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Who lost Central America to the Communists? *file*

That searing question could be the major issue of the 1984 elections—and other elections yet to come. Unless decisive action is taken soon, the land bridge between the two Americas could be controlled by Marxist revolutionaries linked to Fidel Castro and the Soviets.

If that occurs, Moscow will have a stranglehold on the American mainland, U.S. shipping in the Caribbean and Panama Canal will be severely threatened, and the Marxist tide will be lapping against the boundaries of Mexico.

Such an outcome would be disastrous for the people of Central America and the security of the United States. It is imperative that forceful policies be adopted now to forestall such a catastrophe—so that the question posed above will never need an answer.

The ominous facts of what is occurring in the Caribbean are not in doubt. Since the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua, that country has become a Marxist tyranny, denying the basic freedoms of its citizens, crushing dissent, persecuting minorities, and repressing religious freedom.

Equally to the point, Nicaragua has become a bristling armory of Soviet-Cuban power, headquarters to Marxist guerrillas fighting in El Salvador, and a conduit for Communist aid to those guerrillas. It has become as well a focal point for terrorist forces from around the globe, the Palestine Liberation Organization, notorious among them.

What has occurred in Nicaragua is ample warning of what will happen in El Salvador should the guerrillas triumph there. Far from correcting human rights abuses, a Marxist government will intensify them. And El Salvador will in its turn become a staging ground for new aggressions in the region.

(Such a calamity need not happen. Last year, <sup>d</sup> despite guerrilla ~~violence~~ threats and violence, the citizens of El Salvador in overwhelming numbers voted in a free election --torpedoing the Marxists' claim to represent the people. In Nicaragua, with minimal aid from the U.S., a powerful resistance has grown up against the Sandinistas. In neither country do the people want the yoke of Marxist bondage.

(In the face of these developments, there are those in the United States who would have us extend assistance to the anti-Communist forces in both El Salvador and Nicaragua. They are particularly concerned that ~~the~~ U.S. aid not be employed to de-stabilize the Sandinista government--in effect endorsing the Brezhnev Doctrine which says that once a nation is subjugated by the Marxists it must forever stay that way.

(Should this policy prevail, Moscow and Havana will be able to wage aggression at their leisure in ~~the Caribbean~~ <sup>this hemisphere</sup>, while the U.S. and its anti-Communist allies will be forestalled from counterattacking or resisting. In that event, "who lost Central America?" will indeed become a burning issue of our politics--all the more so as the United States attempts ~~to~~ cope with the millions of refugees that are the inevitable result of Communist takeover.

(To prevent this from occurring, Americans of all persuasions must band together behind a firm, ~~coherent~~ coherent policy to defend the freedom of the region, and U.S. interests in it. We accordingly urge ~~the following:~~

~~1. Reaffirmation of the ~~policy~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~U.S.~~ ~~in~~ ~~this~~ ~~hemisphere~~ by Congress and the executive that the United States will not permit the continued violation of the Monroe Doctrine.~~

1. Reaffirmation by Congress and the executive that the Monroe Doctrine, not the Brezhnev Doctrine, is the operative policy of the U.S. in this hemisphere.

2. Specific recognition that the Marxist regime in Nicaragua is a beachhead of Soviet Cuban power on the American mainland, to be treated accordingly,

(3. Continued and expanded aid<sup>d</sup> to the so-called "contras" fighting the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, with the explicit object of ending the Soviet-Cuban military presence ~~in~~ there.

(4. A naval blockade to interdict the flow of arms by sea from Cuba to Central America and from Nicaragua to El Salvador.

(5. Continued and expanded ~~aid~~ military aid to the government of El Salvador and other governments of the region threatened by the Communists.

# Salvador is not the sore spot in region

The debate that currently is raging over U.S. policy in the Caribbean is — and is largely meant to be — a colossal venture in evasion.

As usually presented, the issue to be settled in the Central American conflict is what to do about El Salvador. We are treated to long discussions of its human rights practices, the legitimacy of last year's elections, and the progress of the so-called land reform. The question perpetually before us is whether the San Salvador regime, measured by standards of democratic liberty, is worthy of survival.

A moment's reflection, however, should suggest that, important as this is, it isn't the real issue. Whatever its merits or demerits otherwise, the government of El Salvador is not the source of trouble in the region. It is not, for instance, attacking any other nation, nor does it harbor any known designs that threaten our security. From our standpoint, if it were the only government down there, there would be no crisis in the Caribbean.

The authentic problem in the region, all too clearly, is elsewhere — specifically, in Nicaragua. It is Nicaragua that is hosting and sustaining the armed guerrillas fighting against El Salvador. It is Nicaragua that is serving as a conduit for Soviet and Cuban aid to the those guerrillas. And it is Nicaragua that, according to numerous reports, threatens to do the same to other nations of the Isthmus.

All this being so, what urgently needs discussing is not our policy toward El Salvador, but our policy toward Nicaragua. The Salvador fighting is a symptom of the prob-



lem; Nicaragua is the proximate cause. Only when we zero in on the situation in Managua, the activities of the Sandinista government, and the question of an appropriate U.S. response will there be any hope of settling the conflict in El Salvador, and a great deal else besides.

This is most obviously true concerning Sandinista efforts, backed by Castro and the Soviets, to foment aggression in the region. Such efforts promise nothing but continued instability in Central America, whatever the outcome in El Salvador. Closely connected, and with equally ominous implications, is the degree to which Nicaragua

under Marxism is becoming a Soviet-Cuban base on the American mainland.

Among the topics that need examining in this respect are the scope of Sandinista aid to the Salvador insurgents; the extent to which the Sandinistas are calling the shots in Salvador's guerrilla warfare; the manner in which Soviet-Cuban aid to the guerrillas is funneled through Managua; the scope of similar Nicaraguan actions elsewhere; the extent of the Sandinista military buildup, and Soviet bloc involvement in it.

Also relevant, for those concerned about democratic free-

doms, are the internal practices of the Sandinistas, since their regime was sold to us with arguments identical to those now being used about El Salvador. The Sandinistas were supposedly going to replace the dictatorial government of Somoza with popular reforms and freedoms. So far they have done the opposite. While we debate the nuances of last year's election in El Salvador, for instance, Marxist Nicaragua has had no elections whatsoever.

It has been reported that the toppling of Nicaragua to the Sandinistas was deliberate policy in the Carter State Department, which

decided that Somoza had to go. If that is so, the people who made that decision struck a lethal blow against the security of the hemisphere, and of our nation. We need to know the facts about that matter — who made such decisions and why, and whether the individuals involved are promoting a similar debacle in El Salvador today.

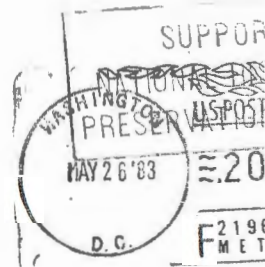
Systematic inquiry is needed on all these issues. We need a full-scale congressional investigation of the methods by which Nicaragua was toppled to the Marxists, the degree of Soviet-Cuban involvement in that calamity and the relevant actions

taken by the State Department.

We need to know what is occurring in Nicaragua now in terms of press freedom, democratic liberties and freedom of religion. And we need to know, above all else, the degree to which the Sandinistas are acting as the agents of Soviet and Cuban aggression.

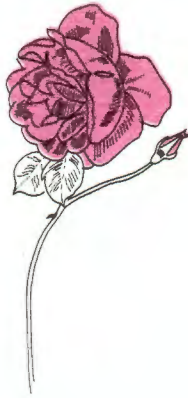
Only when we have satisfactory answers to these questions will we know what we should be doing about Nicaragua. And only then, in turn, will there be any prospect of solving the problems that face us in El Salvador, and elsewhere in the region.

729 Eighth Street, SE  
Washington, DC 20003



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

Preservation Copy



# Rose of Sharon, Inc.

June 10, 1983

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

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

Thank you for allowing me to sit in on your meeting of the Central America Working Group on May 18, 1983.

As you know, I have much interest down there as we have started the work - OPERATION NEW LIFE HONDURAS. There have been much response from Christian groups to then need in the Cental Americas. Many different groups have been and still are working down there and we of course have joined the ranks.

Only the Lord can give that burden. I saw the vision of a golden life line from the churches in the U.S. to the peoples of Honduras. God will raise up a standard in the midst of troubles - when his people seek his face.

When I was with President Roberto Cordova in August of 1982, I had an extensive hour long interview with him and I urged him to bring the country into fasting and prayer. On October 31st the whole country was ordered by the President to fast and pray and God have begun to move.

I look forward to meeting with you again when I return to the Washington area.

May God Bless You.

Best regards,

ROSE OF SHARON, INC.

Rene LaPlante

RL:bwd



OFFICE OF  
UNITED STATES COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

*file - central  
America*

URGENT - Action Requested

May 9, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE FAITH WHITTLESEY

FROM: Richard Krieger, Associate Coordinator *Richard Krieger*  
SUBJECT: Immediate Opportunity for Major Administration  
Inroads to the American Jewish Community

Issue for Decision

The agreement of Israel to accede to the American initiative for a withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon provides us with a great catalyst for an immediate rapprochement with the American Jewish community. The issue, therefore, is how best to take advantage of the withdrawal agreement as we develop a greatly intensified Administration effort in gaining support and allegiance from the Jewish community.

Essential Factors

It is obvious to all intimately concerned with the issue of Jewish community relations to the Administration that the next few weeks will be extremely sensitive and could well determine the direction of American Jewry for the 1984 Presidential election. The current situation had been analogous to that point in the Carter Administration when Ed Sanders resigned from his post as Senior Advisor to the President for Jewish Affairs and they followed with the proposed sale of high-powered diesel engines for patrol boats to Iraq, as well as intimating the recognition of the PLO. Additionally, President Carter announced he was looking into the sale of AWAC's to Saudi Arabia.

However, the Israeli response to Secretary Shultz opens new vistas and presents us with a marvelous opportunity with the Jewish community if we act to take advantage of it. We could prevent a repeat of the 1980 scenario when the disaffection of the Jewish community was so entrenched that the development of Jewish antagonism to Carter could never be headed. We are all aware that the effect of their action created a disaster for the Democratic Party in the 1980 election.

The Administration's relationship with American Jews is at a



pivotal juncture; however, the Israeli agreement to withdrawal of its troops from Lebanon provides us with a latch key to a positive direction regardless of the ultimate outcome (with Syria as the intransigent aspect of the agreement). On the basis of the act on the part of Israel, we can expect the President to restore the F-16 shipment to Israel and to begin a process of rethinking the Memorandum of Understanding. This nucleus would provide the "Fisher group" with some of the Ronald Reagan "credibility" it needs to get started.

At the same time, we should attempt to muzzle any anti-Israel rhetoric from "key Administration sources".

Hopefully, by the end of this week we will have another positive factor as I will be able to inform you of a new and intensified effort on behalf of Soviet Jewry that will be developing at the Department of State.

These elements added to the desire of both the Administration and aspects of the Jewish community to reach an accord and the positive economic factors that are now developing in this country are the nucleus for our speedy institution of a planned and concerted program for both current and long-term (aimed at '84) action.

#### Direction and Program

1. We must, as quickly as possible this week, conclude the "initial" meetings with the Fisher-Fox-Zacks-Klein group. Messrs. Clark and Deaver do not have to be in the room at the same time if that becomes a timing problem; however, they do have to be available the same day.

If possible, the group should be allowed to meet the President at the conclusion of that day with all issues firmly agreed to and entrenched, with the President formally announcing to the press the imminent restoration of the F-16's. (The group should be aware of this plan prior to calling the meeting.);

2. Fisher must be asked to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jewish coalition to formalize structure by the end of this week or at the latest, the beginning of next week. (This must not be delayed; we have a base for momentum.)

\*3. Elected Jewish Senators and Congressmen

We invite the Republican Jewish Senators and Congressmen for a meeting to discuss direction. They must feel part of the process. The meeting includes the Fisher-Fox group and is called together by Boschwitz, Specter and Gilman. (Rudy Boschwitz and Ben Gilman and the two senior Jewish elected officials - Ben in terms of Congressional service and Rudy in terms of history), the Fisher-Fox group and the White House. The agenda is discussed and approved by Rudy, Ben and Arlen as well as a designated representative of the coalition. We begin a process of continued communication with these people.

\*4. Administration Jewish Personnel

There are a number of Jewish men and women in the Administration - a complete list must be gathered of both the political appointees and the bureaucrats. The process is similar to that of the elected officials, except here we are not calling the appointees in to discuss direction but to inform them of our intent and to ask them how they might see us present the positive aspects to the Jewish community and the role they would see for themselves in this program. This group could be convened by Gerry Carmen, Mike Horowitz, Elliott Abrams, Phil Abrams, Ken Duberstein, along with those ever present designated representatives of the Coalition. The agenda would be discussed at a prior meeting with the small committee, as with our Congressmen we begin a process of continued communication.

\*We might follow up with a special briefing for these groups on PLO and other Soviet surrogate activity in Central and Latin America as well as the Caribbean. This combined briefing could be held with representatives from our Terrorism group at the Department of State; Rabbi Mort Rosenthal, Anti-Defamation League; Yonah Alexander, CSIS, and someone from our Central American desk. This briefing group could be expanded to include a representative of the Israel Embassy (give the perception that Israel is on our side).

## 5. The Coalition

At this first Coalition meeting you should be introduced and we define for them how the White House is delighted to be working with them; how we will be seeking counsel and guidance from them and how important it is for the Party that we work together. Have Frank Fahrenkopf at the meeting and enforce how the White House and the RNC will be working together. (This has not happened since Jack Stein was in the White House and I was in the RNC.) The key element here is to get them organized and get them functioning on our behalf. Use them as a nucleus for selling the Administration around the country. (You might have seen my schematic for structuring a coalition.) Once they believe that we are seriously concerned about them and Israel we can really proceed with having them help us sell the President's program on Central America; interest rate and private business initiatives; defense; nuclear arms, etc.

## 6. Jewish Organizations

The members of the Coalition provide us access to every Jewish organization in the U.S.; indeed, every organization in the world. This type of outreach not only is viable from that aspect but my contacts in the area make entry that much more viable. (I will be happy to plan out an approach with you and the Coalition.)

We have two major national meetings coming up with no Administration spokesman scheduled (see my letter of May 5). Both are ideal for us from the Middle East perspective and the Central American issue. (We have not broadcast to the Jewish community that the advance of Soviet surrogates, notably the PLO, have eroded Israel's relationship in Central America and have forced Jews to leave their homes again (the ADL report I sent you).

The UJA National Conference and the AIPAC National Program - We should look to Secretary Shultz, Ambassador Kirkpatrick, Judge Clark, Messrs. Baker, Meese or Deaver appearing. I will assist in any way possible.

The schedule of major Jewish events are planned out two and three years in advance. We should when practicable not be looking to schedule speakers at the last minute nor work in isolation. An advisory Committee could help us avoid being "trapped" by competing organizations.

We are about to enter the period of annual meetings and major end-of-year programs for the Jewish community - May and June. We should be prepared to have speakers ready to go out to them and stock congratulation and assurance letters to individuals and organizations from the President. Letters should also be prepared for Rabbis, Federation Executives and Agency heads, informing them of our direction, our gratification at Israel's move and our commitment (after the F-16 announcement) to the welfare of the State of Israel and the Jewish people. I will be pleased to represent a letter of this nature to The Collogium on Fundamental Rights and Freedoms of Latin American Jewry. (See memo of May 5.) That program as you may recall is being presented by The Washington College of Law and the American Jewish Committee here in Washington, May 16 - May 18.

- Jewish personalities and our attention to them is a major concern that has not been attended to and one situation I will discuss in another memo.

- Our use of media generally and Jewish news media particularly is a topic for another major memorandum and must be examined to be carefully structured. Within our timing and agenda, avoiding the perception that this effort is all flash and no substance.

Faith, there is so much more to plan and work with, including discussions I have had with Betty Heitman, Deputy Chairman of the RNC, about a welcome reception for the new Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. (scheduled to arrive the week of June 5).

All of this is keyed to our relationship with the Fisher group. Let me know how I can assist you. Ambassador Gene Douglas has given me carte blanche.

cc: Jonathan Vipond



OFFICE OF  
UNITED STATES COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

April 29, 1983

Faith:

As per our conversation last night, Ambassador Douglas has permitted me to work on this project. I have arranged for:

1. JINSA - Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, to agree to publish in its newsletter a piece on the large PLO involvement in Central America. I have asked Dick Stone to write the piece.

2. Rabbi Matt Simon, Congregation B'nai Israel, largest conservative congregation in Montgomery County, will speak on the same subject: PLO involvement in Central America.

3. Rabbi Mort Rosenthal, Anti-Defamation League (ADL), New York, will put together information on the involvement of the PLO in Central and South America for publication in ADL material.

4. Jacob Kavadloff, American Jewish Committee, New York, is doing the same thing for his group.

Pleased to be of help; will continue on this project. Let me know if there are other specifics I can assist on.

Sincerely,

Richard Krieger  
Associate Coordinator

Office telephone: 632-9560  
Home - Area Code 301 - 963-4241

The Honorable  
Faith Whittlesey,  
Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison,  
The White House.

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Faith has Nat Jewish Rep. Fed from  
Krieser

From the desk of:

JIM WHELAN

5/10

Morton -

Herewith the "Banana  
Peel" speech I told  
you about Monday. I did -  
+ do - feel it is important  
these concepts are clearly  
understood, if we are ever to  
escape the quagmire

**The Washington Times**

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**Council for Inter American Security**

You are invited to attend a

**CONFERENCE ON EL SALVADOR AND THE  
CENTRAL AMERICA CRISIS**

March 6, 1981  
2200 Rayburn HOB

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- Santa Fe, New Mexico

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Indiana State Senator

Dr. Lewis A. Tambs  
Professor of History  
Arizona State University

9:45 a.m. -  
noon

Morning session focuses on the military and political aspects in Central America. Opening statement by Jim Whelan, Editor, Sacramento Union will be followed by comments and discussion by panelists.

2:00 p.m. -  
4:00 p.m.

Afternoon session will be devoted to the economic dimension of the El Salvador plight. Opening statement by Dr. Cleto Di Giovanni, business consultant and former intelligence officer will also be followed by the same format.

Differing views will be represented on the panel by Latin American experts Enrique Altemirano, Editor, of El Salvador's largest newspaper, Diario de Hoy; Virginia Prewett, author of Washington's Instant Socialism in El Salvador; Manuel Hinds, former Minister of Finance, El Salvador; John Carbaugh, chief assistant to Senator Jesse Helms, former member, State Department Transition; Daniel James, National Strategic Information Center, long time resident and writer on Central America; Dr. Alberto Piedra, economist, Catholic University of America.



EL SALVADOR  
AND THE CRISIS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

JIM WHELAN, presently editor of the Sacramento Union, is the former editor-in-chief of Panax Newspapers, based in Washington. A former Neiman Fellow at Harvard, he was, for nearly a dozen years, a correspondent in Latin America (for United Press International and, later, Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance) based in Buenos Aires, Caracas, San Juan and Washington. In 1971, he was awarded the citation of Excellence of the Overseas Press Club of America in the category for best reporting on Latin America, any medium.

DR. CLETO DIGIOVANNI, JR., is a former senior CIA officer with experience in the Far East, South America and Europe. Since 1979, he has served as a consultant to private businessmen with focus on Central America problems. DiGiovanni has testified about the turmoil in Central America in congressional hearings and has written on that subject for the Heritage Foundation and The Washington Quarterly.

VIRGINIA PREWETT, author of Washington's Instant Socialism in El Salvador has for more than 25 years published syndicated columns, magazine articles and books on hemisphere affairs. Prewett has made a hemisphere-wide study of land-reform systems and visited every major land-reform area during five years of covering Latin America as a roving news correspondent and U.N. agency official. For thirteen years until 1972, she wrote for the Washington Daily News, the U.S. capital's last regular Latin American column. For eighteen years her columns were syndicated to major U.S. newspapers.

ENRIQUE ALTAMIRANO, since 1977 has been the publisher and editor of El Salvador's largest newspaper, Diario de Hoy. An engineer, Altamirano was educated at the University of Munich and from 1960 until 1965 held a teaching post at the University of El Salvador. He is presently a member of the Mont Pelerin Society, which is composed of 700 economists, historians and philosophers and which claims Milton Friedman as a past president.

MARY TEMPLE is presently Executive Director of the Land Council, an organization which is interested in democratic agrarian reform in developing countries. She worked for 15 years in the field with Professor Roy Prosterman as advisor to the democratic UCS - the largest peasant union in El Salvador.

# Experts hit media for misrepresenting Salvador's troubles

By Ted Agres  
NEWS WORLD WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON—Half a dozen experts on Latin America yesterday lashed out at the media for conveying a false impression of events in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

"We've had the wool pulled over our eyes," said award-winning syndicated columnist Virginia Prewett. "Word meanings have been changed so that a 'socialistic system' is called 'free enterprise'" in El Salvador, she said.

"The Reagan administration inherited a nightmare in El Salvador," said Jim Whelan, editor of the Sacramento Union and former veteran Latin America correspondent for United Press International.

"The Reagan administration is not, however, going to win the public support it must have, unless it understands clearly how the mess was created, and then communicates that awareness to others," he said.

The two speakers were among those participating in an all-day seminar on "El Salvador and the Central American Crisis," sponsored by the Council for Inter-American Security.

The speakers expressed concern over the fact that newspapers tend to report only on violent activities of the so-called "right wing" faction of the Salvadoran society and downplay activities by Marxist guerrillas and terrorists.

The responses the United States takes, they said, are not always in the best interests of El Salvador.

## U.S. 'manipulated'

"We're being manipulated by a relatively small group of terrorists into destroying one of the best-working, small, free market economies by forcing the U.S. to subsidize the first step model to socialism and eventually totalitarianism," Prewett charges.

Samuel Dickens, a consultant to the National Security Foreign Relations Commission, told the gathering. "It's shocking that the United States has tried to pre-empt the leftists with the so-called 'agrarian reform.'" There is no economic solution there.

"The country (El Salvador) has to win the war. After that, the people of El Salvador should determine which way to go and we don't make any demands on the direction," he said.

L. Francis Bouchey, executive vice president of the CIS, said further "reforms should be kept on hold until a duly-elected government is in place" in El Salvador. "they need legitimate self-determination but not an the end of a bayonet, which the rebels prefer, or from directives from the U.S. State Department."

## 'Biased reporting'

Whelan described U.S. press coverage of El Salvador as "terrible" and "appalling," saying the New York Times, Washington Post and the other major papers are guilty of "very biased reporting."

"Now, even the wire services—UPI and AP—are giving biased coverage. It's not the truth, not a full reporting of events there," Whelan said.

Prewett said much of the blame can be placed on the New York Times for leading the "other media in biased reporting."

"I don't think this nation will ever get straightened out until we have a well-funded, conservative newspaper in Washington that's so well-funded that it can buck the New York Times," she said.

Other speakers at the conference include Dr. Cleto Digiovanni Jr., a former senior CIA officer stationed in South America; Enrique Altamirano, editor and publisher of El Salvador's largest newspaper, Diario de Hoy; and Daniel James, consultant to the Council on Economics and National Security.

News World 3-7-81

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4 Ralf Dahrendorf, Director of the London School of  
5 Economics, observed a ~~few~~<sup>few</sup> months ago how volatile things  
6 social and political have become in our turbulent world.

7 The result, he said, is a near-absence of in-depth  
8 discussions of the issues and forces of the ~~1960s~~<sup>1970s</sup>.

9 The reason for this, Dahrendorf added, is plain  
10 enough: As soon as one has tried to make sense of things  
11 social and political, they have changed again.

12 That certainly is true of El Salvador today. Yet,  
13 within those limitations imposed by rapid change, I  
14 believe it is possible, nonetheless, to focus on a single  
15 proposition which lays bare a dangerous error of perception  
16 underlying the Reagan administration's bold but ~~improvised~~<sup>improvised</sup>  
17 moves in El Salvador.

18 That proposition is that the Reagan administration  
19 is now--and will remain, unless it rapidly and clearly  
20 repudiates two key premises of its Salvador policy--poised  
21 on a philosophical banana peel.

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The perils of premising policy on such a slippery footing  
are too obvious to be labored.

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4 And what is that philosophical banana peel? It is,  
5 I submit, that conceit which holds:

6 1) That the October Revolution which overthrew the  
7 Romero government in 1979 was either desirable--or, even  
8 more preposterously, inevitable;

9 2) That the present, de-facto government is on the  
10 correct //progressive// track--if only the gunslingers  
11 would leave them alone.

12 If the Reagan administration continues to operate  
13 on those premises, then it is, I fear, doomed to a  
14 pratfall both unnecessary and costly--for us, the U.S. and  
15 for Salvordans who have already suffered enough because of  
16 our blunders.

17 Those premises--the inevitability of revolution,  
18 the saintliness of the Junta--are Carter premises. And it  
19 was Mr. Carter--and his all-too-eager satraps--who did so  
20 much to put us, put El Salvador, in the mess we are now in.

21 Quickly--and before someone drops a butterfly net over  
22

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me--let me attempt to insist on certain <sup>things</sup> ~~things~~ I am  
saying, as well as certain things I am not saying.

The first of them:

\* I am not--repeat, not--advocating the  
abandonment of the present government in El Salvador.

\* I am not--repeat, not--advocating the overthrow  
of the present government <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ El Salvador.

\* But I am saying--as clearly and as ~~forcefully~~  
as I can--that we be clear in our own minds, and then make  
clear to the rest of the world, that the present tragedy of  
El Salvador is, in large measure, a tragedy of flawed and  
perverse policies put in motion by the Carter administration.

\* And I am further saying that these flawed and  
perverse policies released--and even nourished--a  
revolutionary whirlwind which has already all but laid waste  
any hope of real democratic growth or material progress  
in Nicaragua; a whirlwind which then plunged El Salvador into  
the agony of its present abyss, a whirlwind which, even  
yet, threatens Guatemala and Honduras.

\* And, I am saying, finally, that those flawed

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IIIIH Central America - pg. 4HHH

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2 policies and the whirlwind they released, certainly and  
3 clearly decisive in changing what Moscow likes to call the  
4 //Correlation of Forces// in the area--precipitating the  
5 massive Soviet and Soviet-surrogate outside intervention  
6 which we must now confront in the area.

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7 Let me go back to those two key premises--inevitability  
8 and saintliness--and add a third: the need, the urgent  
9 need--I believe--for the Reagan administration to recognize  
10 and react to the reality that much of the confusion--in this  
11 country as well as abroad--concerning U.S. purposes in  
12 El Salvador--was fostered by Carter ~~Administration~~ <sup>Administration</sup>  
13 ~~ambivalence~~ <sup>ambivalence</sup>--if not downright deception.

14 That ambivalence--or deception--resided in the  
15 almost fanatical belief of New Left zealots in the Carter  
16 administration that the ~~enemy~~ <sup>enemy</sup> in El Salvador--indeed, in  
17 the world--was the right, and not the left. As a result,  
18 the Carter administration ignored--if not actually  
19 suppressed--its own intelligence estimates showing a Kremlin  
20 perception that with the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua,  
21 El Salvador was ripe for ~~the~~ revolution.

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As a further result, the Carter administration

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ignored--or downplayed--mounting evidence of active,

4 aggressive, Cuban, Sandinista and Soviet involvement in

5 El Salvador. That zeal--that affection for what former

6 Ambassador Robert White has called //The Passionate Left//

7 caused the Carter administration to direct its most

8 withering fire against the villainies of the Right--

9 Ambassador White still does, of course.

10 Small wonder, then, that so many of our own people,

11 so many of our own allies, and ~~putative~~ <sup>putative</sup> allies with their

12 own ideological ~~malodorous~~ <sup>malodorous</sup> fish to fry--small wonder that they

13 profess surprise, when Washington suddenly, flamboyantly,

14 discovers the hand of the international ~~Left~~ Left in the

15 drama.

16 As to the evidence that we knew long ago--at least

17 a full year ago--that Moscow was ~~cranking~~ cranking up a major

18 adventure in Central America, one need look no further than

19 the State Department's Feb. 23 Special Report No. 80--though

20 even that chronology does not go back far enough, overlooking,

21 as it does, a CIA warning issued back in May of 1979.

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Central America - pg. 6

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For these reasons, it is, I believe essential, that the Reagan administration be bold enough to make plain--at home and abroad--that the Carter administration's schizophrenia is not its schizophrenia. The Right is, at present, at least, a significant factor in the destabilization of El Salvador only to the extent that there is a war going on there. Even a document so tendentious, so dogmatic, as the Carter administration's last hurrah on human rights, the Feb. 2, 1981 report, almost whiningly makes the point--though for radically different reasons--that the government doesn't make war on the Right and the Right doesn't make war on the government. Both, however different their present motives, however different a potential later scenario, are making war on the Left.

The Left is, now, the enemy. No need to be schizophrenic about it! The Left has been the only <sup>significant</sup> ~~significant~~ enemy for the better part of a year--no need to be schizophrenic about it. Whether that is because the real essential center of power of the government itself has moved too far to the Right is a different question: That



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Government remains the only one El Salvador has, the one we have and do and--in my opinion--must support--so no need to be schizophrenic about it.

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Another quick aside: Yes, I am aware of the target practice at the U.S. Embassy. Yes, I am aware of Major ~~B. Abuisson~~ <sup>D'Abuisson</sup>. <sup>^</sup> It remains my conviction that the Right poses no serious threat at this time to the Junta--beyond the reality of how far <sup>the</sup> Right ~~is~~ has already pushed the Junta. But the Junta is, again and after all, the government we do support, the one we are stuck with.

~~Lest~~ <sup>Lest</sup> I bury my own point, allow me to resurrect it:

The Carter administration, until the last month of its own life, pooh-pooed the role of the Left--and that specifically included Cuba, the Sandinistas and the never-even-mentioned Soviets. It did so in line with its own commitment to Zbigniew Brezezinski's <sup>+</sup> theory of <sup>m</sup> Modernization <sup>r</sup> of <sup>c</sup> Revolutionary Change!!! It is, therefore, important, I believe, that the Reagan administration attack four-square this source of confusion.

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Back, briefly, to my basic premises: the

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desirability, the inevitability of change.

4 The underlying support for such a premise comes in  
5 two parts.

6 The first says the country was in such a stew that  
7 change was desperately needed.

8 The second, that if we didn't pre-empt with our kind of  
9 revolution, why the other side--the Left--was about to stage  
10 theirs.

11 Balderdash!

Space

12 ~~There~~ does not permit a detailed documentation of  
13 my ~~claim~~ claim that--though far from perfect--the El  
14 Salvador of 1977, when the Carter administration first  
15 began turning the screws--was doing clearly, resoundingly  
16 better than most Third World Countries in improving the  
17 social, political and economic lot of its surfeit of citizens.

Even

18 ~~Even~~ in 1979, when our policies had helped to uncase  
19 the Left, even with a hostile government next door in  
20 Nicaragua--the Romero record was clearly superior--and far  
21 more promising--than what would follow.

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Or, are we to take seriously the notion that we--and

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the so-called revolution we fostered--have really

4 "saved" the country? Saved it, through the death of

5 9,000 to 11,000 of its citizens in a single [REDACTED] year?

6 Saved it by creating an unprecedented flotsam of at least

7 62,000 refugees at home and who knows how many more fleeing

8 at whatever cost, to die in the Arizona desert, or, at best,

9 live in the twilight of civilization as illegal aliens?

10 Or, is it saving a country to foster a [REDACTED] revolution

11 which converts a country with one of the strongest and most

12 promising growth rates in Latin America in 1977 into one

13 with 50 percent unemployment and an appalling, negative

14 growth rate of as much as 9 percent this year? Is it

15 saving a country to transform it from one in which laws,

16 while imperfect and imperfectly applied, did exist and were

17 applied, into one in which there is no law and no respect

18 for any human rights?

19 I think not. El Salvador did not need the October

20 Revolution nor--as the Feb. 3 White paper demonstrates,

21 the Left had nowhere near the strength, nor unity, nor

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Central America - pg. 10

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firepower to topple the Romero government. The Left gained

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its power only when <sup>Moscow</sup> ~~we~~ deemed it propitious to move into

and exploit the chaos that revolution precipitated. I cannot  
*leave*

~~learn~~ this theme, by the way, without remarking how much

better off El Salvador would be today if we had worked with

instead of against the friendly Romero government, back in

1977 and 1978, when the country was experiencing a genuine

economic boom. Instead, we choked off aid--~~economic~~ <sup>economic</sup>

aid from ~~1977~~ 1977 through 1979 was a paltry \$29 million;

military aid a piddling \$600 ~~thousand dollars~~ <sup>thousand dollars</sup>. By

contrast, we dumped \$58.3 million in ~~economic~~ <sup>economic</sup> aid last

year alone, and \$5.9 million in military aid last year.

For this year, we have programmed economic aid of \$90 million

--and there is talk of as much as \$300 million. All this

because we wanted to save a country from its own solvency

and promise, creating instead a Bangladesh!

As to the second premise, the correctness of the

//progressive// government and its reforms. Briefly, ever so

briefly, it seems to me that you have to ~~believe~~ believe in some

sort of tooth fairy to believe in the wisdom of breaking up

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2 some of the most productive farms in the Western

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3 Hemisphere, and re-distributing them among 300,000,

4 largely un-skilled farm families. You furthermore must

5 believe in a tooth fairy to imagine that the peasantry

6 would benefit from that any more than the country would.

7 President Jose Napoleon Duarte ~~believed~~ believed in no

8 such fairy, or at least a year ago, he was willing to tell

9 me that he foresaw no significant transfers of actual

10 titles to lands on into the indefinite future, precisely

11 because the peasants lacked the skills to manage

12 plantations. The reality, then, the alternative?

13 Collectives, run by government experts?

14 Is it really better to work for the government

15 than for a private patron--one who <sup>would</sup> ~~could~~--and was,

16 increasingly--policed by the government?

17 And is the whole population really going to be better

18 off through //reforms// which mean that a country

19 historically able to feed itself, now no longer can?

20 As of last week, by the way, the government--in what

21 must have been a ~~gesture~~ P.R. gesture--had handed out 200 titles

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to peasants. Yet I suppose that ~~is~~ is preferable to actually creating 300,000 handkerchief plots.

The financial, so-called reforms--seizing the banks, credit institutions, control of exports--are desirable, I suppose, if you happen to believe in the authoritarian, socialistic state. Me, I do not, and so I wonder what's so good <sup>for</sup> us--the supposed champions of free enterprise, the market economy--about a de-facto government, chosen by no one, having such a whip hand over the lives and livelihood of the entire citizenry. (A cynical aside: I ~~was~~ saw a news story a day or so ago about Duarte, product himself of a military coup, decrying those who only seek to seize power by--guess what?--force!)

The Reagan ~~administration~~ <sup>administration</sup> inherited a nightmare in El Salvador. The Reagan administration is not, however, going to win the public support ~~it~~ it must have unless it understands clearly how the mess was created--and then communicates that awareness to others. Otherwise, it will slip on the philosophical banana peel left by the Carter administration--the contradictions between what the

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Carter crowd was telling the world, until only a few days ago, and what the U.S. is saying now.

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Logic--and a decent amount of experiences, of background--can carry me that far. To go beyond, I will need a crystal ball--and a great measure of the boldness.

With that said, on to a speculation or two:

1) El Salvador does not need to become Vietnam.

Indeed, it would be as grievous an error to increase the U.S. military presence in El Salvador as it would be to diminish the flow of U.S. military and economic assistance.

2) But, El Salvador must become a Vietnam if the Soviets or Cubans or Sandinistas persist in making it so only this time we cannot afford to flinch--the world needs no more Cambodias.

3) In point of fact, however, I would expect to see the level of fighting decline steadily in the months ahead in the face of clear U.S. resolve.

4) As peace returns, I believe we should use our influence with the Junta to move as rapidly and cleanly as they can into a market economy--the one best hope for

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Central America-pg. 13

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Carter crowd was telling the world, until only a few days

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ago, and what the U.S. is saying now.

4           Logic--and a decent amount of experiences, of  
5 background--can carry me that far. To go beyond, I will  
6 need a crystal ball--and a great measure of the boldness.

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17 the level of fighting decline steadily in the months ahead  
18 in the face of clear U.S. resolve.

19           4) As peace returns, I believe we should use our  
20 influence with the Junta to move as rapidly and cleanly  
21 as they can into a market economy--the one best hope for



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Central America-pg. 14

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*Expanding*  
~~expanding~~, not only the economy but also the country's

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social and political frontiers. {et}

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# Grenada Aftermath: What the Islanders Say

## Grenadians Welcomed Invasion, a Poll Finds

By ADAM CLYMER

An overwhelming majority of the people of Grenada welcomed the United States invasion of their island, according to a poll conducted Thursday by CBS News. They felt that American troops had come to free them from the Cubans and prevent the construction of a military base.

The poll showed that a smaller but solid majority said they had felt in danger under the Government of Gen. Hudson Austin, who seized power last

month. Another solid majority said they believed that Cubans were building the island's new airport for Cuban and Soviet military purposes, not for economic development or tourism.

The poll of 304 people was conducted by 15 Grenadian interviewers, in 30 seconds of the island. Each interviewer read questions to and took down answers from about 20 people, saying he or she was conducting a "public opinion poll" but not saying who was sponsoring the survey.

Warren J. Mitofsky, director of the Election and Survey Unit for CBS News, supervised the polling. He said yesterday in a telephone interview from Barbados, "While a poll of this sort carries a margin of error higher than that of a standard probability sample, we are very confident of the thrust of our findings as a measurement of Grenadian opinion." In a standard probability sample, the margin of error for a survey of this size would be plus or minus 6 percentage

points.

Ninety-one percent of those polled said they were "glad the United States troops came to Grenada," while only 8 percent said they wished they had never come. A similar majority of 85 percent said they felt they or their family were in danger while General Austin was in power, while 11 percent said they were not.

When asked about how they felt under General Austin's predecessor, Maurice Bishop, 33 percent said they believed they were in danger then, while 48 percent said they were not.

The Grenadians' attitudes toward the Cubans were strongly hostile. Sev-

enty-six percent said they believed Cuba wanted to take control of the Grenadian Government, and 65 percent said they believed the airport was being built for Cuban and Soviet military purposes. Only 17 percent said they had seen Cubans carrying weapons before the Americans arrived.

The attitudes toward General Austin and the Cubans appeared to carry over into a warm welcome for the American troops, the CBS News Poll showed. Eighty-five percent said they felt the American purpose in invading was to "free the people of Grenada from the Cubans," and 81 percent said Ameri-

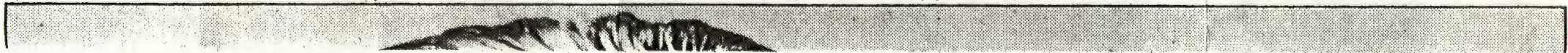
can troops were "courteous and considerate."

A smaller share of those interviewed, 62 percent, said they felt the American troops had come "to save the lives of Americans living here." But only 21 percent said they believed that the troops had been sent "for the United States' own military purposes rather than to help the people of Grenada."

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The New York Times

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Dear Conservative Student Journalist:

We thought you might be interested in interviewing some of the American students who were evacuated from St. George's University Medical School in Grenada.

We have brief biographies and the phone numbers of four of these students in our office. The students should provide you with interviews suitable for either editorials or features. Please telephone our office if you are interested.

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## HUMAN RIGHTS

Neither Central Americans nor North Americans can benefit from the imposition and spread of modern, brutally efficient totalitarian regimes in the western hemisphere, as would happen were the Salvadoran guerrillas to assume power. To oppose these regimes—or to prevent them—is to defend human rights. As Morton Kondracke, executive editor of *The New Republic*, has put it, “Senator Dodd seems to share with many Democrats a need for instant moral gratification. If faced with a hard, long, ambiguous struggle, their counsel is, ‘don’t do it.’ They want the killing to stop now, and they want it so badly that they are willing to hand away other people’s freedom rather than help them fight.”

President Reagan’s policies aid the democratic forces in Central America against their enemies on both totalitarian left and the violent right. Help the embattled democrats. Support the President.

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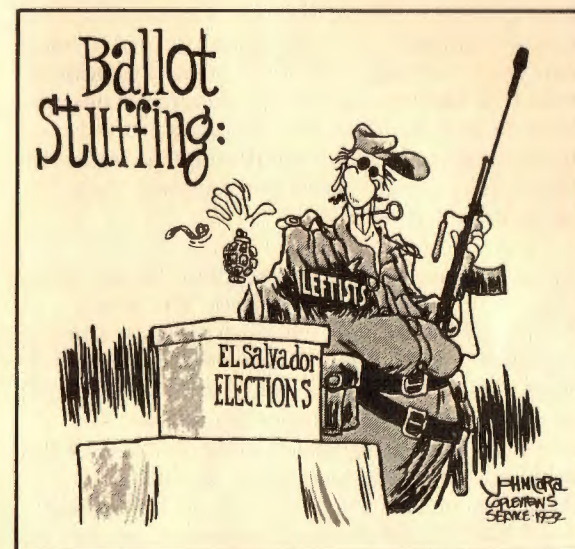
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# CENTRAL AMERICA



## Ballots or Bullets?

**In 1982, El Salvador had an election.**

**Nicaragua did not.**

**In late 1983, Salvadorans will elect a new president.**

**Nicaraguans will not.**

In fact, before taking power, Nicaragua's Sandinistas promised the Organization of American States—in writing—that they would promptly hold free elections once the dictator Anastasio Somoza was overthrown. There is no evidence that the elections will ever be held. As *The Washington Post* recently noted, they "aren't even in sight."

By contrast, on March 28, 1982, El Salvador held what one observer called "the most thoroughly observed elections here or maybe anywhere else." Over 500 foreign delegates inspected the voting procedure and found it to be impeccable. Most importantly, the Salvadoran people enthusiastically flocked to the polls, ignoring the guerrillas' warning to "Vote today, die tonight." Even Christopher Dodd (D-CT), chief senate opponent of the Reagan Administration, was "delighted" with the results. "All I could think," he remarked, "after having been through four elections in

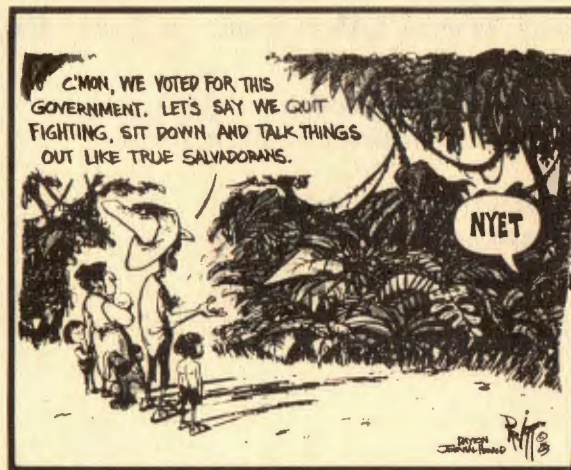
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***The government in El Salvador was elected by more than 75% of the population.***

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Connecticut, is how you can get a significant drop in voting if you have a light mist on election day—let alone death threats, violence and a war raging. I hope the point is not lost on Americans."

The election burst the media-bubble of the guerrillas' popularity. While the centrist Christian Democrats won over 40% of the vote, the majority of seats in the Constituent Assembly were garnered by several conservative parties, which have now formed a governing coalition. The balloting clearly demonstrated that only a very tiny minority of the people support the guerrillas.



### **WHO ARE THE GUERRILLAS?**

The FMLN is a coalition of radical-left groups, dedicated to the violent pursuit of power. They have received political support and thousands of tons of military supplies from such despotic nations as Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, the PLO, Algeria, Ethiopia, North Korea, and the Soviet Union. On rebel leader has been likened to Cambodia's Pol Pot for his fanaticism. They are certainly not democratic; the day following the elections, a rebel spokesman stated that the elections could only prolong the war.

### **THE REAGAN POLICY**

The Reagan policy concentrates on supporting the democratic elements in Central America. In El Salvador, the democratic government is battling a leftist insurgency; in Nicaragua, the Marxists have already seized power and have transformed the country into a Castroite dictatorship.

In El Salvador, the Administration is pursuing a two-track approach: humanitarian aid to enable the government to continue economic and governmental reforms, and military assistance to provide what Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-WA) calls "a shield behind which the people of El Salvador . . . can voice their views at the ballot box."

---

***Contrary to popular perception, 77% of U.S. aid to El Salvador is humanitarian, not military.***

---

The policy has been largely effective at cutting support for the guerrillas. Land reform has been a major success: 20% of the arable land, including all the largest estates, has been redistributed to more than 450,000 people—one in ten Salvadorans.

### **WHAT ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS?**

The Reagan Administration believes that where democratic processes operate, as in El Salvador, all political groups should negotiate at the ballot-box. Anything else undercuts the pursuit of democracy. The Salvadoran government has established a Peace Commission to encourage the guerrillas to join in the elections. Where democracy does not exist, as in Nicaragua, the U.S. has consistently urged that genuine and free elections be held.