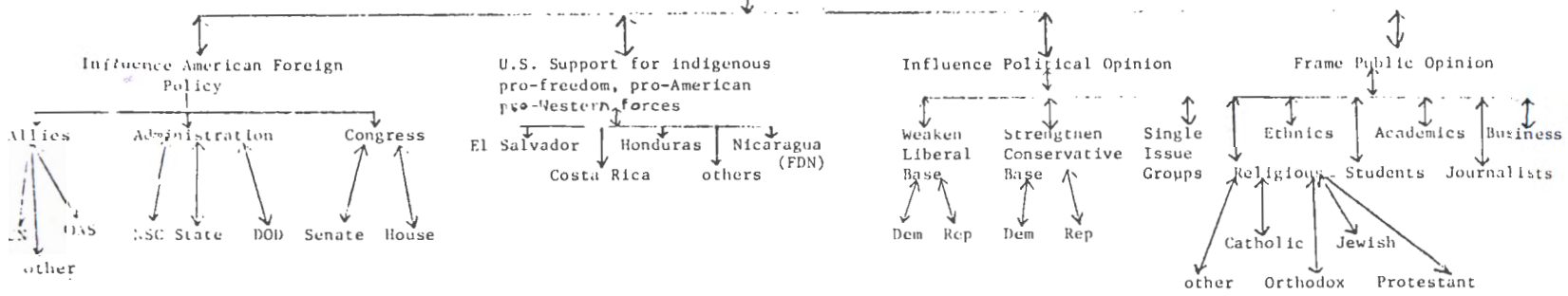
This material was drawn from a number of sources within the conservative community. It relied heavily on the "spade work" done by Andy Messing at the Conservative Caucus, primarily in the areas of tactics and potential coalition members. In this final form, it is the work of the Coalitions for America/Free Congress working group on Central America. This is simply a draft proposal and is therefore subject to your input and recommendations. Please call or forward your ideas to:

Greg Butler
Coalitions for America
721 Second Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
202-546-3000

GOALS, OBJECTIVES ETC. FOR
CENTRAL AMERICA

Freedom and Independent Development
for all American States

Elimination of Communist Influence
in Western Hemisphere



TACTICS

TACTICS

TACTICS

TACTICS

general goals

strategic objectives

"who" in general

"who" specifically

TACTICS

Our goal in Central America is two-fold. First, we seek freedom and independent development for all American States. Second, we seek the elimination of communist influence in the western hemisphere.

To accomplish these goals, it is imperative that our project have four strategic objectives. These are:

1. To influence U.S. foreign policy in the right direction, toward a strong principled stand for freedom for all American states, free from communist aggression and subversion of the Americas;
2. To provide U.S. governmental and other aid to indigenous pro-freedom, pro-American and pro-Western forces, whether these forces be governments or anti-communist freedom fighters;
3. Here in America, to influence political opinion and weaken the liberal base while strengthening the conservative base of support; and
4. Here in America, to frame public opinion by forming a coalition which encompasses broad aspects of the political, educational, cultural and religious spheres of U.S. Society.

U.S. foreign policy can be influenced in the right direction by pursuing all possible avenues to oppose communist subversion in Central America and support independent development for all American States. The United States should aggressively promote its policy goals in the United Nations, the Organization of American States and other appropriate policy forums. The Reagan Administration must bring to bear all its powers of influence to oppose communist efforts to divide the Americas and subvert the Monroe Doctrine. It is imperative that a strong, unified U.S. policy flow from the National Security Council, the Departments of State and Defense and all other arms of the government. In the Congress, support for freedom in Central America can be promoted through aggressive legislative strategies and tactics in both Houses.

The U.S. government must provide meaningful political and other support for all pro-freedom, anti-slavery, pro-American, anti-Soviet forces in Central America. In the case of Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador and other nations, this includes but is not limited to support for the present governments. In Nicaragua, this should include support for the FDN and other opponents of the communist Sandinistas. Beyond such formal support, Americans must seek ways to provide formal and informal assistance to pro-freedom, anti-slavery forces in Central America.

Here in the U.S., political strategies should be devised -- and political tactics pursued, which will influence political opinion while weakening the liberal base of support and strengthening the pro-American, anti-communist conservative base. Such strategies and tactics must seek to break off elements of the traditional Democratic constituency and blend them with conservative Republican elements in a political coalition supporting a strong American policy in Central America. Such strategies and tactics must seek to shore up conservative GOP leanings while undermining accommodationist Republicans. Finally, such strategies and tactics should reach beyond traditional, formal party lines to those "single issue" groups with pro-freedom concerns.

Related to the effort to influence political opinion is the effort to frame public opinion while building a coalition which encompasses broad aspects of the political, educational, cultural and religious spheres. The pro-freedom, anti-slavery Central America coalition must involve ethnic and religious groups. The Religious outreach must extend to all denominations and persuasions. Beyond the ethnic/religious outreach, the coalition must reach academic elements, including administrators, professors, teachers and students. Finally, targeted appeals on behalf of the coalition must appeal for support from business and pro-freedom elements of the media.

Strategic Objective: Influence American Foreign Policy in Central America

Possible tactics:

1. Continue trips of friendly and moderate Congressmen.
2. Seminars on Capitol Hill.
3. Draft resolution in support of El Savador (Congress and State legislators).
4. Primary briefing at campaign schools.
5. Develop a lobbying team to direct congressional efforts.
6. Team to monitor and get people to testify before Congress.
7. Team to oversee special orders, one minute speeches and record inserts
8. Organize lobbying trips to Washington Office or District offices.
9. De-classify pertinent intelligence information (especially photos).
10. Develop comprehensive pictorial library.
11. Develop boycott of Nicaragua.
12. Phone banking to Administration, members of Congress.
13. Lobby financial supporters of bad guys.
14. Develop graphic Red expansion map with overlays.
15. Organize trips of key coalition group leaders.
16. Panama Canal Treaty type debates. Look for Congressmen with us/against us.
17. Truth Squad Effort.
18. Develop Trade.
19. Find Administration spokesmen, congressmen, others to promote Monroe Doctrine.

Strategic Objective: U.S. support for indigenous pro-freedom,
pro-American, pro-western forces

Possible tactics:

1. Sister city concept.
2. Clothing, medical and food drive for children, Indians.
3. Surplus commodities.
4. Generate letters from El Salvador, letters from children, church leaders, etc.
5. Research Caribbean -- data regarding defense, pre-WWII, Canal construction
6. Develop comprehensive pictorial library.
7. Develop boycott of Nicaragua.
8. Develop graphic Red expansion map with overlays.
9. Organize trips of key coalition group leaders.
10. Panama Canal Treaty-type debates. . .
11. Sponsor foreign spokesmen to come here -- business, civic, religious leaders.
12. Political training of Central Americans.
13. Develop trade.
14. Organize benefit for refugee relief.

Strategic Objective: Influence Political Opinion, weaken liberal base and
strengthen conservative base

Possible tactics:

1. Organize White House briefing.
2. Develop briefing package for our people.
3. Get CRS briefing package and attack leftist bias.
4. Get embassy briefing package and attach leftist bias.
5. Primary briefing item at campaign schools.
6. Develop and issue research team.
7. Develop Coalitions.
8. Team to monitor and get people to testify before Congress.
9. CNP item.
10. Look at Vietnam, Iran, Rhodesia, etc. quotes of Dodd, Solarz, etc. Establish their incorrect opinions as part of a pattern.
11. Get Jewish leaders involved -- focus on anti-semitic activities in Nicaragua, etc.
12. Newsletter blitz.
13. Develop spokesmen to give statements on these issues -- Catholic spokesmen particularly helpful.
14. Petition drives in churches, airports, etc.
15. Organize lobbying trips to Washington office or district offices.
16. Develop PLO linkage in Central America (c.f. to getting Jewish leaders involved).
17. Focus on liberal hypocrisy.
18. Research Caribbean.
19. Develop comprehensive pictorial library.
20. Direct mail with postcards.
21. Develop posters, buttons and so forth with simple messages
22. Phone banking.
23. Develop graphic Red expansion map with overlays.
24. Sponsor foreign spokesmen to come here.
25. TV programs.
26. Design press conferences for targeted audiences.
27. Conservative leadership meetings on regular basis.
28. Prepare on regular basis short articles/notices for movement newsletters/periodicals.

Strategic Objective: Frame Public Opinion, build coalition including ethnic, religious, academic, business and media elements.

Possible tactics:

1. Supply talk shows -- radio and TV -- with friendly names.
2. Draft resolution in support of El Salvador.
3. Develop press package.
4. Prepare selected bibliography.
5. Primary briefing item at campaign schools.
6. Develop a media team to direct media efforts.
7. Develop campus support groups.
8. Team to monitor and get people to testify before Congress.
9. Get Jewish leaders involved -- focus on anti-semitic activities in Nicaragua, etc.
10. Newsletter blitz.
11. Get businesses dealing in Central America to help.
12. Sponsor debate teams to go to college campuses and town meetings.
13. Develop Catholic spokesmen and other spokesmen on this issue.
14. Petition drives in churches, airports, etc.
15. Organize lobbying trips to Washington offices and/or District offices of members of Congress.
16. Research Caribbean.
17. Develop a comprehensive pictorial library.
18. Direct mail with postcards.
19. Develop posters, buttons and so forth with simple messages
20. Newspaper ads.
21. Phone Banking.
22. Heritage of CIS sponsor an academic intellectual focus on Central America.
23. Develop graphic Red expansion map with overlays.
24. Organize trips of key coalition group leaders.
25. Panama Canal-type debates.
26. Sponsor foreign spokesmen to come to U.S.
27. TV program.
28. Design press conferences for targeted audiences.
29. Businessmen to White House, Chambers, talk about economic impact of Red power in Central America.
30. Write, talk about energy and Central America.
31. Conservative media outlets focus on this: NR, Washington Times, etc.
32. Emphasis on students through above activities, CRs, etc.
33. Social/single issue groups focus on human rights of refugees from Nicaragua, etc.
34. Media expose lobbies that are communist front/sympathy groups.
35. Identify major companies operating in Central America.
36. Distribute recently or newly-declassified documents focusing on Central America.
37. Prepare on a regular basis articles/notices for movement newsletters/periodicals.

POTENTIAL COALITION

This list is a list of people and/or organizations that might be members a coalition for Central America. This list will need to be expanded and those people noted here, contacted, to determine their respective level of interest in this area.

S= Social/Human rights
 P= Political
 E= Educational
 Ec=Economic
 M= Media
 D= Defense
 B= Business

Bill Billings	National Christian Action Coalition	C,P,E
Morton Blackwell	White House	P
Lynn Bouchey	CIS	D,E,S
Greg Butler	Coalitions for America	P
Margo Carlisle	Republican Conference	P,M,S
Mario Costa	Tradition, Family, Property	S,E
Gen. Dan Graham	High Frontier	D
Sam Dickens	New World Dynamics	E,S
Charles Dickens	New World Dynamics	E,S
Lee Edwards	Center for International Relations	E
Ed Feulner	Heritage Foundation	E,D,M
Jeff Gaynor	Heritage Foundation	D,E
Ron Godwin	Moral Majority	S,P
Rep. Woody Jenkins	CNP	P
Don Todd	ACU	P,D
Mark Hill	Assoc. of Naval Aviation	D
Dave Hoppe	Republican Whip	P
Joan Hueter	Pro America	E,P
Phelps Jones	VFW	P,D
Rev. David Finzer	Young Conservative Alliance	E,P
Karen McKay	Committee for a Free Afghanistan	D
Chris Manion	Senator Helms	D,P

Frank Manson	Manson Forum	M
John Fisher	American Security Council	D,E,P
Andy Messing	National Defense Council/CC	D,P
Tom Moore	Roundtable	D,E
Rick Sellers	National Forum	D,P
David Sullivan	Senator Symms	P,D
Michelle van Cleeve	Congressman Kemp	P,D
Frank van der Linden	Sacramento Union	M
Paul Weyrich	Free Congress Foundation	D,P,E
Jade West	Senate Steering Committee	P
Fred Smith	Congressman McDonald	P
Gary Jarmin	Christian Voice	P,S
Rev. Enrique Rueda	Catholic Center	S
Steve Antosh	National Center on Labor Policy	Ec
Jack Abramoff	CRNCC	P
Neal Blair	Free the Eagle	Ec
Larry Butler	U.S. Chamber	Ec
Terry Dolan	NCPAC	P,M
Peter Gemma	IPF	S,M
Fran Gemma	Griffin Communications	M
Bob Goldsborough	<u>Washington Dateline</u>	M
Lee Hamilton	NAM	Ec
Bob Heckman	FCM	P
Connie Heckman	Congressman Mickey Edwards	P
Dan Popeo	Washington Legal Foundation	S
Reed Larson	Right to Work	Ec
Frank Madsen	Senator Hatch	P
Larry Pratt	GQA/ASLO	D
Howard Phillips	Conservative Caucus	D,P,E

Ron Robison	Young America's Foundation	Ec,E
Kathy Teague	ALEC	P,E
Dick Thompson	Republican Policy Committee	P
Gary Curren	ALL	P
Bob Walker	Adolph Coors Co.	B
Mike Wermith	Senator Denton	P
Fred Smith	Council For a Competitive Economy	Ec
Gordon Jones	United Families	S,E
Monroe Thomas	Conservative Caucus	P
Bob Mc Adam	CSFC	P
Connie Marshner	National Pro-Family Coalition	S,P,E
John Grecco	Coalitions for America	P
Tony Cjakowski	Catholic League	S
Dick Dingman	Moral Majority	S,P,E
Mike Hammond	Senate Steering Committee	P
Paul Haring	Catholic Truth Society	S
John Wilke	NRL	S
John Metcalfe	FPL/ New Covenant Pastors	S
Rev. Bob Dugan	NAE	S,E
Martha Roundtree	Leadership Foundation	S,E
Antoinette Olson	United Students For America/Maranatha	S,E
Alicia Pitzer	Eagle Forum of NoVA	S,E
Brandon Scholz	Rep. Senatorial Committee	P
Lottie Beth Hobbes	Pro-Family Forum	S,E
Marylyn Lundy	Citizens for Educational Freedom	S,E
Tom Ellis	Congressional Club	P
Dave Williams	American Family Assoc.	S,E
Rev. E.V. Hill	STEP Foundation	S

Dr. Marvin Alisky	Arizona State University	D
Dr. Roland Alums	International Research Consultants	D
Richard Allen	Heritage Foundation	D
Dr. Gustav Anguizola	University of Texas at Arlington	D
Richard Araujo	Heritage Foundation	D
Dr. Morris Blachman	Institute of International Studies	D
Dr. Bruce Bueno De Mesquita	Hoover Institute	D
Midge Decter	Committee for the Free World	D
Dr. Jack Hopkins	Indiana University	D
Carlos Lopez	Menlo College	D
Dr. Norman Martin	University of Santa Clara	D
Jorge Perez Ponce	InterAmerica	D
Dr. Phillip Powell		D
Dr. Stefan Possony	Hoover Institute	D
Eli Spark	Catholic University	D
Gen. Gordon Sumner	La Mancha Company	D
Dr. Robert Wesson	Hoover Institute	D
Phil Lawler	American Catholic Conference	D,S
Rev. James Keoh	<u>Beyond the Mountain</u>	S
Eleanor Schlafly	Cardinal Mindzenty Foundation	D,S
Rev. Virgil Blom	Catholic League	D,S
Frank Tesky	Catholic United For Faith	S
John D. Lawlor	Catholics for Responsible Action and Defense Project	D,S
Terry Koller	Center for Christian Studies	S
Dr. William Mara	Drama of Truth	S
Rev. William Smith	Fellowship of Catholic Scholars	S
E. Michael Jones	<u>Fidelity</u>	S
Charles Wilson	Fidelity Forum of Texas	S

James P. McFadden	National Committee of Catholic Laymen	S
Phyllis Schlafly	Eagle Forum	S, D, E
Walter Kendall	St. Thomas More Educational Foundation	S
A.J. Matt	<u>The Wanderer</u>	S, M,
Kerry Ptacek	Institute on Religion and Democracy	S
Dr. Alfonso Bolano	Nicaraguan Information Center, Inc	D, S
Humberto Belli	(former editor of la Prensa)	S
Frank Calzone	Cuban American National Foundation	S, D
Guarione Diaz	Cuban National Planning Council	D
Max Singer	Hudson Institute	S, E
Gustavo Marin	ABDALA	S, E, D
Gen. Bruce Jacobs	Adjutant Generals Association	D
Kathleen Daughtery	American Conservative Alliance	D
Gen. Henry Miley	American Defense Preparedness Committee	D
Ethel Rubick	American War Mothers	D
Charlene Craycraft	Americans for Constitutional Action	D, P
Cosmo Gallo	Catholic War Veterans	D
	Center for International Security	D
Ann Cahn	Committee for National Security	D
Frank Athanason	Military Order of the Purple Heart	D
	National Federation of Republican Women	P
	Paralyzed Veterans of America	D
	United States Anti-Communist Congress	D
Kenneth Tarpey	U.S. Conservative PAC	P

William E Buckley	National Review	M
Chris Gerston	Freedom Federation/AIPAC	P,D
Cathy Chumenchenko	Captive Nations	S
	Ukranian Congress	P
John Kysnsky	Pomost/Duke University	P
Gene Vossler	(anti-freeze group in CA)	P,D
	Tell Inc.	E
	Anti-Defamation League	P,E
	Jewish Defense League	P
Seymore Siegle	Holocaust Remberance	S,E
Richard DeVos	Amway	B
Richard Viguerie	RAVCO	B,P,E,M
Phil Crane	M.C./RSC	P,E
Mark Siljander	M.C.	P
Vin Weber	M.C.	P
Gerald Solomon	M.C.	P
Newt Gingrich	M.C.	P
Bob Walker	M.C.	P
Ann Mill Griffiths	NL of F	S
Ann Stone		B
Helen Marie Taylor		E
Robert Brown	Soldier of Fortune	M,D
Tom Carhart		D
Llewellyn King		M
Ed Luttwak	Center for Strategic and International Studies	D
Ambassador Middendorf		P,D
Bob Dornan	NSC	P
Alan Gottlieb		D

Gen. Richardson		D
Gen. Singlaub	Captive Nations	D,E,S
Gen. Wellner		D
Admiral Moorer		D
Cooper Holt	VFW	D
Huck Walther	U.S. Defense Council	D
Roger Fontane	NSC	D,P
Dr. Miles Costick		D
Milt Copulus	Heritage Foundation	M,E,D
Bob Kriebble		B
Roger Miliken	Miliken and Co.	B
Joe Coors	Aldoph Coors Co	B
Richard Scaife	Scaife Family Trusts	B
Mike Valerio	Papagino's	B
Chris Hitchcock	Crawford Fitting	B
Bob Perry	Perry Houston	B
Jackie Tillman	Ex. Assistant to Ambassador Kirkpatrick	P,D
Dr. Portell-Vila		D
John Rees		M
Larry McDonald	M.C./Western Goals	P,E
Dr. Sam Sarkesian		E
Sir Harry Schultz		E
Pat Buchanan		M
Reed Irvine	AIM	M
Jeffery St. John		M
Al Santoli	<u>Parade Magazine</u>	M
	<u>Readers Digest</u>	M
Frank Gannon		M,P

Jim Whalen	Washington <u>Times</u>	M
Tom Winters	<u>Human Events</u>	M
Bill Rhatican	U.S. Synfuels Corp.	M
John Carbaugh		P
Roberto Kriete		P
John Laxalt		P
Dick McCormick	State Department	P,D
Sen. Dick Stone	State Department	D,P
Bob Driscoll	State Department	P,D
Mike Hammond	Senate Steering Committee	P
Sen. Steve Symms		P
Paul Brown	LAPAC	P,S,E
Judy Brown	ALL	S,E
Clay Claiborne	Black Silent Majority	S,E
Colonel Doner	Christian Voice	S,E
Dr. Ernest Lefever	Ethics and Public Policy Center	S,E,D
Rev. Pat Robertson	CBN	S,D
Rev. James Robison	James Robison Ministries	S,D
Rev. Jerry Falwell	Old Time Gospel Hour	S,D
Jay Parker	Lincoln Institute	S
Gen. Milnor Roberts	ROA	D
Gen. Al Knight	Conservative Caucus	D,S

COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR CONGRESSIONAL
ACTION FOR FREEDOM
IN CENTRAL AMERICA

STRATEGY

The goal of successfully implementing the President's Central American plan will be accomplished by developing a core group of working Members from both parties to articulate issues and educate their colleagues about Central America. This group will be modeled after the spontaneous group that developed to fight the Nuclear Freeze resolution in the House last month and the group that fought the Panama Canal Treaties in the 96th Congress.

Congressional Strategy will be based on what Rep. Newt Gingrich said: "you've got to get the people involved in this if we are to get a mandate on the Central American issue."

The following strategy emphasizes the need for the education of Congress and the public on this issue and our means for going about it.

The Congressional Core Group will consist of some Foreign Affairs Committee Members plus ten Members not on the Committee.

I. We will first:

- a) Identify Members who are interested in a deep commitment to defend the freedom of Central America
- b) Coordinate efforts with the Republican Research Committee through Rep. Coleman
- c) Phil Crane has put the Republican Study Committee researchers at our disposal. Coordinate through Rep. Courter.
- d) Set up a Steering Committee for Republicans in the Core Group

Simultaneously develop:

- e) Democratic support for the President's position
- f) Coordination of communications between all Members involved

II. Next, we will seek to develop areas of expertise amongst the Members of the Core Group in specific areas such as:

- a) Middle East Connection in Nicaragua
- b) Persecution of the Catholic Church in Nicaragua
- c) Misquito Indians
- d) Vietnam Parallel
- e) Human Rights Violations in Nicaragua
- f) Land Reform Progress in El Salvador
- g) Nicaragua-El Salvadoran Guerrilla connection

III. We will develop this expertise through:

- 1) trips
- 2) Special Orders after the close of regular business
- 3) One minute speeches
- 4) Republican Study and Research Committee Reports
- 5) Dear Colleague letters
- 6) Member and staff briefings

IV. We will seek to work with the Press in the following areas:

- a) coordinate talk show appearances promoting representation for our side in the media debate
- b) work with the Republican Conference to develop better press connections
- c) emphasize Press Conferences on trips to Central America through reports for the Record, One Minute Speeches and other devices to bring attention to the Press Conferences

V. We will also attempt to further our cause with these efforts:

- a) Asking Jack Kemp to hold a Republican Conference to solidify Republican support for the President
- b) Get the Congressional Research Service to do the in-depth research on key areas
- c) Approach the Hispanic Caucus in the House to line-up support for the President's position.
- d) Request a closed-door session, using classified information, on Nicaragua

VI. CONCLUSION

All of these methods work well to advance positions on their own. It is our hope that through a vigorous coordination effort within the House and with other concerned groups that we can win this debate.

We will be meeting to develop the Core Group further on Wednesday, May 18 in the Minority Whip's office. The meeting in Congressman Siljander's office last Friday was attended by Reps. Weber, Coleman, Courter, Hunter Lowrey, and Siljander.

PRESIDENT REAGAN ON CENTRAL AMERICA

Speech to the Organization of American States, February 24, 1982

The events of the last several years dramatize two different futures which are possible for the Caribbean area: Either the establishment or restoration of moderate, constitutional governments with economic growth and improved living standards; or, further expansion of political violence from the extreme left and the extreme right resulting in the imposition of dictatorships and inevitably more economic decline and human suffering.

The positive opportunity is illustrated by the two-thirds of the nations in the area which have democratic governments. The dark future is foreshadowed by the poverty and repression of Castro's Cuba, the tightening grip of the totalitarian left in Grenada and Nicaragua, and the expansion of Soviet-backed, Cuban-managed support for violent revolution in Central America.

The record is clear. Nowhere in its whole sordid history have the promises of Communism been redeemed. Everywhere it has exploited and aggravated temporary economic suffering to seize power and then to institutionalize economic deprivation and suppress human rights. Right now, six million people worldwide are refugees from Communist systems. Already, more than a million Cubans alone have fled communist tyranny.

Our economic and social program cannot work if our neighbors cannot pursue their own economic and political future in peace but must divert their resources, instead, to fight imported terrorism and armed attack.

Economic progress cannot be made while guerrillas systematically burn, bomb, and destroy bridges, farms and power and transportation systems--all with the deliberate intention of worsening economic and social problems in hopes of radicalizing already suffering people.

President Reagan's Remarks in San Jose, Costa Rica, December 4, 1982

President Monge and I have met three times this year, and I've learned from him and from the record of this country the depth of Costa Rica's dedication to the founding principles of Western civilization. And I've learned of the significant progress toward democracy elsewhere in Central America. Today, Central America faces renewed challenges to its self-determination as agents of unrest seek to impose new forms of the imperialism and tyranny that we threw off so many years ago. These counterfeit revolutions also threaten the prosperity that is the legacy of peace in this beautiful land. The future challenges our imagination, but the roots and law and democracy and our inter-American system provide the answers we seek.

In your efforts to bring new opportunity, stability, and peace to the region, the Costa Rican people can be very sure you will have the steadfast support of the people of the United States. The only real root to peace, to lasting peace, is the well-chartered course of Costa Rica--commitment to democracy, rejection of extremism and the force of arms, and respect for human rights and the rule of law. It also includes reliance on international law such as the Rio treaty, essential to your national defense and fundamental to our common security.

Remarks to the National Association of Manufacturers on March 10, 1983

I know a good many people wonder why we should care about whether communist governments come into power in Nicaragua, El Salvador, or such other countries as Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, and the islands of the Caribbean. One columnist argued last week that we shouldn't care because their products are not that vital to our economy.

That's like the Argument of another so-called expert that we shouldn't worry about Castroite control over the island of Grenada--their only important product is nutmeg.

People who make these arguments haven't taken a good look at a map lately or followed the extraordinary build-up of Soviet and Cuban military power in the region or read the Soviet's discussion about why the region is important to them and how they intend to use it.

It is not nutmeg that is at stake in the Caribbean and Central America. It is the United States national security.

Soviet military theorists want to destroy our capacity to resupply Western Europe in case of an emergency. They want to tie down our intention and forces on our own southern border and so limit our capacity to act in more distant places such as Europe, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Sea of Japan.

Those Soviet theorists noticed what we failed to notice -- that the Caribbean Sea and Central America constitute this nation's fourth border.

If we must defend ourselves against large hostile military presence on our border, our freedom to act elsewhere, to help others, and to protect strategically vital sea lanes and resources has been drastically diminished.

They know this. They have written about this.

We have been slow to understand that the defense of the Caribbean and Central America against Marxist-Leninist takeover is vital to our national security in ways we are not accustomed to thinking about.

For the past 3 years, under two presidents, the United States has been engaged in an effort to stop the advance of communism in Central America by doing what we do best--by supporting democracy. For 3 years, our goal has been to support fundamental change in the region--to replace poverty with development, and dictatorship with democracy.

These objectives are not easy to attain, but we are on the right track. Costa Rica continues to set a democratic example, even in the midst of economic crisis and Nicaraguan intimidation. Honduras has gone from military rule to a freely elected civilian government. Despite incredible obstacles, the democratic center is holding in El Salvador, implementing land reform and working to replace the politics of death with the life of democracy.

Address by President Reagan before a joint session of Congress, April 27, 1983

But the nearness of the map doesn't even begin to tell the strategic importance of Central America, bordering as it does on the Caribbean--our lifeline to the outside world. Two-thirds of all our foreign trade and petroleum pass through the Panama Canal and the Caribbean. In a European crisis, at least half of our supplies for NATO would go through these areas by sea.

Meanwhile, the Government of El Salvador, making every effort to guarantee democracy, free labor unions, freedom of religion, and a free press, is under attack by guerrillas dedicated to the same philosophy that prevails in Nicaragua, Cuba, and, yes, the Soviet Union. Violence has been Nicaragua's most important export to the world. It is the ultimate in hypocrisy for the unelected Nicaraguan Government to charge that we seek their overthrow when they're doing everything they can to bring down the elected Government of El Salvador. The guerrilla attacks are directed from a headquarters in Managua, the capital of Nicaragua.

The goal of the professional guerrilla movements in Central America is as simple as it is sinister--to destabilize the entire region from the Panama Canal to Mexico. If you doubt me on this point, just consider what Cayetano Carpio, the now-deceased Salvadoran guerrilla leader, said earlier this month. Carpio said that after El Salvador falls, El Salvador and Nicaragua would be "arm-in-arm and struggling for the total liberation of Central America."