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September 20, 1983

9/30  
MB

MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA - Langhorne A. Motley IO - Gregory Newell  
EUR - Richard R. Burt S/P - Stephen Bosworth  
USIA - Charles Z. Wick W.H. - Karna Small  
INR - Hugh Montgomery NSC - Faith Whittlesey  
HA - Elliott Abrams NSC - Walter Raymond

FROM: S/LPD - Otto J. Reich *add for*

SUBJECT: News Reporting on Central America

As we attempt to help the American people gain a better understanding of the facts involved in the Central American struggle, we must pay particular attention to news reporting. Americans get the vast majority of their information concerning any subject, especially foreign events, from the news media. Despite a great quantity of coverage, however, we have seen recent public opinion polls indicating an appalling lack of understanding of the basic facts concerning Central America and of U.S. objectives in the region.

The purpose of this memorandum is to request that all addressees pay particular attention to news reporting on Central America, whether it be in print or broadcast media, and report to this office, as soon as possible, any mistakes, inaccuracies, distortions, or otherwise objectionable news reports.

We also request that you pass on as soon as possible, information which would help to bring better balance into news reporting which you may consider to be one sided. Obviously, it is much easier to deal with inaccuracy than with perceived bias. If a report contains patently erroneous information, we can usually get the news medium to correct it. It is a bit more difficult to have them admit that a particular piece of news is incomplete or out of balance. However, we must try.

All of us who have been involved in Central America for the last few years have plenty of horror stories of erroneous, misleading, and imbalanced reporting. Nonetheless, many of these are a result of the pressure of the journalistic business and of its need to produce information quickly to meet the deadlines of printing or broadcasting. However, there are responsible persons within those organizations who attempt to ensure that journalistic

principles are upheld. I believe that if we present our case or attempt to set the record straight in a professional and responsible manner, we can minimize the damage of erroneous reporting, while maintaining good working relations with this very important information source.

Please also be on the lookout for disinformation pieces which may be placed in the Western press by the Soviet Bloc and its clients, especially Cuba. We are all familiar with active measures including disinformation in some of the most prestigious and influential U.S. and European media (the famous Salvador "dissent paper"; stories of "massacres" which never took place; stories of "Green Beret torture classes," etc.).

There are two things I would like to emphasize: Speed: the longer an erroneous or flawed story is allowed to run unchallenged or uncorrected, the more it will be repeated, take on a life of its own, and ultimately be considered true. Accuracy: As opposed to our adversaries, we must always adhere to the truth. So while we must be quick in our response, it is even more important that we take the time necessary to check that our response is totally accurate.

What I have described above is, of course, nothing new. All of us have been attempting to correct erroneous reporting for a long time. The effort described here is not meant to imply that you should cease your own efforts or that you should not continue to cultivate your own good relations with reporters and editors. This is simply an attempt to coordinate the responses of the Government as they relate to Central America and to keep a central file on news reports. If you believe that it would be more effective to have your agency or department take the lead in a particular correction, or if you believe it should be done by someone other than your agency or the State Department, go ahead, but please inform this office as soon as possible so as to avoid duplication of effort. I look forward to hearing from you as the situations warrant.

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# Q&A: Trip convinces Sen. Wilson c

Sen. Pete Wilson, R-Calif., recently returned from a tour of Central America convinced that the United States needs to make a determined stand in that region if the situation there is to be prevented from deteriorating to the point where U.S. security interests become directly threatened.

*The first-term senator said both his government and opposition contacts in Nicaragua's four neighbors — El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica — demonstrated a unity of purpose of a kind not seen in the region's recent history in opposing Nicaragua's announced intention to stage a revolution without boundaries.*

*Wilson was interviewed at his Senate office by Washington Times staff reporter Timothy Elder.*

**Q:** How has your trip influenced your understanding of the situation in Central America?

**A:** One chief surprise was the finding of, in many ways, remarkable new unity and cohesion among the neighbors of Nicaragua, who in the very recent past have been divided by historic enmities.

An obvious example of that clearly is the military and political cooperation between Honduras and El Salvador, which until 1980 were still technically in a state of war with each other. It was only in 1980 that there was a treaty ending the so-called Soccer War.

Now the Sandinistas seem to have done what no one else might have, and that is they have driven them into one another's arms to make common cause against an accurately perceived common threat.

So, today you have — at the regional military training center in Honduras — U.S. forces training Salvadoran immediate-reaction battalions in Honduras.

**Q:** Did you find a similar unity within each country? I understand you spoke with opposition as well as government leaders.

**A:** I did. And it was a striking theme that even the opposition parties . . . shared the obvious perception of a threat.

That was true in virtually every country. However they might disagree on other matters, there was a common agreement that the insurgents, so-called, in El Salvador (were) being directed from Managua. No one made any bones about that, finally not even the Sandinistas.

The thing I found in common — whether I was talking to the governments or the opposition or the private sector in all these countries, with the notable exception of Nicaragua — was that the threat was more likely to come from subversion than by overt aggression emanating from Nicaragua. Also, that there was a clear, undeniable intention to expand the revolution beyond the borders of Nicaragua.

**Q:** What do you feel is the proper role of the Contadora group? Does it have any role to play?

**A:** Yes, it has. But many people expressed a concern to me that the so-called Contadora Four led by the Republic of Mexico would seek to accommodate the Sandinistas and the Cubans by trying to bring about a "negotiated peace" that would in effect not guarantee the real security of Nicaragua's neighbors.



Jim Feder/Washington Times

It would, instead, buy time for a presently beleaguered Sandinista regime to regroup and to bring about — at some point in the future when there was an American presence withdrawn and when the guard was down — essentially the same result which a U.S. "negotiated peace" has brought after the withdrawal of the American presence from Southeast Asia.

So, the role for the Contadora Four should be simply to provide a framework so the four neighbors of Nicaragua — Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Guatemala — can really drive the process of negotiation with Nicaragua.

It is those four who are threatened. It is those four whose futures are at stake and, quite properly, they should insist upon determining their own destiny.

**Q:** You've suggested that the Organization of American States would be the proper forum for bringing about a solution to the issue.

**A:** That's right. I have expressed real skepticism that negotiations within the Contadora process can arrive very quickly at the kind of safeguards I feel are necessary for the security of Nicaragua's neighbors.

And if, in fact, the so-called Core Four find that they're simply being stone-walled and stalled — that these negotiations are really just a delaying tactic on

the part of the Sandinistas to buy time — then I think they are again entitled to insist on progress or — not getting it — to declare the process failed and to take appeal from that failed Contadora process to a proper forum. The proper forum clearly is the Organization of American States.

**Q:** You've advocated that we increase the number of advisers in El Salvador.

**A:** Yes, because the number 55 is totally artificial. It is not relevant to any real requirement. What it has produced is great hardship. We are spread thin there. The 55 are doing a marvelous job, but in order to comply with that artificial level, the administration has had to do handstands.

It has had to rotate out central training personnel in order to bring in others to conduct, for example, needed medical training.

And that makes no sense, because we are no nearer war with 55, or 25, or 125. They are non-combatants.

**Q:** Is 125 the appropriate level?

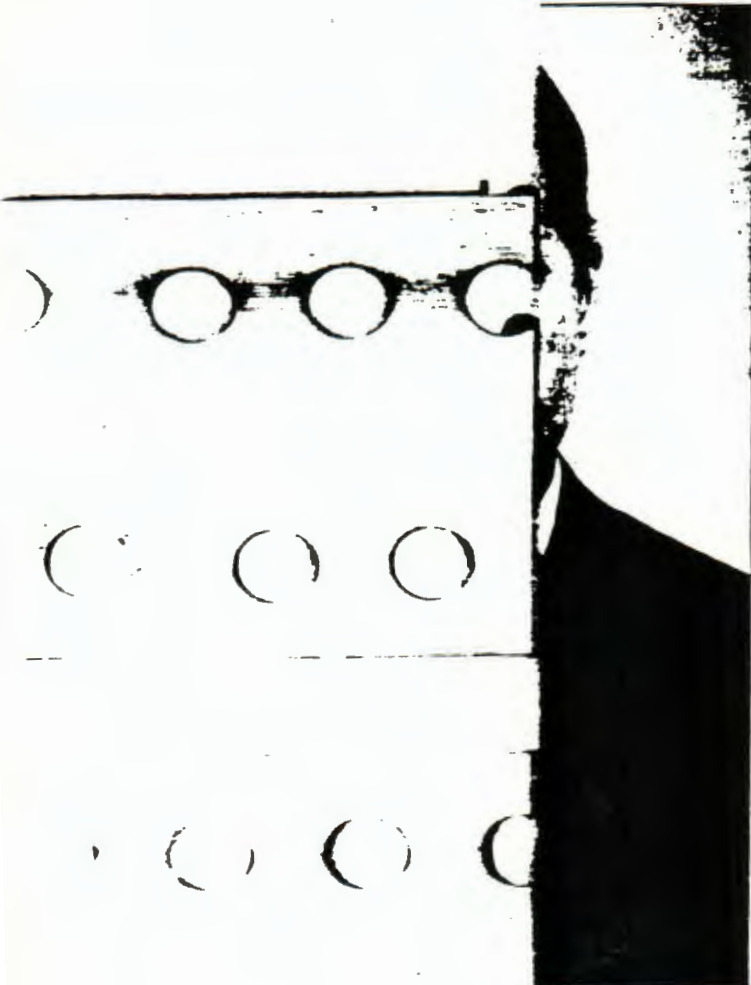
**A:** One hundred and twenty-five would be a level that would at least reduce the kind of gymnastics we have been going through and the hardship that has resulted in the curtailment of needed training.

The reason that the Salvadoran army is beginning to prevail against the insur-

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# Wilson of hemispheric threat

*If the Congress of the United States does not permit the administration to sustain a credible American presence in Central America — militarily, economically and diplomatically — then indeed Central America can become another Vietnam.*



Jim Foster Washington Times

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gents is precisely because enough of them have now been trained by U.S. advisers so that they are capable of winning a counterinsurgency war.

To the extent that we curtail the training of the remaining personnel, we simply prolong the time in which the Salvadoran army becomes fully capable of conducting the kind of successful small-unit tactics that have allowed them to win these victories in the last three months.

**Q:** What about those who see parallels between U.S. involvement in Central America now and the early stages of U.S. involvement in Vietnam? Do you feel the parallels are there?

**A:** I think that that analogy to Vietnam so quickly and glibly made is utterly false except in one important respect.

El Salvador is not Vietnam. Militarily, the situation is quite different. The insurgents are by no means as formidable as the Vietcong.

We're also dealing with a tiny, tiny area geographically, much smaller than that theater of operations that we were engaged in in Vietnam.

And of course, the other thing that people forget is that there are no American troops there and there are not going to be. They have not been requested. The president has made it quite clear that they are not going to be sent.

And putting all that aside, the United States self-interest is far, far greater there than it ever was in Vietnam. This is not a nation of questionable strategic importance halfway around the world. This is an area that directly threatens the entire Western Hemisphere with the spread of the kind of violent Marxist revolution that has now been exported from Cuba to the mainland.

Having said that, let me return to the point that there is one important respect in which the analogy of Vietnam does apply.

And that's this: If the Congress of the United States does not permit the administration to sustain a credible American presence in Central America — militarily, economically and diplomatically — then indeed Central America can become another Vietnam.

We can delude ourselves that a negotiated peace is a real peace when in fact we will be leading the Central American people to the same fate that has subsequently befallen those in Vietnam and in Cambodia.

**Q:** Are you saying that, in such an event, U.S. combat troops may be necessary?

**A:** I am saying that if we were to make that mistake, we would in fact encourage the Soviets, the Cubans, the Sandinistas and others who are involved in an effort to achieve the stated Sandinista goal, which is revolution without boundaries. Their purpose is to spread their brand of Marxism as far as they can.

The Soviets would achieve the purpose of causing us deep distress right on our

doorstep. So deep might that distress be that at one point we might decide it was necessary to bring home troops now occupying the NATO theater in order to defend a presently undefended 2,000-mile-long land border with Mexico.

**Q:** Do you feel that support for administration policies in that region has been affected by the recent Soviet shooting down of a South Korean airliner?

**A:** I can't say. I can only say that I think the American people have no illusions whatever about the Soviets.

But ironically, they — for some reason — seem yet to be unaware of the involvement of the Soviets in Cuba and the direct involvement of the Cubans within Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central and Latin America.

And the reason that they are unaware is, frankly, that they're not paying attention to the evidence.

Castro has been relatively indiscreet about the intention to achieve a broader revolution.

At celebrations of the anniversary of the Sandinista revolution, Maurice Bishop, the prime minister of Grenada, said it is not enough that there be a Sandinista Nicaragua; there must be a Sandinista El Salvador, a Sandinista Guatemala.

**Q:** What about U.S. support of the Contras in Nicaragua. Should that be increased?

**A:** I think the Contras are a political embarrassment to the Sandinistas. They are a nagging worry to them, as opposed to being a major threat.

The real concern now has to be with respect to the Sandinista efforts to export violent revolution both by means of subversion, as in the case of the "Fifth Column" operating within Costa Rica, and the actual terrorist activities that are being directed against the government of El Salvador from Managua.

**Q:** Is there any effort in Costa Rica to start an army or to somehow begin to defend themselves against Nicaragua?

**A:** The fact of the matter is they (Costa Ricans) are very much aware of the operation within the country of a Fifth Column.

And they are very much concerned with the need to modernize their own internal security forces to deal with that threat of subversion.

One of the unpleasant facts that was recited to me by several people in different circumstances within Costa Rica was that present American law precludes our giving military assistance to a domestic police force, and that we need to amend the law in order to provide assistance to Costa Rica in modernizing their internal security forces so that the country can be adequately protected against this kind of foreign subversion.

**Q:** Will you be making such a move in the Senate?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** When?

**A:** No time like the present. We are currently researching the law to make that change.



Telephone  
202-543-2239

# NEWS Release

Washington Memorial Building  
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the US  
200 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002



"THE VOICE OF TWO AND ONE HALF MILLION MEN AND WOMEN OF THE VFW AND ITS AUXILIARY"

## FOR RELEASE:

IMMEDIATELY  
(Oct. 31, 83)

### VFW VIEWS GRENADA INVASION

The following telegram regarding the invasion of Grenada was sent to President Reagan by Clifford G. Olson, Commander-in-Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U. S.:

"Invasion of Grenada was a must. The timing was perfect. Our servicemen performed magnificently.

"It is our opinion the Soviets and their surrogate, Cuba's Fidel Castro, definitely planned to use Grenada as a major staging area to perform insurrections and terrorists activity throughout the Caribbean area.

"On behalf of the 1.96 million member VFW, we thank God we have a President who has the fortitude to protect the security of our people and our great free nation."





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"THE VOICE OF TWO AND ONE HALF MILLION MEN AND WOMEN OF THE VFW AND ITS AUXILIARY"

## FOR RELEASE:

IMMEDIATELY  
(Oct. 31, 83)

### VFW ASKS FOR TAX RELIEF FOR THOSE WHO DIE IN COMBAT

WASHINGTON, D.C.--"The VFW believes that those who die as a result of hostile action overseas should be exempt from income tax," said Clifford G. Olson, Jr., VFW National Commander-in-Chief.

The I.R.S. Code provides for an exemption from federal income taxes of any income earned by a deceased member of the Armed Services during the years he or she served overseas when death is a result of wounds, disease or injury while serving in a combat zone as defined by the President. No such combat zone has been so designated since the Vietnam War.

"H.R. 4206, introduced by Congressman Bill Archer, will extend this tax exemption to all who have died as a result of hostile action since January 1, 1980. The VFW urges co-sponsorship by all the U.S. House of Representatives and early advancement of the bill. The families of those who have given their lives deserve a gesture from their grateful government for their sacrifice," said Olson.

# Washington **Action** VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES Reporter

VOL. 8, NO. 2, OCTOBER, 1983

## Job Programs For Veterans

### The VFW Speaks Out..

Legislative Service

National Security  
and Foreign Affairs

Veterans Service

### INSIDE :

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Cooper T. Holt  
Executive Director  
Washington Office

The VFW has been active in requesting Congress to provide job programs for veterans as well as overseeing the Labor Department which administers most of these programs.

The VFW has emphasized the importance of having adequate job programs for veterans, operated under good management, by its strong support for the new position of Assistant Secretary of Labor for Veterans' Employment and Training which includes the Veterans Employment Service.

Representatives of this nationwide network supervise job programs, counseling, referral and placement for veterans.

These representatives work with employers, unions and veteran and community organizations. It is of the utmost importance that local VFW employment officers work closely with the Veterans Employment Service in their communities to make VFW ideas known before decisions are made.

Employment related services which aid veterans are concounseling, aptitude testing, skills training, unemployment compensation, tax credits for private employers, placement and retraining.

One of the most important programs is the "job service program." It provides veterans priority counseling, testing, job development, referral and placement. All job service offices have at least one specially trained representative who works directly with veterans. This individual should be sought out by the veteran when he enters the local employment office.

The Disabled Veterans' Outreach Program is staffed by a disabled veteran who provides contact with other disabled former servicemen and helps them get special training and jobs. This individual seeks out disabled veterans and through his contacts with local employers develops job opportunities for them.

There are many national employment and training programs. These are administered by the Labor Department at the national, state and local levels. One of the newest of these programs is the recently signed Emergency Job Training Act. It will provide unemployed veterans up to \$10,000 of their salary if employed under the program. This provision lasts for two years and is fully explained in the VFW Magazine or can be checked out at a Jobs Office. The act also provides training for disabled

(Continued on page 5)



By Donald H. Schwab  
Director, National  
Legislative Service

## Article Questions Agent Orange Claims

*Sen. Alan K. Simpson, chairman of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, rose on the floor of the Senate on July 27, 1983 to comment on Agent Orange and introduce a newspaper article on the same subject. Following are Sen. Simpson's remarks and the article.*

Mr. President, my colleagues may know that I am not much in the habit of submitting for publication in the Congressional Record any newspaper article that I may come across that strikes my fancy or serves only to support a securely held position of mine. But recently I came upon an article in the Baltimore Evening Sun by Pulitzer prize-winning reporter Jon Franklin, which presented to me a very interesting and compelling new perspective on an extraordinarily tough, hard, complex, and emo-

tional issue.

The issue is Agent Orange, and the emotion bubbles along at an all-time high. There is major legislation pending in both Houses which would respond to that heavy charge of emotional pressure by establishing various new schemes for payment of VA compensation to veterans who were allegedly exposed to Agent Orange. I do feel that before we become overwhelmed by the simple emotional appeal of this form of bill we should examine the issue with some very real care and without the present impatience, frustration and emotional bias.

I feel it is most important to recognize that the inclination to trivialize or oversimplify the issue of Agent Orange is evident on both sides of the issue. It is my view that both attitudes border on

the irresponsible.

Mr. Franklin was first assigned to cover Agent Orange in the late 1970s, at which time he was apparently much favorably inclined and compelled by the arguments and the charges that had been leveled against Dow Chemical and the military. This article is a discussion of how several years of careful research produced in him a more informed and moderate position. The article condenses into a relatively short space, and the inquiry-and-learning process described is one that might be appropriate for all of us to undertake, if but only we had the time in this fascinating arena. I highly commend this fine journalistic effort to the attention of my colleagues. It seems quite honest and up front to me.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.



VOL. 8, NO. 2  
OCTOBER, 1983

All copy prepared by the Washington Office, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

Cooper T. Holt, Executive Director  
VFW Memorial Building, 200 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Questions or comments concerning editorial material should be directed to the Washington Office.

Edited and published at VFW National Headquarters, Broadway at 34th Street, Kansas City, MO. 64111.

### VFW OBJECTIVES

- TO INSURE THE NATIONAL SECURITY through maximum military strength.
- TO SPEED THE REHABILITATION of the nation's disabled and needy veterans.
- TO ASSIST THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS and the dependents of disabled and needy veterans.
- TO PROMOTE AMERICANISM through education in patriotism and constructive service to the communities in which we live.

(From the Evening Sun,  
June 24, 1983)

## DIOXIN CHARGES ARE FLAWED

By Jon Franklin

Times Beach . . . Love Canal . . . and a million Vietnam soldiers and Marines who were sprayed with dioxin-containing Agent Orange. In Washington, bureaucrats maneuver to cover up The Truth. Citizens march in opposition to chemical waste dumps. Angry victims parade their crippled children before congressional committees. There is terror in the land.

Fred Wilcox's latest book, "Waiting for an Army to Die," lies on the table beside me, open at random to page 53. "Vietnam veterans," Wilcox is saying, "have fathered hundreds and perhaps even thousands of seriously deformed children."

The book should sell well. Chemical terror is at least as marketable today as was the Red Menace in the '50s.

I haven't always felt that way. In the 1960s, while I was still in college and Dow Chemical was manufacturing napalm to incinerate Vietnamese women and children, I marched against the company — and the war that fed its corporate balance sheet.

So in the late 1970s, when I was assigned to cover the then-emerging Agent Orange issue, I was ecstatic. It would be, I thought, the story of my science-writing career. I gathered about me that righteous fervor that is the armor of the crusading reporter, and I went to work.

The first step was obvious. Veterans groups were leveling all sorts of charges against Dow Chemical and the military. My first step was to verify that those charges were legitimate.

I wasn't looking for, or expecting, proof. In matters environmental,

truth is so complex that proof of anything can rarely be established. But I was, in good journalistic conscience, obligated to investigate accusations before legitimizing them in The Evening Sun.

One of the first charges I set out to verify involved the matter of birth defects among children of Vietnam veterans.

So began, for me, an Odyssey into the strange world of Agent Orange and dioxin where, to borrow the reasoning of Cyrano de Bergerac, "a lie is a sort of a myth, and a myth is a sort of a truth."

And, yes, Fred Wilcox, Vietnam veterans probably have fathered "hundreds and even thousands of seriously deformed children."

The normal rate of birth defects is 2.1% of all live births. If a million men served in Vietnam, and if each had one child upon returning, they would be expected to father a lot of deformed children. More than 20,000.

And I remember sitting in a rowhouse in northern Baltimore, listening at length to a veteran who was participating in the massive lawsuit against the government. He was "too nervous to work," he told me, a situation he blamed on Agent Orange. He clearly remembered being sprayed with an orange powder.

Unfortunately for his case, Agent Orange was a clear liquid, named for the color of the drums it arrived in.

A few days later I sat in another house while another veteran blamed Agent Orange for his wife-beating, child abuse and heavy use of alcohol.

As the months passed I talked to many more "victims" like those.

In making their charges, they frequently quoted scientific studies — studies which, somehow, never seemed to be anywhere at hand. But, they assured me, I could

always look the papers up. Or I could do what other reporters were doing, which was taking veterans' word for it.

Fortunately, my editors had told me to take all the time I needed (a luxury many of my fellow reporters, working on the same story, didn't have), so I wasn't forced to take their word for it.

I spent more than a week at the University of Maryland medical library, tracking down citations and conducting a computer search of the National Library of Medicine archives. When I was finished, I had a stack of technical papers about two feet high.

Reading those reports was a tedious but enlightening process.

The scientists I talked to said dioxin had been around for a long time, and existed in such small quantities that its discovery, in the fat of some veterans for instance, was more a tribute to the sophistication of scientific instruments than to the dangers of dioxin.

"Give me enough money," one scientist boasted, "and I'll find anything in anything. We're getting that good!"

Many of the scientists asked to speak off the record. Thus protected, they complained bitterly about the way their work was being distorted by veterans and by the grandstanding politicians. The ruckus being raised, the scientists said, simply did not reflect reality.

Why wouldn't they say so on the record? The explanations were various. Some just didn't want to get involved. Others were afraid that, if they spoke out, they'd be harassed by members of the growing Agent Orange movement. Several admitted that, with the federal grant program dying, they hoped to get money to study dioxin. And further studies, they

(Continued on page 4)

pointed out, would be necessary in any case. So why jeopardize their chances?

One feeling seemed to be almost universal. The scientists, while rejecting the veterans' interpretations of their scientific work, nevertheless sympathized with the cause. Everywhere, I encountered the sentiment that the veterans had been sorely used then forgotten. They deserved help and, facts aside, perhaps Agent Orange was a workable pretext.

Through all this I was haunted by a hunch that the veterans were correct in one sense. Somehow, each in his own way, the men I talked to were in trouble.

I wondered . . . perhaps, if Agent Orange wasn't the culprit, perhaps something else was. I began boning up on tropical diseases endemic to Southeast Asia, and to which the soldiers might have been exposed. I inquired about malaria-preventing drugs they were given.

And then I ran across a paper about "soldier's heart."

It was an old paper published after the Spanish-American War, and on my first trip through the stack I had skipped it. There seemed to me, after all, to be little connection between that remote war and the agony of Vietnam.

But, on contemplation, there were some critical similarities. The soldiers of both wars had been wrested from civilian life, hassled by junior officers, made to wear ill-fitting uniforms, shipped overseas, hassled some more . . . and then been thrown up against an army of people who were trying to shoot them or blow them to bits.

As I read the ancient report, the symptoms of soldier's heart practically leaped off the page at me. The Spanish-American War veterans had experienced a range of heart symptoms that were practically identical to many of the complaints I'd heard from Vietnam veterans.

True, the Spanish-American War veterans didn't exhibit excess incidence of cancer or birth defects but, as the scientific literature was making clear to me, there was no evidence that the Vietnam veterans did, either. The difference was that cancer and birth defects were fears of the modern era; Spanish-American War veterans worried far more about tuberculosis.

Thus primed, I began researching studies completed after other, later wars. Each war, I found, had left a legacy of not just soldier's heart but also alcoholism, intestinal ailments, mysterious skin reactions and a variety of ailments that, today, easily fall in the category of "stress reactions."

By this time I was writing stories, but they were tentative things, anemic by journalistic standards, background pieces about soldier's heart and standard birth defect rates — the sort of thing guaranteed to make a wire editor yawn.

Other reporters were faring better. As I grew increasingly skeptical and puzzled, the Agent Orange story exploded around me. Charge after unsubstantiated charge moved on the wires and appeared on front pages across the country.

And the fear spread. Dioxin had contaminated not only Agent Orange but domestic herbicides as well. Every American, it seemed, was a potential victim.

In Pennsylvania there was a cluster of deadly brain tumors. Agent Orange, obviously, was the culprit. None of the stories mentioned the fact that brain tumors, along with leukemias, lymphomas and Hodgkin's disease, had been known for years to occur in clusters.

Now and then I thought I had a shred of evidence, but it always vanished somehow before I could get my hands on it. I particularly remember the scientist who, the veterans said, had shown that tiny

quantities of dioxin caused a suspicious range of diseases in monkeys. So I called his laboratory. He was no longer with the university, I was told.

As it turned out, he had left under inauspicious circumstances, in the midst of an investigation into unusual disbursements of his grant money. I had no idea whether he was guilty or whether, as the "Agent Orange victims" charged, he had been framed. The only thing I know for certain was that, once again, I had come up empty-handed.

Perhaps it was those charges of frame-up and "conspiracy of silence" that led me, in the end, to an unbidden suspicion. I had approached the Agent Orange story from the point of view of medical science. But perhaps it wasn't that kind of a story at all. Perhaps it was, instead, a modern witch hunt.

It was an uncomfortable idea and one which I, as a science writer, was not well equipped to tackle. And yet, with that view, the evidence coalesced into something that was, at least, coherent.

The veterans I talked to represented the range of human personalities and capabilities, but they had one thing in common. They had been ill-used by their government, and they had as a result incurred an abiding suspicion of it. They were perfectly willing to believe that the politicians who sent them to Vietnam were capable of poisoning them while they were there and denying it when they returned.

They also saw scientists as a monolithic force, a force capable of large-scale conspiracy, a group of faceless intellectuals who would, naturally, share the government's interest in obscuring the facts.

The civilians who joined the Agent Orange movement came from many backgrounds but they too, from housewives to maturing

hippies in Oregon, shared that fierce, distrust of government . . . and of chemicals, pernicious chemicals that could not be seen, touched or tasted, that were poisoning us all and causing an epidemic of cancer.

I looked up that last charge, of course. The statistics verified no such epidemic, save in one category; lung cancer. And that correlated not with Agent Orange or exotic chemicals, but rather with the everyday poisons in cigarette smoke.

At that juncture, for me, other priorities intervened and I took a two-year leave of absence to write a book. But I watched, in my evening newspaper and on the television news, as the story grew, and grew, and grew. By the time I returned to reporting, the fear of dioxin had grown to alarming proportions. It was, it seemed to many, the key threat to the nation's health.

I thought a lot about the problem, and my mind returned again and again to the explanation that nagged at me.

There had been a war, and a loss of confidence in government, and in the industries that had profited by the useless killing. Soldiers had returned, forever scarred by their experience. Leaders of the new left, like the officials of the March of Dimes, had been unwilling to relinquish their power after their cause had been won.

And on the part of the general population, there was anger, undirected anger that turned to fear, fear that, without an obvious enemy, focused instead on the unseen, almost mystical, poisons. Paranoia . . . and the need for a scapegoat.

Fred Wilcox isn't a newcomer to this game. His first work, a primer and source book for anti-nuclear activists, dealt with another form of invisible terror. Now his second,

subtitled "The tragedy of Agent Orange," lies open in front of me.

As Wilcox reminds us, there is profit in poisons. Certainly Dow Chemical, in manufacturing such products as napalm and Agent Orange, profited handsomely.

But there is also profit in terror. Wilcox's book paperbound, cost Vintage Books ( a division of Random House) perhaps 75 cents to print. It is offered, for your reading pleasure, at the bargain price of \$6.95.

It contains some 200 pages chock full of mostly unprovable charges, terrifying in their implications, throwing gasoline on a fire that rages in our minds, unmatched since the paranoid era of Joe McCarthy, pointing a bony finger at the men and women who captain our government and industry.

We are all leery of the subtle chemicals of the new technology, and I suspect we should be. But "Waiting for an Army to Die" reminds me that the mind, as well as the body, is susceptible to poisons.

Dow, at least, is required to list its ingredients on the can. With books your only protection is the ancient warning *caveat emptor*.

Let the reader beware.

## Zorinsky Bill Adds More Cosponsors

As previously reported, a Senate Study Group has recommended that the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee be abolished. Sen. Zorinsky (Neb.) introduced S. Res. 139 to retain the Veterans' Affairs Committee as a standing committee of the Senate.

As of this writing, the 32 Senators cosponsors of S. Res. 139 are Mark

Andrews (N.D.); Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (Del.); Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.); Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.); Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.); Lawton Chiles (Fla.); Thad Cochran (Miss.); William S. Cohen (Maine); Alan Cranston (Calif.); Alfonse M. D'Amato (N.Y.); Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.); Jeremiah Denton (Ala.); Christopher J. Dodd (Conn.); J. James Exon (Neb.); Charles E. Grassley (Iowa); Howell Heflin (Ala.); Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.); Walter D. Huddleston (Ky.); Gordon J. Humphrey (N.H.); Bob Kasten (Wis.); Carl Levin (Mich.); Mark Mattingly (Ga.); John Melcher (Mont.); George J. Mitchell (Maine); Frank H. Murkowski (Alaska); David Pryor (Ark.); Jennings Randolph (W. Va.); Donald W. Riegle, Jr. (Mich.); Paul S. Sarbanes (N.D.); Jim Sasser (Tenn.); Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.); and Strom Thurmond (S.C.). If your Senators are not cosponsors of S. Res. 139, they should be urged to become cosponsors immediately.

## Jobs

(Continued from front page)

veterans.

It also has a tax credit provision for employers who hire certain low income Vietnam veterans and disabled veterans. Employers can receive a credit equal to 50% of the first year wages up to \$6,000 for each eligible employee and 25% of second year wages up to \$6,000.

Certain veterans are eligible for unemployment compensation payments while looking for work following discharge.

Recently separated veterans may be eligible for reemployment rights. These include reinstatement in the job a veteran left to enter the service and the right to any increased wages and other benefits that were added during his absence.

(Continued on back page)

## Major Convention Speakers

*Following are excerpts of speeches delivered to the VFW National Convention by President Ronald Reagan, Sen. John Glenn (Ohio), Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Gen. John W. Vessey, Jr., Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.*

### President Reagan

I haven't forgotten your support in 1980, and all you've done since. Three years ago this week, I stood before your convention and said nothing would mean more to me as President than to live up to your trust. I've tried to maintain the faith that our men and women in uniform must have in their Commander-in-Chief. The greatest privilege of this office has been to lead those who wear America's uniform . . .

In 1980, the people made it clear they wanted a new direction in foreign affairs. Yet, changing America's foreign policy is like towing an iceberg. You can only pick up speed as the frozen attitudes and mistakes of the past melt away . . .

Today, America's military is back on its feet and prouder than ever. We're acquiring and keeping very good people. Today, more of our new recruits are high school graduates than ever before in our history. Retention is also way up. So far this year, 70% of those we

hoped to retain have reenlisted. In 1980, the figure was only 55%.

Yes, the hard-hit economy accounted for a portion of these increases but the economy did not raise the dignity and morale of our servicemen and women, or restore their pride in military service. I've heard it from generals and I've heard it from privates. Morale, discipline, and unit cohesion have all improved dramatically. Once again, it's an honor to wear the uniform, and our servicemen and women know it. I hope that makes you as proud as it does me.

New equipment is now entering the inventory; training is way up; maintenance backlogs are being reduced and combat readiness rates have surged. We have made real progress and I am delighted to report it is across the board. America is safer and more secure today than three years ago . . .

Our task is to sustain our defense effort. Some would have us slow down just when we're about to achieve what our security requires. Remember the 1970's when there were those who argued we should force a wide range of modern weapons systems — airplanes, missiles, a variety of equipment — because there was something better on the drawing boards for the future? Look where that got us. It got us where we were three years ago. You can't protect America

and her people with drawing boards . . .

In our search for peace, we have more negotiations currently underway with the Soviets than any administration in history. At the strategic arms reductions talks in Geneva, we've proposed deep cuts as well as extensive confidence building measures to reduce the possibility of any accidental misunderstandings. In contrast to previous agreements, which simply dealt in ceilings, the Soviet Union now for the first time is willing to talk about actual reductions . . .

In spite of the discouraging hype and hoopla you often hear, quiet, solid progress is being made in Central America. Bob Currieo, recently returned from a trip there, and I believe he has reported to you on that trip. I know he has referred to news accounts, saying he thinks we're getting a distorted view of what's actually taking place.

Well, Bob is absolutely right. You wouldn't know from some of the coverage that the greatest portion of our aid to Central America is humanitarian and economic assistance. You wouldn't know democracy is taking root there. And I don't blame the media alone, because in many cases they are just reporting the misinformation they hear coming from people who put politics

ahead of our national interests. . .

Because of this aggression, we also support a security shield for the area. The security shield is very much like a program that is springing up all over the United States — the Neighborhood Watch. The Neighborhood Watch is where neighbors keep an eye on each others' homes so outside troublemakers and bullies will think twice. Well, our policy in Central America is like a neighborhood watch. But this watch doesn't protect someone's silverware. It protects something much more valuable — freedom . . .

Our nation also has a sacred trust — to defend and develop democracy. And as long as this Administration is responsible for the nation's foreign policy, we will protect the freedom of our own citizens, and we will pursue liberty for all people . . .

Sen. Glenn

Thank you, fellow Veterans of Foreign Wars — Comrades and Sisters.

I give a lot of speeches these days — but I can tell you there's not a group in America with whom I feel stronger ties . . .

For 84 years, the VFW and its Ladies Auxiliary have devoted themselves to the cause of freedom — and your tireless efforts have helped keep our defenses strong and our country secure . . .

So one reason I've come to New Orleans this morning is to praise your courage and to salute your commitment — and pledge mine — to making certain that a government that places its faith in you never breaks its faith with you . . .

And in the meantime, we must face other important challenges as well. This morning I want to talk with you about one of the most crucial, and that is the need to develop a rational defense policy

based on a coherent foreign policy . . .

If we don't know what we want to accomplish in the world and what interests we need to defend, how can we know which weapons to buy? The answer is simple: We can't.

And yet that's just how we've gone about our defense planning. Instead of setting clear and reasonable foreign policy objectives and then developing a military strategy to achieve them, we've put the military cart before the foreign policy horse . . .

You and I have proudly served this nation in time of war. We fought because we believed in this country — and because we knew that in the cause of freedom, it is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees.

But sometimes I get the feeling that those who are not veterans of foreign wars have mistaken ideas about those of us who are. Somehow we're often seen as itching for a battle and spoiling for a fight.

Well, you and I know that nothing could be further from the truth. We've seen the horrors of war — and we didn't need to watch late-night television to find out what it's like. Many of us have written next-of-kin letters and knocked on doors, hoping they wouldn't be answered because we carried heart breaking word of a father or a son, a husband or a brother who wasn't coming home again. And we — we more than any other people on this planet — know it is always better to keep peace than to have to win peace back . . .

Secretary Weinberger

I know very well that I could trade my place as speaker with any one of the veterans in this room, and learn more about the preservation of peace and freedom than I could possibly hope to convey.

For those of you here tonight, and those veterans all across the country, know the value of peace and the price of freedom — they are the precious gifts you have purchased with your sacrifices and which our friends have paid for with their lives . . .

Theodore Roosevelt once said, "It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marked by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and comes short again and again, but who knows the great enthusiasm, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause . . ."

There are those critics who scorn freedom itself, calling it a worn out cliché of tired politicians. You will hear them argue that America has nothing to offer the world; even worse, you will hear them argue that America itself is a threat to peace. You hear them argue that there is no real difference between the two super powers and if they dare to criticize the Soviet Union, it is only to say that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are equally bad. But it is not these critics from whom we have the most fear. Their cries will be answered by those who have greatest cause to know the truth: by the struggling people of Poland, by the Freedom Fighters of Afghanistan and Cambodia, and by the boat loads of refugees from Cuba and Vietnam. Time and time again, when the floodgates between captive and free nations have opened, we have seen which way the human tide flows.

No, the critics from whom we have the most to fear are not those

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who come right out and say that America is not worth defending or needs no strong defense. The American people will reject them just as surely as they rejected a policy of military weakness when they elected Ronald Reagan President.

The real danger comes from another sort of critic — the one who professes to support a strong defense and pays lip service to the need for rebuilding our defenses, and then undercuts this effort by proposing alternative policies which would actually have the effect of weakening our forces. I am not suggesting that all discussion cease — indeed we encourage a healthy debate of our policies. But we should not be fooled by those who mask their true intentions of cutting back on our strength with claims that they support a strong defense.

I call these critics the “Defense Buts,” because they always begin their attacks on the President’s program with the phrase, ‘I am for a strong defense, but . . .’

Many of our critics have questioned the value of our building strengthened forces, with expanded airlift and sealift capabilities and significant repositioning of equipment and supplies in the Indian Ocean region. In the same breath that they use to sneer that we are not strong enough, they act to refuse us the funds to create the strength we need to deter a Soviet threat toward the oil fields. But what alternative do they offer? Do they want us to proclaim in advance that the Soviets can always hold over the United States and its allies the threat of economic strangulation and blackmail? Do they want us to agree that the Mid-East and its oil fields are beyond our “defense perimeter?” If so, if that is what they expect,

then it is only fair to tell them they have come to the wrong Secretary. The next time someone tells you we have too many commitments for our resources I suggest we ask them, first, why are they always against increasing our resources, and second, what should we give up? NATO and the defense of Europe? Korea? Japan? The Mid-East? The Caribbean and the defenses of Continental United States? . . .

I believe our troops are the very best in the world, and can hold their own against tremendous odds — but we still have to give them a fighting chance . . .

Those critics who would have us do without this modern equipment and make do with cheaper, less sophisticated models have failed to add one thing to their calculations — the value of a human life. They argue that we could get by with a cheaper defense bill and I happen to think they are quite wrong about that, but in any event they do not stop to consider the greater cost we would have to pay by endangering, and indeed perhaps even sacrificing, a greater number of our young soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines if a conflict is forced upon us. It is perhaps easier for them to use their bookkeeper arguments — but I have the responsibility — and I do not want to send our men out to fight with equipment we knew was inferior to the Soviets . . .

Gen. Vessey

I was introduced to the VFW long before I became a veteran. My dad was an infantry squad leader with the Rainbow Division in the First World War and then helped organize the Oscar and John Soberg Post 210 in Lakeville, Minn., and was, I believe, its second Commander. That Post did a lot of important things in our town, among which was sponsoring the first Boy

Scout Troop I joined . . .

People are the heart of our defenses. No matter how advanced our technology or how devastating our weaponry, the skill of the men and women in uniform is the key to the success of our arms. The effectiveness of modern weaponry, either for deterring war in times of peace or for success in combat, is dependent on the minds, the eyes, the hands, the skills, and the spirit of the Servicemen and women operating the equipment. No matter the degree of sophistication of the tools of war, there will always be, on some remote battlefield, two soldiers with a flashlight, bending under their ponchos, soaked to the bone, trying to coordinate their forces in a battle that by chance occurred somewhere off on a map sheet they were not issued. And I can tell you that right now, today, there’s a high probability a fancy piece of gear somewhere in the world is being fixed by an innovative member of our forces with bubblegum and bailing wire . . .

The more I look at our own Armed Forces, the more I become convinced that the greatest advantage ours will have over the Soviets’ is in our corps of professional non-commissioned officers. Two weeks ago I visited the Army’s Sergeants Major Academy. The class was made up of students from all the services and had both Active Forces members and members of the National Guard and Reserves. Of the 255-man class, 238 were First Sergeant rank or the equivalent. The average age was 39 years. The average term in service was 20 years. The range of their special skills was as long as my arm. They were all in topnotch physical condition. And, if that doesn’t help destroy the “Sergeant Snorkel” image for today’s Armed Forces, let me tell you about their education: there was one PhD, six with

master's degrees, another 16 with bachelor's degrees, 22 with associate degrees; 66 had completed some college work short of a degree; and all were high school graduates . . .

Just as the Armed Forces have a duty to the nation, I believe our nation has a duty to our people who serve in uniform — those who have served, those who now serve, and those who will serve in the future. The liberty of our citizens has been secured by those who have served in the past — including, certainly, the members of the VFW . . .

Now, anyone who joins the Armed Services to get rich has to be faulted for bad judgement; and, I don't believe you'll find any that expect to get rich. However, those who serve deserve to be able to feed their families, educate their children and be rewarded somewhat reasonably for their skills and the extraordinary service they give the nation. The pay and emoluments, including the retirement system, have to continue to attract and keep good people . . .

I recall what President Reagan said to me when I took this job last year. He said, as he announced my appointment, "Keep us strong, keep us ready, so that we may keep the peace." Indeed, it is clear to me that it is the essence of our strategy, we keep the peace by deterrence — simply put, making it a plain and obvious fact to any possible aggressor that he cannot achieve his aims by threats or by the use of force . . .

If we want peace and liberty, every lesson I see in history tells us that we had better have an adequate defense force, and we had better be ready to help other free people protect their liberty when it's threatened, whether that threat is from Soviet SS-20s aimed at

NATO allies or from Communist guerrillas in Central America. If we don't, we might have an unholy peace without liberty for our people, but worse yet, we could well lose both peace and liberty. That's not necessary, and I say to you that with the help of God,

with the readiness and the spirit of selfless service and loyalty on the part of our Armed Forces, with the help of the great American people, especially like those in the VFW, and with support from the President and the Congress, we will be successful.

## Nicaraguan Resolution

The VFW National Security Committee, chaired by Past Commander-in-Chief H. R. Rainwater, welcomed then Commander-in-Chief Bob Currieo to its Convention deliberations on Sunday, Aug. 14. After the Chief had finished his remarks, National Security Resolution Number 464 was passed unanimously by an applauding Security Committee.

This resolution, born of Chief Currieo's July, 1983, trip to Central America follows:

### Humanitarian/Truth Fund For Nicaraguan "Freedom Fighters"

WHEREAS, since the defeat of the Somoza dictatorship and the subsequent seizure of power by the Marxist/Communist elements of the Sandinista government in Managua on July 19, 1979, the hoped-for freedoms and the promised "pluralism" for that unhappy land have not taken hold; in fact, Nicaragua is now, unquestionably, a repressive Marxist state where, typically, power is held by the very few for the very few; and

WHEREAS, important members of the incoming Sandinista junta, and other freedom-seeking Nicaraguans, having recognized their betrayal by the new Marxist masters of Nicaragua, are now leading Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters against the Nicaraguan Communist "beach-

head" on the North American continent; and

WHEREAS, Commander-in-Chief Currieo, on a recent mission to Central America, met with brave and selfless leaders of the anti-Communist Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters and, further recognizing the need for dissemination of truthful and accurate information pertaining to the region and the need for humanitarian assistance (such humanitarian assistance to be consistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the VFW); now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, by the 84th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, that those VFW members interested in making a contribution — however modest — to the humanitarian and truth-enhancing needs of the anti-Communist Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters may send their tax deductible contribution to: American Security Council Foundation, Boston, Virginia 22713.

The checks should be payable to: A.S.C. Foundation — Humanitarian/Truth Fund: Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters.

Resolution 464 was passed by acclamation by the full Convention.

One more chance to put our money where other people put their mouths.

By Frederico Juarbe, Jr.  
 Director, National  
 Veterans Service

## VA Mission, Goals and Objectives

The mission of the Veterans Administration is to serve America's veterans and their families with dignity and compassion and to be their principal advocate in ensuring that they receive the care, support and recognition earned in service to this nation.

**Medical** — To ensure that medical care is provided on a timely basis within the law to all authorized veterans.

**Benefits** — To ensure that an appropriate level of benefits is provided within the law to eligible veterans and beneficiaries.

**Memorial Affairs** — To ensure that the memorial affairs of eligible veterans are appropriately provided for and conducted in a dignified manner which recognizes the honorable status of veterans.

**Leadership** — To serve as the leader within the Federal Government on all matters directly affecting veterans and their families and to be their advocate in representing their just needs.

**Human** — To ensure that the people of the Veterans Administration receive quality leadership, adequate compensation, decent working conditions, necessary training and education, equal opportunity,

and earned recognition.

**Management** — To provide timely, high quality health care, benefits, and services to veterans and their families as efficiently as possible.

### GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Department of Medicine  
 and Surgery (DM&S)

**Goal 1:** Maintain an independent and comprehensive medical care system.

**Objective 1:** Achieve an appropriate mix of medical services to fully meet veteran needs.

**Objective 2:** Support education and research programs as part of a comprehensive medical care system.

**Objective 3:** Maintain a contingency hospital system to supplement DOD facilities in the event of war or national emergency.

**Goal 2:** Provide for the needs of increasing numbers of aging veterans.

**Objective 1:** Assess the true health care needs of the aging veteran population.

**Objective 2:** Expand and reconfigure services to meet the needs of the aging veteran population.

**Goal 3:** Provide for the special needs of veterans with unique problems.

**Objective 1:** Meet needs of veterans related to Agent Orange and ionizing radiation.

**Objective 2:** Provide for the medical and privacy needs of increasing numbers of female veterans.

**Objective 3:** Provide readjustment counseling and related treatment for Vietnam veterans.

**Objective 4:** Meet the medical needs of former POWs.

**Objective 5:** Develop a comprehensive rehabilitation program for veterans with physical handicaps.

**Goal 4:** Provide for appropriate medical facilities.

**Objective 1:** Insure that construction and facilities programs support the DM&S health care mission.

**Goal 5:** Effectively plan and manage resources.

**Objective 1:** Fully develop the DM&S strategic planning process (MEDIPP).

**Objective 2:** Begin implementation of new resource allocation strategies and systems.

**Objective 3:** Expand the sharing of health care resources.

Department of  
 Veterans Benefits (DVB)

**Goal 1:** To maintain an effective benefits delivery system.

**Objective 1:** To ensure that the benefits delivery system is responsive and sensitive to the needs of veterans.

**Objective 2:** To improve existing administrative systems through the use of state-of-

the-art technology.

Objective 3: To assure the validity of VA benefits through a process of continuous review and appropriate requirements for documentation and certification.

Goal 2: To conduct effective planning for and management of resources.

Objective 1: To validate work measurements and quality standards applicable to each of the department's programs.  
Objective 2: To improve human resource management by updating the procedures governing selection, assignment, training, and evaluation of personnel by category of assignment.

Objective 3: To effectively manage leased space by implementing the department's space management plan in quarters leased by the General Services Administration (GSA), when relocation is not feasible.

Goal 3: To plan with the Department of Medicine and Surgery for construction of DVB building where available land exists.

Objective 1: To reduce long-range costs by conversion from leased to owned space and to survey land availability for construction for other relocations.

#### Department of Memorial Affairs

Goal 1: To provide for future veterans' needs through long-range planning for the development of new cemeteries and the expansion of existing cemeteries.

Objective 1: To reassess the regional cemetery concept to determine its adequacy in meeting future burial needs.  
Objective 2: To support legislation to extend the State

Cemetery Grant Program.

Objective 3: To establish a new national cemetery in Alaska which currently has no open national cemetery.

Objective 4: To complete construction of a new national cemetery in Central Florida.

Objective 5: To expand existing cemeteries at Ft. Snelling, Minn.; Marion, Ind.; Graf-ton, W. Va.; and Calverton, N.Y.

Goal 2: To complete implementation of the regional cemetery concept.

Objective 1: To open the new regional cemetery at Quantico, Va.

Objective 2: To complete construction of a regional cemetery at Ft. Custer, Mich., and Ft. Mitchell, Ala.

Goal 3: To improve service and avoid future increased costs through the automation of the monument application process.

Objective 1: To continue contracting for programming support of existing equipment.

Objective 2: To initiate parallel operations and train employees on the automated system.

Goal 4: To continually review programs to assure the most effective use of available resources.

Objective 1: To complete cost and productivity comparisons at national cemeteries.

Objective 2: To establish revised equipment use standards.

Objective 3: To develop an improved management information system.

Goal 5: To reduce DMA costs through contracting of cemetery operations at small, inactive or closed national cemeteries.

Objective 1: To contract for performing maintenance at Danville, Hampton and

Staunton National Cemeteries.

Objective 2: To identify other cemeteries for which contracting operations are cost beneficial.

#### Human

Goal 1: To ensure that the people of the Veterans Administration receive quality leadership, adequate compensation, decent working conditions, necessary training and education, equal opportunity, and earned recognition.

Objective 1: To identify VA employees with management potential and to develop the talents and skills of all VA managers.

Objective 2: To ensure that the work environment enhances the safety, productivity, morale, health and fitness of VA employees.

Objective 3: To ensure in every possible manner, that no employee shall be denied any opportunity for employment or promotion on the basis of race, sex, religion, national origin, or physical disability.

Objective 4: To recognize and reward exemplary performance on the job wherever and whenever it occurs.

Objective 5: To ensure that compensation and other employment incentives are adequate to attract and retain highly professional employees devoted to quality care and service.

Objective 6: To ensure an effective labor-management relationship through open communication and cooperation with recognized labor organizations over personnel policies, practices, and general conditions of employment.

(Continued next month)

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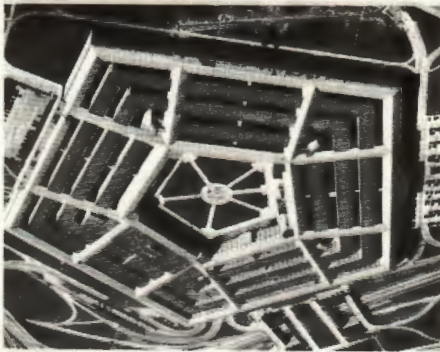
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## Jobs

(Continued from page 5)

Veterans' preference is a valuable tool to those entering the federal civil service and is also found in many state government jobs. Points are added to test scores and permit retention in many cases where the performance of the veteran is the same or better than that of fellow workers.

Extra points are given for those receiving compensation for service connected disabilities. The VFW will continue to guard against the erosion of this valuable Congressionally mandated program.

While the Small Business Administration lends money to veterans to

start businesses which will provide jobs, it also provides training in business management and counseling assistance which can lead to better access to commercial lenders and more successful businesses. The VFW has worked closely with the SBA and in some locations seminars have been held in VFW Post Homes.

The SBA, of course, does provide special service to veterans, especially Vietnam veterans, to enable them to obtain financial assistance to open a business.

Veterans may receive about 25% of all the dollars loaned or guaranteed this year. Vietnam veterans received about half that amount.

The SBA also has field offices that provide veterans with training, counseling, loans and bonding. While it has taken VFW pushing,

the SBA seems to have moved forward in the field of assisting veterans in the area of starting businesses which provide jobs for others.

The Veterans Administration is also in the job market. It has administered the vocational rehabilitation program for disabled veterans. The law requires the VA to assist the service connected disabled veteran in becoming employable and able to maintain a job.

Through training, counseling and assistance during the job seeking process the VA helps the veteran achieve maximum independence in daily living.

Many programs assist a veteran in obtaining employment. It is the job of the VFW to see that they are professionally administered.

# Washington Action Reporter

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

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## The VFW Speaks Out..

Veterans Service

Legislative Service

National Security  
and Foreign Affairs

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## MEDIPP

Cooper T. Holt  
Executive Director  
Washington Office

The Veterans Administration has recently completed studies which will touch the lives of every veteran who uses or plans to use VA medical care facilities.

The VA Medical District Initiated Program Planning or MEDIPP for short is the most recent attempt to plan medical requirements for veterans during the period 1985-90. Each year the plan will be revised and perfected and one more year will be added to the approved plan.

The plan, initiated by Dr. Donald Custis, the Chief Medical Director, and backed by Administrator Harry Walters, sounds simple. The VA medical system is divided into 28 medical districts. These districts know what they need in order to serve the veterans in their area. Why not let them plan their futures so that as years pass changes could be made to compensate for factors bearing on veterans and facilities.

The application of MEDIPP began about two years ago with the VA Central Office giving guidelines to the district directors regarding organization, issues to be studied and the format in which

the plan was to be submitted for approval.

Generally, each of the district directors appointed a VA panel which cut across their areas of responsibility.

Doctors and nurses and social work and engineering and financial officers comprised each panel. This allowed the panel to address problems from all angles. Most of the districts had someone at each medical center to act as a go-between to provide information to the panel from that hospital.

In addition, each panel was to have a veterans review group. Some directors had trouble with this part of the MEDIPP as they did not appoint such a group or the group was ill-used or in some cases the representatives did not do their jobs for one reason or another.

However, many districts used the veterans organizations' representatives well and favorable remarks have been made when the representatives' suggestions and recommendations were timely and well thought out.

Looking over a five-year period back in 1981 which was to be extended to 1990 was a difficult task. Funding projections, the needs of the aging

(Continued on back page)

## Lead Linked to Kidney Trouble

Recently a VFW member asked the National Veterans Service to research chelation therapy, which has been used successfully in cases of kidney failure.

Almost simultaneously, the VA issued a release dealing with the subject.

*It is of such interest that it is included here.*

Unsuspected lead poisoning may be an important cause of kidney disease in some patients with high blood pressure, according to a report by a Veterans Administration investigator in the New England Journal of Medicine.

In a study of 48 patients with essential hypertension, Dr. Richard P. Wedeen and his coworkers at the East Orange, N.J., VA Medical Center found that body lead stores were much higher in hypertensive patients with kidney failure. Control patients whose kidney disease

was not caused by essential hypertension did not have the elevated lead levels.

"These findings were not altogether surprising," Dr. Wedeen said, "because both hypertension and renal failure are known complications of lead poisoning."

However, most of the patients in the East Orange study were not aware of past lead exposure.

"This," he said, "raises the possibility that unsuspected lead poisoning may play a more important role among certain groups than is generally realized."

"For example, unrecognized lead poisoning might be responsible for the excessive renal disease found among black hypertensives," he said.

In Dr. Wedeen's study, high lead levels were found in 15 of 20 black patients with essential hypertension and renal failure, but in only three

of seven white patients with the same condition.

"With such a small sample, these figures are not statistically significant," Dr. Wedeen said. Much larger groups will have to be studied in order to confirm his theory. Such studies are urgently needed, he added, because environmental lead levels are probably much higher than most people realize.

"Recent publications from the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta have convinced me of this," he said. "The lead comes from a variety of sources, the most common being automobile exhausts. It settles on the environment and gets into everything, particularly food, forming a background level that makes additional exposures from industrial and other sources much more dangerous."

"Lead is especially toxic because it remains in the body for a long

#### VFW OBJECTIVES

- TO INSURE THE NATIONAL SECURITY through maximum military strength.
- TO SPEED THE REHABILITATION of the nation's disabled and needy veterans.
- TO ASSIST THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS and the dependents of disabled and needy veterans.
- TO PROMOTE AMERICANISM through education in patriotism and constructive service to the communities in which we live.

period of time. However, it can be measured, and, with the administration of certain chemicals, it can be removed from the body," Dr. Wedeen said.

"Therefore, if the link between lead and chronic hypertensive renal disease can be verified, we may be dealing with a preventable and possibly reversible disease," he added. "He said that in an earlier study involving occupational lead workers with minimal kidney damage, longterm therapy with the chelating agent EDTA (calcium disodium edetate) resulted in improved kidney function.

"It is therefore possible that more advanced cases can also be reversed," Dr. Wedeen said. "I am not saying that people with advanced renal failure can be cured by EDTA therapy; it's probably too late for that. I do think, however, there is a range of modest renal failure which may be reversible by appropriate chelation therapy."

## VA Wants Money It Is Owed by Vets

The Veterans Administration is currently involved in an extensive debt collection program to recover millions of dollars that veterans owe the government for overpayments from education, compensation, pension and loan guaranty defaults.

Information made available to the VFW indicates the VA, responding to a Congressional mandate, is intensifying collection of \$954 million owed in some 1.3 million accounts. Amounts owed range from several thousand dollars to as little as five dollars.

Public Law 96-466 authorizes the payment of interest charges in these cases at the 1982 fiscal year rate used by the Treasury. The initial rate assigned to an account remains unchanged while the debt

is outstanding. Those veterans now being notified are advised that interest on their account balance will be at the annual rate of 15.05%

Veterans are being advised that the interest cost can be avoided if remittance is made in full within 30 days of notice. Any veteran unable to repay in full may submit a partial payment with a proposed repayment plan. If no repayment is submitted, an additional administrative fee will be added to the interest each month the account is delinquent.

All veterans who establish repayment plans will not be charged interest and administrative costs unless the account becomes in arrears. For further information contact the nearest VA regional office.

### NEW RETIREMENT AGES FOR FULL SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Born in	Retirement Age Year/Months
1938	65/2
1939	65/4
1940	65/6
1941	65/8
1942	65/10
1943-1944	66/0
1955	66/2
1956	66/4
1957	66/6
1958	66/8
1959	66/10
1960 and after	67/0

## SBA Awardees Sought

Each year the President of the United States designates the second week in May as Small Business Week. In 1984, Small Business Week will be held from May 6 through May 12. Special activities will be scheduled at the community, state and national levels to honor the nation's entrepreneurs. A prestigious award will be presented to a Small Business Person of the Year in each state, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico for outstanding achievement. Awards will also be presented to Small Business Advocates of the Year in eight areas of importance to small business. One such area is the Veterans Advocate Award of the Year.

Your help in identifying candidates for this award will be appreciated. If you know of an outstanding veteran businessman or individuals who deserve recognition for their efforts to promote the interest of veterans in small business, the VFW encourages you to sponsor such an individual for this award.

Nominations should be typewritten on 8½" by 11" paper and submitted in a folder or notebook to the nearest Small Business Administration District Office prior to November 15, 1983. Nominations will be presented to the District's Small Business Advisory Council review and selection in December.



## Central America's Threat to U.S.

Recently, Commander-in-Chief James R. Currie returned from fast-paced visits to Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador.

(The trip was urged upon him by a high-ranking White House national security adviser. Upon his return, the Chief reported to the President.)

Here follows a message to each Senator and Representative, a press release, "Wake Up, America;" and, a "Chief Gram" to our own VFW leadership.

### *The Chief's message to Congress:*

Having just returned from an intensive fact-finding visit to El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica, I am deeply convinced of two facts of life that, literally, jump out at you. These facts are:

(1) The problem in Central America is not the United States or United States policy. It is Nicaraguan Marxism in service to Soviet-Cuban regional military imperialism. Nicaragua poses an area-wide threat — a veritable "Revolution Without Frontiers" as their rhetoric describes it and, as such, must be neutralized and the dissension and division here at home over our Central American policy is a predictable by-product of much of our prestige media rigidly applying a "Vietnamese" yardstick to an entirely different local and regional situation.

Military Marxism, in my view, can be defeated without a single

U.S. soldier being called upon to fight if we fund and supply the ammunition and equipment requested by the Administration for El Salvador and if we stop "shooting ourself in the foot" by adhering to the arbitrarily low figure of 55 trainers. (There are some 2,000-plus Cuban military in Nicaragua making the current trainer ratio about 36 Communists for each one U.S.)

As for the Nicaraguan Contras, I spoke with Alfonso Robelo and other early Sandinista, anti-Somoza individuals. These brave freedom fighters want nothing more than what we in the United States take for granted.

I am closely considering going to the VFW membership to solicit person to person funds for transmittal to the Contras. The symbolism of such non-governmental support would be of great importance.

A last word: A deadly game, not of our own making, is underway in Central America. There will be a winner and a loser and the world will know the difference.

As one well informed American diplomat pointed out to me "Central America is like a loaded shotgun pointed at our soft under-belly. Our job must be to make certain this shotgun never goes off."

Defeat here for U.S. national interests is out of the question.

### *The Chief's Press Release:*

James R. Currie, Commander-

in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, used the theme of a popular TV show to describe "what our beloved country needs to do to confront and to neutralize the Nicaraguan-based "Revolution Without Frontiers" that threatens to engulf much of Central America.

"I have recently returned from an intensive mission to Costa Rica, Honduras and El Salvador. As always, refugees flee from their Communist oppressors. I have seen and spoken with Nicaraguan peasants — not wealthy land-owners — who have escaped the Sandinista 'Gulag' by fleeing to Honduras."

Commander Currie concluded by noting — "and I hope not too bitterly" — that much of our "prestige media are performing a positive disservice when it comes to Central America. As a seasoned American diplomat in the area explained it: 'Central America is like a shotgun pointed at our soft under-belly. We must make certain this shotgun never goes off.'

"The Reagan Administration is right on Central America, and many of those who frame our daily news are wrong. It is that simple and that deadly. America had better wake up!"

*The Chief's message to VFW leadership:*

I have just returned from an

intensive visit to Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador. Two enduring truths impressed me:

Marxist Nicaragua is the "switchboard" for most of the suffering and dislocation in the area and must be neutralized; and

We must fully fund both the Nicaraguan freedom fighters and the embattled government of El Salvador.

I urge each recipient of this memorandum to call or write your Senators and Representatives today. Using your own words, make the following three points:

Central America is like a shotgun pointed at America's soft underbelly. We must not let that gun go off.

Compared to our economic and military aid for other nations and areas (Korea, Turkey or Israel), money requested for Central America is truly peanuts.

Fully fund the Administration's request for all the nations of Central America. If we do this, no American soldier need ever fight in the area.

(Congressmen will be back home from Aug. 5 through Sept. 5 for a face-to-face message.)

Make no mistake, my comrades, our VFW is on the frontline in this fight against Communism in our own backyard. Larry Rivers and I were pictured, captioned and prominently displayed in the Honduran press.

I am certainly not hysterical on this point, nor do I wish to alarm you unduly, but I do recommend that you inform each of our Posts that their VFW is on the frontline in this struggle and that political terrorism respects no boundaries.

It is not inconceivable that some VFW Post or activity may be targeted by terrorists given our prominence in the struggle.

## NASA Rapped for Giving VIP Treatment to Fonda

James R. Currieo, Commander-in-Chief of the VFW, called upon James M. Beggs, Administrator of NASA "to expoin fully and promptly" just what NASA thought it was doing when Jane Fonda and her husband were given red carpet VIP treatment at the recent launching of the space shuttle Challenger.

Currieo continued by expressing his "distaste and contempt" for this callous NASA publicity ploy.

The VFW leader concluded by associating himself "totally and proudly" with a recent Congressional Record insertion by Arizona's Rep. Bob Stump, which follows:

### THE OTHER JANE FONDA

Millions of fawning Americans have lionized actress Jane Fonda by buying her diet and exercise book, thereby adding to her considerable wealth and making her a best-selling author.

There is another Jane Fonda, however, one that she might want to forget, but one whom others cannot forget.

Fonda was the darling of extreme left wing groups who took her anti-American venom deep into the enemy camp in North Vietnam during the war, and willingly consorted with Communists to aid and abet their propaganda, even as American prisoners of war were rotting and being tortured in nearby camps.

Arizona Rep. John McCain is one who will never forget.

Please act as I urged in the second paragraph and take the prudent measures suggested by the contents of the third paragraph.

## Her Trip To Hanoi Scarred McCain

McCain, a third generation naval hero, was a prisoner of the North Vietnamese (his Navy jet having been shot down while on a mission) when Fonda arrived in Hanoi for a visit with her Communist hosts.

McCain refused to meet with Fonda when she was in Hanoi with the Communist hosts, and thereby contribute to the Communist propaganda triumph.

For refusing to share the spotlight with Fonda, McCain's captors broke both his arms.

McCain has now written the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, protesting NASA's decision to "showcase" Fonda and her husband, radical Tom Hayden, as Very Important Persons at last Saturday's launching of the space shuttle Challenger.

McCain does not argue the right of Fonda and Hayden to attend the space launching.

But he correctly questions the judgment of NASA in honoring Fonda and Hayden, given her record as a willing and unapologetic propagandist for a wartime enemy.

McCain will always carry a deformed arm as a result of Fonda's visit to North Vietnam.

As for Fonda, she merely has become more famous and immensely wealthier.

# Weinberger Gives Views on Retirement Plan

As VFWers know full well, military retirement is under sustained attack. Recent issues of WAR have dealt with this centrally-important issue. In what amounts to a letter to the troops, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger furnished his view to the Army Times newspaper. *The Secretary's letter follows:*

The great deal of recent speculation about changes to the military retirement system is causing concern among the men and women of the Armed Forces. In order to establish a reference point in this matter, I would like to state my views and clarify the Department's position.

Unlike typical civilian retirement programs, the military retirement system is not an old-age pension program. Rather, it is a mechanism designed to shape a professional force able to meet the nation's defense requirements. In order to do that, it must remain supportive of our readiness capability, responsive to the requirements of military force management, and complementary to the military compensation system. The retirement system has important effects on members of the active, reserve, and retired forces.

Any evaluation of the system must be made in the context of the unique nature of a military career, which, because of force management considerations, is usually, abbreviated. Furthermore, during their careers, spanning the prime years of their lives, our men and women in uniform must meet the demanding requirements associated with fulfilling the defense mission. These dedicated professionals routinely work long and irregular hours with no overtime

pay. They face exposure to risk, an inability to control living or working conditions, forced family separations, and costly periodic relocations. At the same time, they are obliged to accept a highly disciplined and controlled life, unlike any other sector of the American population. Members serve in a system that provides no vesting in the retirement system and, in fact, only 12 percent of those who enter active service ever reach retirement eligibility — the other 88% receive no retired pay at all.

The retirement system we have today takes these issues into account and also provides a base for the nation's mobilization plans by ensuring that a large standing body of skilled, experienced manpower will be available to meet our defense requirements. Depending on the service, our mobilization contingency plans include recalling to active duty some 22 to 86% of retired members. Over 100,000 retired members presently have orders in hand that would become effective in the event of mobilization.

The retirement system helps meet our manpower management goal of maintaining an orderly flow of members throughout the ranks allowing sufficient incentives through promotions, and supports our retention efforts. This permits us to maintain the age, experience, and skill mix in the active force compatible with military personnel and defense requirements. At the same time, the retirement system provides a foundation for the strong institutional support of members.

As with any program, periodic examinations of the military retirement system are necessary, and,

in fact, we have a statutory requirement to review the military compensation system and recommended appropriate changes to the President and the Congress. The mechanism for this is the Quadrennial Review of Military Compensation (QRMC), which addresses all aspects of military compensation. The fifth such review is now under way, and the results are expected during October, 1983. The President has charged the 5th QRMC to review the retirement system in relation to its contribution to our national defense. I believe this overall review of the retirement system is the most appropriate forum for revisions to the retirement structure. In a separate action, the President has commissioned a private study group to identify ways to achieve economies and efficiencies throughout government, and that group has surveyed the military retirement system. Several other suggestions for revision have been raised from other quarters. It is my position that no action affecting the military retirement system should be taken until the QRMC report has been considered. Furthermore, because of the relationship of the retirement system to basic defense functions, I do not believe that any proposals for change can be addressed in isolation. The institutional impact, both present and future, must not be ignored.

This Administration is committed to improving our defense capability. In pursuing that end, we recognize that service members form the bedrock upon which the defense function rests. During my tenure as Secretary of Defense, we will meet our nation's commitment to those men and women who serve in our defense.

# VFW Joins Praise Of WWII Nisei Units

Senate Resolution 173 was introduced in the U.S. Senate by Sen. Steve Symms (Idaho) and a copy furnished the VFW by Mike M. Masaoka of Go For Broke, Inc., the national Nisei veterans organization.

The VFW proudly salutes Go For Broke, Inc. and associates our long overdue salute to the fabled Nisei veterans of World War II.

(Scores of Texans in the World War II 36th Infantry Division are alive today because of the brilliant action of the Go For Broke 442nd RCT in breaking through the German lines to the surrounded Texans in Southern France.)

*Senate Resolution 173 follows:*

"To recognize the role of Japanese-Americans in the Second World War.

"Whereas the 100th Infantry Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the Japanese-Americans who served in the Military Intelligence Service in the Pacific Theater served valiantly in the Second World War;

"Whereas the men of the 100th

Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team received, among other awards, seven Presidential Unit Citations, one Congressional Medal of Honor, 52 Distinguished Service Crosses, 560 Silver Star Medals, over 4,000 Purple Heart Medals and Oak Leaf Clusters and over 4,000 Bronze Star Medals with more than 12,000 Oak Leaf Clusters; and

"Whereas these American soldiers risked their lives in the service of this country, suffering in the process a casualty rate of over 45 percentum: Now, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Senate recognizes the debt of gratitude owed by all Americans to those Japanese-Americans who served this country so valiantly and honorably in the field of battle during the Second World War, and express to the 100th Infantry Battalion, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and all of those Japanese-Americans who served in the Military Intelligence Service the deepest admiration and most sincere thanks of the Nation."

## Rally Protested

Commander-in-Chief James R. Currie advised selected journalists of VFW view on desecrating the Vietnam Veteran Memorial in the following letter:

The impending July 2 use of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial area by a coalition of far-left activists in the Ad Hoc Committee for July 2nd Emergency Mobilization shatters the non-political, non-divisive character that supporters of

the Vietnam Veterans Memorial sought to achieve.

Even the most cursory scan of the ad hoc committee's endorsers and sponsoring organizations clearly indicates the cynical approach the group will adopt: media-conscious histrionics, red meat rhetoric, and guerrilla theater. A demonstration that includes among other things, a group called Dykes Against Racism Everywhere (DARE) can scarcely be expected to make a responsible contribution to the national dialogue over our policy towards Central America.

## Bias Found In Public Interest Groups

A recent issue of the Wall Street Journal carried an arresting editorial on so-called public interest groups.

*The editorial:*

If you had to guess, which group in American life would you suppose cast its votes in the last four presidential elections in the following manner: 90% for Humphrey in 1968; 96% for McGovern in '72; 93% for Carter in '76; and 92% for Anderson in 1980? Democrats? The candidate's staff? His relatives? Sixth-graders? It turns out there is one significant group in America displaying such remarkable intellectual cohesion. These are the members of what call themselves "public interest groups." Their taste in presidents and other political affinities are revealed in a fairly amazing survey conducted by S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman, published in the April/May issue of Public Opinion magazine. They surveyed the leaders or senior staffers of 74 'public interest' groups including the American Civil Liberties Union, the Environmental Defense Fund, Public Citizen, the Children's Defense Fund, Congress Watch and the Center for Law and Social Policy.

Some 90% of this group's members define themselves as "left of center." About 94% believe that government ought to redistribute income and 51% believe the U.S. should move toward socialism. They rank the most influential groups in America as business, media, military, government agencies, unions, religion, intellectuals, blacks, consumer groups and feminists. Their preferred ranking would be consumer groups, blacks, intellectuals, feminists, unions, media, government agencies, business, religion and the military.

## Bill's Major Provisions Detailed

H. R. 3191—making appropriations for the Treasury Department, U.S. Post Office, Executive Office of the President and certain independent agencies — failed to pass the House of Representatives by a 149 to 259 vote.

Of interest to the VFW were three measures in this appropriations bill. The first increased "revenue foregone" from \$400 million recommended by the President to \$879 million. Public Law 91-375, as amended by Public Law 93-328, established a 16-year "phase-in" for nonprofit third-class and special nonprofit fourth-class mailers to gradually absorb rate increases and to eventually pay "full attributable costs" in 1987. Due to the repeated underfunding of the "revenue foregone" subsidy, third — class nonprofit mailers are now a step 14 when they should be actually at step 12.

If the President's recommended \$400 million in postal subsidy to finance "revenue foregone" is adopted, the 16 — year "phase-in" would be completely wiped out and increase overall third-class nonprofit postal rates beyond step 16 or approximately commensurate with the commercial rate in October, 1983.

The cost of mailing 12 editions of our VFW Magazine to our nearly 2 million members rose from \$95,000 in 1970 to \$902,838 in 1982 notwithstanding the fact that

the number of issues was reduced from 12 each year to 10 and \$1.1 million is budgeted for this year.

VFW supported the \$879 million figure in testimony and Commander-in-Chief Currie urged that amount be included in the treasury appropriation in a letter to the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Treasury — Postal Service — General Government of the Committee on Appropriations, United States House of Representatives, with copies to all Committee members.

The second provision of interest to veterans would have barred through fiscal year 1984 contracting out by General Services Administration jobs as guards, messengers, elevator operators and custodians specifically reserved for veterans under section 3310, title 5, United States Code. Public Law 97-377 bars such contracting out through the current fiscal year which ends September 30th.

In addition, VFW recently testified before the appropriate Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee supporting legislation introduced by Rep. Marvin Leath (Texas) — H.R. 828 and 829 — to bar GSA permanently from contracting out these jobs.

The third provision of interest to federal employees addresses the delaying of the implementation of the proposed rewrite of reduction-in-force (RIF) regulations by the

Office of Personnel Management. The proposed new regulations would, among other measures, consider performance first rather than seniority; base RIF actions on only the last performance report; restrict bumping and retreating rights to only the next lower grade and permit such bumping and retreating only if the employee had served in the next lower grade during the last five years and would deny the right of a personal appearance or attorney representation in appeal actions. VFW strongly opposed most of these provision in testimony and we have had face-to-face meetings with OPM Director Donald J. Devine on this subject. Informally, we have been advised that another rewrite of the proposed regulations will require that the last three performance reports be considered in RIF actions rather than merely the current one; bumping and retreating will be permitted two grades by all employees and five grades by veterans 30% or more disabled eliminating any time restriction for having served in a lower grade and that appeal rights will be more equitable.

Although the treasury appropriations bill was subjected to considerable floor debate with respect to abortion, the intent of the President's Office of Management and Budget with respect to the already cited items is abundantly clear and

reflected in a letter from the Director, David A. Stockman, to Rep. Jamie L. Whitten, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, which is herein quoted:

*Dear Mr. Chairman:*

As the House Appropriation Committee prepares to mark up the 1984 Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations bill on Thursday, June 3, I want to express the Administration's major objections to the Subcommittee's recommendations for this bill. Overall, the bill provides new spending authority exceeding the President's budget request for annually funded programs by \$529 million, including an increase of \$479 million for the Federal Payment to the Postal Service that will continue an unnecessary subsidy by providing free or reduced rate mailing services for certain users at taxpayers' expense. This bill is unacceptable in its current form.

The bill assumes savings of \$120 million that will not occur. The Subcommittee has recommended language that converts the GSA, National Defense Stockpile Transaction Fund from a direct appropriation to a revolving fund with a limitation on obligational authority. Since the Subcommittee has not recommended any changes to total program activity, no reduction to the Federal deficit will be realized.

The Administration is strongly opposed to the administrative provision that delays for the 1984 fiscal year implementation of the regulations proposed by the Office of Personnel Management to (1) revise reduction-in-force rules; (2) initiate a performance based incentive system; (3) change overtime rules and; (4) issue agency guidelines on labor management negotiable issues. The provision greatly constrains the Administration's ability to manage personnel

matters effectively.

The Subcommittee bill contains a provision (section 612) which would limit government-wide Standard Level User Charges (SLUC) to an overall 14% increase. The Administration is aware that considerable concern has been raised by the fact that the Committee's FY 1983 SLUC freeze requires a 23% increase in SLUC charges this year to maintain the current schedule of space and services. The Administration believes, however, that continued reliance on these schedules best reflects the true resource costs associated with various Federal undertakings.

We understand that the Full Committee is contemplating adoption of an overall limitation on SLUC charges that would be allocated on an agency-by-agency basis. Should the Congress adopt such a policy, the Administration will immediately transmit negative budget amendments reflecting these lower charge rates.

In the interim, the Administration will assess individual appropriations bills relative to the President's request by adjusting for whatever SLUC policy the Committee adopts. Failure to provide for such adjustments would otherwise increase Federal spending by whatever amount of 'SLUC savings' was allocated to other uses.

The bill also makes other changes to the Administration's budget request inhibiting the promotion of greater efficiency in agency operations. The major objectionable recommendations of the Subcommittee include:

An increase of more than \$76 million to the Customs Service. The increases in both spending authority and personnel levels will prevent ongoing efforts to achieve the maximum utilization of all Customs Service resources.

The deletion of operating funds

for the Property Review Board. This action will dismantle a Presidential program that reviews Federal real property holdings and ensures the efficient disposal of all non-essential Federal property.

Two general provisions that will affect Administration control over general management and personnel issues:

Section 509 provides that no funds appropriated in the bill may be used by GSA for contracting out services performed by GSA employees in positions reserved for veterans by 5 U.S.C. 3310. Generally, these positions are in the categories of guards, custodians, elevator operators, and messengers. This provision is objectionable because it would preclude GSA's realizing the savings that are possible when contracting out is substantially less costly.

Section 616 fails to include the Administration's request for Subsection (e) to limit the pay increase for Department of Defense Overseas Teachers to the same amount provided for other government employees. In addition, the Section would not permit continuing implementation in FY 1984 of the new pay and grading plan for wage supervisors as has been permitted in FY 1983 by Section 107 (f) of Public Law 97-377.

I hope that when this bill is considered by the House Appropriations Committee you will support the elimination of unwarranted spending increases and the removal of objectionable restraints. I will not recommend to the President that he sign this bill in its present form.

*A treasury bill is being drafted which we anticipate will closely track the bill that failed passage in the House of Representatives.*

# A-Vets Day Proclaimed by Reagan

National Atomic Veterans' Day, 1983 Proclamation 5072. July 15, 1983 By the President of the United States of America.

## A Proclamation

"Between 1945 and 1963 the United States conducted some 235 atmospheric nuclear weapons tests in the Pacific and the American Southwest. At least 220,000 American service men and women witnessed and participated in these tests, or served in forces occupying Hiroshima and Nagasaki immediately following World War II. It is only fitting that their dedication to duty be afforded proper recognition and brought to the attention of the American people.

"Many of these American service men and women witnessed the awesome potential of nuclear weapons. In honoring these veterans, let us rededicate ourselves once more to our national goal of a world at peace in which nuclear war is unthinkable.

"The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 68, has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating July 16, 1983, as 'National Atomic Veterans' Day.'

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Saturday, July 16, 1983, as National Atomic Veterans'

Day, a day dedicated to those patriotic Americans who through their participation in these tests helped lead the United States to the forefront of technology in defense of our great Nation and the freedoms we as American hold so dear. I urge my fellow citizens to join with me in appreciation of their service to their country.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 15th day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the two hundred and eighth.

Ronald Reagan"

## Danforth Bill

### Would Cut COLA

S. 1627 introduced by Sen. John C. Danforth (Mo.), for himself, David L. Boren (Okla.) and Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.), all members of the Senate Finance Committee, would reduce cost-of-living increases (COLA) for the beneficiaries of federally funded non-means-tested benefit programs, but not for needs-tested programs during the fiscal years 1985 through 1988. Under the bill, COLA for those in receipt of Social Security benefits, civil service retirement, military retirement and compensation payable to veterans with service-connected disabilities would not be paid by the rate of inflation reflected in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) but at 3% less than the CPI. Beneficiaries

of needs-tested programs such as Supplementary Security Income (SSI), Food Stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) would receive full COLAs.

*Upon introduction of this legislation, Sen. Danforth made the following statement:*

Mr. President, I introduce today, along with Senator Boren, and Senator Wallop a bill intended to reduce the projected Federal budget deficits by \$117.2 billion during the years 1985-88.

The bill is quite simple: for 4 years it redefines indexing for the purposes of the Federal Tax Code and for the annual cost-of-living adjustments (COLA's) made to non-needs-tested Federal benefit programs.

In 1985, the Federal Tax Code will be indexed. This means that annual adjustments will be made automatically to tax brackets, the personal exemption, and what used to be called the standard deduction.

The purpose of this change, part of the 1981 tax bill, is to stop bracket creep — the process by which taxpayers are forced into higher tax brackets solely because they receive cost-of-living pay increases. Tax indexing will be based on the Consumer Price Index, the CPI. Under our proposal, tax indexing would use the factor CPI-3 percent from 1985-88. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that this change would result in higher tax revenues of \$57 billion during that period.

The other half of the proposal is a temporary change in the annual COLA adjustment to Federal non-means-tested benefit programs including Social Security, civil service retirement, military retirement, veterans compensation, etc.). Once again, during the 1985-88 period, the annual COLA's for these programs would be based on the factor CPI-3 percent rather

than the CPI. After 1988, the CPI would be used as under current law. The savings expected to result from this provision are \$60.2 billion through 1988.

Frankly, Mr. President, I take no pleasure whatsoever in introducing this bill. Members of the Senate like to associate themselves with good news, not bad — with pleasure, not pain. This proposal is born of bad news — unacceptably large Federal deficits, and addresses the problem by inflicting pain — higher taxes and lower cost-of-living increases for recipients of Federal entitlement programs. But I am convinced that the only way to get a handle on the deficits is to inflict some pain. We try to do it in a way that asks a modest sacrifice from a very large number of people. We propose to ask the sacrifice from those who are in the best position to absorb it — taxpayers and Federal beneficiaries who are not required to establish financial need in order to receive their benefits. (We believe the recipients of needs-tested programs like SST, food stamps, and AFDC have a unique need for full inflation protection.)

The non needs-based entitlement programs are the fastest growing segment of the Federal budget. In the past 10 years, they have grown about 230 percent, from \$85 billion to more than \$280 billion. During that same period, the CPI increased about 135%. These programs now account for approximately 35% of the Federal budget.

I believe it is sheer folly to think that we can reduce the budget deficit to manageable size without both increasing tax revenues and slowing down the growth of entitlement spending. Those who say that defense cuts, discretionary spending cuts, and economic recovery will do the job are simply wrong. The numbers do not add up.

In proposing the “CPI-3 solution,” I want to make it clear that we are open to modifications of our idea. For example, some people have suggested that Federal benefit COLAs should mirror the historical average of automatic COLA’s in private sector labor contracts — approximately 60 percent of the CPI. A different idea was advanced by Sen. Armstrong in the Social Security debate. He proposed a “graduated COLA” adjustment which would have provided full CPI protection up to a specified amount and then a declining percentage of CPI for the remaining portion of one’s benefit.

A number of other countries have enacted changes to the COLAs in their own Social Security systems. In the last eight years,

Germany, Britain, Sweden, Canada and Finland have all made changes in response to economic conditions not unlike our own. Those changes have included the use of a new or modified price index, a delay in making the COLA change, and an arbitrary cap on the COLA. Such ideas deserve our consideration.

I do believe it is essential to link any COLA change on benefits with a modification of the Tax Code. Whether we modify indexing, impose a tax surcharge, or make some other change, it is necessary for equity’s sake to ask a sacrifice from the taxpayer. Only in this way can we argue credibly that we are all willing to do our part to get the economy back onto a track that holds out the promise of steady, long-range growth.



Cooper T. Holt, Executive Director of the VFW Washington Office presents a VFW flag to Rep. Bill Richardson (N.M.), a member of the House Veterans’ Affairs Committee.



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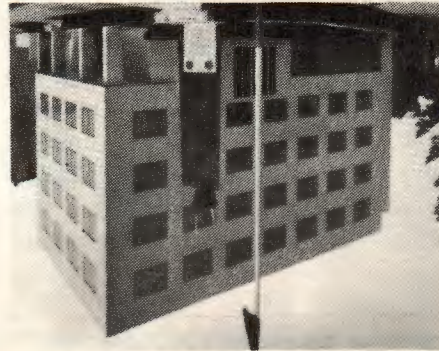
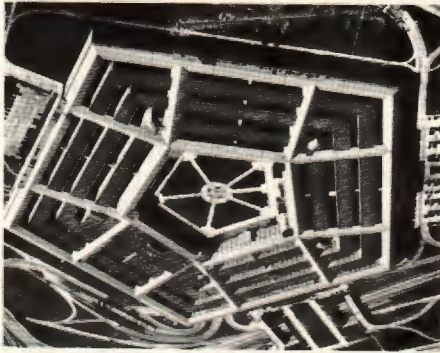
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# Washington Action Reporter

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

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## MEDIPP

(Continued from front page)

veteran, the movement to warmer climates at retirement and changes in medical technology and individual preference concerning sites of delivery of care were some of the factors looked at by the panels. Funding was the greatest problem because it constrained the planners. Administrator Walters has removed this factor in the next MEDIPP which will get underway early in the next fiscal year. Now planners can address the true needs of the district. It is understood that even though there may be a need that the final budget voted by Congress will set the action in a particular district.

Members of Congress, having the final say in the budget process, were informed of actions being taken by the MEDIPP group in

the districts. In addition, the staffs of the two Veterans' Affairs Committees received briefings on the progress of MEDIPP.

The VFW closely monitored the actions because we were worried that small medical facilities would suffer and the large medical school affiliated VA facilities would receive more at the expense of care for the veteran who lives near the small facility. Another problem is the personalities of the individual medical center directors and the planning group. In some cases, proposals affected affiliations without input from the medical school. With the length of time it takes to construct a medical facility or perceive the movement of veterans around the country it may be that the VA should lengthen their planning period to ten or even 20 years.

The first MEDIPP plan recommends both openings and closings. Openings include 26 nursing homes,

13 psychiatric units, four rehabilitation services, two spinal cord injury units and one neurology service. Others to be opened are domiciliaries in seven new areas and outpatient clinics in two new locations. As part of the overall plan, it is also proposed to close surgical bed services at four medical centers and psychiatry bed services at two other centers.

It is hoped that the closings will not inconvenience the veteran too much, but the MEDIPP is supposed to be a grassroots plan so that all veterans receive more comprehensive and modern care.

The VFW will watch the implementation of these plans as funds become available. We urge that at each MEDIPP district that a member of the VFW be present when these recommendations are made.

If the VFW is not present, we only have ourselves to blame if services do not improve.

## Nicaragua: once pro-Israel, now Judenrein

By Shoshana Bryen

Special to The Jewish Week

"There is no problem (of anti-Semitism in Nicaragua); there are no Jews." A high-ranking Sandinista defector described the harassment of Managua's small Jewish community in the early days of the revolutionary government. "They ruined the churches (synagogues) and took their stores and land. They then told them to leave... Our solidarity with the PLO was more important than anything with Israel or Jews."

In one statement, Miguel Bolanos, formerly the U.S. embassy case officer for Sandinista counterintelligence, confirmed both Sandinista anti-Semitism and a long-standing PLO connection. Bolanos now resides in the U.S., and came to Washington to describe the condition of the population in Nicaragua and answer questions.

For Jewish members of the small audience, two threads of Bolanos' commentary were chillingly familiar. First, that Nicaragua, once firmly pro-Israel in international fora and a peaceful place for its century-old Jewish community, is now Judenrein. Had he used the word outright, it would not have raised an eyebrow, so closely did he describe Hitler's early tactics.

Second, that opponents of the regime are processed under a policy of "resettlement." Bolanos said in an interview that the government had executed 5,000 dissidents since the revolution. Asked how such slaughter in a small country could go unnoticed, Bolanos provided an example patterned precisely upon ghetto deportations in Europe. He said residents of a Red Cross refugee camp are supervised by Sandinista "volunteers" while Red Cross professional personnel work in other parts of the region. The Sandinistas take groups of refugees (who are there, in many cases, because their property has been confiscated) and tell them they

have been accepted for "resettlement" in either Guatemala or Panama, he said. "They are told they will go to the east or to the west." (To the left or to the right?) The groups are taken out and executed, according to Bolanos, and earth movers cover the mass graves. "It reduces the resistance of those who remain," he added.

### The how and why

Following decades of support for Israel by the Nicaraguan government, the Sandinistas turned to the PLO for assistance in their revolution. The first direct cooperation appears to have occurred in 1969, when Benito Escobar of the Sandinistas met with three PLO officials in Mexico City. The result was that 52 Sandinistas were sent to Tyre for training, and others went to Fatah camps in Algeria.

In 1970, Sandinistas fought with the PLO against King Hussein of Jordan and joined a PFLP attempt to hijack an El Al airliner en route from Tel Aviv to London. Both facts were disclosed by Sandinista leaders only after their successful revolution.

In 1978, there was public confirmation of the FSLN-Palestinian connection. On Feb. 5, Escobar and Issam Sli of the DFLP issued a joint communique emphasizing "the bonds of solidarity which exist between the two revolutionary organizations" and condemning U.S. support for Israel and Nicaragua.

Cuba, Venezuela and Panama were the principal suppliers of arms to the Sandinista revolution until the final weeks. However, just before the last offensive against the Somoza government, large, vital shipments arrived from Libya and Algeria. According to at least one source, the arms came from North Korea, sent to Nicaragua on a Lebanese-registered vessel owned and operated by the PLO. It was not the first such shipment arranged by Thomas Borge, now

interior minister of Nicaragua, and previously an emissary of Fidel Castro to the Middle East.

After the revolution, the Sandinistas signed a "government-to-government" agreement with the PLO, and the PLO opened an embassy in Managua. The PLO then loaned the government nearly \$12 million, reported by U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald of Georgia.

On the first anniversary of the revolution, Yasser Arafat received a royal welcome in Managua. Borge told him, "We say to our brother Arafat that Nicaragua is his land and the PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas." Arafat replied, "The links between us are not new; your comrades did not come to our country (Lebanon?) just to train, but also to fight." The last was most likely a reference to the 1970 Jordanian war.

In January 1982, Arafat announced that the PLO had sent pilots to Nicaragua and guerrilla fighters to El Salvador. The State Department confirmed the former. In May, Managua Radio announced a PLO gift to the Sandinistas: a Boeing 707. A State Department document of May 1983 said the plane never left Tanzania, owing to a lack of Nicaraguan resources to transport it to Central America. The same report said further that PLO technicians had tried, but failed, to make Nicaragua's radar system operational.

This past April, the Nicaraguan government hosted the Latin American regional meeting as one of a series in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America prior to the International Conference on the Question of Palestine scheduled for August.

The purpose of the meeting, according to Alejandro Bendana, deputy foreign policy director for multilateral affairs in the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, was to "obtain support from international public opin-

ion for the Palestinian people's struggle for liberty and self-determination." The regional meeting produced a resolution which was adopted by consensus, however, eight of the participating countries (including Ecuador, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela and Chile) stipulated concerns with various sections of the document.

Since the war in Lebanon, and the loss of their territorial base, according to Bolanos, the PLO is no longer able to train Sandinistas in terrorist tactics or supply arms. "Also, they have so many problems there," he said, but added that PLO pilots, technicians and advisors still operate in Managua. With such deep and long-standing Sandinista ties to the PLO, the harassment and expulsion of Nicaragua's Jewish community is not surprising. "Resettlement" is the result of a totalitarian ideology, in which the government manipulates the lives and destinies of the population. Neither the ideology nor its results are alien matters to Jews; and under present circumstances, expulsion may be a blessing.

Asked whether the people of Nicaragua were better off in general under Somoza or the Sandinistas, Bolanos drew a comparison. Under Somoza, the average citizen was free to criticize the government as long as he did nothing to overthrow it. Under the Sandinistas, merely voicing opposition to the regime is grounds for arrest. Pressed further, and asked if support by Nicaraguans for the revolution had been a mistake, Bolanos said, "We all make a lot of mistakes."

And Nicaragua is Judenrein and resettled.

*Bryen is executive director of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, a non-profit educational organization based in Washington.*

add  
to  
CA info packet

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN

FROM:

KARNA SMALL *KS*

SUBJECT:

Talking Points

Attached are talking points concerning the President's speech of last night on Lebanon and Grenada which we hope will be useful to you in upcoming speeches and your encounters with the press.

# WHITE HOUSE TALKING POINTS

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October 28, 1983

## PRESIDENT'S SPEECH RECEIVES STRONG SUPPORT

President Reagan's address last night on events in Lebanon and Grenada has received very strong support from the members of Congress and from the public.

### Poll shows support way up

- o An ABC before and after poll found that support for policies in both Lebanon and Grenada rose dramatically among 250 people who watched the speech.
- o On the way Lebanon situation is being handled:
  - before speech      50% approved      45% disapproved
  - after speech      80% approved      20% disapproved
- o Are U.S. goals in Lebanon clear?
  - before speech      39% clear            50% not clear
  - after speech      68% clear            29% not clear
- o On the handling of the Grenadian crisis:
  - before the speech    64% approved      26% disapproved
  - after the speech    86% approved      14% disapproved

### WTTG -- Washington's Channel 5 found overwhelming support

- o Asked viewers to call after speech and received over 12,000 calls in 42 minutes (despite charge to caller). Asked: "After hearing President's speech, do you approve or disapprove the U.S. invasion of Grenada?" Results show:

87.5% yes (10,647 calls)  
12.5% no (1,523 calls)

### Calls received at the White House after the speech

- o By midnight, the White House had received 4592 calls commenting on the President's speech (more than twice as many as for any previous speech by him). Callers supporting the President outnumbered those with negative comments by a margin of 13-1.
  - Of the 4592:      4272 callers were positive
  - 320 were negative

- o Telegrams: Another 1167 commented by wire. Of these:

1102 were positive  
63 were negative  
2 commented without position

#### Congressional support

- o In his address, President Reagan said he had "seen Democratic leaders in the Congress join their Republican colleagues, send a message to the world that we are all Americans before we are anything else, and when our country is threatened, we stand shoulder to shoulder in support of our men and women in the armed forces."
- o Support was widespread from members of Congress of both parties who commented on the President's address:
  - Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (R-TN), "a powerful and moving speech.... Undoubtedly it will have a unifying effect on the American people."
  - Rep. Paul Simon (D-IL), "...one of the President's most eloquent addresses...."
  - Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX), "I think he made an effective presentation...."
  - Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS), "...particularly eloquent" on Lebanon and made "a good case for preventive action" in Grenada.
  - Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Charles Percy (R-IL), Reagan "took a highly complex situation and boiled it down to its essentials."
  - Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA), "It was a masterful speech."
  - Rep. Claudine Schneider (R-RI), "The President had a very fine blend, which was more peace through law than peace through strength."
  - Sen. John Chafee (R-RI), "Excellent."

#### Other Comment

- o Governor Richard Thornburgh (R-PA), said "...the people of Pennsylvania were reassured."
- o Dan Rather, commenting after the speech, "I have an idea that this may go down as one of the President's strongest more effective speeches of his Presidency."

## What the Rescued Students Said

- o In his Address, President Reagan said that Grenada "was a Soviet-Cuban colony, being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy. We got there just in time."
- o Here's what some of the students said:
  - Jeff Geller, "I've been a dove all my life, but I just can't believe how well those Rangers came down and saved us. Those Rangers deserve a lot of credit. I don't want to say anything bad about the American military. We thought we could be potential hostages. We just wanted to get out if we could."
  - Kathy Tracy, "...had the U.S. Army not intervened when they did, the rumor was that the Cubans would have. Their plan was perhaps a day or a day and a half behind, in which case I would not be here today."
  - Matthew Nadler, "Ronald Reagan made the right move." He said there were "plenty of Cubans" in Grenada and "they had more ammo, weapons and anti-aircraft batteries than the Army expected."
  - Randall Tressler, "I don't see how they would have gotten us out" without invading "because every time the State Department worked with them to get us out, they seemed to close the airport."
  - Jean Joel, "I don't think there is any more beautiful sight than being back in the United States, or perhaps seeing the Rangers arrive to save us. It has reinstilled my faith in the United States."
  - Lou Ianniello, "I think the United States did a good job. I think they realized the gravity of the situation."
  - Kiran Mariwalla, "I was happy it was an American invasion and not anybody else. The Rangers are the greatest guys on earth as far as I'm concerned."

## EL SALVADOR'S COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS

Fidel Castro gets the credit for the formation of the Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN). Comprised of previously fragmented factions of the extreme left, Castro offered arms, training and other assistance in return for unity. With this unified organization, coordinated military operations and worldwide propaganda dissemination have been possible.

In May 1980 Salvadorean guerrilla leaders met in Havana, Cuba and formed the United Revolutionary Directorate (UDR). This Directorate is the central executive arm for political and military planning. Later in 1980, the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Front (FMLN) was created to coordinate the various guerrilla organizations and operations, and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the "front" organization, was created to disseminate propaganda abroad. If all these different groupings and acronyms are confusing it is because they were intended to be just that. Also the symbols used --- "liberation", "people's", "democratic" --- testify to the constant and deceptive use of our symbols of rectitude by the communists.

But of these three groups, it is the DRU that acts as a military high command for the conduct of guerrilla warfare and terrorist actions. The FDR has no control over military decisions, although they are the "public face" of the insurgency.

### The Armed Groups

Four of the five Salvadoran armed organizations represented in the DRU can be traced to the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES). The PCES eschewed violence from its inception in the mid-1920's until late 1979. During the 1970's, the refusal of the PCES to endorse violence caused schisms within the party and led the more radical members to leave the party and organize independent armed organizations.

-- Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES). The PCES is headed by Jorge Shafik Handal. A long-time Communist, Handal has been a political agitator for 30 years. He studied at the University of El Salvador Law School, although he failed to earn a degree. He has long maintained close ties with Havana and Moscow.

PCES leaders were uncertain how to respond to the October 1979 coup in El Salvador which brought to power a reformist civilian-military coalition. Initially the PCES decided to cooperate with the new government. Peaceful change, however, did not suit those committed to violent struggle. Other groups on the left staged violent disturbances. The PCES soon followed their lead and openly opposed the government forming its own military wing, the Armed

Forces of Liberation (FAL). In mid-December 1979, PCES leaders met in Havana with representatives of two other Salvadoran extremist groups (FPL and FARN -- see below) to initiate the unification process and agree on a military strategy. In June and July 1980, Handal traveled to the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Ethiopia and Eastern Europe to seek arms.

-- Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces (FPL). The largest of the armed groups is the Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces (FPL). It was headed by Salvador Cayetano Carpio, who died in Managua, Nicaragua in April 1983 under confusing circumstances. Carpio became involved in labor activities in the early 1960's. By 1964, he had become Secretary General of the Communist Party of El Salvador. In 1969, he split with the party over its reluctance to use violence. Carpio founded the FPL in 1974 to serve as the "vanguard of the revolution." Using the nom de guerre of Comandante Marcial, Carpio ordered and directed the military operations of the FPL.

-- People's Revolutionary Army (ERP). By 1972, a separate faction of Castroite, Maoist, and Trotskyite dissidents had abandoned the PCES and organized the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP). Headed by Joaquin Villalobos, the ERP is dedicated to a strategy of "peoples' revolutionary warfare" and has emphasized urban terrorism. Villalobos, like Carpio, is a proponent of armed violence and justifies terrorist acts such as kidnapping and assassination as "acts of revolutionary justice." Another prominent ERP figure is Ana Maria Guadalupe Martinez, who regularly travels abroad as a spokesperson for the FMLN. She joined the ERP in 1972. In 1976, she was imprisoned for murdering a Salvadoran policeman. She was released in 1977 as part of a negotiated exchange for an industrialist kidnapped by the ERP; the ERP bargained in bad faith and the industrialist was killed despite Martinez' release. Following the establishment of a reformist civilian-military government in El Salvador in October 1979, the ERP and the FPL staged violent disturbances.

-- Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN). Internal disension within the ERP resulted in the assassination of key leader Roque Dalton in 1975 by other ERP activists, which led a splinter group headed by Ernesto Jovel and Ferman Cienfuegos to break away to form the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN). The FARN took part in the initial unification discussions with the PCES and FPL in Havana in December 1979, and joined the DRU in 1980. But the FARN temporarily retired from the guerrilla command that same year following a dispute. After Jovel died in September 1980 under confused circumstances -- the FARN command first attributed his death to a car accident, later to a plane crash -- the FARN rejoined the DRU. Ferman Cienfuegos then emerged as the principal FARN leader. He is said to have been a member of a communist youth organization and has operated clandestinely since 1969.



-- Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC). The fifth organization represented on the DRU is a tiny Trotskyite group, the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC). It was admitted to the DRU near the end of 1980. The key figure in the PRTC seems to be Fabio Castillo, a former rector of the University of El Salvador. He has lived in exile since 1972. Formed in the late 1970's the PRTC has conducted acts of terrorism to establish its revolutionary credentials. A Costa Rican and two Salvadoran terrorists captured by Costa Rican police in January 1982, after an unsuccessful kidnapping attempt, are closely associated with the PRTC. Their statements to Costa Rican police revealed that they had operated out of a PRTC "safehouse" in Managua, Nicaragua, where they also received military training.

### The Propaganda Arm

-- Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). As president of the FDR, Guillermo Ungo is the best known political leader of the insurgency. He travels around the world promoting the cause of El Salvador's insurgents and seeking international support. An original member of the government junta that came to power when reform-minded military officers ousted General Romero, he resigned because he questioned the commitment to reform. His presence lends legitimacy and credibility to the insurgency, since he enjoys a reputation as a moderate. But he has no control and little influence over the armed groups.

### Front Organization

Each of these radical groups controls a "popular front" organization. The PCES for decades has operated through the National Democratic Union (UDN), a legal political party which was invited by the Salvadoran Government to participate in the March 28, 1982 elections, but refused to do so. The FPL controls the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR). The ERP controls the relatively small Popular Leagues of February 28 (LP-28). The FARN oversees the United Popular Action Front (FAPU). The PRTC's corresponding front organization is the Movement of Popular Liberation (MLP).

The political front organizations have served to some degree as manpower pools for the guerrillas and in the past have been used to stage demonstrations, disseminate propaganda, and occupy public buildings -- churches, foreign embassies, and government offices -- as well as to back guerrilla units. Since 1980 activities of political front groups have dropped dramatically as the armed groups which control them put greater emphasis on military actions.

### What They Are Fighting For

It is difficult to understand why there is a war going on in El Salvador. The guerrillas say they desire for the people of El Salvador what its democratically elected government is trying to implement. The guerrillas say they want:

-- "true" land reform, as though 450,000 Salvadoreans had not benefitted from the government's land reform program;

-- "true" representative government, as though the remarkable election of March 1982 had never occurred, or that they had chosen not to participate;

-- full respect for human rights, as though they were not responsible for the deaths of thousands of El Salvador's citizens;

-- the end of "imperialist domination," as though their friends and benefactors -- the Cubans, the Sandinistas, the Libyans, the PLO and the Soviets, among others -- did not constitute the most formidable imperialist force in the world today.

Perhaps then what they really want is raw power, power to create another communist state in the Western hemisphere. Note what the Salvadorean Council of Bishops said in a statement of September 4, 1981.

"...in our country only a small sector of the population sympathizes with the FMLN and the FDR, which have lost popular support and which are now dedicated to sowing terror among the population. They are damaging the economy of the nation by destroying the property and services of the population in order to obtain political/military advantage and to create the conditions necessary for taking power and imposing Marxist-Leninist dictatorship."

## NICARAGUA UNDER THE SANDINISTAS

- On July 19, 1979, a broad based coalition of Nicaraguans overthrew the Somoza dictatorship. This coalition included true democrats --- such as representatives from labor, press, political parties, private enterprise --- and armed Marxists Leninists.
- The public goals of the coalition were stated in a telegram to the OAS. These goals included elections, respect for human rights, pluralism, mixed economy.
- The United States supported the new Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.
  - \$24.6
  - In the first 10 weeks, the US rushed emergency relief and recovery assistance consisting of emergency food and medical supplies, often shipped by air, assistance in housing reconstruction and a grant to the grain stabilization institute.
  - The US, from July 1979 to January 1981, provided \$118 million in direct US assistance. During the first year and a half, the Sandinista government received more economic aid from the US than from any other country.
  - In addition to bilateral aid, the US actively supported all loans to Nicaragua in multilateral lending institutions. It helped them receive \$262 from the InterAmerican Development Bank, an amount almost double what the Somoza government had received between 1960 and mid-1979.
  - Altogether the Sandinistas have received more than \$1.5 billion from Western countries and lending institutions.
- The anti-democratic elements in the new government won power over the democratic elements and moved to concentrate their control over the country.
  - Elections have yet to be held. Although promised for 1985, it has recently been suggested by the Minister of the Interior, Tomas Borge, that they may not be held then.
  - Opposition political parties have been harassed, denied permission to hold open rallies, headquarters attacked, leaders beaten. Leaders from three major parties, the MDN, Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Conservative Party are now living in exile.
  - Independent press are heavily censored. The respected newspaper, La Prensa, has been closed down repeatedly. Government controlled newspapers and media publish news stipulated by the Ministry of Interior.
  - Education. The Ministry of Education has submitted its plan of education whose stated goal is the creation of the "new socialist man."

- Churches and clergy have been attacked. Archbishop Obando y Bravo was banned from performing mass on television, and the Catholic Church's radio has been closed several times. The Sandinista attempt to organize a parallel "People's Church" was described by Pope John Paul II as "absurd and dangerous" and as a "grave deviation". When he visited Nicaragua in March 1983 he was heckled, his Mass interrupted by chanting. A variety of Protestant sects, including Evangelicals, Mormons, Adventists, Jehova's Witnesses and Moravians have been attacked, their centers taken over by Sandinista Defense Committees, their pastors attacked. At least 55 Moravian churches in the Atlantic Coast area have been burned.
- Indigenous peoples have been subjected to a systematic campaign to destroy their traditional way of life. Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast have had their villages burned, Indians moved from their ancestral homes to detention camps, many Indian and Indian leaders have been arrested, many killed. 15,000 are in exile in Honduras.
- Private Sector leaders were ~~and~~ arrested and jailed for 4 months because they issued a statement criticizing official policy. Sandinista expropriation of private enterprise has raised the government share of the economy to close to 50 percent. Shortages and rationing of basic goods are continual.
- Human Rights violations continue. Three years after the Sandinistas took power, there are still approximately 3600 political prisoners; Human rights leaders who opposed Somoza have been persecuted and are currently in exile because they have charged the Sandinistas with human rights violations as well.
- Independent labor unions have been harassed when trying to organize; their leaders have been beaten and arrested. Tightly controlled Sandinista labor and peasant organizations have been established.
- The Sandinistas have militarized their society far in excess of legitimate defense needs.
  - A rapid arms buildup was undertaken immediately after the Sandinistas came to power. Sophisticated weapons, including Soviet-made T-55 tanks, amphibious ferries, helicopters and transport aircraft have been added to Nicaragua's arsenal. Nicaraguans have been trained by Cubans, Bulgarians, the PLO and other Eastern bloc states. 2,000 Cuban military advisors are in Nicaragua.
  - A new secret police, 25,000 in the regular army, 50,000 militia and reservists, neighborhood control/intimidation committees were formed to control the population and threaten Nicaragua's neighbors. Nicaragua's army is twice the size of that under Somoza, and together with the militia and reservists is larger than the combined armies of the rest of Central America.

- The Sandinistas are engaged in a major effort to destabilize the other governments in the region.
  - By sending large and continual shipments of arms to the communist guerrillas in El Salvador, by training and offering other kinds of support to them, by directing guerrilla military and logistical actions from command and control centers inside of Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime directly threatens the democratically elected government of El Salvador.
  - These shipments of arms to El Salvador from Nicaragua through Honduras directly violates Honduras' sovereignty and territoriality. A new communist guerrilla front made its announcement of war against the democratic government of Honduras from the capitol of Nicaragua. Over 10 tons of explosives, small arms, thousands of rounds of ammunition, sophisticated communications equipment, passports, uniforms, trucks & cars for transporting arms have been uncovered in safe houses by Honduran authorities by the end of 1982.
  - Costa Rica's rights to use the San Juan River, Costa Rica's borders have been violated by the Sandinistas. Two Nicaraguan diplomats assigned to Costa Rica were expelled because of their direct involvement in the bombing of a SAHSA airline office on July 3, 1982 in San Jose.

## THE ANTI-SANDINISTAS

- When the Sandinista regime came to power on July 19, 1979 in Nicaragua, replacing President Anastasio Somoza, a dictator, they promised democracy, pluralism, elections, respect for human rights, a mixed economy and other reforms long desired by the people of Nicaragua.
  - The democratic groups, including representatives from democratic political parties, labor unions, press, private enterprise, have been systematically repressed by the armed Marxist-Leninists that now control the government and all their hopes for a democracy in Nicaragua have been betrayed.
  - Large numbers of democratic opponents tried to oppose the imposition of a Marxist-Leninist government in Nicaragua, but since they had no meaningful participation in the government, and no share of power, many left to live in exile. Most had joined with the Sandinistas in opposition to Somoza and are still committed to the establishment of democracy in Nicaragua.
  - There are two major anti-Sandinista groups opposing the Sandinistas from outside.
    - The Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) issued a statement in mid-January, 1983 from San Jose, Costa Rica stating their belief that "it is still possible to achieve the original objectives of the Nicaraguan Revolution by peaceful means: authentic pluralism and democratic liberties...." and called for a general amnesty, full guarantees for rights, basic freedoms to be established, free elections and the revocation of repressive laws and religious persecution.
    - This group has frequently been labelled "somocista" by the Sandinistas and others, and has been described as desiring a return to the past (dictatorship). But as their manifesto, described above, testifies, this group desires democracy and peace for Nicaragua.
    - The FDN's Directorate is composed of those who opposed the Somoza regime. The one former National Guard member, Enrique Bermudez, has been described by the Sandinistas themselves as not involved in the brutalities committed by the National Guard.
- They are:
- Lucia Cardenal de SALAZAR -- Along with her husband, Jorge Salazar, a charismatic leader in the private enterprise sector, aided the Sandinistas against Somoza. Her husband was killed by the Sandinistas under unknown circumstances and she joined the FDN in December 1982.

- Adolfo CALERO Portocarrero -- An opponent of Somoza in the 1970s, jailed by Somoza for his opposition activities in the 1950s, 1960s and in 1978. He is a leader of the Conservative Democratic Party, the opposition party to Somoza.
- Indalecio RODRIGUEZ Alaniz -- Active in the democratic opposition against Somoza, he was jailed in 1956 and 1959, and went into exile in 1960. He was an original member of the Sandinistas but left when it became completely Marxist-Leninist in the early 1960s.
- Alfonso CALLEJAS Deshon -- was a Vice President of Nicaragua from 1969 to 1974 but resigned in protest against Somoza.
- Marco A. ZELEDON Rosales -- is a Nicaraguan businessman who was an active critic of Somoza during the 1970s and attempted to organize a democratic coalition against Somoza during the 1974 elections.
- Edgar CHAMORRO Coronel -- is a university professor who strongly advocated social reforms during the Somoza regime.
- Enrique BERMUDEZ Varela -- was a National Guard colonel during Somoza's regime. A principle Sandinista spokesman has publicly stated that Bermudez was not involved in abuses of power. Bermudez was stationed in Washington during the civil war.
- The Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) is composed of those who actively joined the Sandinistas in opposing Somoza, and went on to become Sandinista government officials when Somoza was overthrown. Their disenchantment with the Sandinistas' refusal to fulfill the promises of elections and pluralism, and the extensive presence and control of Cubans, the PLO, Soviets and other Soviet bloc personnel, led them to finally leave Nicaragua and oppose the regime from outside the country.

Their principal leaders are:

- Eden Pastora, the popular Commandante Zero of the revolution, has hero status inside Nicaragua because of his military activities against Somoza during the war. He has publicly denounced the betrayal of the hopes of the Nicaraguan people by the Sandinistas.

- Alfonso Robelo, leader of the MDN political party, was an original member of the 5 person junta that came to power after Somoza's overthrow. He resigned his position in 1980 after the Sandinistas packed the Council of State with their supporters. After being beaten and harassed, he went into exile.
- Both these groups are meeting with popular support within Nicaragua and their numbers grow daily.
- Another important sector of opposition to the Sandinistas are the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians of the Atlantic Coast region. The Sandinistas have burned their villages, expropriated tribal lands and moved them to detention camps. Over 15,000 live in exile in Honduras.
- Fernando "El Negro" Chomorro, like Eden Pastora, was a Sandinista Commandante during the war against Somoza. He heads a group known as FARN in opposition to the Sandinistas.
- Among the thousands of Nicaraguans who have felt compelled to flee the heavy handed repression of the Sandinistas are many who had joined with them in opposing Somoza and had participated in the new government. It is instructive to briefly note a few:
  - Jose Esteban Gonzalez was the head of Nicaragua's Human Rights Commission and was instrumental in bringing attention to human rights abuses during Somoza's regime. When the Sandinistas began violating human rights, he brought attention to them as well. He was persecuted, arrested, and finally went into exile.
  - Arturo Cruz served on the junta after Adolfo Robelo resigned, and was then the Ambassador to the US. He left after becoming convinced that it was impossible to moderate the Sandinistas from within.
  - Alfredo Cesar was Director of the Sandinistas' Central Bank.
  - Jose Francisco Cardenal served as Vice President of the Sandinistas' Council of State.
  - Wilfredo Montelvan was the head of the Social Democrat Party and a staunch supporter of the Sandinistas.



- Horaldo Montealegre was the Sandinista Director of the International Reconstruction Fund.
- Francisco Fiallos was Sandinista Ambassador to the US until his defection in 1983.
- Humberto Belli, former editorial page editor of La Prensa, the opposition newspaper during Somoza's time.