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ARTHUR TONSMEIRE, JR.  
President and Chairman

September 16, 1983

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

Dear Morton:

All of the Alabama Congressional Delegation voted in favor of the C/CAA sponsored bill that was recently passed by Congress which gave favorable trade treatment to Caribbean Basin countries. I have thanked each one for supporting this bill and thought you might be interested in a couple of responses I received, along with the letter I wrote to them.

Sincerely,

  
Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.

/db;Attachments

*Blackburn*

**TOM BEVILL**  
4TH DISTRICT, ALABAMA  
MAJORITY WHIP AT LARGE  
POLICY AND STEERING COMMITTEE

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JASPER, ALABAMA 35501  
TELEPHONE: 221-2310

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, D.C. 20515**

September 8, 1983

Mr. Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.  
First Southern Federal Savings  
and Loan Association  
P. O. Box 16267  
Mobile, Alabama 36616

Dear Art:

Thank you for your letter expressing your pleasure about the recent enactment of the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

I also have noted your concern, and wish to assure you that there is no Democratic Party Policy supporting the Communists and the Sandanista Regime. The fact that several prominent individuals in the party might support this position is no indication that it is either the Democratic Party Policy or that the Majority are in agreement.

With all best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



Tom Bevill, M.C.

TB:cl

AND COMMERCE  
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FOSSIL AND SYNTHETIC FUELS  
HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT  
VETERANS' AFFAIRS  
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INSURANCE  
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SEP 8 REC'D  
Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

September 2, 1983

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Mr. Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.  
1st Southern Federal Savings  
Post Office Box 16267  
Mobile, Alabama 36616

Dear Mr. Tonsmeire:

Thank you for your letter concerning the problems confronting Central America.

I believe that the turmoil engulfing the region centers around the inherent conflict between those who are struggling to build a democratic system such as ours, and those who are attempting to create a Cuban-style, Marxist police state.

One only has to look at Nicaragua to see the results of these so-called revolutionaries. In little over 3 years, the Sandinista guerrillas, most of whom came to power professing their love of democracy, have turned that nation into another Cuba, devoid of the religious and personal freedoms which we enjoy. In addition, through their active support of Marxist revolutionaries attempting to topple other Central American governments, the Nicaraguans have become willing parties in a Soviet-Cuban plan to destabilize all of Latin America.

Thus, at a time when the Soviet Union is giving 20 times more military assistance to Cuba than the the U.S. is giving to all of Latin America, it is inexcusable for us not to help our allies protect themselves from the revolutionary forces pitted against them. As such, I have consistently supported the President in his efforts to stem this revolutionary tide, including voting against any cutoff in aid to anti-Sandinista freedom fighters.

Thank you for sharing your views on this issue. If I may help in any way, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

*Richard Shelby*

Richard Shelby

**1st Southern  
Federal Savings**  
AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

FIRST SOUTHERN FEDERAL TOWER  
P.O. BOX 16267, MOBILE, ALABAMA 36616, 205/473-0700

ARTHUR TONSMEIRE, JR.  
President and Chairman

August 23, 1983

The Honorable William L. Dickinson  
401 Federal Court Building  
15 Lee Street  
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Dear Bill:

I want you to know how pleased I was to know that you favored the trade bill recently passed which permits duty free imports from the Caribbean countries. This could have a substantial effect on the economy of those countries, if and when the excessive exclusions are eliminated, and by so doing, play an important part in helping to prevent a communist takeover.

I have a long time interest in Central America, have business interests in Honduras, am a Consul for the Republic of Honduras, have a son living there and, of course, many friends throughout Central America. Because of this, I feel I have a pretty good knowledge of the area and strongly support the military position of the Administration at this time. This is now a necessary deterrent but, of course, the proper long range goal can be well described as "kill communists with jobs, not with bullets."

The current position of the Democratic Party supporting the communists and the Sandanista regime is totally unrealistic, unless we really have a strong interest in permitting an expansion of communism in our hemisphere and here. I am certainly supportive of the position you are taking and would like to ask you to take whatever further steps you can to modify the official Democratic Party's leftwing position, as announced by Senator Dodd and Congressman Tip O'Neill. Their position can only be a negative factor and, believe me, they are causing real panic among many of the Central American leaders who support democracy and who feel that a change in policy by the United States would result in concentration camps and death for themselves and their families. This is a real concern which we must consider. In my judgment, such an eventuality would be a serious blow to the prestige and integrity of the Democratic Party.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.

**1st Southern  
Federal Savings**  
AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

FIRST SOUTHERN FEDERAL TOWER  
P.O. BOX 16267, MOBILE, ALABAMA 36616, 205/473-0700

August 23, 1983

ARTHUR TONSMEIRE, JR.  
President and Chairman

The Honorable Tom Bevill  
1312 Highway 78 West.  
Jasper, Alabama 35501

Dear Tom:

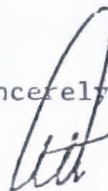
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Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.

/vlr

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P.O. BOX 16267, MOBILE, ALABAMA 36616, 205/473-0700

August 23, 1983

ARTHUR TONSMEIRE, JR.  
President and Chairman

The Honorable Albert Lee Smith, Jr.  
105 Federal Court House  
1800 Fifth Avenue, N.  
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Congressman Smith:

I want you to know how pleased I was to know that you favored the trade bill recently passed which permits duty free imports from the Caribbean countries. This could have a substantial effect on the economy of those countries, if and when the excessive exclusions are eliminated, and by so doing, play an important part in helping to prevent a communist takeover.

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Best wishes.

Sincerely,

  
Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.

/vlr

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AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

FIRST SOUTHERN FEDERAL TOWER  
P.O. BOX 16267, MOBILE, ALABAMA 36616, 205/473-0700

August 23, 1983

ARTHUR TONSMEIRE, JR.  
President and Chairman

The Honorable Bill Nichols  
Bayburn Building, #2417  
Independent & S. Capitol Street, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bill:

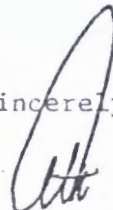
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Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.

/vlr



WILLIAM L. DICKINSON  
2ND DISTRICT, ALABAMA

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

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PIKE

SEP 19 RECD

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

September 15, 1983

WALTER J. BAMBERG  
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE

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DOTHAN, ALABAMA 36303

COMMITTEES:  
ARMED SERVICES  
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.  
President and Chairman  
First Southern Federal Savings  
Post Office Box 16267  
Mobile, Alabama 36616

Dear Art:

Thank you for writing. I am pleased to hear from you and appreciate your kind words of support.

Your interest and support of the President's policy in Central America is understandable. I respect your opinion and agree with you completely. As you may know, the House recently voted to cut off covert aid to Nicaragua and replace it with \$80 million program of open aid to friendly governments in the region. It is unclear whether or not the Senate will take action, but this was the first time either house of Congress has clearly opposed any aspect of U. S. policy in Central America.

Also the President has appointed a bi-partisan commission to make recommendations on long-term measures that we should undertake to help El Salvador and accomplish a political and peaceful solution. As you well know, the situation in Central America is very complex and difficult, and I believe the Administration's policy is on the right track. When we consider foreign aid legislation this fall, the debate will be long and hard, and I will continue to consider all aspects of the issue.

Again, thank you for writing concerning this important issue. Please be assured of my efforts to work for a strong cooperative policy.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

WM. L. DICKINSON

WLD/kd

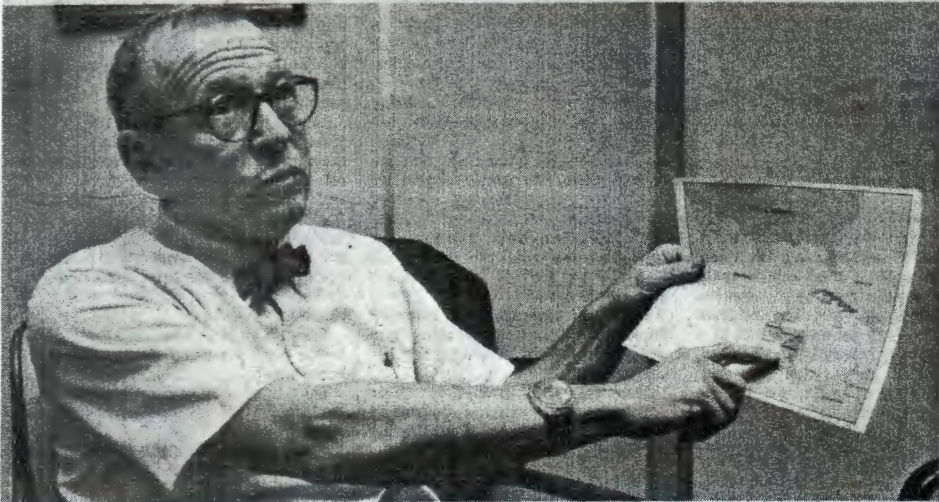


Photo by Robert Martin

**A WORLDLY PERSON** is Chalfont resident Ned Kulp whose interests in world affairs has taken him on various excursions around the globe. Here he points to the Central American countries he visited on his recent trip and explains his perceptions of current affairs there.

## Thirst for Central American facts takes man to source

By ELLIOT GROSSMAN  
Reporter Staff Writer

Ned Kulp's briefcase is so jammed with books, charts, maps, documents and other papers that he can barely lose it. On a recent day, it was filled with paraphernalia on Central America.

Kulp is so intrigued by Central America and its geopolitics that he can't get enough information on the subject. And he finds it difficult to stop talking about world affairs.

A Chalfont area resident, Kulp is a captain in the Coast Guard Reserve and a food marketing consultant. But his first love might appear to an interviewer to be world affairs, based on his seemingly unquenchable thirst for information on the subject.

If he cannot get the information from written material, federal officials or the numerous world affairs seminars he attends and coordinates, Kulp goes directly to the source by traveling the globe.

He also organizes seminars on world affairs throughout the nation for the National Strategy Information Center Inc., New York City, a non-partisan institution that conducts educational programs on international security affairs.

Recently, he returned from a six-day trip to Honduras and El Salvador, one of many he has made to Central America in recent years.

In an interview, he shared his perceptions of the region, which has drawn worldwide attention the last several years.

He emphasizes his belief that the United States must continue to be a friend to Central American nations by providing economic and military aid and advice. Otherwise, governments in those nations will seek assistance elsewhere, probably from the Soviet

He added that without American aid, Central American governments might collapse. Pro-American governments might be replaced with pro-Soviet governments.

It is important that pro-American governments remain in Central America, he said, calling that region the United States' "backyard."

"If we lose Central America, it's very possible that our geopolitical leadership of the free world will be seriously jeopardized," he said.

But Kulp does not believe Central America will fall to the Communists.

"The possibilities are remote if we continue to show love and concern in a sociological, economic and military way," he said.

Recent U.S. administrations, including Reagan's, have favored assistance to Central America. And Kulp has concluded, based on discussions with a cross-section of Central Americans, that they welcome the aid.

But they do not want it forced upon them. Nations there hope that they can choose the nature of the assistance, he said.

"They're looking for any way they can to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. They want to be assured that they can grow with the help of the U.S. but without the imperial cloak. An imperial cloak would be throwing our wishes and desires at them whether they want them or not."

Kulp said support of Central America has been good the past several years and added that the United States should continue to study what type and how much aid is needed. Reagan's appointment last month of a bipartisan commission to study Central America was a move in the right direction, he said.

The United States must develop an overall approach to Central American problems, but one that is flexible

enough to be tailored to the needs of each nation, he said.

He also favors U.S. mediation efforts, believing that dialogue and understanding is important to ending hostilities worldwide.

Although considering himself to be apolitical, Kulp praised many of Reagan's efforts toward Central America — the commission's appointment, the mediation role and economic and military aid.

He does not believe the presence of U.S. military advisers in El Salvador will lead to further U.S. military involvement in the region, as do some Reagan critics who call El Salvador another Vietnam.

"I don't think Mr. Reagan has intentions of invading Nicaragua or harsher treatment in Central America. I think he just wants to show those people that we are their friends."

Kulp, 56, spends much of his time trying to improve his understanding of the international scene and that of Americans.

Last week he attended briefings at the White House and the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, an organization that focuses on U.S. constitutional freedoms.

A resident of the Brittany Farms development in New Britain Township and a native of Lansdale, Kulp explains his involvement in international study this way: "I'm a local boy who really wants to see that Democracy continues to flourish."

Dear Ambassador Fertig, Mr. Blackhall,  
and Mr. Thoman,

I thought you might appreciate this "low  
key" nonacademic effort to help  
further spread an understanding of  
the situation facing the administration  
in Central America.

It was good to visit with you last  
week at the briefing.

Respectfully,  
Roger Nash

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# National Security Record

*A Report from Washington on National Security Affairs*

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NO. 61

SEPTEMBER 1983

## Central America and The Lessons of Vietnam

On July 27 and 28 the House of Representatives held a lengthy and possibly historic debate over the future of U.S. assistance to the democratic forces resisting Sandinista rule in Nicaragua, which ended in a vote that in effect expanded the restrictive provisions of the Boland-Zablocki amendment so that aid to the freedom fighters would be terminated. Although great drama and attention focused on the debate, the action had no immediate effect because of the lack of Senate support and the ultimate prospect of a Presidential veto. However, the same issue will undoubtedly arise again when the Congress returns from the Labor Day recess, as discussed further in the Insider Report.

Looming over the entire debate on U.S. so-called covert assistance to Nicaragua and surrounding much of United States policy in Central America has been the spectre of Vietnam. Indeed, some analogies are frighteningly appropriate. But given the real history of the Vietnam involvement and its aftermath and the nature of U.S. involvement in Central America, almost all the wrong "lessons" from the one conflict are being applied to the other.

The real growing danger is not significant American military involvement in Central America; but, instead, that the U.S. may be unwilling to take even minimal actions to successfully confront Soviet/Cuban supported aggression in the Western hemisphere. Rather than decisively defeating Marxist revolutionary movements by aiding the victims of aggression and repression, much of the Congress and some elements of the Reagan Administration appear to seek only a negotiated settlement that accepts Marxist totalitarian rule in Nicaragua. All this may provide is another "decent interval," possibly through the 1984 elections, before the Soviets and their Latin surrogates promote the toppling of additional governments in the region.

Any policy consisting largely of compromise will indeed lead to another "Vietnam": not costly U.S. military involvement, but ultimate communist control of countries in Central America. However, given the existing circumstances, it should be the Soviets and the Cubans who are ultimately bogged down in a futile and costly war.

### THE REAL LESSONS OF VIETNAM

One of the common perceptions concerning the war in Vietnam is that the Viet Cong guerrilla insurgency against the Saigon government was an indigenous uprising of Southerners, which enjoyed widespread popular support throughout the country. The notion of a Northern conspiracy against the South in the early days of the war had been generally dismissed as disinformation put out by successive U.S. administrations to justify American military involvement in Indochina.

Now, almost a decade after the fall of South Vietnam and following the termination of the American presence, overwhelming evidence and personal accounts substantiate the claims made during the 1960s that the insurgency was engineered and orchestrated in Hanoi. An official history published in 1980 by the People's Army of Vietnam has acknowledged Hanoi's leadership role. This study of "The Anti-U.S. Resistance War for National Salvation, 1954-1975: Military Events" outlines how in 1957, cadre and men from the North organized "37 armed companies" in the South and in May 1959 Hanoi ordered these and other Southern supporters to "switch from political action to armed struggle."

Viet Cong sympathies in the South were also greatly exaggerated during the Vietnam War. Hue-Tam Ho Tai, Assistant Professor of History at Harvard University, argues that the West overestimated the level of popular support for the Viet Cong in South Vietnam:

During the war . . . it was fashionable to think that a guerrilla movement needed popular support to succeed, and that if the Vietcong survived, therefore you must have popular support. You can see how wrong it was now, because the communists certainly aren't popular in the South.

The experience of the boat people fleeing Vietnam confirms this point of view. In 1980, the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs estimated that over 250,000 boat people had already died at sea in attempts to flee the country.

Many in the media, academia, and even in Congress have characterized the war in El Salvador in similar terms, discounting the role of Nicaragua and Cuba in hostilities and insisting that the existence of a guerrilla insurgency is evidence alone of popular support for the cause they represent.

During the Vietnam war, both Democratic and Republican administrations continually presented convincing evidence which contradicted the commonly held notion of the critics of the war. Nonetheless, these critics persuaded a majority of the American people that continued support for the Saigon government was unjustified. As Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (12 Senators and 70 Congressmen) stated in a letter to President Ford in January 1975. "We can see no humanitarian or national interest that justifies the cost of this assistance to our country." Events have subsequently revealed the brutal inhumanity unleashed by the resulting communist victory.

The same situation is occurring in Central America. The Reagan Administration has presented indisputable evidence of the extent to which Nicaragua and Cuba have manipulated and destabilized El Salvador and the surrounding countries by supplying not only weapons, but also organization, personnel, and direction to the Marxist guerrillas operating in

El Salvador. The House Intelligence Committee Report on the war in El Salvador, which accompanied House Resolution 2760 (the Boland Amendment), charged:

A major portion of the arms and other material sent by Cuba and other communist countries to the Salvadoran insurgents transits Nicaragua with the permission and assistance of the Sandinistas.

However, liberals in Congress and in the media have resurrected the same, erroneous arguments used during the Vietnam war to characterize the conflict in El Salvador. They insist that the lessons of Vietnam teach that involvement in El Salvador, in particular the covert operation against Nicaragua, is wrong and doomed to failure. This view both ignores and minimizes the massive growth of military power in Marxist countries in Latin America, while simultaneously exaggerating the miniscule U.S. response to the threat posed by these forces.

#### MANAGUA: HANOI OF THE CARIBBEAN

Since the overthrow of the Somoza government in 1979, the Sandinistas have presided over the largest military buildup in Central America. In just four years, the number of men under arms in Nicaragua has grown from a 9,000 National Guard force maintained under Somoza to an army of over 25,000 regular troops, an increase of over 250 percent in four years. In addition, Nicaragua maintains both a reserve and militia force at least twice that number and designed to grow to over 200,000 in the next few years. Nicaragua is now home to some 2,100 foreign military advisors, mostly from Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Thus there is approximately one foreign military advisor for every 1,000 Nicaraguans.

These foreign advisors have brought Nicaragua increasingly sophisticated military hardware, including T54 and T55 Soviet-built tanks, armored personnel carriers, HIP helicopters, heavy artillery, Soviet-made surface-to-air missiles, and 800 East German army transport trucks. While Nicaraguan pilots trained in Bulgaria, four major airfields were constructed which are capable of servicing the MIG-23 advanced fighter. During this same period of time, the Sandinista regime has received over \$125 million dollars in direct military aid from the Soviet, a figure that does not reflect the massive amount of indirect military aid channeled through Cuba and the Eastern bloc nations.

The extensive military buildup of the Sandinista regime is completely unjustified in relation to any possible military threat or legitimate defensive requirements. The Boland Committee Report of the House confirms this fact:

Another area of serious concern to the (House Intelligence Committee) is the significant military buildup going on within Nicaragua. The President and other executive officials have addressed this subject publicly and exhaustively. Considering the small population of Nicaragua—two and one half million people—and its weakened economic status—such a buildup cannot be explained away as solely defensive.

It is important to realize, moreover, that most of the Sandinista military expansion took place in the two years immediately following the revolution, during a period of time when the Carter Administration was providing most of the foreign economic assistance to the Managua regime and before the Contras began operating against the Sandinistas, i.e., a period of relative tranquility and security for the communist rulers in Managua.

In comparison, the United States military involvement in the war in El Salvador and the insurrection against the Sandinista regime has been minimal. The United States has limited its military advisor commitment in El Salvador to

only 55 noncombatants for the past two years. American military aid to the Salvadoran government has amounted to only \$200 million over the last four years. The Soviet Union provided more military aid to the Sandinista regime in its first year than the United States has provided to El Salvador in the past three years. Soviet military assistance has increased since that time. But even the limited amount of U.S. aid promised the Salvadoran government has been reduced or delayed each year due to congressional action.

Nicaragua's current military overstrength has allowed it to pursue a practically unchecked policy of repression at home and aggression against neighboring countries. The large amounts of foreign military assistance it receives allow Managua to channel significant amounts of arms and equipment to guerrilla movements fighting in adjacent Central American countries, particularly El Salvador.

The role of the Nicaraguan regime in orchestrating and directing the guerrilla movement in El Salvador bears a number of similarities to North Vietnamese actions during the Indochina conflict. Not only is the Sandinista government the primary supplier of arms and ammunition to the pro-Marxist forces in El Salvador, it has also assumed an important organizational role as well. In 1980, Sandinista leaders in Managua called together the leaders of the five primary guerrilla factions operating in El Salvador in order to work out a pact for unity and mutual effort against the Salvadoran government. Subsequently, the Managua regime set up a joint command and control structure located within Nicaragua from which the war in El Salvador could be directed. Again, the Boland Committee report cites the extent of Sandinista aid:

The Salvadoran insurgents rely on the use of sites in Nicaragua, some of which are located in Managua itself, for communications, command-and-control, and for the logistics to conduct their financial, material and propaganda activities.

Cuban and Nicaraguan officers are intimately involved on a constant basis with the guerrillas, aiding in the planning and execution of military operations inside El Salvador, training conducted in both El Salvador and Nicaragua, as well as logistical and propaganda support for the Salvadoran rebels, including the shipping of money, foodstuffs, clothes, and most important, arms and ammunition.

In short, a Salvadoran guerrilla movement, like the Viet Cong in South Vietnam, poses a threat to the Salvadoran government only because of outside intervention. While a cessation of outside aid would not completely end the insurgency, it could be reduced to manageable levels, such as the existing communist insurgencies in Thailand and Malaysia.

#### VIETNAM AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Not surprisingly, the liberal coalition which opposes U.S. support of friendly Central American countries has resurrected the old arguments used during the Vietnam War, though they have been proven incorrect by the facts and the events of time. Warnings have been issued on Capitol Hill that the United States is on the same course today as that followed in the days leading up to U.S. involvement in the Indochina war. Again the facts argue differently.

In contradiction to those in Congress and the media who have insisted that the United States is back "on the road to Vietnam," stark differences exist in the levels of aid and men sent to each region. If anything, the extent of U.S. aid to this point appears miniscule in comparison. During the Kennedy Administration alone, the number of U.S. military advisors rose from 685 (over 13 times the number of advisors cur-

rently serving in El Salvador) to 16,000; an increase of over 2,300 percent in just three years! The Reagan Administration has kept the number of combat advisors at a constant number of 55. At this rate the conflict would be resolved one way or another before the United States even reached the original levels of the Kennedy Administration.

United States policy has rightly been directed at helping the Salvadoran government train troops to defeat the guerrillas, but has also been covertly expanded to shut off Nicaraguan aggression in the region. It is the covert war in Nicaragua that has sparked the greatest amount of legislative concern in Congress and resulted in the initiation of legislation aimed at hamstringing U.S. efforts against Sandinista aggression.

Earlier this summer on the floor of the Senate, Senator Dan Quayle (R-Ind) addressed the "legacy" of Vietnam and the impact it is having on the nation's foreign policy in Central America:

The legacy of Vietnam is not that we are necessarily doomed to repeat the same tragedy in Central America. The real legacy of Vietnam is that it has so paralyzed our thinking that rational debate is virtually impossible. Vietnam has made us paranoid, it has terrorized us, it has blinded us to our own interests. We are afraid, half-hearted, unable to act in our own self interest and the interests of our friends. Mostly because of Vietnam we have lost the ability to use the principal tools of policy formation—economic, political, diplomatic and military tools—with finesse and judiciousness as well as determination and purpose.

In Central America, the effect has been obvious. The Sandinista regime in Nicaragua has in the last four years dangerously enlarged its military forces beyond any reasonable response to any imagined threat to its own security. Managua has been instrumental in escalating the war in El Salvador and other neighboring Central American countries. It has become the primary arms depot with Cuban, and ultimately Soviet, aid in the region.

The U.S. response has been extraordinarily restrained. To offset over 2,000 Soviet and Cuban advisors in Nicaragua, the U.S. has sent 55 military instructors to El Salvador and has indicated that it will not, at this time, consider increasing that number. Military and economic aid to El Salvador has been a fraction of the military aid alone sent to Nicaragua over the same period of time. And even this small U.S. effort is in constant jeopardy of adverse congressional action.

One of the bitter lessons of Vietnam was learning what happens to a friendly government and its people when U.S. military aid is dispersed without victory as the objective, but only to ensure that the country does not fall "on my watch." The result is eventual defeat, over time, at a profound cost in lives and money. The slow death of El Salvador and other independent nations in the Central American region may well follow the same pattern.

#### A REALISTIC U.S. POLICY

What is necessary is not the commitment of U.S. combat troops, but rather the application of overt and covert actions intended to thwart the military advances of the aggressive communist regimes in the region, either directly or through proxy nations and movements.

In describing the Vietnam War, Professor Ernest R. May of Harvard University concluded, "that the war . . . so decried for its immorality, might have been our most moral or at least our most selfless war, for we fought it not to conquer an enemy or gain a national interest but simply to stand by our friends." Though national interests of the United States are surely at stake in Central America, we are also standing by friendly governments, which either have existing or emerg-

ing democratic political systems. Therein lies a portion of the nation's responsibility and commitment to the region.

In addition, the United States must also recognize and seek to contain the activities of Cuba in fomenting the current war in El Salvador as well as in other Latin countries. The United States in Vietnam failed to shut off the supply line running into Hanoi for fear of damaging relations with the Soviet Union. When the U.S. belatedly bombed and mined North Vietnam in 1972, Moscow did not respond. In like fashion, the United States can no longer ignore and stand passively by while the governments of Nicaragua and Cuba freely and openly pass arms to Marxist revolutionary movements in Central America. A coherent U.S.-Central American policy aimed at shutting off the communist revolution in El Salvador must address the larger question of Cuban and Nicaraguan involvement by instituting policies that will raise the cost to these nations for supporting and instigating revolution.

Much has been said on Capitol Hill concerning negotiations with the communist guerrillas. Here again, the lesson of Vietnam vividly applies. The Paris Peace accords signed in 1973 assured, on paper, the South's right to continued existence free from aggressive actions on the part of the North. Based on that commitment by the Hanoi government, the U.S. began to scale down its involvement and support of the Republic of Vietnam. In less than three years, the armies of North Vietnam invaded the South in direct contradiction of the agreement signed in Paris. In retrospect, it is apparent that policymakers in Washington were dominated by the desire to negotiate some agreement to end the conflict. This desire unfortunately prevented the U.S. from pursuing a policy that would leave Vietnam both free and secure. Similar mistakes must be avoided in Central America. Negotiations with the communists, shared power relationships before elections, and recognition of the guerrillas as a legitimate voice for the people of El Salvador would most likely pave the way for a Marxist takeover. Diplomatic arrangements have always been viewed by the communists as simply an alternative form of warfare. The continuation of freedom in El Salvador depends on the U.S. conviction to support the duly elected government of El Salvador. Only genuinely democratic socialist parties willing to abide by the rules of a democratic political system should be welcomed into new elections in El Salvador.

Finally, the United States policy in Central America enjoys general support from other noncommunist nations in the region. This level of support, and the distance and consequently extended supply lines from the Soviet Union, should combine to make Central America a "Vietnam" for the Soviet Union and its communist allies in the region, who depend on the constant Soviet aid to remain in power. Instead, liberal critics of U.S. Central American policy are increasing demands upon those resisting communist aggression while simultaneously decreasing assistance to them. Eventually such pressures could destabilize a fragile democratic government such as that in El Salvador. What George Meany, former AFL-CIO President, warned concerning the end of the Vietnam conflict may pertain precisely to the role of the U.S. Congress in Central America. In 1975 he raised the profound rhetorical question:

Should we not ask ourselves . . . could there be a connection between this loss of will on the part of the South Vietnamese and the complete and final refusal of the American Congress to provide them with the material resources needed to defend their country from communist aggression?





# Insiders Report

Tracking the Policy Process in Washington



## The Boland-Zablocki Quagmire

On July 28, the House passed Resolution 2760, the Boland-Zablocki Amendment, that would effectively cut off aid to the Contras fighting the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, while providing an additional \$80 million in overt military aid to those countries in the region who oppose the shipment of arms from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran insurgents.

Hill insiders are particularly distressed about the implications of H.R. 2760 on the FY 1984 budget. Not only does the resolution have dramatic short-term implications, but the long-term possibility of reduced or eliminated funding for covert operations in Central America presents an additional potential pitfall for U.S. foreign policy in the region.

Senate passage of a similar measure is unlikely and a presidential veto assured. Ranking committee staffers warn, however, that the precedent of the latest round of House action on the FY 83 supplemental passed in December 1982 will affect not only future House intelligence funding votes, but defense appropriations measures as well.

House Resolution 2760, which passed the House by a vote of 228 to 195, would severely limit the foreign policy options of the president, Hill insiders warn. "Instead of keeping our options open in the region, we are forcing ourselves into overt military action or no action at all. That doesn't make for sound diplomatic or military policy," sources close to the Intelligence Committee declared.

During the debate on expanding coverage of Boland-Zablocki, one critic charged that explicitly changing covert to overt aid "would lead to another Vietnam" because it is "possibly going to involve U.S. troops" and directly bring other countries in the area into the conflict with Nicaragua. Indeed, the Intelligence Committee report on Boland-Zablocki warned ominously that "overt assistance ... could involve the use of U.S. military personnel."

Additionally, there is little evidence that \$80 million dollars will be sufficient to stem the flow of arms from Nicaragua to El Salvador. According to the Secretary of Defense, the first two years of any effective interdiction program outside Nicaragua would cost an estimated \$400 million or five times the \$80 million being proposed.

The Senate has indicated unwillingness to give formal consideration to similar restrictions, but some insiders fear that the Senate may compromise its position if the legislation comes to conference.

"The Senate position (against setting any kind of prior restraint on the use of covert operations) is the only game in town," a senior House aide warned. "The key is to see that there isn't a weakening of will on that side of the Hill."

Beyond the passage of Resolution 2760 and its fate in the Senate, it is assumed that the FY 1984 House Intelligence authorization bill will contain a similar provision restricting covert funding. However, because the intelligence funding is ultimately joined with defense appropriations in order to protect the confidentiality of intelligence expenditures, the

same restrictions may also be applied in the defense funding process.

House Intelligence Committee insiders are also concerned about the current round of legislative jockeying on the FY 1984 Intelligence authorization. Intelligence Committee Chairman Edward P. Boland (D-Mass.), coauthor of H.R. 2760, has requested that the authorization bill be considered closed, and that the Boland-Zablocki amendment be considered in order. The result would be a straight "yes or no" vote on the entire funding bill, rather than individual votes on its component parts. As a result, conservatives on the Committee would be faced with a tough choice: either accept the covert funding restrictions or fail to pass an authorization for intelligence. Either prospect will serve to hamper U.S. foreign policy formulation and implementation in Central America.

In addition, hearings are scheduled before an open session of the House Intelligence Committee on September 20, 21, and 23 to discuss House Resolutions 3114 and 2787. Sponsored by Democrat Congressman Wyche Fowler of Georgia, these legislative initiatives would mandate that the President notify the Congress before any covert or overt, paramilitary or military activities are conducted by the United States. Additionally, such action would require prior legislative approval. Though the measure is intended to fall within the parameters of the Committee's oversight responsibility, staffers warn that the result will be complete destruction of the United States' ability to carry on legitimate and effective intelligence operations, either for data collection or paramilitary operations.

By requiring prior submission and approval to the full Intelligence Committee, details of top secret and highly sensitive operations that affect not only direct U.S. security interests, but also those of U.S. allies, will be made available to numerous staff members on the Committee and subject to politically partisan abuse. The result would not only be a needless and potentially dangerous disclosure to a large number of people, but it would also place the entire range of U.S. intelligence activities in the political arena, the results of which have become painfully obvious. There is no guarantee that future intelligence operations may not be exposed or leaked to the press.

Sources close to the House Intelligence Committee have revealed that the tentative list of panel participants for the hearing reveal the attitude which the majority is taking in regards to the Fowler proposals. Those slated to testify include Morton Halperin, formerly of the NSC staff, who has written and lectured extensively on the illegitimacy of covert operations, especially in Central America; David Arens; former Senator Birch Bayh; and former CIA directors Stansfield Turner and William Colby. William J. Casey, the current CIA chief, is also scheduled to testify. However, his remarks are scheduled for the closed portion of the hearings, so they will not appear on the public record.

# ✓ Checklist of Upcoming Issues

**Soviet Attack on the Korean Airliner:** With the downing of a commercial Korean airliner on September 1 by the Soviet Union, policymakers in Washington have been grappling with the question of an appropriate punitive response by the United States to the U.S.S.R.'s action. To date, the relative mildness of the sanctions applied by the U.S. have sparked criticism from those in Washington who feel the Administration has not taken a suitably firm position in regard to the shooting down of a clearly marked commercial airliner in contradiction of international law. In the week since the incident, the United States has brought forward the intercepted Soviet military transmissions between the pilots and the ground to demonstrate unquestioned Soviet guilt before the U.N. Security Council and in the world press. However, little progress has been made in determining mutually acceptable sanctions among the Western alliance. As reported in the August issue of the *National Security Record*, the difficulties the West has in forming a joint allied response will be used to their own advantage by the Soviets to further drive a wedge between the major Western nations. If concerted mutual sanctions are not forthcoming, pressure on the Soviet Union will not be proportionate to the crime committed, thereby turning what should be a major international setback for the Soviets into a tacit victory against the West.

**Increased Need for Improved Strategic Defense:** In light of the Soviet attack on KAL 007, defense analysts have called attention to the United States' continuing vulnerability in the area of strategic defense and nuclear deterrence. Though Western Kremlin watchers are still uncertain at what level the decision to attack the airliner was made, the possibility of nuclear attack looms more ominously if a military commander has relatively easy access to the use of Soviet military power and Moscow is taking an ever tougher position on the need for supremacy of perceived Soviet strategic requirements over humanitarian considerations. The Soviets have repeatedly demonstrated a disregard for the loss of life of innocent civilians. Therefore, many foreign policy specialists have urged the United States increase its capability to defend itself against the possibility of Soviet strategic provocations. In particular, the attack should lead to renewed interest in the kind of defensive measures President Reagan suggested in his speech last March. Increased funding for continued improvements in the present U.S. monitoring and detection systems is also justified, in light of the important role played by the intercepted air communications between the Soviet pilots and ground installations inside the U.S.S.R. in unequivocally demonstrating Soviet guilt in the downing of KAL 007.

**Public Opinion on Central America:** In a public opinion poll recently completed for the Heritage Foundation by Sindlinger & Company, a majority of those polled indicated that, if the Salvadoran rebels succeeded in overthrowing the current government of El Salvador and established a communist government, the national security of the United States would be endangered. When asked if the United States or Cuba and Nicaragua were interfering the most in El Salvador, 68.4% indicated that the activities of Cuba and Nicaragua were

causing the most problems in El Salvador, while only 9.2% blamed the United States. Finally, when asked if the United States should take action against the Soviet Union if nuclear missiles were placed in Nicaragua, almost 70% indicated that prompt U.S. action would be warranted. The results of this poll indicate that the U.S. public continues to be wary of Soviet/Cuban/Nicaraguan actions and motives in Central America and supports the Administration's position that U.S. vital interests are at stake in Central America.

**MX and Chemical Weapons:** The conference report on the Defense Authorization Act is expected to come up early in the post-Labor Day session of the Congress. A very close vote has been expected in the House on what is usually routine approval of a conference report. Prior to the Korean Airline attack by the Soviets, an anti-MX and anti-chemical weapons coalition had been forming to defeat the conference report. The actions by the Soviets may now derail these dual efforts to weaken American strategic and chemical deterrents against the Soviets. Strong defense proponents will probably push for quick favorable action by the Congress on the defense bill to demonstrate a strong military posture against the Soviets. At the same time, liberal leadership in the House may attempt to delay action on the measure, in hopes that anti-Soviet attitudes may wane in the weeks ahead.

**Afghanistan and Indochina:** Efforts in Congress to respond to the Soviet attack on a civilian airliner may focus additional attention toward augmenting U.S. assistance to those nations and groups currently resisting Soviet aggression around the world. The deaths of 269 innocent civilians on KAL 007 has dramatized the plight of thousands of other civilian victims of the Soviet war in Afghanistan and their support of the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia and Laos. In particular Soviet military planes, which pose the greatest threat to the people in Afghanistan, could be rendered ineffective with some surface-to-air missiles. A congressional resolution to explicitly support the freedom fighters in Afghanistan that has been bottled up in the House may now receive prompt attention.

**Human Rights in El Salvador:** In a recent press conference held on Capitol Hill, the Central American Freedom Alliance presented over 500 pages of documented evidence outlining the extent and nature of terrorist attacks in El Salvador by the communist guerrillas. The shocking statistics presented in the study were taken directly from communist guerrilla news broadcasts and media sources in the region and not from either U.S. or Salvadoran government statistics. During the period from the overthrow of the Romero government through the general election in El Salvador to the present, the guerrilla insurgents have claimed to have killed at least 9,837 Salvadorans; wounded an additional 2,172; kidnapped 106; and held over 4,550 hostage against their will. By their own admission in public broadcasts and in the print media, the Soviet/Cuban backed insurgents have carried out a three and one-half year reign of terror that has gone largely unnoticed here in the United States. Several Congressional Committees are examining this material and may hold hearings.



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MORTON - The first line of this postcard is a direct quote from you. This went to 700 of our best activists Friday. - Amy

Dear Concerned Citizen:

Last week's U.S. action in Grenada was the first time an entrenched marxist government has been replaced by a democracy. Calls to the White House have been running 2-1 in the President's favor.

Far-left groups have, however, sent thousands of letters to activists telling them to call the White House against the President's action. To maintain favorable press coverage we are asking supporters of the President to call the White House immediately and register support. The White House comment number is (202)456-7639. Thank you in advance!

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McMillan Science Associates  
Dr. Eugene P. Wigner  
Nobel Laureate in Physics

October 1, 1983

Mr. Morton Blackwell  
White House  
1600 Penn. Ave.  
Washington, D.C. 10500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

You might be interested in our enclosed final report on the CBS's coverage of Central America as well as the preliminary report on their distortion of the medical situation in El Salvador. These might be of some use in your work on Central America.

Sincerely,

*James L. Tyson*  
James L. Tyson.

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# REPORT REPORT



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## REAGAN HITS REPORTING ON CENTRAL AMERICA

Addressing the annual convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars on August 15, President Reagan strongly criticized media coverage of what is going on in Central America. Noting that the head of the VFW, Robert Currie, had recently returned from a visit to Central America with the complaint that the American people are getting a distorted view of what is going on down there, the president said, "Bob is absolutely right."

Reagan denounced the "hype and the hoopla" over his Central American policies. He also said: "You wouldn't know from some of the coverage that the greatest portion of our aid to Central America is humanitarian and economic assistance. You wouldn't know democracy is taking root there." The president added, "I don't blame the media alone because in many cases they are just reporting the disinformation they hear coming from people who put politics ahead of our national interests." Two days earlier, in his Saturday radio address, the president had noted that "the great majority of Americans don't know which side we are on." In his July 26 news conference he had charged that a "constant drumbeat" of criticism had raised undue suspicions about his administration's motives in Central America.

Dan Rather of CBS News answered the president in a commentary aired by the CBS radio network on the evening of August 15. Rather said, "The president's point of view about the press is not shocking because he is, after all, a leader with a controversial policy on his hands, and, under such circumstances, presidents do tend to see questioning as demagoguery." Rather, who anchors the CBS Evening News, showed where he stood in putting two questions to the president. Rather said these were questions he was "hearing a great deal." They were obviously questions that Mr. Rather thought a great deal of.

### Dan Rather's Questions

Rather's first question: "Has President Reagan really shown that he appreciates the fact that Americans fear the U.S. may be functioning in Central America as the defender of the oligarchy, the defender of the *status quo*? Is the United States allowing itself to be perceived as the champion of the narrow interests of the ruling class, an oligarchy that can consign peasants to poverty with no hope of wresting their way into the middle class?"

Rather's second question: (One he said you often hear on the streets) "It's about the manner in which the U.S. puts the military pressure on. All those computerized jets, the big aircraft carriers slicing through the waters off the coast . . . Is all that heavy breathing armor suited to the struggle? Does it really make for effective military pressure? Or do the guerrillas on shore laugh that all that big stuff will simply sink in the soft earth of the jungle?"

Rather assured his audience that "these are reasonable questions." He said: "To equate them with lack of patriotism may be to twist the argument, and maybe—just maybe—court disaster."

No doubt these questions are being asked, but the distorted reporting of CBS News and others in the media has done a lot to put such questions in people's minds without providing the proper answers to them. In reporting on Reagan's criticism of the coverage, The New York Times commented that the president had complained about distortions without specifying any. Let's supply a few examples.

### The Pro-left Drumbeat

In 1982, CBS News aired two documentaries that dealt with Central America—"Central America in Revolt" on March 20; "Guatemala" on September 1; and a "60 Minutes" segment, "Underground Railroad," on December 12. All three were loaded with criticisms of U.S. policy. All three were from a leftwing perspective. The first of these documentaries was aired just a week before the elections in El Salvador in which over 80 percent of the electorate delivered a resounding rejection of the theme of the CBS program.

That theme was that the Reagan administration was wrong in suggesting that we have anything to fear from communist-backed revolutions in Central America. In our critique of this program in the April-1 1982 issue of the AIM Report, we characterized it as "90 minutes of propaganda for the do-nothing, accommodate-to-the-communists" school of thought. Measured with a stopwatch, over two-thirds of the program was negative

from the point of view of U. S. policy or the countries we are supporting in Central America. Although the program had been advertised as one that would probe whether or not Cuba and the Soviet Union were backing the rebels in Central America, CBS failed to turn up a single Marxist in the area who would admit that the guerrillas were getting Cuban help. But The New York Times said in an editorial on March 23, "In Central America today, Marxists make no secret whatever of their debts to Cuba." Dan Rather himself appeared on the program to suggest that an official government document detailing those debts had been "misleading." The program was heavy on the notion that we were supporting the oligarchy, resisting change desired by the people. That was what the El Salvadoran voters proved wrong a week later when they cast their ballots.

CBS returned to the theme that we are supporting the oligarchy and carrying out imperialist or colonialist policies in Central America in its documentary on Guatemala on September 1. It misrepresented history, falsified the record of the United Fruit Company in Guatemala, and tried to make American businessmen operating in that country look like ogres. Our government was portrayed as a consistent supporter of dictators and repressive governments.

If large numbers of Americans have swallowed the propaganda line that the United States is backing the oppressors in Central America—a line that the communists used successfully in China, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos—CBS News is partly to blame. President Reagan has not equated asking the question with a lack of patriotism, as Rather implied. But certainly the factually and historically inaccurate documentaries produced by CBS News were an excellent example of the kind of disinformation the president was criticizing.

### The Beat Goes On

We have examined CBS News reports dealing with Central America since President Reagan gave his speech on the subject to the joint session of Congress on April 27. Out of a total of 43 news items of any significant length, we could find only two that could be considered supportive of the administration's policies compared to 19 that we considered negative. We classified 23 as neutral. More lengthy interviews and news specials on CBS were also heavily weighted against U. S. policy.

This began immediately after the president's speech. CBS, like the other networks, aired the Democratic party's response, a speech attacking U. S. policy by Sen. Christopher Dodd of Connecticut. Unlike the other networks, CBS decided that the opposition should have equal time with the president, and since Dodd did not speak as long as Reagan had, it put on three additional critics. One was William Leo Grande, a leftist professor sympathetic to the Sandinistas and Fidel Castro; a second was Carter's ambassador to Nicaragua, Lawrence Pezzullo, who helped deliver that country to the Sandinistas; and the third was a liberal Republican congressman from Iowa, James Leach, one of only four Republicans in Congress who supported Cong. Gerry Studds' efforts to cut off all aid to El Salvador in July. All three were very critical of our government's policies in Central America.

Gene Mater, vice president of CBS News, justified this four-to-one ganging up on the president as an effort to be fair, since CBS felt the president's critics ought to be given just as much time as he had received. The fairness doctrine does not require that opposing points of view be given equal time, only that they be given fair representation. There was no legal obligation to buttress Sen. Dodd with three additional critics. Indeed, fairness might have dictated that other voices be heard, such as the many Democratic senators and representatives who were appalled by Dodd's extremist views and told reporters that he was not speaking for them.

CBS News continued this lopsided approach the next morning on the CBS Morning News. It aired three different critics of American policy—the Nicaraguan foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto, former Undersecretary of State George Ball, and Dr. Alfred Gellhorn, who had returned from a four-day trip to El Salvador "to investigate reports of murder, torture, and sudden disappearances of doctors and other health workers there." There was no effort to see that the defense of U. S. policy was given equal time on this program. Undersecretary of State Kenneth Dam was the only person brought on to balance this array of three critics. In the transcript, Ball has 36 lines, D'Escoto 43 lines, Gellhorn 22 lines and Dam 33 lines—a 3 to 1 ratio against the U. S. government. That is not counting interviewer Bill Kurtis, who revealed his own views with this question to Kenneth Dam: "But aren't we, indeed, in El Salvador propping up a military dictatorship that continues human rights abuses that are second to none, really, in the world today?" Mr. Dam, unfortunately, did not remind Mr. Kurtis of the human rights abuses in such countries as Afghanistan, Zimbabwe, and Cambodia—not to mention such peaceful prison states as the Soviet Union, China and North Korea.

On June 3, CBS News continued its strange version of "balanced coverage" with Bruce Morton using a segment of the Evening News to permit four critics to rake Reagan over the coals. He introduced the attack with two sentences from the president's speech to Congress and one sentence from a statement Secretary of State Shultz made at a news conference. He then brought on Wayne Smith, a retired foreign service officer who has been very popular with the liberal media because of his soft line on Castro, the Sandinistas and the guerrillas in El Salvador. Next he put on some comments by Cong. Michael Barnes, D.-Md., who expounded the line that has become a standard leftist argument that the problem in El Salvador is poverty, unequal distribution of income and injustice, not communist subversion. He then aired a recorded statement by the military adviser recently murdered in El Salvador who seemed to support Barnes's views, followed by Prof. Riordan Rolet, another leftist critic of American policies.

### Helping the Sandinistas

A prime communist goal in Central America is the protection of the base they have already established in Nicaragua. They have worked hard to create the belief



in the United States that we have no right to help overthrow another government even though it poses a serious threat to the security of its neighbors and to ourselves. Oddly enough, this doctrine is being used to protect a communist regime that came to power because the U.S. helped overthrow a government friendly to the United States that posed no threat to any other country.

**Elements of our media have been eagerly spreading the message that the Sandinistas are really no threat to anyone, despite the tremendous military build-up they have undertaken and their open declaration that theirs is a "revolution without borders." A few years ago the foreign editor of The Washington Post, Karen DeYoung, said in a lecture at the leftwing Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.: "Most journalists now, most Western journalists at least, are eager to seek out guerrilla groups, leftist groups, because you assume they must be the good guys."**

Now that Miss DeYoung's "good guys" have been in power in Nicaragua for four years, they have proven that their promises to bring greater freedom and democracy to the country were cynical lies designed to hoodwink the gullible. NBC News recently aired a good documentary, narrated by Richard Valeriani, exposing those lies. Miss DeYoung, who does not normally review television programs for The Washington Post immediately sprang into action. She wrote a very critical review of Valeriani's documentary.

**CBS is very much on the DeYoung side. On May 12, the CBS Evening News showed films obtained from an unidentified source which, together with the commentary, were puff pieces for the Sandinistas. The subject was the guerrilla war in Nicaragua—from the Sandinista point of view. People were shown calling the anti-communist guerrillas "beasts" who were supported by Yankee imperialism." Narrator Ed Rabel, the correspondent responsible for the two Central American documentaries aired by CBS in 1982, declared, "A sense of patriotism keeps the army going," the Sandinista army, that is.**

How far CBS News is willing to go to undermine the credibility of the U.S. government and assist the Sandinistas was shown on its newscast on the evening of August 3. President Reagan had announced that a Soviet ship, the Alexander Ulyanov, was bound for Nicaragua carrying military equipment. A U.S. destroyer had encountered the Ulyanov at sea and had questioned its captain as to its cargo and destination. That made the news.

The Ulyanov docked at Corinto, Nicaragua on August 3. Western reporters were barred from the port and were unable to inspect the ship's cargo, even though the Soviets and Nicaraguans insisted that it was not carrying military equipment. Unable to take its own pictures, CBS News bought videotape of the vessel from the Cubans. It used this on the CBS Evening News that night to show that President Reagan's charge that the ship was carrying military equipment had not been borne out!

**On the air, CBS correspondent Richard Wagner said: "As Western journalists continued to be barred from Corinto by Nicaraguan authorities, CBS News purchased this videotape today. Nothing of a military nature is evident aboard the Ulyanov in these scenes shot by a source friendly to Nicaragua . . . The Soviets have consistently denied sending military supplies to Nicaragua . . . These scenes from the purchased videotape show East German and Soviet vessels at the main pier. Again only non-military cargo is seen. The Nicaraguan government also denies military equipment is sent here from the Soviet Union . . . Despite the denials, it's clear that the Nicaraguan army has lots of Soviet hardware. How it gets here is less clear."**

That suggests that Wagner was satisfied by the Cuban videotapes that the Ulyanov was not carrying Soviet military equipment and that President Reagan had been proven wrong. However, CBS carefully concealed from its viewers the important fact that the videotape had been shot by a Cuban crew. It was only after this was revealed by U.S. government officials that CBS News admitted it had bought the tape from the Cubans. They had obviously shot the tape to disprove President Reagan's charge, hoping to find someone gullible enough to accept it as credible evidence. They found CBS News. The tape proved nothing except that the camera crew that shot it had avoided filming any military hardware. The U.S. embassy in Nicaragua reported that CBS had paid "an astronomical price" for this propaganda tape, but a CBS official told the New York Post that the price was only \$2,500. If CBS had bargained a bit, it could probably have collected a handsome fee from the Cubans for airing their propaganda.

**It is interesting to note that several months ago the Committee for a Free Afghanistan tried to interest CBS News in some excellent footage taken with the freedom fighters in Afghanistan. There was no interest. But Cuban videotapes are a different matter. One wonders how many times CBS viewers have been shown Cuban propaganda film or tape whose origin has been disguised. In the documentary "Central America in Revolt," CBS showed Guatemalan guerrillas filmed by an "independent film crew" whose identity it refused to reveal. On May 12, CBS used film from another "independent" film crew glorifying the Sandinista struggle against the anti-communist guerrillas. The Foreign Agents Registration Act requires that those who disseminate foreign propaganda register with the Justice Department and disclose the origin of the propaganda they spread. What CBS is doing is what this legislation was designed to protect against.**

### **What You Can Do**

**Write to Thomas H. Wyman, Chairman, CBS, Inc., 51 West 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10019. Call his attention to the efforts CBS News has made to undermine resistance to the communist takeover of Central America, and especially to the blatant use of Cuban propaganda film to contradict President Reagan. Ask him to correct this. Send copies of your letter to the members of the CBS board of directors listed in the Notes from the Editor's Cuff.**

# THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

The popular leftist line that insurrections such as the one in El Salvador are caused by poverty and injustice, not by communist subversion, was raised at the June 30 meeting between Arthur Ochs Sulzberger and Sydney Gruson, chairman and vice chairman of The New York Times respectively and Reed Irvine and Murray Baron, chairman and president of Accuracy in Media respectively.

Mr. Baron brought up a recent editorial from The Times in which he substituted "Nazis" and "Facists" for "Cubans" and "Nicaraguans." He read: "Reforms have got to continue. The reason there was an insurgency is because there were deep-rooted social, political and economic imbalances. Outsiders don't cause insurgencies. You can't blame this totally on the Nazis and Fascists, although they have certainly taken advantage of the situation."

Mr. Baron sought to show by this substitution that The Times took an entirely different view of insurrections or revolutions and the appropriate response to them depending on whether they were from the right or from the left. He said that in his lifelong study of The New York Times, there had never been the same tolerance of anti-communist insurgencies as had been shown toward those provoked or led by the communists.

For example, he pointed out that The Times regarded Jonas Savimbi, the head of the UNITA forces in Angola, who is fighting the Marxist government of that country, as "a stumbling block to peace in Namibia and a pawn of the South Africans." The fact that Savimbi has a large following and controls a large part of Angola does not seem to make him worthy of recognition and support by The New York Times.

He noted that The Times and others in the media had long called the Afghan freedom fighters "rebels." AIM and Freedom House had appealed to the media to use the more appropriate term, "freedom fighters." Mr. Baron pointed out that The Times had not as yet recognized any threat to the national interests of the United States in the prospective fall of Central America and even Mexico to the communists. The Times, he said, was taunting President Reagan, asking, "And why not send troops in, Mr. President?"

## Realism and Idealism

Mr. Baron predicted that The Times might yet end up supporting negotiations with the guerrillas in El Salvador for the sharing of power. He said, "The fact of the matter is that the New York Times is a powerful, influential articulator of realism when the left controls the revolution and achieves power, and it is idealistic when it comes to rightwing areas of the world." For example, The Times was extraordinarily cautious

dealing with the charges that the Soviets had been using "yellow rain" to poison the inhabitants of Afghanistan and Laos and Cambodia. It had been cautious about implicating the KGB in the attempted assassination of the pope, since that would implicate Andropov.

"Your realism," Mr. Baron said, "is accommodation—do not provoke, because the threat of nuclear holocaust comes only from the left on this planet." "When it comes to the right," he said, "which is no international conspiracy against our national security, the idealism compensates for the realism shown in dealing with the left. In South Africa you do advocate policies which are harsher, more clearly defined, less compromising and less realistic than toward the *status quo* of the left."

Turning to Poland, Mr. Baron asked: "Are you going to support legitimate revolts, not from the right, but from everybody against the established communist *status quo*? If you answer that, you'll answer my dilemma about The New York Times."

Mr. Gruson: "We are going to support revolutions, I would think, where injustices are so apparent that (inaudible on tape).

Mr. Baron: "Have you ever supported an armed revolt against the communists? Afghanistan, for example?"

Mr. Sulzberger: "I think we don't think that's a very wise political course."

Mr. Baron: "Your fundamental editorial position is that if the arms come from the Soviet Union . . . that realism dictates that we try not to tackle that. You want an accommodation without guarantees of internal democracy in Nicaragua. You want this government not to provoke the Soviet Union."

Mr. Sulzberger: "We do not want a war conducted against the Nicaraguans without the American people being informed about what it is we are doing."

Mr. Baron: "Then being informed, what do you advocate? How do you vote, then, in The New York Times?"

Mr. Gruson: "You know very well that we don't want communist states any more than you do. I think in answer to your question, which is a fascinating question, and not one we have been forced to deal with yet—what if something really went wrong on our border with Mexico and the communists went in? . . . The answer to it is to try to bring about social, economic and political policies . . ."

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## NOTES FROM THE EDITOR'S CUFF

*By Reed Irvine*

## AIM Report

September-A 1983

IN DOCUMENTING ATROCIOUS MEDIA COVERAGE OF CENTRAL AMERICA IN THIS ISSUE, WE have focused on reporting by CBS News. This is not accidental. It is my feeling that CBS is far and away the worst sinner among the three networks for biased and inaccurate reporting. After this report was set in type, I obtained a copy of the August 27 issue of TV Guide magazine, which has an excellent article by John Weisman titled, "Who's Toughest on the White House--And Why." Analyzing coverage of the president by the three TV networks, Weisman concludes that in the week studied "CBS, by a margin of more than 7 to 1, tended to cast the Reagan Administration in a more negative light than either ABC or NBC."

TV GUIDE ANALYZED THE NIGHTLY NETWORK NEWS BROADCASTS FOR THE WEEK BEGINNING MAY 1. It found that CBS aired more stories about the Reagan Administration and its policies than the other two networks and that, unlike ABC and NBC, the majority of its stories were negative. Here is the breakdown showing the number and percentage of stories in each classification as determined by TV Guide. (Some lead-ins were classified separately).

Network	Total	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
NBC	19	5	26	2	10	12	63
ABC	17	3	18	2	12	12	70
CBS	29	3	10	15	52	11	38

THIS EXPLAINS WHY DAVID GERGEN, DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS FOR THE WHITE HOUSE, was quoted as saying: "I would bet that if you had a control group who watched only CBS, another that watched only ABC and another that watched only NBC, that the impressions about the Administration and the standing of the president would be much more negative in the CBS control group."

JOHN WEISMAN THINKS THAT THIS IS NOT SO MUCH BECAUSE CBS IS MORE PARTISAN THAN THE other networks, but because it is more adversarial toward the government. He says, "CBS enhanced the conflict between Americans and their government by laying the responsibility for much of what goes on directly at Mr. Reagan's feet." He found that sometimes CBS "strains to do so." Here is one of the examples he gives.

DAVID BRINKLEY (ABC) REPORTED THIS ITEM ON MAY 2: "A FEDERAL COURT ORDERED THE Detroit police force to promote a black sergeant to lieutenant every time it promoted a white sergeant to lieutenant. The U. S. Justice Department calls this fighting discrimination with discrimination, and it asked the court to reverse itself and to consider another plan." DAN RATHER (CBS) REPORTED THE SAME ACTION THIS WAY: "For the third time since President Reagan took office, the Justice Department today asked the courts to disallow an affirmative-action employment policy, this time asking a federal appeals court to reject a Detroit Police Department plan to promote equal numbers of blacks and whites to the rank of lieutenant to make up for past racial discrimination." CBS cast the report to associate the president with opposition to a reasonable plan to make up for past discrimination. ABC provided the reason for the government's action. The case involved a suit by white policemen in Detroit who complain that they are discriminated against under a promotion policy that has been in effect for nearly a decade. The Justice

Department believes that the white policemen have a valid complaint. It argues that individuals are entitled to equal treatment under the law, regardless of race, and that quota systems that unfairly penalize innocent individuals as a means of rectifying discrimination practices that no longer exist are not just or legal. It has a hard time getting that across, thanks to the type of reporting done by CBS.

WEISMAN FOUND 20 SIMILAR EXAMPLES OF THE CBS NEGATIVE TWIST DURING THE WEEK STUDIED. Although the economy was recovering strongly, CBS aired a drumbeat of negative economic reporting. For example, on May 6, the government reported a decline in unemployment. In introducing the story, Dan Rather said the economy had generated 365,000 new jobs, but that "unfortunately for many workers holding these new jobs, long-range prospects are not good."

WEISMAN FOUND THAT SOME CBS STAFFERS WOULD ADMIT OFF THE RECORD THAT THEIR NEWS COVERAGE is biased, but none would do so for attribution. Howard Stringer, executive producer of the CBS Evening News came close, however. He said: "I think the president and the White House would rather have a straightforward record of the president's activities. We don't do that....We're closer to analysis...." (Howard Stringer was recently quoted as saying: "I frankly believe that we as a nation and a people are naive about the Soviet Union and that they are naive about us. But put that on the Evening News and we'd have groups like Accuracy in Media all over our asses.")

WHAT TV GUIDE DISCOVERED CONFIRMS OUR FINDINGS ON THE CBS COVERAGE OF CENTRAL America. CBS is adversarial not only to the Administration but to the effort to keep Central America from going communist, in my opinion. We urge you to write to Thomas H. Wyman, the chairman of CBS, Inc. giving him your reaction. We suggest that you send copies to the following CBS directors--and a copy to AIM, if you would.

William S. Paley CBS 51 West 52nd Street New York, N. Y. 10019	Michael C. Bergerac, Chrmn. Revlon, Inc. 767 Fifth Ave. New York, N. Y. 10022	Harold Brown Johns Hopkins University Baltimore, Md. 21218 (former Secretary of Defense)
William A. M. Burden William A. M. Burden & Co. 630 Fifth Ave. New York, N. Y. 10020	James R. Houghton, V. Chrmn. Corning Glass Works Corning, N. Y. 14830	Benno C. Schmidt J. H. Whitney & Co. 630 Fifth Ave. New York, N. Y. 10020
Walter Cronkite CBS News 524 West 57th St. New York, N. Y. 10019	Roswell L. Gilpatric Cravath, Swaine & Moore One Chase-Manhattan Plaza New York, N. Y. 10005	Marietta Tree Llewelyn-Davies Assocs. 130 E. 59th St. New York, N. Y. 10022

I URGE YOU TO ATTEND THE AIM CONFERENCE IN HOUSTON ON OCTOBER 13-14. WE WILL HAVE some fine speakers from the AIM-Allied Educational Foundation Speakers Bureau, and Dr. Edward Teller will address the banquet on October 14. Advance registration (prior to October 1) is only \$85, including two luncheons and the banquet. RESERVE NOW.

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# AIM RESEARCH REPORT

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No. 4

October, 1983

## CBS DISTORTS THE MEDICAL SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR

CBS's consistently biased attacks on U.S. Central American policy have been described in several earlier AIM Reports. During the past six months the network has continued this vendetta. Among the most biased broadcasts are two interviews with doctors describing the condition of medical facilities in El Salvador and blaming a number of problems entirely on the present government and U.S. support for it. CBS fails on both broadcasts to identify the sponsorship of these doctors.

The first interview was on the Morning News of April 28, the morning after Reagan's speech to Congress. Diane Sawyer led in with a statement making obvious that this would not be an unrehearsed interview but rather an opportunity for the doctor to make a statement with which CBS already agreed. She said, "In his speech, the President admitted El Salvador still has major problems guaranteeing human rights. We've heard a lot about the murders of the American missionaries and labor officials. Earlier this year, however, a team of doctors went to El Salvador to investigate reports of murder, torture, and sudden disappearance of doctors and other health workers there. A member of that team, Dr. Alfred Gellhorn, is here now with Bill Kurtis."

Bill Kurtis then came on with a lead-in that further reenforced CBS support for the interviewee. "It's a shocking report, Diane," he said. "Dr. Gellhorn, what did you find as the status of the medical facilities there?"

Dr. Gellhorn appeared with a litany of horrors that on the basis of simple checking with the facts are shown to be highly exaggerated or inaccurate. AIM has checked his figures with several El Salvador experts at the Agency for International Development (AID), the State Department, and the El Salvador embassy. Following is a summary of his statements and the facts:

Gellhorn: The university has been closed for two years and the medical school has been gutted.

Fact: It is true that the medical school was closed down along with the rest of the university, but by the previous government. Even in that case, the government had a legitimate case in that the university was a hotbed of communist subversion, like almost all universities in Latin America. The present government now has a commission studying the means for reopening the medical school.

Gellhorn: There have been no doctors produced in two years.

Fact: Some private schools have sprung up providing medical training. While they do not offer enough to produce full-fledged doctors, they have provided some help in easing the shortage.

Gellhorn: The health workers out in the countryside have been decimated.

Fact: AID people say this is grossly exaggerated. There is some reluctance of health workers to travel to contested areas, but there is no shortage caused by government tyranny.

Gellhorn: The availability of supplies like vaccines is critical so that diseases we don't know any more in this country - polio, measles, diphtheria - are decimating the children of that country.

Facts: AID experts who have spent many months in El Salvador and have all the detailed health figures say this is simply not true. The children are not being decimated. These diseases have always existed in El Salvador as in other undeveloped countries and the situation has not got out of hand. Immunization has been affected as much by guerillas cutting off the countryside as by anything else.

Gellhorn: Tuberculosis has become the number one killer.

Fact: AID says not true. Figures for every year from 1976 to 1981 show that TB has never even been in the first ten. In 1982 it emerged as number 10 for the first time. (Number one has always been gastroenteritis.)

Gellhorn: There are no doctors. There are no supplies. The municipal hospitals are in a shambles.

Fact: AID says this is wildly exaggerated. There are about 800 doctors in the country. There is not so much a shortage of doctors as a reluctance of some of them to go to contested areas. The municipal hospitals are simply not in shambles. There is some shortage of equipment and supplies, especially in the countryside, more because of guerilla activity than government oppression.

Gellhorn: The medical staffs have been harassed to a terrible degree. A group of doctors, medical students, other health workers protested to the government the murder of patients in the hospital, and even the operating rooms, including the physicians. That group was absolutely eliminated. Since that time the doctors have been both harassed and in terrible fear of their lives.

Fact: AID says that some doctors may have been arrested during parts of the government's campaign against the guerillas, but there has been nothing like a wholesale campaign against doctors in general. Gellhorn's statements lack believability if we ask why a government elected by a majority of the people would decimate its own medical profession.

Bill Kurtis concludes the interview with another question reenforcing Gellhorn's point of view: "I understand they are being harassed and eliminated, as you say, because they're associated with the liberal causes, certainly in the university."

This betrays a surprising prejudice on Kurtis's part, to label the communist guerilla cause in El Salvador as "liberal" as opposed to the government side, elected by a majority out of an 83% turnout.

Kurtis then gives Gellhorn another lead, saying "What do you think should be done, must be done?"

Gellhorn replies with a political statement far beyond his expertise as a medical man: "Well, we feel so strongly that it is not military aid. There should not be more killing. We have an enormous opportunity to provide assistance for life, in the form of medicines and personnel to help the people with health, not with death."

Who was behind the Gellhorn mission? It was sponsored by five organizations: The American Association for the Advancement of Science  
The International League for Human Rights  
The Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences  
The National Academy of Sciences  
New York Academy of Sciences.

This is an impressive list of sponsors, but there is some apparent duplication among the last three. The real spark behind the mission seems to have been the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) and in particular its "Clearinghouse on Science and Human Rights", located in Washington.

The AAAS Clearinghouse on Science and Human Rights appears to be somewhat biased towards the left. AIM talked on the phone to their Ms. Kathie McCleskey, "Program Assistant for Africa and Latin America", who was a member of the same team going to El Salvador as Dr. Gellhorn.

AIM also talked to one John Salzburg, another executive at their Center. We asked him what other countries the AAAS has studied. He said Guatemala, Uruguay, and Chile. When asked whether they had ever done anything on the scientific aspects of human rights in countries like the Soviet Union (as for example on the Soviets' use of psychiatry), or Afghanistan, Cuba, Laos, Cambodia (in regard to yellow rain), or Poland, he said "no". When asked why, he said, "We have a limited budget."

It is clear that they have used their "limited budget" to "investigate" only anti-Communist countries, never to survey communist countries.

The Gellhorn mission consisted of only four people and they spent only four days in El Salvador. They say frankly in their report that "due to the length of our stay in the country, we were unable to meet with administrators and faculty from the recently established private institutes and universities." So they were unable to cover some of the most important positive things being done to improve the health situation in El Salvador.

On the CBS Evening News of May 25 Bob Schieffer and Bruce Morton introduced another physician to comment on El Salvador, Dr. Charles Clements. Clements at least has spent more time in the country: about a year, working with the guerillas in the area of the Guazapa volcano, north of the capital city of San Salvador.

Clements made a series of statements as exaggerated and erroneous as Dr. Gellhorn's.

Clements: Physicians have been killed in operating rooms, patients murdered in their beds.

Fact: AID medical personnel say there has been violence on both sides, but no evidence of government forces killing physicians in operating rooms or patients in their beds.

Clements: Medical care has become a subversive act in El Salvador.

Fact: There is no evidence of this. As outlined above, many physicians are reluctant to go to contested areas, and there have been arrests of doctors serving with the guerillas, but no wholesale harassment of medical personnel in general.

Bruce Morton introduced a number of statements about the medical situation in El Salvador during the same broadcast, apparently trying to ride on Dr. Clements' coattails. AIM interviewed Mr. Robert Queener, head of the AID office for Central America in Washington, on the subject of the Clements-Morton broadcast. Queener said that Morton's facts were wrong or misleading.

Morton said: "1) One Salvadoran child in four dies before the age of five. 2) Per capita calorie consumption is the lowest in the Western Hemisphere. 3) Seventy percent of the children under five are malnourished. 4) Two-thirds of the people in the cities lack decent sewerage. The statistics are from a 1980 World Bank report."

Queener says it is not true that the per capita calories consumption in El Salvador is the lowest. Haiti, Guatemala, and Honduras are as low or lower. Morton's other statements are correct as far as they go, but misleading. They are taken from a 1980 World Bank report, which means they refer to 1978; five years ago. So such conditions cannot be blamed on the present government. The figures on child mortality, malnourishment, and lack of sewers in the cities are typical of most underdeveloped countries. Morton quotes Clements as saying that "things have not improved". How could he expect them to improve when the government has been engaged in a bloody guerilla war, in which the guerillas have concentrated on destroying transportation and communications, and raiding medical clinics and hospitals for medical supplies?

Clements has been travelling around this country and Canada making speeches against the U.S. effort in Central America and trying to raise money for medical aid to the guerillas. He is billed as a former pilot in Viet Nam who was disillusioned with the war and became a Quaker and a pacifist. In actuality he refused to fly missions in Viet Nam, and by his own admission, he was given a psychiatric discharge. He became a Quaker and a pacifist later on.

Clements' campaign has been backed by Medical Aid to El Salvador, a far left organization that includes known communists among its members as well as such prominent leftists as Ed Asner, Philip Burton, John Conyers, Ron Dellums, Tom Harkin, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Benjamin Spock, and George Wald. (Conyers was one of only two Representatives to "abstain" when the House cast an otherwise unanimous vote to censure the Soviets for the shooting down of KAL 007.)

The Guazapa volcano area where Clements served is one of the main guerilla strongholds. It was from this base that the guerillas launched their large successful attack on the El Salvador Air Force in February 1982, and was also



the main base for their attempts to disrupt the elections last year with violence. The latter campaign to ruin the Salvadoran peoples efforts to exercise their rights to a free election would contradict any pretense Clements has to be trying to serve the cause of human rights.

Peter Romero, El Salvador desk officer for the State Department until August 1983, says he has debated Clements twice in this country. Clements, he says, is "simply not familiar with the medical situation in most of El Salvador. He can only speak of treating guerilla wounded."

The Clements and AAAS efforts are part of what appears to be an organized campaign to use medical "experts" to discredit U.S. policy in El Salvador and promote support for the guerillas. There was another medical team that went to El Salvador in January 1983 for another four-day tour and returned to publish a report in the New England Journal of Medicine similar to the AAAS group, attacking the government and urging a cut off in military aid. This group was sponsored by a Committee for Human Rights in El Salvador in New York City.

AID medical personnel and others working for the State Department on medical problems in El Salvador have a combined total of years of experience in that country. They tell a completely different story.

Robert Queener, for example, says that the health situation in the country has become worse but not because of government repression. It is the result of problems with transportation and security due to the guerilla operations. The loss of exports due to the war has also cut down on foreign exchange needed for medical supplies and equipment. There is some shortage of surgeons, which they are trying to improve with mobile surgical units. AID has a team in the country now working on a Health Systems Vitalization Project. The team includes one physician from the Department of Health and Human Service. There has been some re-programming within the AID budget to get more money for medical services, and a larger budget is being requested. The team has already recommended more aid to training personnel for trauma, i.e. treating wounds and accidents, and for more first aid skills, and improvement in mobility, to provide more mobile units to serve the countryside. As mentioned earlier, the El Salvador Assembly recently appointed a commission to investigate reopening the medical school.

CBS has never described these activities and has never made any attempt to interview the AID people concerned with El Salvador.

On June 1, President Reagan announced that the U.S. would be sending a team of military medical advisers to El Salvador to help with military medical problems there, a step that would help relieve the overall medical situation. CBS showed their extreme bias on this issue by playing up the military and downplaying the medical aspects. The first sentence of their news broadcast did not even mention that the new advisers would be medical personnel. Bob Schieffer's first statement simply was "The President announced today that the administration is increasing the number of military advisers in El Salvador, by a number that is almost half again as much over the legal limit of 55."

Only then did he say that "There will be 20 to 22 military medical personnel." Then Schieffer added another negative note by saying "Whether or not they will be armed is not announced. The medical situation in El Salvador is serious. The one available military hospital is crowded."

Dr. Gellhorn and Dr. Robert Lawrence, who accompanied him on his quick tour to El Salvador, revealed the extent of their true humanitarian feeling for that country by announcing that they were "incensed" that Reagan had used their report to justify sending a military medical team there.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

10/6/83

To: MORTON BLACKWELL

FL/1

MICHAEL GALE

add to

CA  
Info  
packet

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

Send to ✓  
Michael 6/2/83

Vol. 10, No. 6

## MIDDLE EAST MEMO

August 5, 1983

### BROTHERHOOD OF TERRORISM

Americans are having a tough enough time figuring out what's at stake and what to do in the tangled politics of Central America. But consider for a moment how confusing it must be for the Castro government in Cuba, the insurgents in El Salvador and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua when they look at the Middle East and try to pick sides in the civil war that has racked the PLO for the past three months.

The involvement of Palestinian terrorists with Central American revolutionaries goes back to the late 1960's, when various elements of the PLO began working with Fidel Castro. Castro had begun as a supporter of Israel, but by 1966 the Cuban leader was already making the PLO a factor in Latin American revolutionary activities. By 1968 Cuban intelligence and military personnel were training PLO killers in North Africa and Iraq. In June 1969 Cubans joined a PLO raid in the Sinai.

The PLO is equally cozy with the Communist forces in El Salvador. In 1979 the "People's Revolutionary Army" bombed the Israeli embassy in the capital city of San Salvador to show "solidarity with the Palestinian people" and demanded that the government recognize the PLO. A delegation from the Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses, the united political front of major Salvadoran insurgent groups, met in Beirut with one of Arafat's deputies -- Abu Jihad -- and arranged for Salvadoran trainees to complete a course in PLO-style terrorism at an Al Fatah camp; the first class graduated in June 1980. In 1981 Shafik Hadal, a Salvadoran of Palestinian descent and head of El Salvador's Communist Party, met with PLO leaders in Beirut.

Though the PLO-Latin connection has received scant media attention, neither the PLO nor its Latin allies have taken the trouble to deny it. Thomas Borge, Interior Minister of Nicaragua, has confirmed that he and other Sandinista leaders were trained by Al Fatah. In February 1978 the PLO-Sandinista alliance issued a joint communique in Mexico City affirming the "ties of solidarity" existing between the two groups, which joined in denouncing what they called "the racist State of Israel."

In 1979, when the Sandinistas came to power in Nicaragua, their spokesman, Jorge Mandi, declared: "There is a longstanding blood unity between us and the Palestinians. Many of the units belonging to the Sandinista movement were at Palestinian revolutionary bases in Jordan. In the early 1970's," he recalled proudly, "Nicaraguan and Palestinian blood was spilled together in Amman and in other places during the Black September battles" -- a reference to Sandinista support of the PLO in its war to drive King Hussein from power in 1970. Today Nicaragua is one of the few countries in the world where the PLO mission is officially designated as an embassy and the ranking PLO official is referred to as an ambassador.

But is the PLO "ambassador" there pro-Arafat or anti-Arafat? In 1980, on the first anniversary of the Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua, Yasir Arafat came to Managua as an honored guest. Minister Borge proclaimed: "The PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas!" And Arafat replied: "The links between us are not new. Your comrades did not come to our country just for training, but to fight....Your enemies are our enemies."

That would seem to place Nicaragua in the Arafat camp. But the Salvadoran Communists may be backing Arafat's opposition. And where does Castro stand? His 25th anniversary speech the other day was silent on the subject of the PLO civil war. In the battle for control of the PLO, where will the Latin revolutionaries turn? Is Thomas Borge still loyal to Yasir Arafat? Has Shafik Hadal deserted Abu Jihad for Abu Nidal? Will Fidel Castro choose sides? Is it conceivable that revolutionary unity in Latin-America may be shattered by the revolution inside the PLO? Stay tuned.



**Cuba Independiente y Democrática**

*Norte de California*

*Delegación de San Francisco*

*P.O. Box 40697*

*San Francisco, CA 94140*

Telephone number: (415) 239-7778

NOV 28 1983

November 16, 1983

Ms. Faith Ryan Whittlesey  
Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison  
White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Whittlesey:

I want to thank you for your recent invitation to your meeting at the White House on Monday, October 31, 1983.

I regret I had to decline it; but at that time I was extremely busy organizing a rally in San Francisco's streets, which turned out to be very successful, as you can see by the enclosed photos and brief explanation.

Sincerely,

Max Mendoza  
Vice Secretary of Finance  
Central Executive C.I.D.



## Cuba Independiente y Democrática

Norte de California  
Delegación de San Francisco  
P.O. Box 40697  
San Francisco, CA 94140

NOV 29 1983

Noviembre 7, 1983

El pasado 5 de noviembre de 1983 a las 12 del día en la ciudad de San Francisco, Ca., la bella perla del Norte de California, que tradicionalmente había sido un baluarte de los movimientos de izquierda dirigidos a darle soporte público a las esfuerzos de Moscú y La Habana en su intento por llevar al Istmo Centro Americano la idiosincrasia Marxista.

Se efectuó una demostración de algo más de un millar de personas, organizadas por Cuba Independiente y Democrática (C.I.D.), Fuerzas Unidas Patrióticas Salvadoreñas (F.U.P.S.), Fuerzas Democráticas Nicaraguenses (F.D.N.) y Unión Democrática Nicaraguense (U.D.N.).

Los manifestantes portaban un gran número de cartelones alusivos a los acontecimientos de Granada en favor de la decisión de los 7 países que participaron parando en seco el expansionismo castrista en el área Caribena, así como de respaldo al gobierno del presidente Reagan.

La marcha se inició algo después de las 12 del medio día, desde las calles 16 y la Misión y marcharon sobre la calle 16 hasta el Arzobispado de San Francisco; donde representantes de las mencionadas organizaciones y actuando como coordinador el Sr. Oscar Carranza, hicieron uso de la palabra

para flagelar al Arzobispo de San Francisco, Mr. John Quinn, con motivo de la carta pastoral recientemente publicada por el Arzobispado, donde deliberadamente pretende poner la Iglesia Católica y sus feligreses al servicio de intereses extranjeros de orden totalitario en Centro América. Los oradores dejaron claro que era la primera vez que el pueblo católico formado por la combinación de todas las razas marchaba demostrando en contra de la proyección equivocada de su Arzobispo en la Diócesis de San Francisco, por contravenir este Arzobispado todos los puntos de vista de los Arzobispos Centro Americanos, y hacer resaltar la falsedad de una imagen reivindicadora de derechos por parte de la Junta Sandinista hacia el pueblo nicaraguense. Se recogieron cientos de firmas pidiendo al Vaticano la sustitución del Arzobispo Quinn de tan alto destino, por no representar los intereses de la Iglesia Católica.

También quedó clara a través de lo expresado por los representantes de los movimientos el respaldo categórico a la presente administración por los acontecimientos de Granada, sino también por la ayuda militar y económica que brindan los Estados Unidos al pueblo salvadoreño para que se puedan defender contra las guerrillas comunistas infiltradas a través de Nicaragua.

Con firmeza todos expresaron su repudio a la iniciativa electoral del Municipio de San Francisco que bajo la proposición "N" que pretende pedir al gobierno de los Estados Unidos su retiro absoluto en cuanto a la ayuda militar y económica a Centro América; esta iniciativa electoral fue incluida en la balota en las próximas elecciones en la ciudad de San Francisco.

El pueblo agolpado a la entrada de las oficinas del Arzobispado clamó

por la presencia de los líderes Eclesiásticos que desenforman a la comunidad religiosa de San Francisco; pero ni el Arzobispo ni ninguno de sus voceros se presentaron para discutir en términos democráticos los puntos de vistas de la controvercial carta pastoral que pone al Arzobispo como un juez parado encima de los acontecimientos enfocando la Iglesia como una víctima no de los Sandinistas, sino de los Estados Unidos y los gobiernos Centro Americanos.

El abogado Steve Díaz, Vice-Chairman de la Asamblea Hispana Republicana de California dio lectura a un telegrama del Presidente Ronald Reagan expresando su agradecimiento por la solidaridad expresada en términos tangibles a su administración por conservar la democracia en Centro America y el Caribe.



Max Mendoza  
Secretario Adjunto  
de Finanzas del Ejecutivo  
Central del C.I.D.



This past November 5, 1983 at 12:00 noon in the City of San Francisco, California, the beautiful pearl of Northern California, which had traditionally been a standard of the leftist movement giving public support to the efforts of Moscow and Havana to carry their first intent of Marxist idiosyncrasy to Central America. There was a demonstration of about a thousand people, organized by (Cuba Independiente y Democratica) Independent Cuba and Democratic, Patriotic Armed Forces of Salvadoreans F.V.P.S., and the Democratic Nicaraguan Forces (F.D.N.) and the Democratic Nicaraguan Union (U.D.N.). The people attending were carrying posters regarding the Grenada invasion in favor of the seven countries that participated putting a stop to the Castro expansion in the Caribbean area, as well as backing the Reagan Administration. The march started around 12 noon from 16th Street and Mission Street and went up to 16th to the Ministry of the Archbishop of San Francisco; where representatives of the aforementioned organizations and acting as coordinator Mr. Oscar Carranga, spoke to condemn the Archbishop of San Francisco, Mr. John Quinn, because of the letters that had been recently published by him, where he deliberately puts forth the Catholic Church and parishioners to the service of foreign interest of totalitarian ideas in Central America. The speakers spoke clearly that it was the first time that this Catholic town,

which represented all races were marching in protest against the wrong standing of the Archbishop of the San Francisco Diocese because it has opposed the viewpoint of the other Central American Archbishops and because it has made stand out the falsehood of a recovered image of the rights of the Sandinist Council to the Nicaraguan country. They gathered also hundred of signatures asking the Vatican the substitution of Archbishop Quinn of such high rank, because he was not representing the best interest of the Catholic Church.

It also came clear by those who spoke of the backing of the present Administration for the happenings in Grenada, as well as the military help and economic that the United States offers to the Salvadorean country so they can defend themselves against the Communist guerrillas which have infiltrated through Nicaragua. With firmness all expressed their repudiation to the electoral initiative of the San Francisco municipality that under the "N" proposition that intends to ask the U.S. government their absolute elimination of the military and economic help to Central America: this electoral initiative was included in the ballot of the next elections in City of San Francisco. The people crowded themselves at the entrance of the offices of the Archbishop claimed for the presence of the Ecclesiastical leaders who are trying to separate the religious community of San Francisco, but neither the Archbishop or his aides came to discuss on democratic terms the viewpoint of the controversial pastoral letter that puts the Archbishop like a judge standing

on top of the events focusing the Church as a victim not of the Santinistas but of the United States and the Central American governments.

The lawyer Steve Diaz, Vice Chairman of the Republican Hispanic Assembly of California read a telegram by President Reagan giving his thanks for the solidarity expressed in tangible terms to his administration to be able to preserve the democracy in Central American and the Caribbean.

Max Mendoza  
Secretario Adjunto  
de Finanzas del Ejecutivo  
Central del C.I.D.

SS Mtg.

**COME**

**Demonstrate your opposition no  
on N**

**SUPPORT**

**President Reagan's Policy in  
Central America and the  
Caribbean**

**NO**

**To the Soviet agitation in El  
Salvador and other Latin American  
and Caribbean countries**

**IN SOLIDARITY**

**With the Nicaraguan Commandos,  
who are trying to rescue  
Nicaragua from the Marxist-  
Leninist domination**

**November- 5- at 11 a.m.**

**Mission & 16th St.**

**F.U.P.S. - C.I.D. - U.D.N. -**

**ARDE - F.D.N.**

Rowland Evans  
And Robert Novak

## The Missing Paragraphs

In an incident revealing the flippancy of decision-making, White House prestidigitators made a last-second decision July 20 to expunge three paragraphs of an official statement, embarrassing President Reagan and astounding the few in his small, select audience who knew what was going on.

The sudden switch happened to deal with the subject of anti-Semitism in Nicaragua's Sandinista government. It could just as easily have concerned high-level disputes over arms control or redeeming the president's pledge to rescue Lebanon. As control over policy flows out of Secretary of State George Shultz's seventh floor and into the cluttered basement office of national security adviser William P. Clark, it leaves a chaotic train. "We have so many different players and so many different wavelengths these days," one high-level policy-maker told us, "that chances for error are staggering."

The error that transpired last Wednesday in the Old Executive Office Building adjoining the White House was indeed staggering. The July 20 issue of the White House Digest, an occasional publication written for special-interest groups invited in by the Public Liaison Office, contained three explicit paragraphs under the subheading "Persecuting the Jews" in Nicaragua. It was being handed out to a picked guest list in Room 450. The guests, including American Jewish leaders, were there for briefings on the Central American crisis—to be topped with a personal appearance and remarks by Ronald Reagan asking their support for his hardening policy.

Just before the president arrived, White House agents rushed into Room 450 and hurriedly scooped up copies of the White House Digest. Each guest was handed a new copy that contained not a single word about the persecution of Jews in Nicaragua. Nothing else in the nine-page digest had been changed.

Involved here was no failure to receive the routine clearances that are standard procedure before the White House issues any official words, attributable or not to the president himself. The retrieval by White House sleuths of the digest containing the offending three paragraphs (which said: "The Sandinistas seem always to have been anti-Semitic") was a calculated, last-second decision. The official policy charging the Sandinista anti-Semitism had been exchanged for an official policy of silence.

The original plan called for exploiting the fact that there has indeed been savage anti-Semitism under the Sandinistas, and lining up the influential Jewish community for political support. The policy replacing it in that split-second last week called for caution in dealing with the Sandinistas, possibly out of deference to incoming Latin commission chairman Henry Kissinger.

But so nimble was the decision to switch, like the flashing fingers of the prestidigitator, that Reagan himself was permitted to deliver a closed-door version of the anti-Semitism charge. He launched into his prepared script in Room 450 with a vigorous denunciation of Sandinista anti-Semitism. Reading from the index cards he invariably sports, Reagan quoted almost verbatim from the three paragraphs expunged from the first copy of the digest: Sandinista supporters had "torched the doors" of the Managua synagogue and later confiscated it, covering the Stars of David "with propaganda posters."

"The president was eloquent," one of those who heard him told us. But Reagan's eloquence in Room 450 on July 20 went unnoticed and unrecorded beyond the few who were invited to hear him. White House officials decided not to release his words.

One explanation of the sudden flip-flop could be a diplomatic telegram to Shultz from U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton in Managua early last week. Perhaps for the reason that Sandinista anti-Semitism has now just about frightened away all Nicaraguan Jews, Quainton told Shultz that anti-Semitism does not exist in Nicaragua.

But that explanation is a cop-out. In the bewildering dippy doodles of Reagan's ever-changing makers and conductors of policy, swift shifts that confound the beholder like the conjurer's sleight-of-hand are the reality.

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Gen. FRW  
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list of  
accomplishments!

**SEMINAR ON**

**CENTRAL AMERICA  
and the  
CARIBBEAN BASIN**

**Actualities  
and Consequences**



**December 10, 1983  
MacARTHUR HALL  
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION  
VALLEY FORGE, PENNA.**



## ABOUT THE SPEAKERS

## SEMINAR AGENDA

- 8:00- 8:45 a.m. Registration  
 8:45- 9:00 Welcome and Orientation  
     Ned K. Kulp  
     Moderator and Coordinator  
 9:00-10:00 James E. Goodsell  
     "Critical Issues South of the  
     Border—An Historical Perspective"  
 10:00-10:15 Beverage Break  
 10:15-11:15 William C. Doherty  
     "The Socio/Economic Realities  
     of U.S./Latin American Relations"  
 11:15-12:15 Ernesto Rivas Gallont  
     "A Viewpoint from El Salvador:  
     A Critical Confrontation"  
 12:15- 1:30 Luncheon  
     Remarks  
     Franz G. Lassner,  
     Senior Vice President  
     Freedoms Foundation  
     Address  
     J. William Middendorf II  
     "Central America: Key Link  
     in Hemisphere Security"  
 1:30- 2:30 Constantine Menges  
     "The Role of the Military in  
     Latin American Politics"  
 2:30- 2:45 Beverage Break  
 2:45- 3:45 William J. Taylor, Jr.  
     "From Here to 2000 A.D. in  
     the Americas"  
 3:45-4:30 Panel Discussion and Questions  
 4:30 Adjournment



### JAMES NELSON GOODSSELL

James Nelson Goodsell serves as the Latin America Correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor and has actively worked for this newspaper since 1957. His career started with the old Chicago Sun in 1945 as a copy boy, worked as a correspondent for New York and Chicago newspapers, and has lived in Latin American countries and in the Far East. During this time he continued his college studies and received his B.A. from Principia College, an M.A. from Mexico City College and a Ph.D. from Harvard in Latin American History. Dr. Goodsell saw military service in Japan in military intelligence from 1953-1955. He has been the recipient of numerous honors for excellence: the Sigma Delta Chi award for foreign correspondence for his coverage of the revolution in the Dominican Republic, the Inter-American Press Association-Tom Wallace award in 1983 for his coverage of the Anglo-Argentine war over the Falklands Islands are just two awards. A book, **Castro's Personal Revolution in Cuba, 1959-1973** was written by Dr. Goodsell and issued in 1974.

### WILLIAM C. DOHERTY, JR.

William C. Doherty, Jr. is Executive Director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development. After graduating from Catholic University he began his union experience in Washington, D.C., where he became President of the local American Federation of Government Employees. From 1952 to 1955 he served as Assistant Director of the Regional Activities Department of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels. Later Mr. Doherty became a member of the U.S. Labor delegation to the U.N.'s International Labor Organization, a member of the President's Labor Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs, and serves on the Council on Foreign Relations. He also was Inter-American Representative of the Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone International. Mr. Doherty has traveled extensively in Latin America, has recently addressed the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, and is an acknowledged authority on free labor movement affairs in Latin America.

### ERNESTO RIVAS-GALLONT

Ernesto Rivas-Gallont serves as Ambassador of the Government of El Salvador to the United States. He assumed this appointment in 1981 after a thirty year career of commercial, civil, and humanitarian service to his country. After graduating from the Pierce School of Business Administration he entered the banking profession and worked as Secretary General for El Salvador's Central Bank and later continued public service as general manager for his country's National Port Authority. Then he entered private business and successfully worked in the automotive field, and later founded the Agencias Maritimas, a maritime enterprise. In 1971 he co-founded El Salvador's Banco Cuscatlan. With growing personal concern over social problems in El Salvador he became involved in a number of humanitarian activities with which he is still associated including the Salvadoran Institute for the Handicapped, and the Salvadoran Red Cross. The Ambassador served as President of his country's Special Olympics from 1979 through 1981.



## J. WILLIAM MIDDENDORF II

J. William Middendorf II is Ambassador and U.S. Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States. After receiving a bachelor in Naval Science from Holy Cross and a B.A. from Harvard he was granted an M.B.A. from New York University in 1954. Then followed his extensive career in investment banking which included his employment with Chase Manhattan Bank, the Wood, Struthers & Co., the Middendorf-Colgate Co., and later as President and Chief Executive Officer of Financial General Bankshares. From 1969-1973 he served as U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands and then was appointed Secretary of the Navy from 1977 through 1981. Ambassador Middendorf has served as Treasurer of the Republican National Committee and actively worked on the 1981 Presidential Inaugural Committee. He has received several honors which include the presentation of Egypt's highest recognition presented by President Anwar Sadat for assistance in the Suez Canal crisis as well as awards from the U.S. State Department, the Country of Brazil, and the Navy Department.

## CONSTANTINE MENGES

Constantine C. Menges is Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Latin American Affairs at the National Security Council. Previously, he served as the National Intelligence Officer for Latin America with the Central Intelligence Agency. Prior to that Dr. Menges was Senior Associate with the Washington Office of the Hudson Institute and was Editor of **International Strategic Issues**. After receiving a bachelor's degree in physics, he received a Ph.D. degree from Columbia University. His experience in foreign policy affairs includes university faculty teaching, a RAND Corporation analyst, and as a subcabinet Federal official. Dr. Menges has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, working on domestic and social/economic policy matters. From 1977 to 1981, he published over 40 articles on foreign policy issues. His publications include **Politics in Europe** as a co-author in 1965 and **Spain: The Struggle for Democracy Today** published in 1978.

## WILLIAM J. TAYLOR, JR.

William J. Taylor, Jr. is Chief Operating Officer and Director of Political-Military Studies at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies. He retired from the U.S. Army as a Colonel, holds numerous decorations including the Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry, and has served in Germany, Korea and Vietnam. After receiving a B.A. degree with Honors from University of Maryland, an M.A. (with Distinction) and a Ph.D. (with Distinction) was granted him by American University. Dr. Taylor has lectured and debated at numerous institutions, has written extensively, and recently co-authored a classic text **American National Security - Policy and Process**. His career includes various assignments in the educational field including service as a Consultant to the Committee on Excellence in Education, Office of the Deputy Secretary of Defense and as Professor of Social Studies and Director of National Security Studies at the Military Academy at West Point.

## ABOUT THE SPONSORS



### THE NATIONAL STRATEGY INFORMATION CENTER, INC.

of New York City is a non-partisan institution organized in 1962 to conduct educational programs in international security affairs. The organization holds the premise that an informed public opinion is vital to the protection of the nation's interests and to assist other free nations which aspire to independence and self-fulfillment. The Center has organized briefings and assisted in presenting educational seminars for many colleges, universities, business, professional and labor groups.

The Center espouses no political causes. Its Directors and Officers represent a wide spectrum of responsible political opinion from liberal to conservative. What unites them, however, is the conviction that neither isolationism nor pacifism provides realistic solutions to the challenge of 20th century totalitarianism.



### FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT

**VALLEY FORGE** is a non-profit, non-political, and non-sectarian organization founded in 1949. Its purpose is to carry out national programs of information and education emphasizing the principles underlying the unique freedoms enjoyed by United States citizens under their constitutional form of government. These programs are based on the concept that an understanding of the United States political, social, and economic system, as well as the responsibilities of good citizenship, are essential for the protection, preservation, and diffusion of freedom.

Through an annual national awards program, many awards have been presented since 1949 to individuals and groups who have made a significant contribution to a better understanding of the American system through the things they have written, said, or done.

The Foundation is not endowed and receives no financial support from any level of government. Freedoms Foundation is governed by a 24-member Board of Directors composed of nationally known Americans from industry, education, and other fields.

Freedoms Foundation offers a variety of graduate programs, special conferences, and youth workshops intended for various types of professionals and young adults from throughout the United States and abroad, dealing with citizenship education, American history, the status of free institutions throughout the world, our constitutional system of government, and many current events topics. Special programs are often given in cooperation with various sponsoring organizations and groups.

Over 6,000 men and women across the country work together to promote the programs and philosophy of Freedoms Foundation. These members of the forty-three chartered Volunteer Chapters, located in twenty-one states from Hawaii to Florida, seek out material for a National Awards program, honor local Awards recipients, and send qualified students and professionals to Valley Forge as participants in the educational programs. The Volunteer Chapters also support the work of the Foundation through public relations activities, informing the media and general public about national Foundation programs as well as local chapter events.



The **MODERATOR** and **COORDINATOR** is Captain Ned K. Kulp who represents the National Strategy Information Center, Inc. His wide spectrum of activities includes business interests, international security affairs, and educational endeavors. He manages the Ned Kulp Co. and Associates and prior to that was a marketing executive in Perfect Foods, Inc. After graduating from Trinity College, he attended reserve officer candidate school at the Coast Guard Academy and was commissioned an officer in the Coast Guard Reserve. Further study followed in conjunction with the Naval War College, Army War College, National Defense University, and Freedoms Foundation. Captain Kulp's special interests include the Caribbean Basin and Central American affairs. He is a national security specialist in military mobilization readiness with emphasis on maritime affairs.

# SEMINAR ON CENTRAL AMERICA and the CARIBBEAN BASIN Actualities and Consequences

CLIP AND MAIL

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I/we wish to attend the Seminar on Central America and The Caribbean Basin, to be given at Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa. on 10 December 1983.

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Valley Forge, PA 19481

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# NOTES



Source: U.S. Department of State

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THE NATIONAL STRATEGY INFORMATION CENTER, INC. of New York City is a non-partisan institution organized in 1962 to conduct educational programs in international security affairs. The organization holds the premise that an informed public opinion is vital to the protection of the nation's interests and to assist other free nations which aspire to independence and selffulfillment. The Center has organized briefings and assisted in presenting educational seminars for many colleges, universities, business, professional and labor groups.

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FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE is a non-profit, non-partisan, and non-sectarian organization founded in 1949. Its purpose is to carry out national programs of information and education emphasizing the principles underlying the unique freedoms enjoyed by United States citizens under their constitutional form of government.

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## SEMINAR ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE SECURITY



NOVEMBER 19, 1983  
ESTACADA HIGH SCHOOL COMMONS  
350 NE 7th AVE.  
ESTACADA, OREGON



## SEMINAR AGENDA

Saturday, November 19, 1983

- 8:15- 9:00 a.m. Registration
- 9:00- 9:15 Welcome and Orientation  
Franz G. Lassner  
Senior Vice President  
Freedoms Foundation
- 9:15-10:30 "The Communist Movement in the Americas"  
Robert J. Alexander
- 10:30-10:45 Beverage Break
- 10:45-12:00 "Central America—Critical Link in Hemisphere Security"  
Roger Fontaine
- 12:00- 1:15 p.m. Luncheon
- 1:15- 2:30 "Canada and the U.S.—A Partnership in Security Affairs?"  
John Hasek
- 2:30- 2:45 Beverage Break
- 2:45- 4:00 "Economic Realities of U.S.—Latin American Relations"  
Robert E. Driscoll
- 4:00- 4:30 Panel Discussion
- 4:30 Adjournment



## ABOUT THE SPEAKERS

### ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

Robert J. Alexander is currently Professor of Economics at Rutgers University. His Ph.D. is from Columbia University. He was an advisor on Latin America and a member of the Latin American Task Force during the Kennedy administration. He presently serves on the Editorial Board of *New Politics* and the Executive Committee for the Open Door Student Exchange Program. Dr. Alexander is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Provisional Executive Committee for the Middle Atlantic Council on Latin American Studies. He is the author of many books and pamphlets, including *Communism in Latin America*, *The Struggle for Democracy in Latin America*, *The Venezuelan Communist Party*, and *Bolivia: Past, Present and Future of its Politics*. Dr. Alexander has lectured on Latin America at over seventy colleges and universities, principally in the United States and Canada.

### ROGER W. FONTAINE

Roger Fontaine is Director for Latin American Affairs, National Security Council. He was formerly Director of Latin American Studies at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies. He holds a Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. His previous experience includes teaching at Middlebury College, Vermont, as well as economic and political research on Latin America at American University, and at various research institutions in the Washington area. Dr. Fontaine's publications include: *Brazil and the United States—Toward A Maturing Relationship*, *On Negotiating with Cuba*, and *Latin America: Struggle for Progress* (co-author).

### JOHN HASEK

John Hasek is Director of The Canadian Council for Peace in Freedom. He received his B.A. from the University of Ottawa and his M.A. from the University of New Brunswick. He was commissioned as a Canadian infantry officer in 1959, and retired from the regular army with the rank of Major in 1982. He served with the Black Watch of Canada, the Royal Canadian Regiment, and the Airborne Regiment. Major Hasek took part in peace keeping missions to Cyprus in 1967, 1968, and in 1974, and was with a ceasefire supervisory commission in Vietnam from January to June 1973. He was a member of the Military Advisory Team in Ghana from 1965-1967. Major Hasek served in the Directorate of Strategic Policy Planning at Canadian National Defense Headquarters from 1977-1980. He has written extensively on strategy and defense in professional journals, magazines, and newspapers and broadcasts on T.V. and radio. He is currently authoring a book on Canadian defense.

### ROBERT E. DRISCOLL

Robert E. Driscoll currently is Executive Director and Chief Operating Officer of the Fund for Multinational Management Education in New York City, an international organization dedicated to improving the understanding of the role of private enterprise in economic development. Mr. Driscoll is responsible for program development, fund raising, and liaison with collaborating organizations. He received his B.A. from Carroll College, Helena, Mt. and his M.A. from the University of Texas at Austin. Mr. Driscoll has written several articles and publications, including *Technology Transfer and Development: An Historical and Geographic Perspective*; *The Social and Economic Impacts of Transnational Corporations: Case Studies of the U.S. Paper Industry in Brazil*; *Foreign Investment in Egypt*; and *Technology Transfer and Development: Viewpoints of U.S. Business*. He acts as a consultant to major corporations such as Sears Roebuck, Monsanto, and so forth.

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SEMINAR ON

**UNITED STATES  
NATIONAL SECURITY  
                      
POLICY CHALLENGES**



JUNE 18, 1983  
RIO BRAVO RESORT  
BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA



## ABOUT THE SPEAKERS

## SEMINAR AGENDA

Saturday, June 18, 1983

- 8:15- 9:00 a.m. Registration
- 9:00- 9:15 Welcome  
and Orientation  
Ned K. Kulp  
Seminar Moderator
- 9:15-10:30 "Nuclear Freeze and  
the Peace Movement"  
William J. Taylor, Jr.
- 10:30-10:45 Beverage Break
- 10:45-12:00 "New Strategy for the West"  
Frank R. Barnett
- 12:00- 1:15 p.m. Luncheon  
Remarks  
Franz G. Lassner  
Senior Vice President  
Freedoms Foundation
- 1:15- 2:30 "Star Wars Space Systems:  
A Practical Reality?"  
Steven A. Maaranen
- 2:30- 2:45 Beverage Break
- 2:45- 4:00 "Arms Control —  
Fact or Fiction"  
Richard F. Staar
- 4:00- 4:30 Panel Discussion
- 4:30 Adjournment



### WILLIAM J. TAYLOR, JR.

William J. Taylor, Jr. is Director of Political-Military Studies and Deputy Chief Operating Officer of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies. He retired from the U.S. Army as a Colonel, holds numerous decorations including the Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry, and has served in Germany, Korea, and Vietnam. Dr. Taylor has lectured and debated at numerous institutions, has written extensively on national security affairs, and most recently co-authored a classic text *American National Security — Policy and Process*. A Ph.D. (with distinction) was granted him from the American University. His last teaching assignment was at the Military Academy at West Point where he was Professor of Social Science and Director of National Security Studies.

### FRANK R. BARNETT

Frank R. Barnett is President of the National Strategy Information Center. He helped organize the first Defense Strategy Seminar for Reserve Officers at the National War College and has served on the faculty of the college. His career includes service as an educational consultant for the Department of Defense, and as an innovator to help organize a nationwide effort to support ROTC programs on over 100 campuses. Mr. Barnett co-edited a book on national security entitled *Peace and War in the Modern Age*. Oxford University awarded him a master's degree and he received an L.L.D. from the University of South Carolina. As an expert on Soviet strategy, his lectures have been heard in England, Taiwan, Mexico, and Canada.

### STEVEN A. MAARANEN

Steven A. Maaranen is currently Group Leader of the Strategic Analysis Group of Los Alamos National Laboratory, Los Alamos, N.M. He has served as Assistant Professor of Political Science at Claremont Men's College in California and served as an Intelligence Officer in the U.S. Army. Dr. Maaranen has written and researched extensively and recently co-edited an in-depth national security publication entitled *The Future of Conflict in the 1980s*. An article written by him, *Nuclear Defense of Europe* will soon be published in the Washington Quarterly. His B.A. was granted by Claremont Men's College and he received a Ph.D. in Political Science from Claremont Graduate School. He is a specialist in the field of nuclear defense issues and nuclear strategy.

### RICHARD F. STAAR

Richard F. Staar is a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. He was Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Emory University. Dr. Staar has served in Vienna as U.S. Ambassador, Negotiations on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. He has traveled and lectured in more than 20 countries. Yale awarded him his M.A. degree and a Ph.D. was granted from the University of Michigan. Among his many publications are *Poland, 1944-1962* and *Long Range Environmental Study of the Northern Tier of Eastern Europe in 1990-2000*. Since 1969, Dr. Staar has been the editor of the *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*. He is an authority on the U.S.S.R. and Warsaw pact nations.



## ABOUT THE SPONSORS



THE NATIONAL STRATEGY INFORMATION CENTER, INC. of New York City is a non-partisan institution organized in 1962 to conduct educational programs in international security affairs. The organization holds the premise that an informed public opinion is vital to the protection of the nation's interests and to assist other free nations which aspire to independence and selffulfillment. The Center has organized briefings and assisted in presenting educational seminars for many colleges, universities, business, professional and labor groups.

The Center espouses no political causes. Its Directors and Officers represent a wide spectrum of responsible political opinion from liberal to conservative. What unites them, however, is the conviction that neither isolationism nor pacifism provides realistic solutions to the challenge of 20th century totalitarianism.



THE RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, with headquarters in Washington, D.C., is a national organization with a membership of over 128,000 officers from all branches of the armed services. The objective of the Association is to support a military policy for the United States that will provide adequate national security and to promote the development and execution thereof. Membership represents many civilian facets of professional and business vocations from around the nation and the Reserve Officer organization represents a critical line of military leadership supporting the active duty forces. It is structured on the basis of regional state organization and represents grass roots and national thinking.



FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE is a non-profit, non-political, and non-sectarian organization founded in 1949. Its purpose is to carry out national programs of information and education emphasizing the principles underlying the unique freedoms enjoyed by United States citizens under their constitutional form of government. These programs are based on the concept that an understanding of the United States political, social, and economic system, as well as the responsibilities of good citizenship, are essential for the protection, preservation, and diffusion of freedom.

Through an annual national awards program, many awards have been presented since 1949 to individuals and groups who have made a significant contribution to a better understanding of the American system through the things they have written, said, or done.

The Foundation is not endowed and receives no financial support from any level of government. Freedoms Foundation is governed by a 24-member Board of Directors composed of nationally known Americans from industry, education, and other fields.

Freedoms Foundation offers a variety of graduate programs, special conferences, and youth workshops intended for various types of professionals and young adults from throughout the United States and abroad, dealing with citizenship education, American history, the status of free institutions throughout the world, our constitutional system of government, and many current events topics. Special programs are often given in cooperation with various sponsoring organizations and groups.

Over 6,000 men and women across the country work together to promote the programs and philosophy of Freedoms Foundation. These members of the forty-three chartered Volunteer Chapters, located in twenty-one states from Hawaii to Florida, seek out material for a National Awards program, honor local Awards recipients, and send qualified students and professionals to Valley Forge as participants in the educational programs. The Volunteer Chapters also support the work of the Foundation through public relations activities, informing the media and general public about national Foundation programs as well as local chapter events.

This program on U.S. national security is offered in cooperation with the Freedoms Foundation Kern County Chapter. The chapter's membership numbers approximately 100 men and women, active both professionally and as volunteers concerned with national and community programs and activities.



THE MODERATOR and coordinator for today's program is **Captain Ned K. Kulp**, who represents the National Strategy Information Center. He is President of Ned Kulp Company and Associates. His wide spectrum of activities include business interests, national security affairs, and educational endeavors. He is a graduate of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., is a commissioned officer in the Coast Guard Reserve and has studied further in conjunction with the Naval War College, Army War College, National Defense University, and Freedoms Foundation. His special interests include the Caribbean Basin and Central American affairs. Captain Kulp is a national security specialist in military mobilization readiness with emphasis on maritime affairs. Additionally, he has lectured on Soviet naval capabilities and the geopolitics of strategic natural resources.

## SEMINAR ON **UNITED STATES NATIONAL SECURITY** **POLICY CHALLENGES**

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**NOTES**

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November 29, 1983

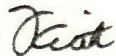
Dear Mr. Kulp:

Thank you for your kind letter. We are indeed interested in your upcoming seminar on "Central America and the Caribbean Basin." I wish very much that my schedule here would permit me to be in attendance. I have passed along your thoughtful invitation to other interested members of my staff. The program for the seminar is excellent, and I will be interested in the response.

Please know that all of us here deeply appreciate what you are doing. The energetic support of informed individuals such as yourself can make a tremendous difference. I hope you will continue to keep in touch.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,



Faith Ryan Whittlesey  
Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison

Mr. Ned Kulp  
102 Cornwall Drive  
Chalfont, PA 18914