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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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POTTER, CLAIRE

76

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	MEMO	CATHI VILLAPANDO TO MORTON BLACWELL RE. CENTRAL AMERICA BRIEFING	1	10/4/1983	B6
2	FORM	RE. REGISTRATION [W/CARD]	1	ND	B6

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Mrs. Joyce Thomann  
Office of Public Liaison  
Suite #91-0EOB  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Thomann:

This is in reference to Mr. Morton C. Blackwell's letter, dated August 17, 1983, in which he kindly attached several interesting documents on Central America.

Following his indications, I am enclosing my registration form, with the request that my name be placed on the regular clearance list.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that I am a staff member of the Inter-American Development Bank, an international lending organization, who has over 1,500 Latin-American employees. I have spoken with many of them in order to gather support for the President's policies in Central America. Notwithstanding, I consider of extreme importance to be able to invite some of them to the briefings, so that they may obtain first-hand information on what we are trying to convey. Please let me know what steps I must follow in order to extend such invitations.

Thanking you again, I remain,

Very truly yours,

  
Rafael Franchi

Morton Blackwell

AUG 2 1983

add to L.A. mailing list + rewrite to OWG meetings

VIRGINIA PREWETT ASSOCIATES  
4545 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., (222)  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Ms. Faith Whittlesey  
Chief, Public Liaison  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Whittlesey:

The Washington power structure is regularly bombarded with letters seeking to influence U.S. policy regarding Latin America. Powerful national lobbies thrust their views on its members. National news media use their news space and time to influence individuals in government and out toward what they think should be done about El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala and so on.

But what is bedrock fact about Central America and what is political allegation? Ideologues devoted to the "theology of revolution" and other movements seek to manipulate events through influencing elected and appointed officials. This is common knowledge. But don't the American people, as a whole, trust their representatives in government to sift to the truth in making U.S. foreign policy?

For nearly fourteen years, one Washington-based, nonsubsidized, independent, reader-supported publication, The Hemisphere Hotline, has vigorously sought and published clarifications on Latin America. Its editor, Virginia Prewett, for thirty years has published books, syndicated columns and major magazine articles on many aspects of that region. The Hotline office file of her weekly and biweekly reports goes back unbroken to 1959.

No reporter-analyst can survive so long in any controversial field without producing sound work. Fact, not political fashion or fiction or lobby doctrine, must infuse such work with reliability.

Will you or your foreign-policy staff aide read a few issues of The Hemisphere Hotline and judge for yourselves?

For the first time, we are offering four-month trial subscriptions to a selected list of people at the reduced price of \$35. Our yearly subscription rate has not been increased beyond its original \$125 since The Hotline began.

Please glance at our enclosures and read the sample Hotlines. Simply mark the enclosed subscription form with the word TRIAL and mail it back to us.

A file of Hemisphere Hotlines will provide your office with many facts that you can test as you will.

Sincerely,

✓ Virginia Prewett (Mizelle)  
Prewett-Mizelle Reports

Encl.

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# HEMISPHERE HOTLINE

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THE PRIVATE NEW WORLD INTELLIGENCE SERVICE □ □

VIRGINIA PREWETT ASSOCIATES  
4545 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., (222)  
Washington, D.C. 20008

THE HEMISPHERE HOTLINE IS A PRIVATE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, PUBLISHED EVERY OTHER WEEK

We scan Capitol Hill, the White House, the big banks, the lobbyists, the international lending agencies, the State Department, the news media, our allies and our enemies....

We watch them maneuver over the world, but especially in Latin America, the area most neglected or most distorted in the U.S. national news media. The Hemisphere Hotline is absolutely independent. It is not subsidized. It accepts no advertising. It is reader-supported and always has been.

A time-proven, quick-reading publication, the Hemisphere Hotline sweats the sense out of a thousand complex happenings, saving countless hours even for readers with access to extensive sources...taps many hard-to-reach sources in the U.S., in Latin America and elsewhere...interprets their meaning in the light of decades of experience. And the Hemisphere Hotline boils all this down to a finely-balanced survival tool for freedom-prone Americans.

We specialize in the geopolitics of the U.S. national interest. Many leaders in this arena feel they must read the Hotline -- ambassadors here and abroad, members of Congress, U.S. and foreign intelligence services, Washington officials, State, the Pentagon, banks, corporations, consultants, lobbyists and other power-brokers. Many readers outside that circle have been with us from the first issue in January 1970. HH subscription renewals, a very high percentage of all who subscribe, attest that our readers get their money's worth and more.

## The Hotline Team

Virginia Prewett, the Hotline editor-publisher, leads a crack team of consultants. She has written in depth on every country below the Río Grande. She has long known their presidents and peasants, cities and backlands from Mexico to South America's tip. As a foreign correspondent and as a senior UN agency official, she has lived in Mexico, Argentina and Brazil, traveling extensively in these and every other hemisphere country except Haiti. She has researched oilfields and large and small agricultural and related operations in Chile's Tierra del Fuego, Peru's jungled Huallaga Valley, Venezuela's Orinoco region, Brazilian Amazonian outposts including the High Xingú, Guatemala and El Salvador. She cleared virgin forest to farm in Central Brazil near its largest land-division project and produced three crops there. She has investigated land reform in the Dominican Republic, along the Colombian-Panamanian border, in northern Panama, Honduras, eastern Bolivia, Peru and Mexico.

Prewett's file of her weekly and biweekly published reports on U.S.-Latin American affairs goes back unbroken to 1959. For 13 years, she wrote Washington's only regular column on Latin America three times a week in the Washington Daily News. Earlier, her by-line columns appeared in the Washington Post, New York Herald-Tribune and others. She was Chicago Sun-Times syndicated roving correspondent in Latin America for three years, and for 18 years was syndicated through NANA to scores of U.S. papers. She has published three books and many monographs on Latin America and has written articles for Foreign Affairs Quarterly, The Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, Human Events and many others. She has analyzed news for the BBC and CBC and lectured at U.S. universities, the U.S. Defense Intelligence School, etc. Prewett has received the María Moors Cabot Gold Medal, the Overseas Press Club Ed Stout Citation and nine other journalistic awards, several for exposés of human-rights abuses by Castro, Duvalier, Trujillo and their kind.

(OVER)

A FEW OF THE MANY VIRGINIA PREWETT EXCLUSIVES...



# Defense Becomes a Problem

By VIRGINIA PREWETT

7/20/61

As the Berlin crisis looms closer, this nation's top Latin Americans are thinking very realistically about hemisphere defense. Reality Number One is that Castro's Cuba, now rapidly becoming a communist advance command post equipped with jet planes and rockets, is well inside our continental early warning system for jets and rockets.

A quick crisis strike to knock this Russia gun from our head must be envisaged. from European nations actively fighting Hitler. The next war, if any, will happen incredibly fast. The U. S. might even be able to reach the station the U. S. It is sadly true that the U. S. had a tremendous opp the 1950's in stronger.

In her Washington Daily News column, Prewett wrote 15 months before the Cuban missile crisis broke that Soviet rockets (IRBMs) were in Cuba. (See left)

A Prewett column on April 22, 1983, revealed that Sandinista Nicaragua has ceded Moscow rights to build an inter-ocean canal there. UN Amb. Jeane Kirkpatrick confirmed this to other Washington journalists a week later.

For years, the Hotline has followed the piling up of huge debts in the Third World, showing how socialistic economics create them, and how they threaten the West's financial structure. In the late 1950s, not even Bache & Co. believed it when Prewett said gold prices were going to go radically upward in coming years.

The quick-reading, hard-hitting Hotline is NOT expensive. By keeping costs down and by inexpensive reproduction, we can still offer you a subscription for one year for \$100.00 -- a \$25 discount off our regular price.

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# HEMISPHERE HOTLINE

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THE PRIVATE NEW WORLD INTELLIGENCE SERVICE □ □  
Volume XIV, Number 10 May 12, 1983

PREWETT - MIZELLE REPORTS

4545 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., (222)

Washington, D.C.  
Fortnightly

20008  
ISSN 0734-9181

## ALERT ON WASHINGTON: RUSSIAN BEAR'S NUCLEAR CLAWMARKS

Washington D.C. -- The coming months of 1983 will be a time of unprecedented danger in the New World. Latin Americans now fighting against the well-equipped proxy armies of the Soviet/Cuban axis will face new hazards as the U.S. Congress fiddles to let Central America burn.

But most at hazard will be the people of the United States. At risk is the remaining relative safety from nuclear attack of the population of our homeland. The status of the U.S. as a world power and defender of the Free World is also at stake.

The danger will be greatest between now and the fall, say October. The American people are not threatened with "another Vietnam" to the south of us. Nor necessarily with "another Pearl Harbor," although one is distinctly possible. What threatens our population is a 1983 version of the 1962 Cuban Soviet nuclear missile crisis.

But this time, U.S. world power has been relinquished country by country in region after region. And that of the Soviets, symbolically and in cold fact, has grown.

In this decade, a U.S.-Soviet confrontation over nuclear missiles near our shores cannot be overcome with a simple naval blockade of one island and a secret deal between our President and the Soviet man at the top. First of all, the Soviets have laid groundwork for giving their missiles to more than one Latin American surrogate. And its chief stunt double, Cuba, now has at least one military airbase and one submarine pen so "hardened" that it would take a nuclear barrage to knock out either.

This is not all by far. The Soviet/Cuban axis now manipulates three other New World countries where new airstrips are capable of handling the big Soviet TU-95 bombers. And Castro will soon have a six-submarine fleet. These subs can deliver undetected to Cuba, Grenada or Nicaragua -- or even Guyana -- Kangaroo nuclear-warhead missiles to arm the TU-95s, which can take them 5,100 miles to launch against ground targets 385 miles farther.

As we reported in our last issue (Vol. XIV, No. 9), the Kangaroos' nuclear warheads are forty times more devastating than the Hiroshima bomb. From say 175 miles out to sea, a TU-95 can launch a 1,500-mile-an-hour Kangaroo to make lava of a U.S. city by the time our only home defense, our interceptor aircraft, can get into the air. It takes five minutes for the interceptors to scramble -- all the time a Kangaroo fired from close offshore would need to reach its target.

### The Shell Game

Soviet TU-95s are already a familiar sight in New World skies, and Cubans have been trained to fly them. The Soviet/Cuban command have long since plotted Caribbean seabottom trench routes linking the four Sovietized countries there. Along those trenches, Cuban or Russian submarines can shuttle nuclear-missile cargos undetected. So at any of the four surrogate base countries, TU-95s could be armed with sub-delivered Kangaroos at any time. Thus, with nukes inside the U.S. early-warning arc, the Kremlin can play a shell-game far more effective than the costly "racetrack" basing once considered for our MXs.

Every U.S. retreat from power in the last twenty years has contributed to permitting this dilemma to develop. Every "giveaway" in the Caribbean and Central America -- the Panama Canal, Nicaragua, Grenada and even little Suriname -- has signalled the Kremlin

that it could safely push harder, pour more billions in arms to Latin American leftist "liberators," -- aim ambitiously farther and farther into the New World.

An awful danger that now hangs over us all is that the repeated posturings of the U.S. Congress to undercut the last U.S. proxy defenders in Central America -- those fighting the communists in Nicaragua and El Salvador -- may encourage the Kremlin to make a terrible miscalculation.

In this century, power rivals of the U.S. have all fatally underestimated what the United States would do to protect itself because, before each acute crisis, the voices most loudly heard were those of appeasers. This was true before World War II, when the U.S. draft law passed our Congress by only a single vote. The U.S. was misleading on the Falklands/Malvinas local war. Argentina's then-President Leopoldo Galtieri has publicly stated that if he had known Washington would side with the British, Argentina would not have invaded the disputed islands.

In the present Soviet remote-control invasion, we already know that our Congress's refusal to back up our proxy defenders in Central America has encouraged the Soviets to threaten to return nuclear missiles to the New World. This is not alarmism: Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and President Reagan have both referred publicly to these threats. Sandinista Foreign Minister Daniel Ortega has said Nicaragua's government will entertain any request from Russia to base such missiles there. He later seemed to back off, but backing off means little in Marxist-Leninism, with the lie a major instrument of policy.

We have observed that the Soviets, on the prod worldwide, will take an inch wherever they can get it. We also know from recent history that the inch's accessibility is taken as assurance they may grab an ell.

The U.S. Congress's nonsupport of anticommunist forces in Central America is so flagrant and so notorious that it may well tempt the Soviets to a dizzy leap: the full-time basing of a ring of nuclear missiles of intermediate range throughout its four-nation nascent empire in the New World. The U.S. cannot afford to permit this.

### Nuclear Missiles as Power Symbols

Writing in the Washington Post on May 8, Columbia University's Prof. Seweryn Bialer correctly observes that to the Soviets, nuclear missiles are more than just offensive and defensive weapons. "The Soviet Union depends on its nuclear arsenal not only to protect itself and to threaten others, but for its very status as a great power. Without nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union would not be a superpower.... Nuclear weapons...are the overriding political and psychological factor in Soviet-American relations, and in today's global politics generally."

A look at the Soviet use and deployment of its nuclear missiles clearly confirms this. In the wilds, the bear is noted for marking out his territory by reaching as high as he can on tree trunks to make deep scratch-marks there. In its pursuit of expanded world power, the Russian bear appears to be using nuclear missiles the way its model in the wild uses scratch-marks on trees, ranging farther so long as no bigger bear claws trees higher.

Consider the geonuclear tableau: the U.S. is the top power, challenged by the Soviets. They have matched our intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) in a long-range East-West strategic face-off. Western Europe is our ally next in line. We gave them intermediate-range missiles (IRBMs) to balance overwhelming conventional military might poised on their eastern borders. The Bear answered with the deeper scratch-marks of its IRBM SS-20s, made horrendous by their triple nuclear warheads, enabling each Soviet IRBM to wipe out three widely separated cities at once.



Communist China is the Soviet's third great antagonist. The Bear began extending scratch-marks in its eastern areas, over against the border of China, placing SS-20s there. Now more SS-20s are appearing even closer to China. The Bear menacingly advances the frontiers of its deadliest might. At will, it can place IRBMs in Vietnam, menacing China from both directions.

And now, U.S. congressional signals on Central America are giving the Bear a chance to threaten us from the south as well as long-range from the east.

Prof. Bialer writes, as have others in other terms, that "the Soviet Union has an unsatisfied hunger for global influence [power].... And "is still in the ascending stage of its international ambitions," while the U.S. is in a "descending stage." Nevertheless, the U.S. is still here, still the chief obstacle to satisfaction of the Soviet "hunger" -- which is actually a historic Russian hunger, discernible since the time of Peter the Great.

The U.S., safe across oceans from the Old World's turmoils through most of its national life, is difficult terrain for the Bear to approach, and while the U.S. stands firm, the great treasure house that is Latin America remains baffling territory for the Soviets to claw-mark. The Russians tried to make a deep scratch boasting the projection of their power in 1961-1962 when they put early-model nuclear missiles into Cuba. But the American eagle showed its own claws, although it then bargained our own missiles out of Turkey and elsewhere in return for Russia's withdrawal of missiles from Cuba.

### The Changed Times

But see how times have changed since 1962. The American major news media, leading American traditional churches, activists in the majority political party which controls key committees in Congress, the nuclear freeze crowd, many powerful U.S. diplomats -- a broad congeries of Americans -- in the late 1970s began to signal emphatically that they wished a retreat of U.S. power from an area near home: Central America. The Panama Canal giveaway by Congress was the most unequivocal such signal.

Nicaragua was next pushed off the back of the U.S. droshky to the Marxists; El Salvador was clearly marked to follow. And now, U.S. congressional committees are trying to undercut proxy defenders of the U.S. in Nicaragua a second time, and to tangle El Salvador's anticommunist forces in such a net of U.S. conditions and controls that they are almost bound to lose.

What must the Bear think of this? Will Moscow respond to this tempting invitation only for the limited purpose of putting nukes back into Latin America so as to bargain to take them out again at the price of U.S. agreement not to provide Western Europe with the promised Pershing IIs and cruise missiles? Or will not the Bear see this as a once-in-a-century chance to carve deep power-scratches into Latin America, with an excellent chance of moving in to stay in the Western Hemisphere even if their surrogates don't fire another shot.

If the Russians put nuclear missiles of any kind, "five-minute" or other, into one or more New World countries and the U.S. tolerates this, they will be ruinous bear-scratches to the Americas. Without having to fire a single missile, the Soviets will gain ascendancy throughout Latin America. The Mexican and Argentine political structures will fall into step with little resistance. Chile and Peru will resist, but go along. Bolivia will jump onto the bandwagon. Only the U.S. can provide Venezuela and Colombia the means to resist -- and what means will those be? A few score U.S. military advisors?

Brazil, the giant, will adapt, but in its own way. For the symbolism of nuclear weapons,

today scrambled into unintelligibility by our nuclear-freeze crowd, is as clear to the New World countries that once helped us form a continental security shield as it is in the Kremlin.

The Hotline of Feb. 3, 1983 (Vol. XIV, No. 3) reported an incident in Brazil that illustrates the psychopolitical potency of nuclear weapons. A Brookings Institution report on the nuclear arms race had just mentioned in passing that Russia has ICBMs that can hit Brazil (as indeed the Soviets have had for a long time). The U.S. also has missiles that could reach Brazil. The sensationalist Brazilian press got a copy of this report and blazed headlines about it for days. Columnists in Brazil clamored that, since the U.S. would never use its nukes on Brazil but the Soviet might, Brazil should abandon the West and side up to the more threatening power.

This course of action was also seriously debated within Itamaraty, the highly professional Brazilian foreign service that is noted worldwide for its skill in protecting its country's interest.

Imagine the political earthquake in Brazil if one of the TU-95s Moscow is to give Cuba were discovered sitting loaded with a Kangaroo missile on one of the many mysterious Cuba-built backland airstrips in Guyana, within minutes of Brazilian soil. In no time the Brazilian sensational press would discover that the Kangaroo has an 800-kiloton warhead, and be drawing firestorm circles and fallout maps centered on Brasilia, Rio and São Paulo.

If present U.S. congressional committee policies on Central America do tempt the Soviets to try for the brass ring of nuclear capability in Latin America, and we allow it, our adversaries will never have to fire a nuclear weapon to end the politico-economic system we have built. They will only need to whisper to the big debtor countries -- Mexico, Argentina and Brazil -- to "use the debt weapon," as Moscow whispered to the Arabs in 1973 to "use the oil weapon" against the West when the Israelis crossed the Nile and started toward Cairo. The subsequent oil embargo stopped the Israelis short and plunged the West's economy into a morass it hasn't yet climbed out of. Use of the "debt weapon" -- which Mexico for one would enjoy using -- would bring consequences still unimaginable to most.

### The Democratic Party Center Stirs

Voices long outshouted among the vast majority of Democrats, the party's centrists or moderates, have been quick to warn that Reagan's April 27 plea for bipartisanship to meet dangers in Central America was also a caution to their party's shrill leftists in Congress. Ben Wattenberg, a towering leader among the moderates, himself warned in a Washington Post article that the Salvadorean "quagmire" about which the Congress's Dodd-Barnes-Boland-Studds-Solarz group has shouted so much may well prove a quagmire for the Democratic Party only, one in which it can sink to defeat in 1984.

Reagan has more alarming data on Central America than he is making public. He badly needs bipartisan action to defend that region for a year at least. If he does not get it, he holds high trumps that he can indeed use in the 1984 campaign.

But Reagan may not be able to control the timing of events in Central America. The Soviets may decide that the next six months, while the Congress is still polarized, will give them their best chance to make a bold new move in the New World. Moderate Democrats in Congress will get a history-making chance to send Moscow a signal by voting for full aid to our proxy fighters in Central America when pending bills come to the floor in both House and Senate. Such floor actions in coming months will be historic, for our nation and for the future of our majority political party.

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# HEMISPHERE HOTLINE

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THE PRIVATE NEW WORLD INTELLIGENCE SERVICE    
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VIRGINIA PREWETT ASSOCIATES

4545 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., (222)

Washington, D.C.

20008

Fortnightly

ISSN 0734-9181

## ALERT ON WASHINGTON -- THOSE "FIVE-MINUTE MISSILES"

Washington, D.C. -- President Reagan's April 27 speech to the joint session of Congress was significant for content, but even more so for the reason Reagan asked to make it: because he has delivered three previous strong policy speeches on the Central American crisis in recent weeks, and the U.S. national news media gave them little notice or none.

Reagan's speech ranged far, linking the Congress's need to act in Central America to the security of the U.S., NATO and the West. He underlined the U.S. need for credibility as defender of the West. Reagan scathed the Soviet/Cuban surrogates ruling Nicaragua and reminded us that the Salvadoreans braved communist guerrilla bullets to vote overwhelmingly in March, 1982. And he mentioned the recent Russian threats about "five-minute nuclear missiles" in nearby countries.

Reagan's tone at times approached FDR's and he actually read part of the Truman Doctrine that launched the Marshall Plan, adapting it to our nearby neighbors. He emphasized that two-thirds of the U.S. aid going to Central America is for economic purposes.

Reagan's speech was more than a way to get past a biased national press to the U.S. voting public. Reagan also spoke over the heads of the small group of Democrats in Congress who have been carrying the ball for the Sandinista/Salvadorean guerrilla cause to address Democratic moderates in Congress itself. Hence the echoes of FDR and Truman.

Reagan knows that the independent vote makes presidents these days, and members of Congress as well in many instances. He also knows that many U.S. independents are former Democratic Party moderates now turned off by Democratic Party leadership's leftward leap accentuated with George McGovern's bid for the White House. Reagan's speech in effect warned Democratic moderates in Congress to pull away from the leftist zealots.

### The Stakes

Our 1984 elections are still 18 months away. The Soviets and their satellites have a desperate need to take El Salvador by mid-summer this year, making their victory a fait accompli much more difficult to debate nationally. But if Central America and El Salvador survive to become campaign issues in 1984, advantage falls to Reagan. He has in his pocket to produce any day he wishes enough goods on the Soviets in nearby Latin America to pop them with a confrontation over direct, lethal threats to the American people's survival here in our homeland. This will be discussed in succeeding pages.

Those Democrats who have been most shrill in promoting the Salvadorean guerrilla and the Sandinista point of view in Congress may have relatively "safe" seats. They include tiny Connecticut's Sen. Christopher Dodd, Maryland's Reps. Michael Barnes and Clarence D. Long, Massachusetts' Reps. Gerry Studds and Edward P. Boland, New York's Rep. Stephen Solarz and a few others. But Reagan can politically "island-hop" around these diehards, and, if he wishes, lay considerable political waste among those who persist in following the diehards. He might thus obtain in the 1984 election a Congress much less responsive to the extreme-left lobbies that haunt its halls and shower it with letters on cue.

Surprisingly, Christopher Dodd in answering Reagan felt impelled to say "we all" oppose "Marxist States" in Central America, Soviet bases and missiles in Latin America and will use military defense there at need. Then in his litany of hostile-bloc charges against Reagan, he grew shrill. Jimmy Carter knows that won't beat Reagan on TV.

## No Surprise for Hotline Readers

The KGB postgrads now in the Kremlin are telling the U.S. that if we do certain things they don't like, they'll give us a near-to-home "surprise." And Moscow is immediately displeased over Reagan's promise to deploy in Western Europe our new intermediate-range nuclear missiles. These weapons would be sent to offset comparable ones that Moscow has had trained on Western Europe for a longish time. West European governments of course first asked us to help balance out the aggressive Soviet intermediate-missile advantage.

Soviet threats in 1983 open a new round in a geopolitical game in which intermediate-range missiles within minutes of vital targets are chips in the nuclear balance of terror.

To give their threats validity, the Soviets are rapidly completing south of us military preparations that may indeed surprise the liberal-left's brainwashees who contend that revolutions and fighting in Central America are only the result of "local economic and social" causes. This apologia even carries freight for communism, since it infers that capitalistic systems to the south are universally exploitive and unredeemable.

Hotline readers know that for at least 20 years, most of the turmoil nearby has been promoted by the Soviet Union to take from us an advantage we have enjoyed and that other nations have lacked. This is our invulnerability to serious attack from enemies nearby.

We have been protected by oceans, by friendly Canada on the north and by our own watching brief against interlopers and marauders in Latin America since the 1820s. France's Napoleon III created his puppet empire in Mexico in 1864-67, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany wooed Mexico in 1914-17, and Hitler tried for all Latin America in the late 1930s. Is it then so unbelievable that a new challenger for world power, Russia, is trying again today?

## The Enemies Nearby

It is indeed inevitable that any aggressive power arising outside the New World will try for the rich prize that is Latin America. And through our southern neighbors, they have tried and will try to get at us. Anyone unable to grasp this needs his head for history examined.

Our readers know from the Hotline's founding in January 1970 how we have watched and reported the current effort by the Soviets. And we have had to report, with due astonishment, how in our time the U.S. leadership Establishment, with comarchers picked up along the way, has more often than not handed the advancing Soviets what they wanted with little or nothing in exchange. How else can one account for the survival of Russia's militant satellite, Cuba, and U.S. tolerance as Cuba set up branch plants in Nicaragua, Grenada, Guyana and Suriname? As we have said and will repeat: when looked at with even a dim awareness of history, this should make an American's mind reel.

And now Americans are sending church contributions to aid the Salvadorean guerrillas that Moscow's puppet, Castro, admits he is helping via Nicaragua. Other Americans laud and lionize these guerrillas in the press. Still others have joined the Marxist-Leninists fighting in the field, cheek by jowl with Castro's "medical workers." On our national TV networks, spokesmen opposing the Soviet advance through catspaws in the New World are normally pitted against two, three or four champions of those catspaws, ready to aid Russia's further penetration.

Rubén Zamora, a Salvadorean guerrilla self-implicated in issuing field orders about what noncombatants to murder and where, Alberto Arenes and others equally blood-guilty in the bitter war backed by Moscow and Cuba, use the columns of the New York Times and the Washington Post to subvert the cause the United States supports. The guerrillas are

invited to lobby our Congress, touted by members of that Congress and they star as panelists at Oberlin and other colleges. All this is arranged by a small but highly organized network of ideologues whose activities we will pinpoint from time to time. In any event, it exceeds anything that could have been imagined a few years ago.

While U. S. foreign policy for the New World has been confused and distorted by various forces over the past 20 years, the Soviets have been busily laying the groundwork for the present situation, one that permits them to issue believable threats against the safety of our nation's people in their cities, factories, towns and farms. Never before in our history has any foreign country been able to make such threats.

### The New Defense Equation for Americans

What has happened is that the Soviets have been permitted to encircle the greater part of our homeland with military bases and sites from which their nuclear-bearing aircraft and nuclear-bearing submarines can launch deadly missiles against us that will arrive so quickly we have no defense against them.

The U.S. has its elaborate "triad" (land-based, airborne and submarine-borne) of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) to answer similar nukes the Russians might throw at us from Europe or subs far out to sea. Our defensive gamble is that our defenders will be able to spot and destroy the incoming intercontinental nukes before they obliterate us; or that the U.S. threat to hit Russia with a hail of ICBMs if the Soviets toss a nuke against us anywhere will prevent them from ever using their ICBMs. Our military defense at present depends on our defenders having time to confirm that missiles are coming in, and to direct toward them any planes in the air while scrambling others to go out and help knock down the hostiles.

But if nuclear missiles are launched only a few minutes away from a U.S. target, we have no defense. For reasons of "economy," Jimmy Carter did away with our last instant-response capability (which was sited in Florida). Today, the U.S. is nakedly vulnerable to various kinds of "five-minute" nuclear attacks, as our UN Ambassador, Dr. Jeane Kirkpatrick, let drop April 24 on the Brinkley TV talk show.

The Soviets have been preparing for this for many years. Virginia Prewett reported a number of years ago that Castro was building a "hardened" underground aircraft hangar near Havana, and later that an equally "hardened" underwater submarine pen was under construction at Cienfuegos, Cuba. "Hardened" means so heavily protected by reinforced concrete that a base can withstand everything but a nuclear "pulse," or barrage.

Castro's hardened bases have been a fait accompli for years. We have told our readers how Castro, after seizing one government after another through surrogates, has with Soviet help built airstrips in a wide arc around our southern borders. He now has military access to two new ones on the island of Grenada, one long and one short but side-by-side. Cuba and Russia are perfecting four in Nicaragua. And there are those mysterious and very numerous military-type airstrips the Cubans have built in the backland wilds of socialist Guyana. Castro can no doubt build another in Suriname when he wishes.

### How the Bases Serve the Soviet's "Threat" Policy

Among the many offensive weapons the Soviets send regularly to "visit" Cuba are the big TU-95 Bear reconnaissance/bombers that have a 5,100-mile range. And Russian Echo II nuclear-missile submarines play around Cuba frequently. Each can be equipped with a version of the Soviets' Kangaroo missile, which has an 800-kiloton nuclear warhead.

Each warhead has 40 times the destructive power of the nuclear bomb we dropped on Hiroshima. The Kangaroos are city-killers, not accurate enough to use against pinpoint military targets.

As the Hotline reported recently, Senate sources learned this spring that Moscow plans to send four TU-95 long-range bombers to Castro. He already has two Russian Foxtrot attack submarines, and Moscow can as easily give him a nuclear-capable Echo II.

Many times over, Moscow and Havana have violated Khrushchev's pledge to Kennedy that Russia would not put "offensive" weapons in Cuba. Fear of the pro-Castro U.S. left has kept successive U.S. administrations from calling the Soviets on violations. If TU-95s painted with Cuba's colors show up, it will be urgent for our government to confront Russia. But will the entrenched anti-anticommunists in Congress permit it? Probably not.

Then Americans will face a deadly threat against which we have no defense. A few hours' work in Cuba can hang a Kangaroo under the belly of one of Fidel's TU-95s. Once fired, the missile can travel about 385 miles at around 1,500 miles an hour. The TU-95 wearing Castro's colors can fly off our Carolinas, as Russian TU-95s have done. Off Charleston, the home port of our strategic nuclear missile subs (the least vulnerable of our "triad" protecting us from ICBMs), the TU-95 can launch its Kangaroo and flatten the Charleston complex in the time it takes our interceptors to scramble into the air: five minutes.

It would take our defensive fighter command perhaps three minutes to confirm that a missile had been fired. They could scramble and shoot down the TU-95, but Charleston would already be consumed.

Or suppose the Soviets issue more of their threats or demands and a Cuban-painted TU-95 with its decorative Kangaroo appears off Norfolk or Charleston, is chased by U.S. fighters and turns away. How well can our East Coast population sleep after that?

One possibility is that the U.S. would get up enough nerve to knock down a TU-95 with its Kangaroo appendage soon after it took off in our direction. At that, an Echo II sub could slide out of its man-made cave at Cienfuegos, obliterate our Key West Caribbean command headquarters in minutes -- and slide back into its Cuban refuge to celebrate.

#### What Answer

If this last happened, would the U.S. wipe out Cuba? Will we send a flight of our ICBMs arching to Russia, triggering total nuclear war? Forget it. Americans will just have to wonder which U.S. city will burn next -- and root out the U.S. leaders who let us in for it.

If Cuba gets TU-95s, Castro can send one, complete with Kangaroo, to Managua, and then up to Mexico City "on a show-the-flag visit." Our watchers will see the big plane take off from Mexico City toward the 1,000-mile U.S. border. Will we shoot it down over Mexico? No way. But it can wheel over the Río Grande, loose its Kangaroo at some vital U.S. target five minutes away and flee southward again. This might happen in the 1990s if some Texas aerospace R&D lab gets too close to deploying a "High Frontier"-style nonlethal shield to render nuclear arsenals obsolete.

Moscow is in the New World and it intends to expand and stay. The Hotline of March 31, this year, revealed the Sandinistas have given Russia rights to build an inter-ocean canal across its territory. One hundred Russian engineers are expected soon at the Pacific port where work could begin. UN Amb. Jeane Kirkpatrick confirmed the deal to Washington newsmen on April 28. Soviet battalions will follow the engineers in.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JOYCE THOMANN

FROM:

CAROLYN SUNDSETH 

SUBJECT:

Central American Mailing List

Please add to your mailing list:

✓ Mr. V. V. Pavlovskis, President  
Baltic American Freedom League  
2551 Michael Torena Street  
Los Angeles, California 90039

I have sent him the PLO in Central America  
and Cuban/Soviet Buildup in the Caribbean.  
Faith is hopeful he will publish in the  
Baltic American Freedom League's  
newsletter the facts about the Central  
American threat.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1983

*Invite  
to Wed  
Group  
add to  
mailing list*

Dear Mr. Madeira:

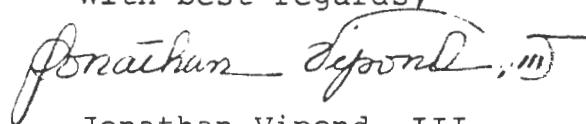
I am writing to acknowledge your enthusiastic support for the President's position with respect to Central America and your willingness to help in that effort.

As you have probably learned from recent media accounts, the President has appointed a Commission on Central America, chaired by former Secretary of State, Henry L. Kissinger. Unfortunately, your letter arrived too late to be part of the nomination process for membership on that commission.

However you correctly suggest that you could be a part of the Central American Outreach Group which has been convened by the Office of Public Liaison. I am sending your letter and resume along to Special Assistant to the President, Morton Blackwell, who has responsibility for that group so that he may invite you to sessions of that group as appropriate.

On behalf of the President and Faith Whittlesey, I want to thank you for your confidence and support.

With best regards,



Jonathan Vipond, III  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

✓ Mr. Eugene L. Madeira  
Elm Consultants  
1609 Buttercup Road  
Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17602

✓ cc: Morton Blackwell



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1 MEMO

1 10/4/1983 B6

CATHI VILLAPANDO TO MORTON BLACWELL  
RE. CENTRAL AMERICA BRIEFING

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1983

MS.

Dear Professor Sturmer:

Thank you for your resume and completed registration form, and today I received your letter in German.

We are pleased that you are interested in our Outreach Meetings and you will be contacted about this.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Faith Ryan Whittlesey  
Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

Professor Constantin Sturmer  
1111 30th Street, NW  
Georgetown Mews, Apt. 721  
Washington, D.C. 20007

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WORLD MUSIC FESTIVAL OF THE CHILD PRODIGY

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF THE AUTHOR OF THE PROJECT AND OF THE PROJECT ITSELF

Name and last name : Constantin STURMER  
Date of birth : September 24, 1920  
Place of birth : Banat, Rumania  
Family : German by father and  
serbian by mother  
Studies : Primary in Moldova Noua  
Secondary in Timisoara, on the German-  
Catholic Lyceum "Banatia"  
Superior  
level in the Friedrich Wilhelm  
University of Berlin  
in the Royal University of  
Bologna, Italy  
Nationality : Peruvian since 1973

He left Rumania because of the political conditions created by the occupation of the soviets, being lead to Italy, which he left to Peru, country in which he resides since February 1948.

CURRICULUM IN PERU

from : 1951 to 1952 - Director of the School of Orphaned Males, of the Public Beneficence of Callao ;  
from : 1958 to 1959 - Professor of the Rumanian Language in the Institute of Philology of the National Major University of San Marcos ;  
on : February 22, 1960 - Founder and from that time Director of the College "Hans Christian Andersen", in Miraflores, and now in Valle Hermoso de Monterrico, Lima, Peru ;

The "Hans Christian Andersen" College is a special private education center that in actuality (or does in 1983) consist of around two thousand two hundred students from age 5 to 18, because it includes Kindergarten, Primary and all of the Secondary grades ;

- on : January 2,1963 - Founder of the Choir of "Los Niños Cantores de Lima",-The Little Singing Boys of Lima ;
- on : January 2,1964 - Founder of the "Orquesta Sinfónica Infantil de Lima",-Children's Symphonic Orchestra of Lima,consisting of an integration of ages 5 to 12,playing with the complete instruments of a symphony,with a total of eighty children of both sexes, with repertoires that included Peruvian folkloric works,Hispanicamerican folkloric works and classical works ;
- in : 1969 he became a member of the Rotary Club of San Antonio of Miraflores,of Lima, Peru ;
- in : 1969 he was admitted as a member of the Freemasonry of Peru,belonging,henceforth, to "Fraternidad y Progreso No.28", - Brotherhood and Progress No.28 ;
- in : 1975  
to  
1977 he was during two consecutive periods President of the Rotary Club of San Antonio of Miraflores,of Lima,Peru ;
- in : 1977 he attended,in San Francisco,California, United States of America,the Rotary World Convention,in representation of the Rotary Club of San Antonio of Miraflores, of Lima,Peru ;
- in : 1971 he was Director of the Revista Masónica del Perú - Masonic Revue of Peru,official organ of the Peruvian Freemasonry ;
- in : 1975  
to  
1980 he was editor-collaborator of the Revista de la Asociación de Oficiales Generales , ADOGEN - Review of the Association of Officials Generals,of Lima,Peru,bringing experiments on geopolitics,on education,, on the psychological phenomenon of the masses,on political themes properly spoken, and others,having been the works that were outstanding :  
"Geopolitics and Geostrategy"  
"Poverty and Wealth of Nations and Countries"  
"Cosmopolitics and Cosmodestiny in Cyclical Periods of Humanity"
- in : 1977 he was invited-professor of the CAEM -

- Center of Higher Military Studies, of  
Lima, Perú ;
- in : 1977 he was invited-professor of the Superior  
Naval War College of Peru ,  
giving, at both centers, conferences on  
geopolitics and geostrategy ;
- from : 1967  
to  
1978 he was, first, member and during eight  
Years President of the Civic Committee  
of Cooperation with the 32-nd Command  
of the Civil (National) Guard of Peru,  
with the headquarters in Miraflores, Lima,  
and with jurisdiction over all of the  
South of the Capital of Peru ;
- in : 1977 he was the vice-president of the Civic  
Departamental Committee of Lima of the  
Police of Investigations of Peru (P.I.P.)
- in : 1977 he was editor-collaborator of the magazine  
Military Actuality, of the Peruvian Army,  
writing works on education, on youth, on  
sociological and philosophical themes and  
many others ;
- in Caracas,  
Venezuela : 1974 he wrote for the daily newspaper "La Ver-  
dad" (The Truth), writing works on many  
different themes, having been meritorious-  
ness of eulogies :  
- The Right of the Sea, a nine essays work  
on the occasion of the respective Third  
Conference of the United Nations ;  
- Matrimony and Divorce, a six essays work  
- the work of two essays on The Sad Drama  
of Abortion ,  
- and many others ;
- in Lima : 1969 he is accepted as a member of the  
Peruvian-North American Cultural Insti-  
tute - ICPNA ;
- in : 1983 he is incorporated as a member of the  
National Association of Writers and Ar-  
tists of Peru.

**HE AWARDS :**

- The Medal of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the  
Civil (National) Guard of Peru, and two Diplomas  
of Honor ;
- A Medal with the Diploma of Honor of the In-  
vestigations Police of Peru ;
- A Decoration in the Grade of Gentleman (Caba-  
llero) of the Investigations Police of Peru ;

in

; 1977 he created the "League of American Youth in the Struggle Against Narcotic Drugs", with the result of an endless number of acts of impediment by certain public functionaries, which made the official recognition of the institution impossible; in spite of this, it realized campaigns, nevertheless, as the basis of the economic possibilities that were personally arranged; the anti-drug campaign was realized at the level of Metropolitan Lima, in the same way on a national level, counting on the collaboration of the Peruvian Army, in the same way as the Investigations Police of Peru ;  
- the League of American Youth in the Struggle Against Narcotic Drugs finds itself momentarily halted, because, for even the founder, there does not exist the unlimited economic possibilities that would allow it to continue, even on a continental level; however, it would be interesting for it to be reactualized;

in

: 1982 he was commissioned by the former Minister of Education, the engineer José Benavides Muñoz, to create that which was later called "Movimiento Peruano de Defensa y Apoyo a la Juventud" - Peruvian Movement of Defense and Support for Youth, an anti-drug entity on national level.

-----  
WORLD MUSIC FESTIVAL OF THE CHILD PRODIGY  
=====

In

: 1966 he conceived the idea of the music festival of the child prodigy

in Paris  
and across Paris

: 1977 he brought forth the first development of the project of the World Music Festival of the Child Prodigy ,  
Festival Mundial de Música del Niño Prodigio ;

. in Lima

: 1967  
and  
1968 he developed the project and organized the Statutes of the Organization of the World Music Festival of the Child Prodigy - Estatutos de la Organización del Festival Mundial de Música del Niño Prodigio

WORLD MUSIC FESTIVAL .....

January 5, 1968, the writ of Declaration and of Legal Trust of the Statutes of the Organization of the World Music Festival of the Child Prodigy and of the World Association of Scholars, Writers and Artists was made, with

Reg.No.10.577 ;

in Paris and  
across Paris

: 1969 he proceeded to DIFFUSE TO ALL THE WORLD of the Statutes of the Organization of the World Music Festival of the Child Prodigy, although there already was the Register of Intellectual Property of all the Reserved Rights which his distributed work had made ,

- across the Delegations before the UNESCO ,
- across the diplomatic representations accredited before the Government of the Republic of France, with the seat in Paris.

It is understand that all theft and or plagiarism, total or partial, the author of the project reserves the right to a reimbursement of not less than fifty million dollars.

Washington, D.C., September 1983



Constantin Sturmer  
1111 30th Street, N.W.  
Georgetown Mews Apt. 721  
Telephone : (202) 333 2097  
Washington, D.C., 20007

Washington, D.C., 28. Oktober, 1983

Ms

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

Sehr geehrtes Fräulein Whittlesey !

Es hat mich wirklich gefreut Sie am letzten Mittwoch kennengelernt zu haben und ich danke Ihnen, dass Sie mir gegenüber so hilfsbereit gewesen sind.

Nachdem ich mich diesmal mehr Zeit in Washington, D.C., befinde, mit der Absicht hier bleiben zu können, wobei ich hoffe, dass mir die Behörden keine diesbezügliche Schwierigkeiten stellen werden, muss ich diesen Entschluss jedenfalls begründen, Notwendigkeit die ich durch mein Wissen, meine Erfahrungen und meinen besten Willen, das heisst, durch alles was meine Fähigkeit darstellt, vorlegen kann. Selbstverständlich, diese Absicht kann nur durch die Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika erfüllt werden, da sie die Heimat der Freiheit sind und den besten Weg zur Demokratie darstellen.

Im Juni des vorigen Jahres hatte ich das Projekt

"Die Wahrheit über die Sowjet Union"

im "Mail Office" des Weissen Hauses hinterlegt. Mein Wunsch war, dass dieses Projekt zur Kenntnis des Herrn Präsidenten Reagan kommen sollte.

Weniger als zwei Monate nachher, wurde dieses Projekt von den Russen in der Monatszeitschrift "Sputnik", die in Moskau veröffentlicht wird, scharf kritisiert, was soviel bedeutet, dass das Dokument den Russen, hier, in Washington, D.C., eingehändigt wurde. Kopie des Projektes habe ich keine, jedoch seines Inhaltes erinnere ich mich.

Mein Wunsch wäre,deises Projekt, wie auch alle andere Projekte dem Herrn Präsidenten Reagan persönlich zu übergeben.

Wenngleich es sich um keine Staatsgehemnisse handelt,so müssen sie jedenfalls als reserviert betrachtet werden,da sie ja zu einer politischen Strategie gehören, die keinesfalls verhindert werden darf.

Ich bin ein grosser Unbekannter,trotzdem aber hoffe ich Herrn Präsidenten Ronald Reagan persönlich begrüßen zu können,ihm die Projekte zu übergeben und ihm die Versicherung zu machen,dass er der Mann ist,der die Vereinigte Staaten und die amerikanische Nation als Beispiel jener Menschenwürde vostellt, die die Völker der Welt als geschichtliche Notwendigkeit anerkennen müssen.

Nehmen Sie,bitte,meinen Dank an,für die Zeit die Sie mir gewidmet haben,wie auch meinen Dank für Ihre freundliche Antwort.

Achtungsvoll !



Constantin Sturmer

Draft by MCB

Dear Mr. Birns:

I have your letter of November 1 regarding our White House Digest paper, "Nicaraguan Repression of Labor Unions."

Your description of it as informative and well researched is typical of the comments we have received.

At your suggestion that there is "far worse" repression of labor unions by government authorities in the non-Marxist-Leninist countries of Central America, we find evidence lacking.

On the one hand, there<sup>are</sup>/massive, systematic, official government programs to destroy free labor unions and replace them with organizations misnamed "unions" but which exist to discipline workers in the interest of a Marxist-Leninist Nicaragua.

In the other countries, the situation is different. For instance in El Salvador there are three forces at work:

1. Marxist-Leninist dominated insurgents, complete with left-wing death squads determined to impose<sup>a</sup>/totalitarian government on the Soviet-Cuban model.

2. A freely elected coalition of elected parties ranging from center-left to conservative, committed to human rights including political and economic freedom.

3. Extreme right-wing elements complete with clandestine death squads, opposed to the U.S.-supported social reforms.

The right and left extremes share, at least opposition to free labor unions. The U.S. government, through public statements and private communications, is strongly encouraging the government of El Salvador to bring to justice the perpetrators of political violence, left and right. The left-wing death squad murder in El Salvador of Lt. Commander Albert A. Schaufelberger is as deplorable as the right-wing death squad murder of two U.S. AFL-CIO organizers there. These events have been vigorously condemned by the U.S. government and have received major publicity in most major U.S. news media.

In contrast, the story of the persecution of free labor unions in Nicaragua had not received significant coverage. That is why we devoted a White House Digest to the topic. The Digests are limited in number, and intended to provide information and insights not adequately available elsewhere, not to provide general coverage.

As to your intention to distribute copies of the Digest to your Trustees, I encourage you to do so. In addition, you might want to distribute to your Trustees copies of the White House Digest, "The PLO in Central America," and the related text of the remarks to our White House Outreach Working Group on Central America by your Trustee, Rabbi Morton Rosenthal. We have enjoyed working with Rabbi Rosenthal and share his concern over the Sandinista threats and terrorism

which forced almost the entire Nicaraguan Jewish community out of their country.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely,

Douglas Riggs,  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

cc: Rabbi Morton Rosenthal

# Council on Hemispheric Affairs

Charles A. Perlik, Jr.  
Chairman  
Joseph Michenfelder  
Treasurer  
Ernest Chanes  
Secretary

Laurence R. Birns  
Director

November 1, 1983

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Ellen Mercer  
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Amer. Psychiatric Association  
Joseph Michenfelder  
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Pres., The Newspaper Guild  
(AFL-CIO, CLC)  
Thomas E. Quigley  
Latin American Program Officer,  
U.S. Catholic Conference  
Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal  
Latin American Director,  
Anti-Defamation League  
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Rev. Eugene L. Stockwell  
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Overseas Ministries, National  
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Prof., International Relations,  
American University  
Glenn E. Watts  
Pres., Communications Workers  
of America (AFL-CIO)  
Roger Wilkins  
Formerly Editorial Board, N.Y.  
Times, Washington Post,  
Washington Star  
William W. Winpisinger  
Pres., International Association  
of Machinists (AFL-CIO, CLC)  
Gregory B. Wolfe  
Pres., Florida International  
University  
Leon Jacobson  
Counsel

Douglas A. Riggs  
Associate Director for the Office of Public Liaison  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. 20006

Dear Mr. Riggs:


A number of trustees of this organization who happen to be presidents of major U.S. national unions, have forwarded to us copies of a document titled Nicaraguan Repression of Labor Unions (dated August 24, 1983) which was sent out under your name.

While we found this document to be very informative and well researched, we would be equally interested, as would our trustees, to receive comparable documents on the far worse trade union repression that has been experienced by the Guatemalan and El Salvadoran trade union movements at the hands of the authorities in those countries. We hope the fact that the Reagan Administration has cordial relations with these regimes will not interfere with its indefatigable efforts to communicate to the U.S. trade union movement the grim fate of some of its Central American colleagues.

We find a disturbing trend occurring when this administration's Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Elliot Abrams communicates his profound concern to the U.S. religious community over the repression of the church in Nicaragua where no priests have been killed, but is raptly silent about the treatment of the church in Guatemala and El Salvador where at least 24 priests have been murdered. Do we not have something of a double standard here?

Before we publicize your Nicaraguan communication to our trustees, we would like to also report on comparable documents that your office might be distributing on the trade union situation in Guatemala and El Salvador. If no such reports are being contemplated on these two countries we would also like to be in a position to inform the public of this fact.

Sincerely,

  
Laurence R. Birns  
Director

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Formerly Editorial Board, N.Y.  
Times, Washington Post,  
Washington Star  
**William W. Wimpelinger**  
Pres., International Association  
of Machinists (AFL-CIO, CLC)  
**Gregory B. Wolfe**  
Pres., Florida International  
University  
**Leon Jacobson**  
Counsel

## REGARDING THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL ON HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS (COHA)

The Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), a non-profit, tax exempt research and information organization, was founded at the end of 1975 to promote the common interests of the hemisphere; raise the visibility and increase the importance of the inter-American relationship; and encourage the formulation of rational and constructive U.S. policies towards Latin America. In 1982, COHA's Board of Trustees voted to expand its mandate to include U.S.-Canadian relations. Over the past years, COHA has become one of the most active and broadest-based U.S. private organizations dealing with the entire spectrum of issues and challenges confronting the nations of this hemisphere.

COHA's Board of Trustees consists of the leadership of some of this country's most important trade unions, professional organizations, and religious groups, as well as distinguished civic and academic figures, who have joined together to advance their common belief in representative governments and pluralistic institutions. The organizations represented on COHA's Board account for a significant percentage of the U.S. population.

COHA subscribes to no specific political credo nor does it maintain partisan allegiances. It supports open and democratic political processes, just as it condemns authoritarian regimes that fail to provide their populations with even the minimal standards of political freedoms, social justice, personal security, and civic guarantees.

In addition to COHA's Board of Trustees, the organization consists of a professional staff supplemented by volunteer graduate and undergraduate students, who often receive academic credit from their home institutions for the experience gained through their work. A number of retired government employees and international lending agency personnel also cooperate with COHA in preparing surveys on political

and economic developments and specialized reports on regional trade policies, technology transfers, practices of multinational corporations in the region, and commodity pricing policies. This staff is assisted by some ten COHA Senior Research Fellows from the United States and Latin America, who are generally considered to be leaders in their respective fields of expertise.

COHA findings have been cited in official publications of the U.S. government, as well as in national and international publications, such as Time, Newsweek, The Atlantic Monthly, The New Yorker, New York, The New Statesman, Penthouse, Barron's, and Macleans. On almost a daily basis, the results of COHA's work appear in the press of Latin America, the United States, and Europe. COHA has also been cited on numerous occasions in The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, The Christian Science Monitor, The Boston Globe, The Boston Herald-American, The Baltimore Sun, The Miami Herald, The Toronto Globe and Mail, and The Manchester Guardian, among many other newspapers. Representatives of COHA are frequently interviewed by national network television and radio programs, as well as by the BBC, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and other television and radio networks in a number of countries.

COHA provides two streams of information. The first is the Washington Report on the Hemisphere, a biweekly newsletter that interprets current political, economic, and social issues concerning Latin America. The annual subscription price is \$45 for individuals, \$50 for media and religious organizations, and \$65 for institutional subscribers. A subscription to Country Reports which is mailed approximately every ten days and contains recent COHA-related newspaper articles on hemispheric issues and an average of six COHA political and economic analyses, costs \$35 per year. These materials are available to foreign subscribers for an additional annual charge of \$8 for Canada and Mexico and \$22 for other countries. Specimen copies of the Washington Report on the Hemisphere and Country Reports are available upon requests.

Those individuals who make a tax-deductible contribution of \$100 or more become COHA Associates, automatically receiving a one-year subscription to the Washington Report as well as COHA's new in-house newsletter, the Inner Workings, and a variety of analyses, occasional papers, reports, reprints of COHA-related news articles in addition to special research memoranda.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 8/26

TO: Joyce

FROM: SUSAN GRAF-STROBEL

SUBJECT: Central America

The attached is for your:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Information     | <input type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Response | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Letter    | <input type="checkbox"/> Signature          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File            | <input type="checkbox"/> Other              |

Comments:

These are t-tras I  
found in our files -  
Do you want them?





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Wed - 6/8 -  
2:30  
Outreach  
Mts

May 23, 1983

Note to Amb. Whittlesey and Mr. Blackwell

Subject: Possible Briefing of the Council of the Americas  
on Central America on June 1 or 2

At the risk of belaboring the subject, I wish to report that Russell Marks, President of the Council of the Americas, has told me that the Council, including David Rockefeller, would be highly receptive to a White House briefing on Central America with a possible appearance by the President. He also tells me that Mr. Rockefeller has already talked to Michael Deaver about some Presidential involvement in the Council's Washington Conference, June 1-2.

For your convenience, I am enclosing a copy of the Council's program for those two days, as well as a list of the Council's Board of Directors and Executive Committee.

If you would like to follow up on this, I suggest you call Marks (a good friend of mine) at 212-249-8951.

Charles Carlisle

Enclosures:

a/s

## XIV Washington Conference

"U.S.-Latin American Relations:  
The Effects of the Global Economic Crisis"

The current world economic crisis continues to shape U.S. policy toward Latin America, producing profound effects upon all aspects of the relationship – commercial, political, and security.

The purpose of this year's Washington Conference is two-fold:

- To assess the economic dimension of U.S.-Latin American relations – trade, investment, monetary and fiscal policies and lending – during a time of world economic recession; and
- To gauge U.S. progress in other key areas, particularly democratic institution-building and hemispheric security.

### Agenda

#### Wednesday, June 1, 1983

- 4:30 p.m. **Registration**
- 5:30 p.m. **"Overview of U.S.-Latin American Relations:"** George Shultz, Secretary of State
- 6:30 p.m. **Reception** hosted by Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Council of the Americas.

#### Thursday, June 2, 1983

- 8:30 - 9:00 a.m. **Late Registration**
- 9:00 - 9:15 a.m. **Opening Remarks:** Russell E. Marks, Jr., President, Council of the Americas.
- 9:15 - 9:30 a.m. **"The Reagan Administration's Latin American Policy Achievements":** Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

9:30 - 9:45 a.m. **Questions and Answers**  
Enders Presentation

9:45 - 10:00 a.m. **"Critique of the Administration's Latin American Policy:"** Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-NY)

10:00 - 10:15 a.m. **Questions and Answers**  
Solarz Presentation

#### 10:15 - 11:15 a.m. **Democracy and Democratic Institution-Building**

Panelists will discuss the Administration's initiative to support (via financial and technical assistance) free labor, business and civic organizations throughout the hemisphere, in an effort to promote and institutionalize democratic ideals.

##### **Panelists:**

Moderator: Curtis C. Cutter, Managing Director, International Medical Tribune Syndicate  
John J. Heberle, Chief of Information Services, American Institute for Free Labor Development  
Richard Penn Kemble, Institute for Religion and Democracy  
Tom Quigley, Advisor, Latin American/Caribbean Affairs, U.S. Catholic Conference  
Allen Weinstein, Program Director, The Democracy Program

11:15 - 11:30 a.m. **Coffee Break**

#### 11:30 - 12:30 p.m. **Trade and Investment**

Panelists will focus on U.S. trade and investment policies, their current status and changes in the face of continuing recession and high U.S. unemployment. The panel discussion will assess the effects of U.S. economic conditions on the current financial situation in Latin American nations, as well as Latin American trade and investment policies and possible changes as a result of the financial crisis and the IMF adjustment programs.

##### **Panelists:**

Moderator: Jeffrey E. Garten, Vice President, Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, Inc.  
Clyde Farnsworth, The New York Times  
Richard Newfarmer, Overseas Development Council  
Robert M. Sherwood, V.P. Legal Affairs, Pfizer Latin America  
Amb. Michael B. Smith, Deputy U.S. Trade Representative  
Brian Turner, Director of Legislation, AFL-CIO

12:30 -  
2:00 p.m.

**Luncheon:** Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception  
Room  
Speaker: Ronald Reagan, President of the United States  
(Invited)

2:00 - 3:00 p.m.      **Monetary and Fiscal Policies**

Panelists will explore expected U.S. monetary and fiscal policies with regard to the effect these policies will have on economic conditions in Latin America. In addition, discussion will center on Latin American attempts to modify their economic policies, internal political pressures, and effects on U.S. investors.

**Panelists:**

Moderator: James R. Greene, President, American Express Int'l  
Banking Corp.  
Paul Krugman, International Policy Economist, Council of Eco-  
nomic Advisors  
Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, President, First Boston International  
Congressman James Leach (R-IA)  
Hobart Rowen, The Washington Post  
Robert Solomon, Guest Scholar, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings  
Institution

3:00 - 3:15 p.m.      **Coffee Break**

3:15 - 4:15 p.m.      **Role of Lenders**

Panelists will examine recent behavior of multilaterals, commercial and investment bank lenders throughout the hemisphere, commenting on the prospects of a change in IMF lending criteria (from austerity to pro-growth) and Congressional action regulating international lending. Panelists will speculate on future lending patterns and structural changes resulting from the current experiences with Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina.

**Panelists:**

Moderator: Robert M. Lorenz, Senior Vice President, Security Pacific  
National Bank  
Marc E. Leland, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International  
Affairs  
Charles E. Lilien, Vice President, The First Boston International  
George Melloan, The Wall Street Journal  
Congressman Stephen L. Neal (D-NC)  
Congressman Charles E. Schumer (D-NY)

4:15 - 5:15 p.m.

**Security Issues**

Panelists will review and assess the hemispheric security situation—Central America and the Caribbean, the Southern Cone, and the Andean Pact—with attention to U.S. objectives and activities in the area, and the impact of economic constraints on security arrangements.

**Panelists:**

Moderator: Russell E. Marks, Jr., President, Council of the Americas  
Jack Child, Language & Foreign Studies, American University  
Mark Falcoff, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute  
Ambassador William Luers, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton  
University  
Lt. General Wallace Nutting, Commander in Chief, U.S. Southern  
Command  
Ambassador Lawrence Pezzullo

5:15 - 5:30 p.m.      **Closing Remarks**

Glenn C. Bassett, Jr., Executive Vice President and Managing  
Director, Council of the Americas

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To register for the XIV Washington Conference, please fill out the form on the back of this sheet and return to:

Council of the Americas  
1000 - 16th Street, N.W., Suite 600  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Persons registering later than May 14, 1983, are advised to confirm their participation by calling Mrs. Cross or Miss Domingo at 202/298-9016 or 202/347-3406.

# WEST WATCH

A Report on the Americas and the World

Council for Inter-American Security

Special Supplement

July 1983

## CRISIS IN THE AMERICAS

Three wars are raging a few hundred miles south of the United States, in Central America.

Thousands of leftist guerrillas are fighting to overthrow the governments in El Salvador and Guatemala. In Nicaragua, several anti-communist groups are waging non-conventional warfare against a Marxist-Leninist regime run by a directorate of nine former guerrilla commanders who defeated dictator Anastasio Somoza four years ago.

At the same time, Nicaragua is threatening war with neighboring Honduras. Terrorist activity in Honduras has escalated recently, due largely to the direction and support of Salvadoran guerrillas and the Nicaraguan government.

Even Costa Rica, which has no army and which was known for years as "the Switzerland of Central America," now fears destabilization and has asked the Organization of American States to patrol its borders with Nicaragua.

**The United States cannot ignore these conflicts. Central America is too close to our borders. San Salvador, for example, is closer to Washington, D.C. than is Phoenix, Arizona.**

Our national security would obviously be threatened by a phalanx of Central American guerrillas pushing up through Mexico to our borders and points beyond. Each guerrilla victory in Central America would produce thousands of refugees, who would pour into the United States seeking to survive. In the meantime, thousands of people are dying in the battle for Central America.

Every leading revolutionary group in the region has the support of the Cuban government, which is in turn subsidized by the Soviet Union. The USSR shipped about 66,000 metric tons of military equipment to Cuba in 1981. Many of these weapons were sent to Nicaragua, which arranged for shipment of the arms to



Owen Franken/Sygma

*The new regime in Nicaragua, where this picture was taken, openly declares itself Marxist-Leninist and is fueling communist revolutions throughout Central America. Nicaragua's Defense Minister, Huberto Ortega, says: "Central America is at war."*

guerrillas fighting elsewhere in the region.

WEST WATCH presents in this special supplement a brief analysis of the situation in each of the five Central American countries. More information can be found in lengthier reports by the Council for Inter-American Security (CIS), including

*Guatemala: A Promise in Peril*, by CIS President L. Francis Bouchey, and *Nicaraguan Military Operations and Covert Activities in Latin America*, by CIS Director of Research and Publications Roger Reed, who recently authored a research paper entitled *El Salvador and the Crisis in Central America*.

# NICARAGUA: "A NEW CUBA"

Nicaragua is training guerrilla forces from several Latin American countries, according to a former Nicaraguan counter-intelligence officer who recently defected.

The defector, Miguel Bolaños Hunter, told the *Washington Post* in June that guerrillas from Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, Costa Rica and El Salvador all have "centers of operation" in Managua. He added that, as a Sandinista official, he met personally with visiting guerrilla leaders from each of these countries.

Referring to twenty years of Cuban support for national liberation movements in Latin America and Africa, Bolaños claimed that Nicaragua has become "a new Cuba."

Bolaños, who led a 60-man guerrilla unit against Somoza in 1979, was a high-ranking state security officer with special responsibility for surveillance of U.S. Embassy and CIA activities in Nicaragua until early May, when he hijacked a plane to Costa Rica.

The former Sandinista leader has provided a wealth of inside information. He said:

- A "river" of arms shipments flowed from Cuba and the Soviet Union through Nicaragua to El Salvador. Planes carrying weapons flew twice-daily to barricaded sections of highway in guerrilla-controlled sections of El Salvador. Medicine and ammunition were often dropped by parachute, while other arms were concealed in trucks or were carried overland by mules.

- Bolaños's cousin, who is in charge of arms distribution in Managua, told him that Luis Carrión, a member of the Sandinista directorate, had been promised in a 1980 trip to the Soviet Union that the Soviets would provide Nicaragua two AK47 machine guns for every weapon they gave the Salvadoran guerrillas. These included U.S.-made guns obtained from Cuba, which in turn got the guns from Vietnam.

- The Salvadoran guerrillas have two houses in Managua's residential district "Las Colinas," one a communications center and the other a "safe house" for visiting Salvadoran guerrillas and for meetings with Nicaraguan officials. Some of the guerrilla chiefs are in Managua more than they are in El Salvador, he said.

- Planning and training for the spectacular 1982 raid on the Salvadoran air base at Ilopango was centered eight miles from Managua in a Nicaraguan facility under the supervision of a Cuban adviser.

Bolaños also explained how the Sandinistas orchestrated demonstrations against visiting Pope John Paul II in Managua last March. He said that agents of the "F7" intelligence unit organized crowds to keep devout Catholics trapped in a church until the Pope had finished speaking. At the same time, the "F7" mobilized thousands



UPI

*Women as well as men are integrated into Nicaragua's new militia. Already, 39 percent of all males are in uniform, and the regime intends to build a 250,000-person armed force, so that one in ten Nicaraguans will be in the military in some capacity. In comparison, all of Honduras' security forces total 20,000.*

of Sandinista activists to heckle and insult the Pope. Anyone trying to attend the Papal mass independently was turned away, he said.

**The pro-Sandinista slogans that interrupted the Pontiff's homily had been chosen in advance by the security apparatus, according to Bolaños, who said he helped control the event from an operations center near Managua's public square.**

Bolaños also confirmed the pervasive influence of Soviet and Cuban agents in the new Nicaraguan regime. He said that two high-ranking Soviet officers and a

Cuban officer were assigned as advisers to the 35 Nicaraguans in the counter-intelligence section where he worked. "The Cubans are in on just about everything and make their presence felt with a constant stream of advice bordering on directions," the *Post* paraphrased Bolaños. He estimated that there are about 2,000 Cuban military personnel in the country, most of them posing as teachers.

The Cubans in Nicaragua wield extensive power, according to Miguel Urroz Blanco, a former Sandinista official who, like Bolaños, escaped to Costa Rica. Urroz Blanco, the former chief of Nicaragua's

internal order police, said in San Jose last year that "a suggestion made by the Cubans is an unbreakable order."

Urroz Blanco was a member of Nicaragua's general staff and was national chief of supplies and services. He also served as national information and analysis chief.

### Secret Assignment

In the meantime, a Reagan Administration official disclosed that Cuba's top military combat commander, General Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez, has been "secretly assigned to duty" in Nicaragua and has been there for several weeks. General Ochoa presided over the Cuban military buildup in Angola in 1976 and in Ethiopia in 1977, and Central American military sources believe that he is organizing a "large-scale Cuban move into Nicaragua." One of the sources even said that General Ochoa would be the chief of all Nicaraguan and Cuban armed forces.

Besides Cuba, the communist country with most advisers in Nicaragua is the Soviet Union itself. A U.S. State Department Background Paper issued in May says that about 50 Soviet military advisers serve in Nicaragua in addition to about 100 Soviet economic advisers. "About 25 of the Soviet personnel are assisting the security services, and the others are attached to the Nicaraguan general staff and the headquarters of various military services," according to the Paper.

The communist forces amassed in Nicaragua have a dual mission: to defend the regime, and to carry the revolution to other Central American countries. The Sandinistas have embraced both of these missions with missionary zeal. "The revolution's moral imperative and historical character," Nicaragua Interior Minister Tomás Borge says, "make it inevitable that the energies released here will be universal in all Central America."

### "Democracy"

Borge has said that elections scheduled in Nicaragua for 1985 may be postponed. He maintains that Nicaragua is *already* a democracy. Over Radio Sandino, Borge said in June that democracy is different from other democracies in Latin America. "In Nicaragua there is a democracy of direct contact between the country's leaders and the people; a democracy allowing the free expression of ideological, religious and other beliefs."

A few days before Borge's remarks, the Sandinistas extended the state of emergency, which suspends most civil liberties, for another year.

To further illustrate the Sandinistas' idea of "free expression," Commander Luis Carrión Cruz said in May that "revolutionary journalism means doing and say-

ing all that and only that which will promote the people's victory." He said, "We should not waste our energy in discussing problems and digging up old issues . . .

Revolutionary journalism should be the machete, the rifle, the grenade and the cannon in the firm and calloused hands of our workers and peasants." ★



This map shows the flow of arms from Nicaragua to El Salvador.

## The War in El Salvador

Salvadoran guerrillas carried out two massacres in recent weeks and assassinated a U.S. military adviser in cold blood, indicating that the revolution in this war-torn country has reached a new level of intensity.

One of the massacres occurred during the two-week occupation of Cinquera, a mountain hamlet that the guerrillas attacked on May 7. Scores of women, children and old men died in the mortar bombardment that preceded the storming of the town's trenced perimeter and the hail of bullets that followed, numerous residents told reporter Sam Dillon, whose story made the front page of the *Washington Post*.

**The rebels summarily executed 10 captured soldiers and eight civilians they accused of collaborating with the Army, residents said.**

One of the witnesses to the massacre, Antonio Bonilla, was visiting relatives in Cinquera. "See that wall?" he asked the reporter. "That's where a sergeant surrendered, and that's where they shot him."

Across town, Bonilla pointed to a puddle of dried blood where, he said, the commander of the local civil defense force was executed. Bonilla named seven other civilians executed by the rebels.

The next major guerrilla massacre was on May 25, when thirty prisoners of war were executed by insurgents who attacked

a strategic bridge at Quebrada Seca.

Color photographs of the corpses of 42 soldiers were shown reporters at the U.S. Embassy. Thirty of them died in what U.S. military group commander Col. John D. Waghelstein called "an execution" of the men who surrendered.

**The thirty executed soldiers had bullet wounds in their heads and nowhere else, according to Special Forces officers and sergeants, one of them a medic. They said that most of the head wounds had the dark blotches around them left by a bullet fired at point-blank range. This massacre, like the others, was reported on the front page of the *Washington Post*.**

The guerrillas also shot U.S. military adviser Lt. Commander Albert Schaufelberger when he was waiting for a lady friend at the Central American University in San Salvador on May 25. The popular Liberation Forces (FPL) took credit for the killing and threatened to send back to the U.S. "in coffins" all military advisers who remain in the country.

These recent atrocities illustrate one of the reasons the U.S. is opposing the guerrillas, who have no scruples about killing those who get in the way of the revolution. A concern for the people of El Salvador, who could be expected to suffer even more than now in the event of a guerrilla takeover, is one of the most compelling rationales for U.S. involvement.

In the meantime, isolationists and supporters of the Salvadoran guerrillas have succeeded in perpetrating the myth that the U.S. is interested only in military victory—in spite of the fact that two-thirds of proposed U.S. aid to El Salvador is economic. The truth is that a Peace Commission created by the Salvadoran government has called repeatedly for a dialogue with the guerrillas concerning the democratic process.

But the guerrillas continue to refuse to talk about elections. Their idea of a “political solution” is a coalition government which could quickly degenerate and lead to total guerrilla control.

### “Negotiated Settlement”

This kind of power-sharing arrangement is sharply criticized by no less than former President Richard Nixon, who presided over the negotiation of the Paris Peace Agreement, which was signed on January 27, 1973. The Agreement provided for the evacuation of all U.S. combat forces from Vietnam and allowed the government forces and the communist forces in South Vietnam to maintain their arms strength at equal levels.

“Between 1973 and 1975, Congress cut the arms budget for South Vietnam by 76%. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, doubled its shipments of arms to North Vietnam,” wrote Nixon in the *Wall Street Journal*. “It is not surprising that in 1975 the North Vietnamese, with a four-to-one advantage in tanks and heavy artillery, rolled into Saigon.”

A replay of the Vietnam takeover would be likely in the event the U.S. abandoned El Salvador. If the U.S. cut military aid, it does not follow that the communists would do the same. To the contrary, any sign that the U.S. was prepared to abandon El Salvador would probably encourage the Soviet Union and its allies to *increase* its military aid, like in Vietnam, and push on to achieve military victory.

### Higher Stakes

The U.S. survived the communist conquest of Vietnam. But the stakes in Central America are much higher. A red tidal wave washing over the region would pose an immediate security threat. There is only one country between the U.S. and Central America: Mexico, which many analysts say is itself ripe for revolution.

“A communist Central America, together with Cuba and the Soviet Union, would be in an excellent position to take the Panama Canal and to choke off U.S. trade and vital strategic minerals that pass through the Caribbean,” writes CIS Research and Publications Director Roger Reed in *El Salvador and the Crisis in Central America*.

“Aircraft and naval vessels operating out of bases and ports in Central America and Cuba could cut sea lanes and interdict U.S.



Susan Melselas/Magnum

Rebels in El Salvador's San Vicente province.

supply lines,” according to Reed. “Combined communist forces could even destroy U.S. naval vessels in the event of war and conceivably bottle up U.S. naval forces in ports on the Gulf of Mexico.”

### Military Buildup

Even if the guerrillas took El Salvador but did not succeed in exporting revolution throughout the region, they would likely turn El Salvador into a basing area for a Soviet-sponsored military buildup. The Soviets could base advanced aircraft as well as nuclear missiles in El Salvador,

station submarines there to operate against U.S. ships in case of war, and establish stations to track U.S. satellites and intercept U.S. communications.

The example of Nicaragua is instructive on this point. Following the 1979 Sandinista takeover, Nicaragua embarked on a spectacular military buildup and now has the strongest armed forces in all Central America. This new military machine is presumably at the disposal of the Cubans and Soviets who have created it. A similar phenomenon could be expected in the event the guerrillas take power in El Salvador. ★



# THE ATTACK ON HONDURAS

Honduras is under attack on three fronts. The most ominous threat is from Nicaragua, which has been furiously beating war drums for several months. Nicaragua's Sandinista regime regularly invokes the spectre of war with Honduras and has already mounted military operations leading to a number of armed clashes with Honduran troops.

Guerrillas operating from El Salvador are executing yet another assault on Honduras. Recently Salvadoran guerrillas tried to blow up a bridge connecting the two countries at El Amatillo and opened fire on a Honduran customs post. Salvadoran guerrillas are also working inside Honduras. The commander of Honduras' armed forces, General Gustavo Alvarez, has blamed Salvadoran guerrillas for more than forty attacks in his country.

The third threat to Honduras comes from within. Indigenous Honduran terrorist groups have been organized with the help of both Salvadoran revolutionaries and the Nicaraguan government to explode bombs, rob banks, and create at least the illusion that a guerrilla war may be imminent.

## Coordinated Attack

The coordinated, three-pronged attack on Honduras obeys the dictates of a game plan laid down by Fidel Castro at a meeting with guerrilla groups from El Salvador and the Salvadoran Communist Party in Havana in December 1979. According to a U.S. State Department Background Paper, Castro outlined his strategy: El Salvador and Guatemala would be his next targets in Central America, and Honduras would play a supporting role as a corridor for the transit of guerrillas and arms.

Castro proceeded quickly to execute his plan. He succeeded in uniting the five Salvadoran guerrilla groups under his tutelage in May 1980. Six months later, four Guatemalan guerrilla organizations signed a unity agreement in Managua, responding to an offer of Cuban aid conditioned on a commitment to armed struggle and a unified strategy.

## General Offensive

The players were now in position. Armed with weapons from the Soviet bloc, the Salvadoran guerrillas launched a general offensive in January 1981. When it failed, the Salvadorans repaired to Havana and this time devised the dual-track strategy of feigning an interest in a negotiated settlement while, all the time, regrouping and building up militarily to carry on the war.

It is at this point that Honduras became a thorn in Castro's side. Cuba tried and failed to persuade Honduras to be neutral

by promising to spare the country from the wave of terrorism sweeping over El Salvador and Guatemala. But Honduras would not cooperate. Instead, Honduran authorities began to intercept arms shipments from Nicaragua destined for the guerrillas in El Salvador. For example, in January 1981 the Honduran police caught six persons who identified themselves as members of the International Support Commission of El Salvador's Popular Liberation Forces (FLP) unloading weapons from a truck en route from Nicaragua.

## Cooperating with U.S.

Furthermore, the new democratic government of Honduras began cooperating with the U.S. to neutralize the threat posed by the military buildup in Nicaragua.

This was too much. Castro and his allies could no longer continue to regard Honduras as a secondary character in the Central American drama. Honduras would have to be brought down.

It is unclear whether the timetable for the overthrow of Honduras has been accelerated. Clearly, Honduras has been targeted, but Cuba and its Central American allies may still intend to surround it on three sides (Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala) and then stage the final assault.

In the meantime, Nicaragua and guerrillas from El Salvador and Guatemala will

continue to chip away at Honduras in an effort to intimidate the government and force it to divert resources that could otherwise be employed to counter the communist thrust from Nicaragua up through El Salvador to Guatemala and points beyond.

## Terrorism

The attack on Honduras has so far included kidnappings, aircraft hijackings, bank robberies, bombings of public buildings, attacks on U.S. corporations, a machine gun attack on the U.S. Embassy, the bombing of electrical power plants, and the September 1982 seige of business leaders in San Pedro Sula, Honduras' second-largest city.

## President's Daughter

One of the most publicized terrorist incidents was the December 1982 kidnapping of the Honduran President's daughter in Guatemala. The terrorists identified themselves as "The People's Revolutionary Movement, MRP, IXIM." The President's daughter was released after a communique was printed pursuant to the terrorists' demands. It was later learned that the terrorists were Argentines and Colombians working with leftists in Guatemala.

This is not the first time Honduras has been on Castro's hit list. Cuba provided



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para-military training to a small number of Hondurans in the early 1960s and later gave military training to Honduran Communist Party members, who were integrated into the "international brigades" fighting in the Nicaraguan civil war. After Somoza's fall, Honduran Communist Party members returned to Cuba for additional training.

### Overt Attacks

However, Castro and his allies did not get serious about Honduras until two or three years ago. Now, Nicaragua is executing repeated overt military attacks on Honduran military installations as well as Honduran civilians near the border. Honduras has protested these attacks again and again. For example, Honduras complained in May that Sandinista troops ambushed a vehicle in eastern Honduras in May, killing five persons.

The Honduran protest note on this occasion said that the Nicaragua army was sowing "terror and insecurity in the border area, creating situations and extreme provocation in order to prepare aggression in Honduras." The note related a series of warlike acts committed by the Nicaraguan army in Honduran territory that included firing on customs posts, kidnappings, and machinegunning fishing boats.

### War Plans

The Hondurans are convinced that the Nicaraguans are planning an invasion. "Nicaragua wants war," declared Honduran Foreign Minister Paz Barnica last month. For his part, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto said, "Tensions are rising day by day that threaten war."

Honduran military leaders recently told *Washington Post* columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak that they had discovered a complete set of anti-Honduras war plans developed by the Sandinistas. Evans and Novak also wrote that a Nicaraguan agent was picked up in Puerto Lempira carrying a radio receiver tuned to a transmitter in Nicaragua which sent him coded messages at designated times. He had been ordered "to establish contact, arrange drop points for future visits and perform other well-known tricks of the subversion/sabotage trade."

### Salvadoran Guerrillas

But Nicaragua is not Honduras' only headache. The Salvadoran guerrillas are also involved, assisting local Honduran terrorist groups in planning, training and operations.

Last April four of the Honduran terrorist groups united under the banner of the National Unity Directorate of the Revolutionary Movement of Honduras. Managua's Radio Noticias announced the formation of the new coalition, which includes



*One room in an unlighted, smoke-filled three-room building with dirt floors is home for these three girls at the refugee camp in Jacaliapa, Honduras. The influx of thousands of refugees into Honduras has created major problems in this poor country.*

the Cinchoneros People's Liberation Movement, the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers, the Lorenzo Zelaya People's Revolutionary Forces, and the Morazanist Front for the Liberation of Honduras.

This unification agreement was hammered out in response to stepped-up pressures from the Cuban government, which earlier succeeded in unifying terrorist groups in El Salvador and Guatemala.

### From Nicaragua

It is no coincidence that the announcement of Honduran revolutionary unity came from Nicaragua. At least one of the Honduran terrorist groups, the Morazanist Front, was formed in Nicaragua at the instigation of high-level Sandinista leaders, according to captured documents and detained guerrillas. The group's chief of operations resided in Managua, and members of the group received military training in Nicaragua as well as Cuba.

Furthermore, captured Sandinista and Honduran terrorists have admitted that explosives used in bombing attacks in Tegucigalpa, the country's capital, were obtained in Nicaragua.

### Police Raid

Much of the information about the link between Nicaragua and the Honduran terrorist groups was gathered pursuant to a November 27, 1981 raid by the Honduran police in Tegucigalpa on a safe-house for the Morazanist Front. The police captured a Honduran, a Uruguayan, and several Nicaraguans after a gunfight. The captured terrorists told Honduran

authorities that the Nicaraguan government had provided them with funds for travel expenses as well as explosives.

Honduran revolutionaries are being trained in Cuba. A U.S. Defense Department official told reporters in May that 20 Honduran leftists had recently completed a course in guerrilla warfare and related subjects in Cuba, and that 16 more Hondurans recently arrived in Cuba for similar training. He said this information came from a captured Honduran leftist.

The incipient guerrilla activity in Honduras should serve to explode the myth that revolutionary movements surge forth only in corrupt dictatorships that are controlled by an oligarchy of land barons. Honduras made the transition from military rule to civilian rule last year, after a free and honest election for the Assembly and another election in November 1982 for President.

### Land Reform

Land reform was carried out in Honduras years ago. In the lush farming areas of the country, most holdings are limited to 600 acres and cannot be leased. Land not used productively may be subject to expropriation.

Furthermore, labor unions in Honduras are stronger and better established than elsewhere in the region.

It is true that Honduras is the poorest country in Central America. But it is also clear that Castro and his allies have moved to exploit Honduras' social and economic problems. That is why Honduras, once an oasis of tranquility in a war-ravaged region, is now facing the possibility of destabilization. ★

# Guatemala Resists Guerrilla Attacks

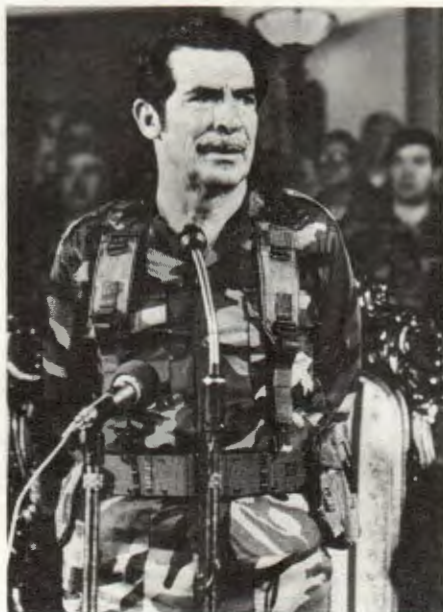
The government of Guatemala was overthrown by General Efraín Ríos Montt 15 months ago. Even *Time* magazine acknowledges that Ríos Montt has virtually eliminated the endemic corruption and urban death squads that flourished under the old regime. One thing that he has not yet accomplished is recovery from the country's economic crisis.

Guatemala's economic crisis is largely the work of terrorists who have banded together to form the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URGN). The URGN is the Castro-fabricated, made-in-Managua umbrella group which includes the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT), and the Armed People's Revolutionary Organization (ORPA).

The terrorists have all along sought to disrupt the economy by attacking electrical and gas stations to impede the supply of energy and destroying telegraph, telephone, and post offices to limit communications. In addition, they have burned buses and commercial vehicles, blown bridges, and set up roadblocks with the goal of crippling transportation.

**The terrorists have also adopted measures to curtail revenue generated by the tourist trade. They have even attacked hotels, including one on Lake Tikal that was built by the Indians.**

The left, a force supposedly fighting for Indian liberation, has destroyed all the tribal cars and has stopped the Indians from weaving in certain areas. Moreover, the terrorists have driven away most international capital by kidnapping foreign nationals and attacking foreign investments, such as the oil fields pipeline. Their ultimate objective is the impoverishment of the indigenous population and their



Ken Silverman/Time Magazine

*Guatemala's President, General Ríos Montt, speaks at the first anniversary of the coup that brought him to power.*

consequent radicalization.

Fashioned alongside the URGN was the Democratic Front Against Repression—the FDCR. It is questionable whether the Guatemalan left needed this propaganda arm, because the country has already become a sort of pariah nation, due in part to selective reporting.

The murder of Father Stanley Rother, on July 28, 1981, apparently by right-wing gunmen, received much attention. Not so, however, the murders of American Menonite John Troyer on September 14, 1981 and Christian Brother James Miller on February 13, 1982, both apparently by left-wing terrorists.

Massacres by the URGN receive little publicity in the international media. Take, for instance, the slaughter in the town of Saquilla. There, some 50 terrorists, armed with automatic rifles and clad in fatigues, moved in and ordered members of a paramilitary group to leave their homes. They then killed 14 women and 26 children, aged three months to 14 years.

**Terrorists also killed 26 Indians in attacks on the nearby towns of Patzul and Chichel. These rebels also were reported to have worn olive green uniforms identical to those issued to the Guatemalan army.**

Another incident occurred at Chacalté, a village in El Quiché province, which had organized one of the first defense patrols under Ríos Montt's new system. In a pre-dawn raid, some 200 rebels invaded Chacalté, exterminating all 30 members of its defense patrol. They then set upon every man, woman and child they could find. When an army relief column reached the grisly scene, the troops discovered 120 dead.

During Ríos Montt's tenure, the number of such violent assaults against the people of Guatemala and their livelihoods has decreased. The now-famous policy of "beans and rifles" has had a dramatic effect. Only a year ago, the terrorists had huge slices of territory in seven of Guatemala's 22 departments under their control. Today, many of them are licking their wounds in southern Mexico. The Nicaraguan conduit has almost run dry.

Yet, weapons still come through Belize and Mexico from Cuba. The Cubans know what the prize is: a Marxist-Leninist Guatemala, which would not only be expansionist in its pursuit of territorial claims to its neighbor Belize, but, also, a direct threat to the Chiapas oil fields across the Mexican border. ★

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Publisher: L. Francis Bouchee

Editor: Roger Reed

Contributors: Emily Laux

James W. Moses

# Costa Rica: A Threatened Democracy

Democracy . . . stability . . . neutrality. These are all words typically used to describe Costa Rica. Many of us still believe that Costa Rica is the "Switzerland of Central America," an oasis of democratic calm and economic prosperity on an isthmus where dictatorship and economic crisis have traditionally prevailed.

Unfortunately, this image of Costa Rica is out of date and woefully inaccurate. Although Costa Rica does have a history of stability, it has recently been experiencing serious economic and political problems. Some experts believe that Costa Rica's strong tradition of democracy is being slowly undermined by popular opposition to President Luis Alberto Monge's austerity measures, guerrilla insurgency within Costa Rican borders, and terrorist incidents along the Nicaraguan border.

Costa Rica's economic crisis began in 1981, when plunging prices for coffee, bananas and sugar on the world market, combined with the escalating cost of oil imports, resulted in severe economic recession. For the first time in 30 years, the gross national product dropped 3 percent, while unemployment and inflation tripled.

## Continuing Crisis

In 1982, the economic situation grew considerably worse. Upon entering office in May, President Monge faced a growing public sector deficit of approximately 17 percent of the gross national product, up from 14 percent a year earlier. In addition, Costa Rica's export sector was confronted by the rapidly deteriorating Central American Common Market, low world commodity prices, and soft demand in industrial nations.

In order to reduce the government deficit and that of autonomous entities, the new administration increased the rates of public utilities by a total average of 97 percent, imposed a hiring freeze, continued a salary freeze, and raised corporate, sales and income taxes.

## Austerity

President Monge's austerity measures resulted in compliance with conditions of the International Monetary Fund for the first quarter of 1983. Nevertheless, export earnings dropped 18 percent, compared to the first quarter of 1982. According to John Curry, chief economist at the U.S. Embassy in San Jose, "Costa Rica has to increase its exports markedly or it is really in deep water."

Moreover, in 1983 the average Costa Rican is finding his standard of living increasingly difficult to maintain. Not only has the cost of living nearly doubled, but



McCormick/New York Times

Salvadoran guerrillas are working in Costa Rica to destabilize the government. In this picture, Salvadoran guerrilla leader Cayetano Carpio, three days before his death in May, is hailed by Nicaraguan leaders Tomás Borge (left) and Daniel Ortega (right) in Managua.

the job market is extremely tight, especially for baby-boomers who are entering the market for the first time.

The cumulative social effect of these economic constraints in the creation of an undirected mass of popular dissatisfaction which can easily be channeled into political opposition by insurgent groups.

In 1982, Cuba funded a new political party which, according to the State Department, was "designed to unify leftist elements and attract broader popular support." Cubans have also provided support to other leftist coalitions in Costa Rica.

## Seeds of Terrorism

The seeds of Costa Rican terrorism were planted in the late 1970's, when the Costa Rican government cooperated with Cuba to establish an arms pipeline from Cuba through Costa Rica to the Sandinistas fighting to take power in Nicaragua,

### A NEW BOOK ON NICARAGUA

*Somozas and Sandinistas: The U.S. and Nicaragua in the Twentieth Century*, by Dr. John J. Tierney, Jr., an official with the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, traces the rise and fall of Somoza, the U.S. Marine interventions, the war against Sandino, and the advent of the new Sandinista regime.

Available from the Council for Inter-American Security, 729 Eighth Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

according to a Special Report for the Council for Inter-American Security entitled *Nicaraguan Military Operations and Covert Activities in Latin America*. CIS Research and Publications Director Roger Reed, who authored the Report, notes that leftists say about half of the arms were left in Costa Rica. "It is very likely," he writes, "that the Sandinistas know the exact location of the weapons that remain in Costa Rica and may even have been involved in the distribution of these weapons to pro-Sandinista Costa Rican extremist groups."

San Jose is not only a haven for Cuban and Sandinista terrorists. In November 1982, Costa Rican police thwarted a kidnap attempt by Salvadoran guerrillas. The State Department estimates that there are currently at least 20 Salvadoran guerrilla cells working in Costa Rica to destabilize the government.

## Nicaragua

Relations with Nicaragua are extremely tense. Terrorist incidents are occurring along the border with increasing frequency, while refugees from Nicaragua continue to pour into Costa Rica daily. Costa Rica, having abolished its army over 30 years ago, has asked the Organization of American States to establish a border patrol.

Despite three years of economic woes and political unrest, Costa Rica's prospects are not entirely bleak. Costa Rica is a democratic nation and, compared to her neighbors, maintains a high level of political freedom. It is precisely this level of freedom and the openness of Costa Rica's society that gives reason to hope for continued peace and democracy. \*

CONSERVATIVE COALITION

CENTRAL AMERICA

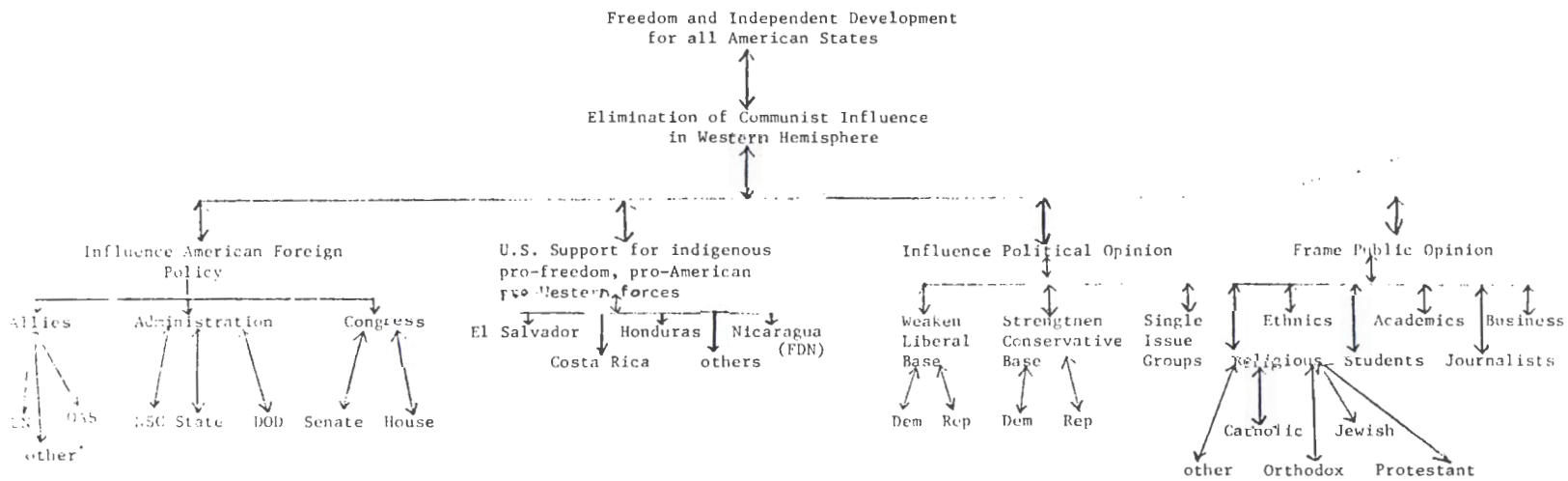
PROJECT

DRAFT PROPOSAL

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

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

GOALS, OBJECTIVES ETC. FOR  
CENTRAL AMERICA



TACTICS

TACTICS

TACTICS

TACTICS

general goals

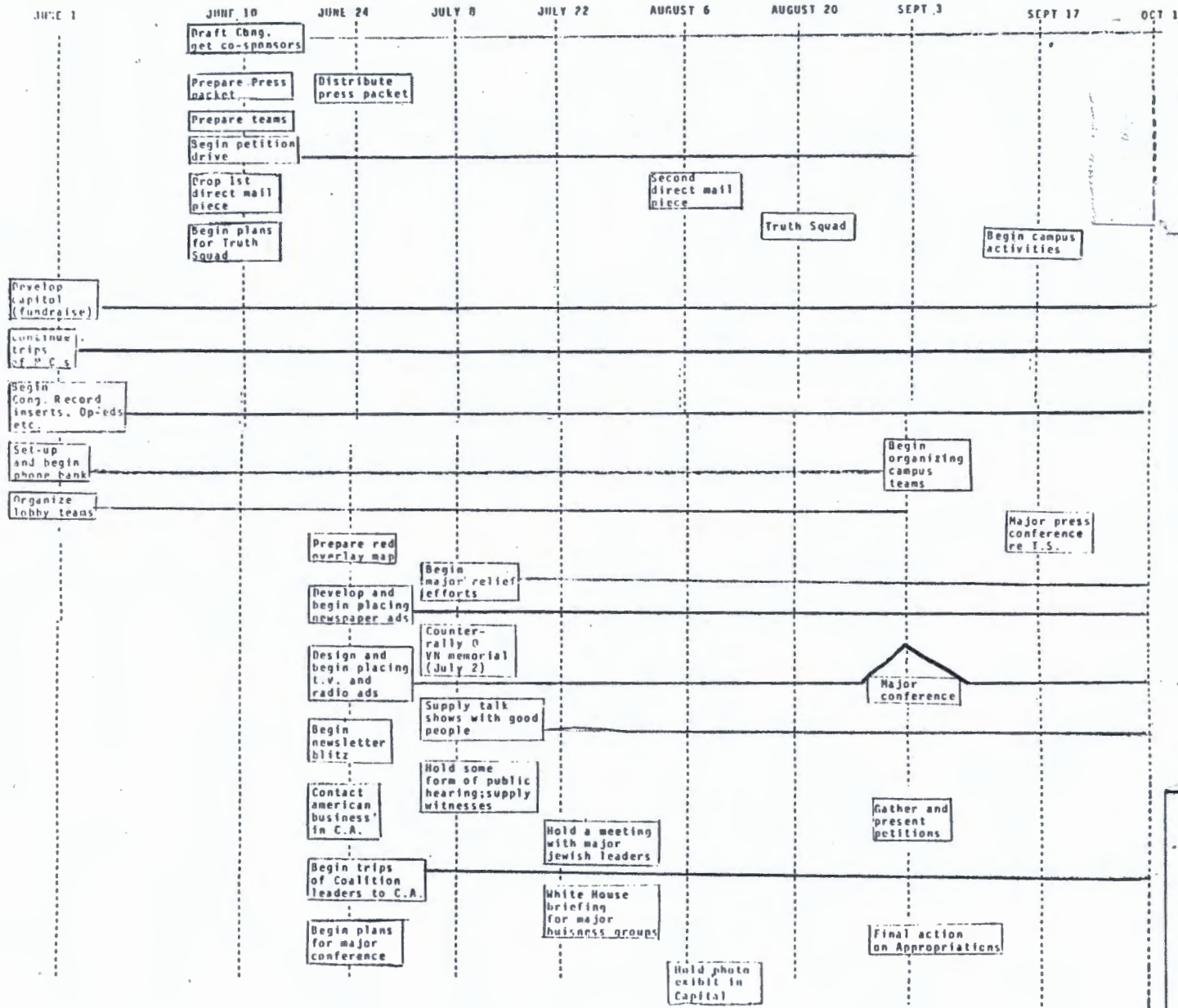
strategic objectives

when in general

when specifically

TACTICS

6/1/83



Establish a dynamic, viable outside operation

Appoint a Habib-type Special-Ambassador

ELIMINATE COMMUNIST THREAT IN EL SALVADOR

SUPPORT PRO-WEST FORCES IN NICARAGUA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Strategic Objective: Influence American Foreign Policy in Central America

Possible tactics:

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

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

Possible tactics:

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

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

Possible tactics:

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

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

Possible tactics:

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

## POTENTIAL COALITION

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

S= Social/Human rights

P= Political

E= Educational

Ec=Economic

M= Media

D= Defense

B= Business

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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Themes for Op-Ed Pieces to be written by outside supporters

-- Democratic countries in Latin America are not hostile to U.S. aims in Central America. (All audiences and authors)

-- The guerrillas are led by communists committed to violence and destruction. (moderate audiences)

-- The guerrillas are bent on destroying the economy and normal Salvadoran way of life as a means of achieving power. (All audiences)

-- The U.S. Government supports social reform in Central America and wants to ensure that it takes a democratic route. The revolution in Nicaragua has turned away from democracy. We have a good chance of helping the Salvadoran revolution follow a democratic route. (Urban, liberal audiences--election observer author).

-- If we don't act against the communist struggle to achieve power in Central America now, later on we will have to when the confrontation is closer to our borders. We can do it with relatively little cost now while almost all of Central America is on our side. (South-West U.S., Florida)

-- If we don't deal firmly and constructively with the conflict in El Salvador now we risk a series of several wars and revolutions which will generate a tremendous increase in the refugee flow to the U.S. (South-West U.S., Florida)

-- The Nicaraguan voting record at the United Nations is not merely that of a third world country but that of a Soviet client state. (All audiences; author UN personality, e.g. Jeane Kirkpatrick).

-- Profile of a Salvadoran family that has benefitted from land reform, to show--without claiming too much--that the socio-economic situation in El Salvador has never been good, but it is slowly improving as we work with Salvadorans to bring the changes they seek. (Catholic press - AFL-CIO author; social historian author)

-- U.S. economic assistance far greater than military. (Be sure to note that aid promotes U.S. jobs and exports.)

-- (For European consumption) If it is made difficult for the U.S. to protect its interests as close to home as Central America, its interest in alliance issues and threats elsewhere will be reduced (European conservative author)

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ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12958, as amended, Sect. 3.3(c)  
BY NARA RW DATE 9/22/11

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-- It is patronizing and untrue to regard Latin America as just an area ruled by dictators. Most of Latin America is either under democratic rule or on the road to democracy, except the countries attracted by communism (Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, Surinam, Guyana) and a few others. (This argument dispels the widespread misunderstanding that we are supporting dictators, while appealing to liberal fears about misjudging Latin America) (Audience: Hispanic and urban audiences. Author: a Latin American democratic politician, academic, or writer)

-- Profile of the Christian Democratic Party (Liberal audiences; Michael Novak?)

-- El Salvador compared with the Greek civil war (Educated audiences; historian as author)

-- The communists in Central America are anti-Semitic, work closely with PLO and Libya. (Jewish audiences and author).

Possible writers: judges  
Salvadorans  
historians  
election observers  
Congressmen  
organized labor

On placement:

- The same op-eds may be printed (simultaneously or later) in different regions if permission of the papers involved is given, and the circulation areas do not overlap.
- Titles and identifying information that reflects credibility, sensitivity on the writers should be included with the article in a form which will be automatically used by the paper.
- When the op-ed is placed, attention should be paid to follow-up, such as checking with paper later to learn reader reactions or any editorial follow up.

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We need to think systematically about the Vietnam analogy and how each element of it can be countered in discussing other issues (avoid explicit discussions of Vietnam)

Elements of Vietnam Analogy

Possible Counter Arguments:

Military intervention by US

limited role/trainers; Salvadorans always; that is why U.S. only trains

Intervention to present social justice

Land reform (don't describe overall because of its complexity, but profile one peasant family that benefitted) Profile of the Christian Democratic party - leaders organization, aspirations, etc.

Gradual escalation

"Once of prevention worth a pound of cure" - by being serious now we avoid a worsening of the problem

We will lose...

Successful Guerrilla wars? Greece 1947-49 is the best case to discuss; can make link to Truman doctrine

...because we're on the wrong side of history

Our side is corrupt

Profile of Christian Democratic party

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Secretary Shultz

# Strengthening Democracy in Central America

March 16, 1983



United States Department of State  
*Bureau of Public Affairs*  
Washington, D.C.

*Following is a statement by Secretary Shultz before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee, March 16, 1983.*

The President last week set forth very clearly the national security stake we have in Central America and the Caribbean. Many factors are involved but the basic argument is simple: Central America is in transition, trying to resolve the tensions of the past through the development of democratic institutions and other reforms. Violent, anti-democratic minorities with close military and ideological ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union are attempting to disrupt this effort and seize power by force of arms. Central America is too close and of too much strategic importance for us to stand idly by while that happens. Our security is at stake, and our most basic principles are being tested.

It is not surprising that our consultations with a wide spectrum of the Congress over the last 2 weeks have convinced the President and all of us that a bipartisan consensus on goals does, in fact, exist. No one wants to see Communist guerrillas take power in El Salvador. No one wants to see a second or third or fourth Nicaragua in Central America. We are unanimous in wanting the outcome of the crisis in the region to be peaceful and democratic.

So I would like to focus today on the means to achieve these common objectives. To this end, I will review our regional strategy, with specific reference

to why we believe the political strategy which the President set forth in his March 10 speech can work to end the war and produce a democratic outcome in El Salvador. I will then discuss the resources we need to make it work.

## **Our Regional Strategy**

Our strategy proceeds from an analysis that recognizes, in fact emphasizes, that there are legitimate social, economic, and political grievances in many parts of the region. For example, many of El Salvador's problems stem directly from failings of past Salvadoran governments—failings that often go back decades but which must be addressed now.

This brings me to a second critical factor—the decision by Cuba with Soviet-bloc support to organize and arm guerrilla forces under Marxist-Leninist control. This tactic—and its fruits—are evident in Nicaragua, which since 1979 has become a base for the export of violence to its neighbors. Almost immediately after the Sandinista takeover in Nicaragua, El Salvador became a target, with the expectation that Communist-bloc training and supplies would bring a quick military victory to Cuban-backed extremists.

Our conclusion is that we face two related challenges: to help alleviate longstanding political, economic, and social problems and to help counter a Communist strategy which seeks to aggravate and exploit these problems and so to seize power by force of arms.



The strategy we have developed is comprehensive and regional. Much of it has been elaborated in consultation with the region's democracies. It consists of six mutually reinforcing elements. Each is necessary to ensure the success of the whole.

**The first and critical component is support for democracy, reform, and the protection of human rights.**

Violence feeds on the failure of local institutions to provide responsive government, justice under law, or means to achieve peaceful social and economic change. We know that democratic governments are far less likely to abuse their citizens than dictatorial regimes whether of the right or left. Similarly democracy cannot flourish in the presence of extreme inequalities in access to land, opportunity, or justice. We cannot hope to succeed unless we address these first-order concerns.

**The second element is support for economic development.** Underdevelopment; recession; and, in the case of El Salvador, the guerrillas' "prolonged war" against jobs, transport, and crops create human hardship and misery that are being exploited by the enemies of democracy. Three-quarters of the resources in support of our Central American policy go to economic assistance.

**The third element is support for the security of the nations of the region.** We must provide El Salvador and our other friends struggling for democracy enough military training and assistance to protect against the military power of the guerrillas so that nonmilitary solutions can be found. Security assistance is not an end in itself but a shield for the region's democratization and development.

**The fourth element is to give the area hope in the future.** That is why our economic efforts go beyond the traditional forms of assistance: the President's Caribbean Basin initiative would provide unique long-term incentives to spur the sustained economic growth these countries have demonstrated in the past they are capable of achieving.

**The fifth element is to deter the Sandinista attempt to promote a "revolution without frontiers."** We are providing essential economic and security support to Costa Rica and Honduras. And together with other democratic countries of the region, we are working to persuade the Sandinistas that they should come to the bargaining table ready to come to terms with their own society and their neighbors.

**The sixth element is support for peaceful solutions.** Internal reconciliation—through democratic elections, guarantees of personal security, and amnesty—can provide an alternative to violence and its consequences for all concerned. Similarly, regional agreements can strengthen democracy and eliminate sources of conflict and militarization.

All six of these elements must be applied and sustained for the strategy to succeed. No amount of reform alone can end the conflict so long as the guerrillas expect military victory. No amount of economic assistance alone can suffice if the guerrillas can destroy basic infrastructures again and again with impunity. And even sustained government military superiority alone will not bring sustained peace in the absence of more freedom and of better opportunities for social and economic development.

**The Situation in El Salvador**

Let me turn now to El Salvador. How is our strategy working there?

**First,** respect for human rights has grown slowly but steadily. Political violence against noncombatants remains a serious problem but has diminished markedly. The treatment of individuals in prison for security reasons has improved: international access to detained individuals is regular and prison facilities are cleaner and better administered. Military operations have resulted in the capture of prisoners. Little progress has yet been made, however, in rebuilding a judicial system free from intimidation or coercion.

**Second,** in just 3 years, and in the face of guerrilla opposition to reform, El Salvador's Government has managed to redistribute some 20% of all arable land to the direct benefit of more than 450,000 Salvadorans. An AID-financed study by independent consultants visiting El Salvador reported that: "Members of the team . . . were under the impression that the conservative coalition that won the March 1982 election had attempted to annul the reforms. During 2 months of field work, however, we discovered that reforms were still very much alive." The recent extension of land reform legislation confirms this judgment. The distributive aspects of the reform, if continued at the present pace, can be completed this year.

**Third,** the general economic situation is poor. In the last 4 years, the Salvadoran economy has contracted by 25%. The international recession has depressed commodity and agricultural

markets on which El Salvador depends for foreign exchange. In some areas, unemployment has reached 40%. Imports of medicines and food have been hampered. To maintain even zero growth in real terms, El Salvador needs substantial assistance to import materials, intermediate goods, and essential agricultural inputs for which it lacks foreign exchange.

More serious, since the failure of their 1981 "final offensive," the guerrillas have moved against the economic infrastructure. They have destroyed 55 of the country's 260 bridges and damaged many more. The national water authority is carrying out 112 reconstruction projects to restore facilities damaged by guerrilla action. Two hundred and forty-nine separate attacks have caused millions of dollars of damage to the telephone system. Electrical systems have suffered over 5,000 power interruptions in a 22-month period ending last November—an average of almost 8 a day. The eastern region was blacked out for over a third of the year in both 1981 and 1982. Thirteen crop-dusting planes have been destroyed or damaged since last October. Over 200 buses were destroyed in 1982 alone.

In short, the guerrillas' campaign of "rule or ruin" is depriving the people of El Salvador of food, water, transportation, light, sanitation, and work.

**Fourth,** the security situation, though not desperate, is not good and could become desperate if we fail to help. Just last week, for example, we had to provide an emergency airlift of critically needed small arms ammunition. The Salvadoran Armed Forces face the difficult task of fighting mobile and well-trained enemy units supported from the outside while also protecting static targets and population and production centers. But the Salvadoran soldier, if well trained and well led, is capable: Guerrilla operations have been largely localized to certain areas of the country, and the government forces we have trained have performed effectively. Even by the guerrillas' evaluation, these units conduct themselves well both on the battlefield and in their relations with noncombatant populations. But only 10% at most of the Salvadoran Armed Forces have received our training.

**Fifth,** democracy and reconciliation have made major advances this past year. The Constituent Assembly has engaged a wide and diverse political spectrum, from ARENA [National Republican Alliance] on the right to Christian Democracy on the left. It has not been easy for often bitter political

rivals to deal with each other in a parliamentary forum with the outside world watching skeptically. But gradually they are coming to listen to each other, moderate, compromise, accommodate. In addition to working on a new constitution, the assembly has reached agreement on a Government of National Unity guided by the multiparty Pact of Apaneca and proceeded seriously with land reform including the extension of the land-to-the-tiller program.

As envisioned in the Pact of Apaneca, the Salvadoran Government on February 28 designated a peace commission to develop an amnesty program and other measures of national reconciliation. Its members include a Catholic bishop and two civilian independents, one a member of the Constituent Assembly, the other a former foreign minister. The formation late last year of a human rights commission to investigate violations and promote respect for human rights is an important complement to the work of the peace commission.

This emerging democratic process has now led to the decision to hold presidential elections this year—a decision greeted with hope and approval by all, including his Holiness Pope John Paul II, when it was announced last week.

In sum, despite continued human rights problems and troubled economic and security conditions, particularly outside major population centers, heartening progress has been made in political, economic, and social reform. Essential groundwork has been laid for progress in national reconciliation.

### Resource Needs and Objectives

Let me now turn to our resource needs and policy objectives. Our economic assistance for FY 1983 will first and foremost provide essential foreign exchange to help keep the Salvadoran economy alive. It will permit the purchase of essential imports and help restore basic services and infrastructure disrupted by the guerrillas. U.S. economic assistance will also strengthen agrarian reform and help finance reconstruction projects of a labor-intensive kind to provide work to those deprived of it by guerrilla sabotage. Finally, our assistance will help the private sector, now cut off from capital markets, to regain access to credit essential for critical imports.

To accomplish these objectives, we are planning to provide El Salvador some \$227 million in FY 1983 economic

assistance, including economic support funds, development assistance, and PL 480 commodity financing. This includes \$67.1 million the President has proposed to reallocate for El Salvador from current funds. No new appropriations are being sought. The additional assistance will be committed to public services, medical needs, and food imports. A major component will support a comprehensive new program of services and reconstruction to be launched in two parts of the country most critically affected by the guerrilla war.

To continue building the kind of disciplined, skilled armed forces that can take and hold the initiative while respecting the rights of its people, we submitted last Thursday to Congress a notification of our intent to reprogram \$60 million in FMS [foreign military sales] loan guarantees to El Salvador. We are also planning to reallocate to El Salvador another \$50 million in grant MAP [military assistance program] funds from our January supplemental request. As with economic assistance, none of this increase will involve funds other than those previously requested.

We are not planning to send El Salvador advanced heavy weapons like the Soviet tanks acquired by Nicaragua. Rather, our emphasis is on a greatly expanded training program, with all or most of the additional training taking place outside El Salvador, if funds permit. The funds we have requested would enable us to train some 50% of El Salvador's main fighting units (compared to 10% until now) and help El Salvador's Armed Forces to increase force mobility with additional helicopters, small naval craft, and trucks and to acquire necessary munitions and spare parts. Some of this military assistance will also be used for engineering equipment and medical supplies to provide relief for the people suffering from the effects of the guerrilla war.

Time is important to this objective. The more quickly we help these armed forces become more effective and responsible instruments of El Salvador's national policy, the sooner their shield will be available to protect the emerging democracy and developing economy we all seek.

Let me note here one problem that is not a question of resources. It is true that the ineffectiveness of El Salvador's judicial system is directly related to the larger problem of violence. But it is also true that efforts to protect human rights and instill respect for the law are gravely hampered if the courts are unable to bring cases to a successful, impartial conclusion.

The Salvadoran peace commission and human rights commission together have a mandate to develop an amnesty program, to review all laws and procedures governing political crimes, and to make recommendations for improving the judicial system as a whole. We have been asked for help in this delicate area and want to be of assistance. We believe that consideration should be given to increasing security for judges and other court officials; to reviewing rules of evidence; to transferring trials of military offenders to military courts; and generally to upgrading case management, investigative techniques, and judicial administration. However, because El Salvador's judicial system is quite different from our own, specific recommendations will require more knowledge and cooperative programs than we have now. We are working on both.

### Negotiations

Let me now address the question of negotiations. The President made clear Thursday that we support negotiations aimed at "expanding participation in democratic institutions—at getting all parties to participate in free, nonviolent elections." We will not support negotiations that short circuit the democratic process and carve up power behind the people's back. We will support negotiations to help provide guarantees of electoral fairness and protection for voters and candidates of all persuasions.

For 18 months, the Government of El Salvador has been attempting to open democratic political processes to all political forces including the Marxist ones. The peace commission has the specific mandate to help incorporate all social and political groups in the elections this year. The President of the Constituent Assembly called last week for the main political unit of the guerrillas, the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR), to take part in the election.

As the President indicated, we are willing to help. Surely there will be interest in measures which would guarantee the personal security of candidates and their supporters, in the provision of observers to encourage fairness and discourage coercion or intimidation, and in specific ways to ensure access to media, an accurate tally, and—ultimately—respect for the results.

We will be making proposals to the Salvadorans on how we, the Organization of American States, and other concerned countries can help to achieve each of these objectives. We are fully committed to this course.

We also support negotiations among countries, as the President has said, "to strengthen democracy, to halt subversion, to stop the flow of arms, to respect borders, and to remove all the foreign military advisers—the Soviets, the Cubans, the East Germans, PLO, as well as our own—from the region." Eight democratic countries of the region, meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica, in October 1982 called on Nicaragua to join them in pledging an end to cross-border support of guerrilla violence, a freeze on the growth of military arsenals, and freedom of action for peaceful democratic groups. Nicaragua refused to discuss these principles. The San Jose proposals, if accepted, would reduce East-West tensions in Central America and contribute to a regional political solution.

Discussion now centers on the possibility of a meeting of foreign ministers of the five Central American countries—Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, observed by the foreign ministers of five other countries within the region—Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela. This is what the President referred to in saying that a regional peace initiative is emerging. Nicaragua would be engaged in the process. Its good faith, or lack of it, will be tested. We strongly support the efforts of the democratic states to stop Sandinista export of violence and threats to democracy.

### Regional Development and Security

Pending a peaceful solution, we must also seek to bolster Honduras and Costa Rica, two democracies with troubled economies where major externally directed terrorist incidents have occurred. These nations—on the borders of Nicaragua—feel most strongly the growing threat of Nicaraguan military power, which is fortified by some 2,000 Cuban and Soviet-bloc military advisers.

Both Honduras and Costa Rica have democratic systems. Yet they, too, are prey to self-proclaimed Marxist liberators of the people who despise democracy and attack reform. By strengthening these democracies and by helping them to pass through difficult economic times, we can help both countries to provide stability and hope even in the midst of regional crisis.

We, therefore, plan to provide an additional \$101 million in economic assistance in FY 1983 for Honduras, Costa Rica, and Belize. With the \$67.1 million additional economic assistance for El Salvador, this is a regionwide increase of \$168 million in economic assistance, of which \$65 million has been added to our January supplemental request. With respect to military assistance, we are increasing our January supplemental request for MAP funding by \$20 million, mainly for Honduras, with some assistance for Costa Rica and the Panama Canal Area Schools. Thus, as called for by the President, total additional mili-

tary assistance for Central America, including El Salvador, will be \$130 million in FY 1983.

### Conclusion

Let me conclude with a final observation. The President eloquently set forth the reasons why the outcome of the current conflict in Central America is important to our national security. I would like to suggest an additional reason. Our Communist adversaries the world over depict the United States as a reactionary, *status quo* power standing in the way of legitimate aspirations for change. Their propaganda dismisses the relevance of political democracy to the problems of the developing world and asserts that we seek weak, unstable neighbors that we can dominate and exploit.

These assertions are lies. We are, in fact, allied with progressive forces working for economic development, reform, and democracy. We seek not weak, exploitable neighbors but ones that are strong, secure, and independent. Nor is democracy irrelevant to the problems faced by the developing nations. Democracy is the best way to deal with their problems. That is what the struggle in Central America is all about. ■

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