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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
June 20, 1983

MORTON
SUPPOSE WE
COULD USE
THIS EDITORIAL
OTHER
PRESS
JHR

Dear Bob:

Your editorial on Central America was clear and persuasive. Many thanks for your support! Needless to say, continuing activity to inform your membership and other influential opinion makers of our national security interests at risk in this area would be very much appreciated.

Hope to see you again sometime soon.

Sincerely,

Faith

Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Mr. Robert B. Delano
President
American Farm Bureau Federation
Suite 800
600 Maryland Avenue, SW
Washington, DC 20024

cc: Morton Blackwell

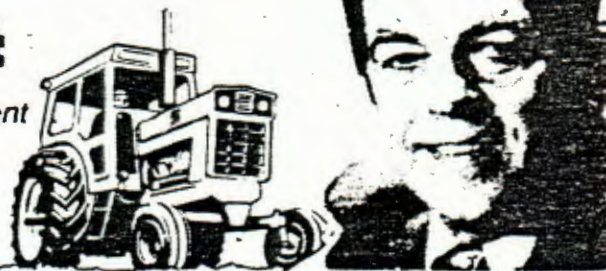
bcc. Dee Jepsen
John Rousselot

"Please follow-up"

June 6, 1983

OBSERVATIONS from the Tractor Seat

Robert B. Delano, President
American Farm Bureau
Federation



National security is issue

Most U.S. citizens seem to think that the civil wars raging in Latin America are more a nuisance than a threat—something that can be safely ignored. It is becoming increasingly clear that this is an extremely dangerous attitude.

It helps to look at a world globe when listening to the debate about U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Any map of our twin American continents, connected by the umbilical of the Panama Isthmus, helps us realize how impossible it is for this country to disregard what is now going on in Latin America.

Most Americans think of Soviet military interference as something taking place in Afghanistan or Poland. Little thought seems to be given to well-known Soviet ambitions in our hemisphere in spite of the blatant Soviet presence in Cuba since the communist takeover by Castro's political dictatorship in 1959.

In the process, Congress has been allowed to forget, or at least ignore, the solid precepts of the Monroe Doctrine—rooted in the principle that the Americas and Europe represent two distinct political spheres, with the United States committed to circumvent any European attempt to control governments of Central or South America.

The Monroe Doctrine originated in direct answer to pre-Soviet Russia's pretensions to the northwest portions of our own coast, but also speaks directly to the issue of intervention by European powers in Central and South America. In the Doctrine view, punitive actions by "European States" against republics of the new world are to be treated as a direct manifestation of unfriendly intent to the United States.

The Doctrine has served us well. But in recent years, its principles have been more and more liberally interpreted—even to the point of allowing communist confiscation of U.S. properties in Cuba—and leading at least briefly in 1962, to the actual placement of Soviet long-range nuclear weapons in Cuba aimed at our shores.

The evidence of Soviet and East Bloc involvement in South and Central America appears overwhelming. There has been an unusual number of Soviet and Cuban freighters observed docking at South American ports. There are well-founded suspicions about the many Cuban cargo flights to Managua, Nicaragua and Soviet-trained Cuban "advisors" are openly guiding guerrilla actions in El Salvador and elsewhere.

The subversive actions of Libya's socialist dictator Muammar Qaddafi in Central America were proven when Brazil seized four Libyan transport aircraft crammed with communist arms labeled "medical supplies," headed to guerrillas in El Salvador. Reportedly, the cargo also included at least one Czechoslovakian light ground attack aircraft.

There is a clear movement pattern of "advisors" and arms from Cuba and Libya to pro-Soviets in Nicaragua and, through them, to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. Destabilization of Central and South America is the Soviet aim as Moscow fuels revolution from which it hopes to profit. There are indications that Mexico is the ultimate goal, with the communist intention to spread the crisis from El Salvador to Costa Rica and Honduras, then to Guatemala and through it into Mexico.

The liberal cry for U.S. noninvolvement on the grounds that El Salvador will become another Viet Nam is alarming in a way apparently not considered by many. U.S. withdrawal from Viet Nam resulted in the complete communist subjugation of that area and the murder of an estimated three million people through the takeover of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos by the rampaging North Vietnamese. The flood tide of refugee boat people that reached our shores is mute testimony to this genocide.

Some things seem obvious: our failure to act decisively against communism in Cuba is coming back to haunt us. Latin America is vulnerable to a spreading communist horror. The United States simply cannot ignore the possibility of Cuban-fed and Soviet-led revolution, that would make the Viet Nam action seem modest, marching down the Isthmus to knock at our door.

The issue is drawn, and it is not a partisan issue. There can be only one foreign policy for all citizens of these United States—to oppose without compromise—those who operate against our national interests. Farm Bureau members support a national policy of "peace through strength" and consider military aid a vital part of total U.S. foreign policy. Democrats and Republicans alike, Congress must unite in giving President Reagan the military aid support he needs on the grounds that it is neither illegal nor immoral to protect vital interests of national security.



Central America -- Concern
(N=814)

"Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all."

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opin (%)
Ten million more refugees would crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fell to the Communists.	84	12	4	0
Two million more refugees would crowd into the United States if Central America fell to the Communists.	78	17	4	1
United States troops were sent to El Salvador to fight the guerrillas.	77	17	5	1
A Communist takeover of more countries in South America would endanger the United States' economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are shipped through the area.	74	19	6	1
Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua said they intend to take over every country in Central America.	73	18	8	1
The Marxist guerrillas in Central America set up a communist government in Mexico.	72	18	8	2
Marxist government officials in Nicaragua said they were willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country.	68	24	7	1
Cuba, the Soviet Union, East German, North Korea and other communist countries recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers to Nicaragua.	65	25	9	1

Central America -- Concern.
(Continued)
(R-814)

"Now I would like to read you a different list of statements about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would cause you a great deal of concern ... some concern ... or not much concern at all."

	Great Deal Of Concern (%)	Some Concern (%)	Not Much Concern At All (%)	No Opin (%)
The Sandinista government of Nicaragua persecuted many Catholic priests, most Protestant missionaries, and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country.	60	29	10	1
El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City.	49	26	22	3
The Nicaraguan government set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskita (miss-KEY-tow) Indian tribe.	46	34	18	2
That the United States increased its economic aid to El Salvador.	41	41	16	2
Most of the killings in El Salvador were done by extreme rightists.	37	42	16	5
The government of El Salvador does not have the popular support of most Salvadorians.	27	44	26	3
The average person in Central America would rather not have United States involvement in their affairs.	24	39	34	3

RNCB3-7: June 25-27, 1983



(N=386)

"Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America."

	<u>More</u> <u>Likely</u> (%)	<u>Less</u> <u>Likely</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Difference</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opin</u> (%)
Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, North Korea and other communist countries have recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers to Nicaragua.	65	28	4	3
Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua intend to take over every country in Central America.	59	29	5	7
Marxist government officials in Nicaragua say they were willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country.	59	33	4	4
The Marxist guerrillas in Central America intend to set up a communist government in Mexico.	57	35	4	4
A Communist takeover of more countries in Central America will endanger the United States' economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are shipped through the area.	57	33	4	6
More than three-fourths of the United States' assistance to El Salvador is economic aid, not military aid.	54	38	4	4
The problems in Central America are not due to the Communists. They are the result of a long history of poverty and exploitation.	51	36	6	7
Ten million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fall to the Communists.	48	43	4	5
Two million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America falls to the Communists.	48	43	4	5

RNC83-7: June 25-27, 1983



Central America -- Reagan's Policies
(Continued)
(N=386)

"Now I would like to read you a different list of statements others have made about Central America. Just for a moment, suppose that each of the statements is true. Please tell me for each statement whether that would make you ... more likely ... or ... less likely to support Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America."

	More Likely (%)	Less Likely (%)	No Difference (%)	No Opin (%)
Most of the killings in El Salvador have been done by extreme rightists.	48	35	7	10
El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City.	46	32	13	9
The Nicaraguan government has set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskita (miss-KEY-low) Indian tribe.	43	40	9	8
The Sandinista government of Nicaragua has persecuted many Catholic priests, most Protestant missionaries, and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country.	45	35	12	8
The average person in Central America would rather not have United States involvement in their affairs.	42	47	5	6
The government of El Salvador does not have the popular support of most Salvadorians.	38	48	6	8

World Ambassador Club

"Developing Tomorrow's World Leaders...Today"

July 29, 1983

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TED PANTALEO
CBN, The Freedom
Council

BRIG. GEN
ALBION KNIGHT
Consultant

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assist. To The President
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton,

After conversing with Ken Stripling this morning, and hearing of his compilation of action items per each organization concerning Central America, I thought it might be of interest to you to know that Maranatha Campus Ministries is planning an International Student Affairs Dinner for September 22. This will be held at the Hyatt Regency Hotel on New Jersey Ave., N.W.

At the dinner there will be a 20-minute multi-media slide presentation showing the importance of befriending international students while they attend American universities. Many international students that are in Maranatha Campus Ministries now are Latin Americans. We hope to increase this number as a result of this dinner and the World Ambassador Club. So, please take a moment to review the enclosed purpose and goals sheet on this subject.

If you have any recommendations or suggestions, or would like more information, please do not hesitate to call me at 544-6200.

Sincerely,



Antoinette Olsen
Maranatha Campus
Ministries
139 C Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Encl.

World Ambassador Club

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CBN, The Freedom
Council

BRIG. GEN
ALBION KNIGHT
Consultant

PURPOSE AND GOALS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT AFFAIRS DINNER AND WORLD AMBASSADOR CLUB

- The World Ambassador Club is sponsoring a \$100 a plate International Student Affairs Dinner to be held Thursday, Sept. 22, 7:00 pm, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, 400 New Jersey Ave., NW, in Washington, D.C. The dinner is in honor of all international students attending universities in the United States. The World Ambassador Club will be introduced the evening of the dinner.
- Proceeds from the dinner will be for three specific purposes:
 - 1) To put a Bible in the hands of every international student on our campuses, in conjunction with the Year Of The Bible observance.
 - 2) For hospitality purposes when international students arrive in the city and throughout their stay in America, helping them to get acquainted with Americans and have good friends while they are in the United States.
 - 3) To raise funds to outreach to all the internationals who participate in and attend the '84 Olympics in Los Angeles over the next summer. Ten percent of the money raised by the dinner will go for this purpose.
- At the dinner there will also be a multi-media slide presentation to give a vision for utilizing the untapped potential of befriending the over 300,000 international students attending America's universities today. (Currently, there are over 40 heads of state, now in office, who were schooled in America.)
- At the dinner, guests will be invited to join the World Ambassador Club which is designed to meet the needs of international students at many of America's largest universities where there is a concentration of foreign students. Those who join the World Ambassador Club would contribute a minimum of \$20 per month which will finance a full-time international student worker on every campus, and the outreach activities this would entail.

The World Ambassador Club was developed in order to help reach the over 180 nations whose students attend America's universities. We want to develop these future world leaders into godly men and women under the leadership of Jesus Christ. They can disciple their nations more effectively than any foreign missionary since they know the language, culture, and have no visa problems with which to contend. Won't you be a partner with us in discipling these nations?

*file
Central
America*

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Morton Blackwell
Office of Public Relations
The White House

From: Robert A. Montserrat

Re: Brief of activities for period
July 25 – August 9, 1983

Date: August 9, 1983

Mr. Montserrat attended briefings on the present situation in Central America. Thereafter, he was asked to help inform different groups connected with the area about the problems there.

Mr. Montserrat met with various individuals and organizations where he communicated to them the urgency of the situation and discussed possible approaches to U.S. policy to bring peace to this troubled region.

Mr. Montserrat contributed from his background in Latin American affairs. His work involved field travel. He served as a liaison between business and youth organizations who desired more information about El Salvador (e.g. Dallas Chamber of Commerce, members of the Arizona Bar Association, Youth for a Free Guatemala, and various heads of corporations with interests in the region.) In traveling and meeting people with diverse backgrounds, Mr. Montserrat's bilingual abilities were especially useful.



United States Department of the Interior

Office of Territorial and International Affairs
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

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

July 14, 1983

file

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to
the President
Old Executive Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton:

It is well known that a major problem we face in the Central American issue is that of credibility.

The Administration, generally, with the exception of the President, encounters disbelief by the public and the media because of the distortions and misinformation that filters through to the media by liberal activists and leftist groups throughout the United States.

The most effective means of changing that disbelief to acceptance is to involve nationals from those Central American countries in speaking engagements along with Administration officials. Such nationals from all walks of life (businessmen, workers, teachers, etc.) possess a certain credibility in the recounting of their own personal experiences which can help immeasurably in countering the media disbelief and bias.

In his presentation yesterday, Ambassador Middendorf mentioned a good editorial on Central America appearing in "The Washington Post." The writer of that editorial has changed his perspective toward Central America over the years because of having met with people arriving here from that region including Bishop Aparicio of El Salvador and Luis Pallais of Nicaragua and many others.

Certainly, any national from Central America who concurs with our position should be accorded maximum exposure on Capitol Hill where support must be forthcoming to achieve the Administration's objectives. Similarly, organizations that invite administration officials to speak should also arrange for those speakers to meet with the editorial boards and reporters of the local media.

Congratulations for your successes to date and all the best in your future efforts on this issue. Don't hesitate to let me know how I can be of help.

Sincerely,

Ana Colomar O'Brien
Special Assistant to the

new? file
↓

John Anderson
7807 E Rugby Rd.
Manassas, Va. 22111

R E S C U E C E N T R A L A M E R I C A 703 631-9346

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Rescue Central America (RCA) is a publicly-supported, 501C3 tax exempt, non-profit, non-member corporation organized under the laws of the District of Columbia exclusively for charitable and educational purposes. The essential mission of RCA is to provide educational opportunities to the youth of Central America that will enable them to appreciate the merits of the democratic form of government and will also equip them to handle the responsibilities that true democracy requires.

These opportunities will represent an alternative to the rapid increase in educational subsidies being provided throughout Central America by the Soviet bloc nations and will enable the young people of this area to develop their potential in an environment that allows for full self-realization. It is a well-documented fact that the Communist forces are aggressively working to implant Marxist doctrines into the educational systems of the Central American nations. In addition, there is an active campaign to recruit the more scholastically capable students to go to the Soviet Union for fully-subsidized university-level training.

The main concern of Rescue Central America is that if we in the United States do not develop an aggressive program to counteract this situation any improvements made toward stability and democracy in the Central American region in the short term will soon be lost.

To accomplish this goal, RCA will solicit contributions and grants to provide scholarship and student loan funds to underprivileged but scholastically outstanding youth in Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Republic of Panama, and Nicaragua (to the extent accessible and acceptable to the U.S. government). The guidelines for determining eligibility will be established on a nation-by-nation basis through a non-profit foundation in each country. The program will be available for

candidates at the various educational levels of study, both in their native country and abroad, ranging from grammar and secondary schools, junior colleges, community colleges, universities and post-graduate degree study programs.

President Reagan recently stated, while addressing the Central American Outreach Working Group, his concern for a greater awareness of the unity that we of the Americas share. This can only be achieved, though, by the concerted effort of both government initiatives and the visible support of the American public at the grass roots level. In this spirit, RCA wishes to provide an alternative to escalation..... education! We encourage all Americans to join us in this effort and we look forward to the day when personal freedom will prevail throughout the Western hemisphere.



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

CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFING PAPER
AND
TALKING POINTS
ON
REFUGEES AND POTENTIAL REFUGEES
IN AND FROM
CENTRAL AMERICA

Ambassador-at-Large H. Eugene Douglas
U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs

Department of State
Washington, D.C.

May 17, 1983

Suggested Talking Points Concerning the Refugee
Situation in Central America

- Our policy is to provide funds through international organizations such as UNHCR and ICRC for assistance and protection to refugees in the region, and to support programs designed to encourage and maintain the asylum tradition of the Central American countries.
- The UNHCR is the principal responsible international organization charged with assisting refugees, although the ICRC provides protection and aid, also as do many international private voluntary agencies.
- The U.S. supports both the UNHCR and ICRC endeavors in the region.
- We estimate that in FY 1984 the UNHCR and ICRC will spend over \$44.0 million in assisting refugees and victims of civil strife in the area.
- Accurate statistics on the number of refugees in the region are difficult to obtain.
- The Department of State estimates the total number of refugees in Central America to be from 121,000 to 156,000. These figures are based on reports from governments, field visits and data provided by international and private relief organizations.
- The Department of State is monitoring refugee developments in Central America closely.
- The loss of El Salvador to Marxist insurgents would set in motion a massive movement of refugees and displaced persons that will dwarf our Southeast Asian experience.
- The exporters of communist agents aimed at destabilizing Central America are the Sandinistas and the Cubans with the assistance of the PLO and the Soviet Union.
- El Salvador alone could bring us 350,000 to 500,000 "refugees" and all of Central America could mean a flow of 1,500,000 to 2,500,000, just 8% to 10% of the current population.
- The potential of large refugee flow from Central America is only a mirror image of what the world has faced; massive flows of refugees from communist-oppressed and -terrorized countries. It is obvious that just as we have seen this happen in Africa, Afghanistan, Eastern Europe, Cuba, and Southeast Asia, the next area of a potential mass refugee expulsion or flow is on our doorstep.

CURRENT REFUGEE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

General Background and U.S. Policy

Substantial numbers of refugees and persons displaced by fighting and civil strife in Central America have received refuge in neighboring countries. We estimate the overall number of refugees to be approximately 150,000.

Our policy is to provide funds through international organizations, such as the UNHCR and ICRC, for assistance and protection to refugees in the region, and to support programs designed to encourage and maintain the asylum tradition of the Central American countries.

Although the UNHCR is the responsible international organization charged with assisting these refugees, the ICRC provides significant protection and aid to refugees in the areas, as do many international private voluntary agencies.

The United States has played an active role in supporting UNHCR programs in Central America. We spent \$13 million for programs in the region last year, primarily for Salvadoran and Nicaraguan refugees in Costa Rica and Honduras. We also contributed to the ICRC program in El Salvador for political prisoners and their families. We anticipate that the UNHCR and ICRC will spend over \$44 million in FY 1984 in assistance to refugees and victims of civil strife in the area. Most of those affected by the strife do not, however, require resettlement outside Central America, thanks to the longstanding tradition of granting asylum within the region. Also, most refugees are hopeful of returning to their homelands as soon as the turmoil ends.

Estimated figures for the Region

<u>Country of Asylum</u>		<u>Total</u>
Honduras		
Salvadorans	16-20,000	35,000-45,000
Nicaraguans	16-20,000	
Costa Rica		24,000-30,000
Salvadorans	12-13,000	
*Nicaraguans	5-8,000	
Cubans	5,000	
Mexico		45,000-60,000
Guatemalans	35-45,000	
Salvadorans	6-12,000	
Nicaragua		23,000-25,000
Salvadorans	22-24,000	
Other Countries		4,000-5,000
Grand Total		131,000-165,000

* In recent weeks there have been reports of a new flow of some 1,000 Nicaraguan refugees crossing into Costa Rica. UNHCR and Costa Rican authorities are apparently preparing for a possible influx of Nicaraguan refugees as a result of the fighting in Nicaragua, but to date there has been no such mass movement.

Tradition of Asylum

In Latin America there is a long tradition of granting political asylum. This tradition has withstood the test of modern refugee movements and has been supported by financial assistance from the international community--the U.S. being the major donor. Many refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala plan to return to their homeland when civil strife abates, thus they prefer to remain as close as possible to their home areas. Consequently, movements have been primarily to camps in Honduras, Costa Rica and Mexico.

U.S. Admissions

The programs that we support are designed to encourage and maintain the asylum tradition of the Central American countries, while relieving situations of special concern by admitting only persons in compelling circumstances. A ceiling of a total of 2,000 was set by the President, following Congressional consultations, for FY 1983 admissions from Latin America. To date, 22 persons have been admitted as refugees under this ceiling.

UNHCR

The UNHCR, to which we are the largest donor (\$8.2 million in FY '82 for Latin America), in addition to providing relief assistance and protection, plans to emphasize self-help programs in Central America. Agricultural programs, marketing programs, educational and medical programs of a self-help nature are being developed, and rural sites have been selected in Honduras for agricultural programs. Refugees will be transferred from larger camps to smaller ones so that they can more easily grow crops for their own use and for marketing.

Assistance By Neighboring Countries to Refugees

The Governments of Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Mexico honor the Latin American tradition of granting asylum and have cooperated with the UNHCR in assisting refugees from both El Salvador and Guatemala. The UNHCR has extensive programs in Honduras and Costa Rica. Programs in Mexico and Nicaragua need further development, and the UNHCR is going priority attention to them.

About 30,000 Guatemalans, mainly people of Indian descent, have entered Mexico in the last year. They are concentrated in areas along the Mexican-Guatemalan border. The Government of Mexico, with assistance from the UNHCR, is assisting these refugees who are fleeing violence in their native villages and hamlets. Many of the areas were controlled by guerrillas as little as a year ago. Fighting broke out when the Guatemalan Army attempted to regain control of the areas, and the villagers fled.

Costa Rican authorities have confirmed their intention of transferring to reception centers away from border areas all Nicaraguans seeking refugee status and assistance. Suitable reception sites are being sought on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts and in the central part of the country. An initial group of Nicaraguans has been transferred to Santa Rosa De Cutris where assistance is being provided with UNHCR funds that we advanced. The Costa Rican government plans to move refugees on to settlements or into other income-generating activities after an initial stay in reception centers.

In Honduras, the UNHCR is coordinating assistance to a refugee population of over 35,000 persons which includes 16,000 to 20,000 Salvadorans and about the same number from Nicaragua, including Miskito Indians. The Government of Honduras has been extremely forthcoming in providing refuge to people fleeing turmoil in the region. They have extended their hospitality even to those fleeing democratic governments who might be ideologically opposed to the present government of Honduras. The UNHCR has revised its budget for Honduras upward from \$5.3 million to \$12.7 million for this year due to the increase in refugee activity in that country.

Monitoring by Department of State

The Department of State is monitoring the refugee situation in Central America closely. Officers of various bureaus within the Department have been and will continue to travel to the area as part of our systematic process of reviewing refugee relief programs in the area.

THE POTENTIAL REFUGEE SITUATION

The loss of El Salvador to the Marxist insurgents would invariably set in motion a northward movement of refugees and displaced persons that will dwarf our experience in Southeast Asia. We have over 640,000 Indochinese in the U.S. who have been brought across the Pacific Ocean and another 400,000 or so who have been resettled elsewhere. How many Central Americans will make their way overland if we fail to support local democratic forces?

Our experience with Cuba has been that over 10% of the Cuban people fled the tightening oppression of the Castro revolution -- more than one million people. Assuming a moderate estimate that 8% of a country's population will take flight to escape a Marxist takeover, what can we expect in Central America?

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>CURRENT POPOULATION</u>	<u>8% REFUGEES</u>	<u>10% REFUGEES</u>
Costa Rica	2,400,000	192,000	240,000
El Salvador	4,700,000	370,000	470,000
Guatemala	7,500,000	600,000	750,000
Honduras	4,100,000	328,000	410,000
Nicaragua	2,600,000	200,000	260,000
Panama	2,000,000	160,000	200,000
	23,300,000	1,850,000	2,330,000

The burden of increased Salvadoran refugees alone would be severe both for the U.S. and neighboring hemispheric states. And it seems unlikely that the outflows could be contained just to El Salvador.

The loss of Salvador to Marxist forces and the perceived lesson of a strengthened Sandinist regime in Managua would likely combine to initiate an accelerating northward movement which will be difficult to stop once begun. If history is any guide, it is the professional and middle class which goes first, further weakening the threatened state's ability to resist a Marxist takeover.

The potential of a large refugee flow from Central America is only a mirror image of what the world has faced; massive flows of refugees from communist-oppressed and -terrorized countries. It is obvious that just as we have seen this happen in Africa, Afghanistan, Eastern Europe, Cuba, and Southeast Asia, the next area of a potential mass refugee expulsion or flow is on our doorstep. We could be confronted with an uncontrollable advance of refugees, conceivably numbering anywhere from 1-1/2 to 2 million or more. A population influx of this magnitude in a short span of time could produce social and economic problems of major proportions. Envision, if you can, a domestic resettlement program for that group.

This prospect of a new flood of refugees and illegal immigrants from Central America is an element necessary for consideration and American concern.



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

MAJOR REFUGEE PRODUCING COUNTRIES SINCE 1973

Dates show installation of Marxist-Leninist governments,
or Soviet-supported governments.

Ethiopia - 1974

Angola - 1975

Vietnam - 1975

Laos - 1975

Cambodia - April 1975

Afghanistan - December 1979

Nicaragua - July 1979

Poland - December 1981

WORLD REFUGEE POPULATIONS: AS CALCULATED BY THE UNHCR

1972 - 2,497,900

1973 - Unavailable

1974 - 2,370,700

1975 - Unavailable

1976 - 2,722,000

1977 - 3,338,700

1978 - 4,721,900

1979 - 5,318,400

1980 - 7,408,300

1981 - 9,826,000

June 30, 1982 - 10,212,100

Continued From Preceding Page

Sandinista victory," the document said. "Both he and Fidel Castro were honored guests of the Sandinistas and together travelled throughout Nicaragua. A military cooperation agreement with the PLO was reportedly signed the following month."

According to the State Department, the PLO has had about three dozen advisers in Nicaragua ever since — although the number — "has fluctuated from time to time." The paper said: "Their primary roles have been in the field of aviation to train Sandinista pilots, to maintain aircraft, and sometimes to pilot the aircraft. Some of the PLO advisers are active in Nicaragua's national airline."

In addition, PLO technicians are said to have tried — unsuccessfully — to make operational Nicaragua's older radar system installed during the Somoza regime. "The PLO has donated a Boeing 707 commercial aircraft to the Sandinistas," it said.

In El Salvador, the document said, PLO contacts with the guerrillas have been less clear, "but the PLO reportedly trained some Salvadoran guerrillas in Lebanon and also provided some arms." It said that "evidence of sympathy for the PLO on the part of the Salvadoran revolutionaries emerged with the November 1979 kidnapping and subsequent murder of South Africa's Ambassador in San Salvador by one of the major guerrilla groups, the FPL." "One of the FPL's original demands was for a break in El Salvador's relations with Israel and official recognition of the PLO," the State Department said.

Libya's links with the Sandinista and Salvadoran guerrillas have resulted in more significant amounts of arms and training, and there have been numerous visits of Nicaraguan leaders to Libya. Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi initially provided a \$100 million six-month deposit to the Sandinistas which since has been renewed, according to the U.S. document.

More recently, Qaddafi has concentrated his efforts on providing arms and training.

The U.S. document went on to detail the involvement of Cuba, the Soviet Union and East Germany in support of the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran guerrillas.

What was clear was that the

State Department had now come to include Libya and the PLO in virtually the same category as those communist states; that, Israeli officials recognized, was bound to have a positive impact on Administration attitudes toward Israel.

Many pro-Israeli supporters have been outspoken in their criticism of the Reagan policies in Central America.

There have been, of course, other factors behind the recent improvement in ties between Washington and Jerusalem. The signing of the Israeli-Lebanese troop withdrawal agreement following Shultz's shuttle diplomacy and the earlier refusal of Jordan's King Hussein to jump aboard Reagan's Sept. 1 peace initiative were clearly also very significant in easing the earlier U.S.-Israeli strains.

But make no mistake about it: the heavy involvement of radical Arabs on behalf of America's adversaries in Central America has also had an impressive spillover effect on U.S.-Israeli relations — to the embarrassment of some very liberal but pro-Israeli critics of Reagan's Central American policies.

In recent years, Israel has come under intense criticism from some of these same liberal circles for selling weapons to various Latin American regimes — many of which are not exactly the most democratic or enlightened in the world.

Israeli officials have countered by pointing out that most of these sales have had the blessings of the Reagan Administration, which often has been frustrated in its arms transfer policies by Congress. Israel, therefore, could legitimately argue that it was doing America's dirty work — and making a nice profit in the process.

In any case, the Israeli government clearly has taken the position that the Latin American friends of its enemies (namely, Libya and the PLO) are Israel's enemies as well. The Reagan Administration is hoping that that line of thinking will come to influence Israel's friends on Capitol Hill and in the Jewish community — to the promotion of the Administration's own policies in Central America.

Asoc. MARANATHA: Cristo Viene.

JOSE LUIS ACURA
Evangelista

OSCAR RUBIO
Evangelista

"¡He aquí, vengo pronto!"
Ap 22:7.-

LEONCIO SANTAMARIA
Coordinador

Apartado 961 - David Chiriquí, República de Panamá, C. A.

David 23 de Mayo de 1988.-

SR. MORTON C. BLACKWELL.
Asistente especial del Presidente.
WASHINGTON D.C. U. S. A.

De mi mayor consideración:

Que la gracia y la Paz de nuestro salvador sea con Ud, SR Blackwell, esperamos que al recibo de la presente se encuentre gozando de las bendiciones del Señor Jesucristo, quedando nosotros de la misma manera, Amen.

Mr, Blackwell, quizás esta carta le sorprenda por no haber recibido nunca una como esta. El propósito de la misma es solicitar su valiosa ayuda. Mr, Blackwell, nosotros somos un organismo cristiano evangelico, y nuestra misión es predicar la Palabra de Dios, inspirada en la Santa Biblia.

Mr Blackwell, hemos sentido de parte de Dios, escribirle estas pocas letras, para solicitarle a Ud, si esta en su poder, que pueda colaborar con nosotros en el campo financiero, nosotros aqui en Panamá estamos pasando por una situación difícil pero hasta aqui Dios no nos ha abandonado.

Mr Blackwell, nosotros estamos sumamente necesitado de una buena donación que Uds nos la puedan brindar, sabemos que Dios JAMAS

Pasara por alto esta accion. Nosotros le pedimos
disculpas por no escribir la carta a MAQUINA, Mr
Blackwell, nosotros le rogamos que si Ud, no nos
puede ayudar que por favor nos lo haga saber,
seguiremos dependiendo de Ud, su Flia y por supuesto
a la cual amamos tanto.

Nos despedimos de Ud, con la gloriosa
Pae de nuestro salvador Jesucristo, AMEN.

Atte.,

Le ama y ora por Ud, sin cesar.
Su hno en Cristo.

José Luis Acuña
Siervo de Dios.



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

June 20, 1983

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

Dear Morton:

I appreciate the opportunity to be included in the meeting of your group that meets each Thursday afternoon, and am hopeful of being able to make a contribution to its efforts. It is not possible, of course, for me to attend regularly, but will keep in touch through Bob Baldwin (of the Council of Inter-American Securities) and Peter Johnson (of the Caribbean Central American Action). You will receive a copy of the publication, CARIBBEAN TODAY, which is in its early stages and hopefully will be influential and effective.

We are working with other groups, as well, and have a 2,000 acres island just a few miles off the coast near Puerto Castilla, Honduras, where the U. S. is establishing a training base. This is being offered to the military, and has had some previous use with other U. S. organizations.

Please call on me any time I can be of assistance to the Administration in connection with the Central American dilemma.

Sincerely,


Arthur Tonsmeire, Jr.

/db

cc: Mr. Robert E. Baldwin

To Martin

Date 6/27/83 Time 11:45

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Bob Schaller

of _____

Phone 485-7217
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message 1. Want to have lunch with you. You said to do it. Set up for Thurs, June 30 1:15 p.m. W. H. Mess.

2. See attached.

Operator Joyce

To Mortre

Date 6/17/83 Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Richard Bissell

of USA

Phone 485-2968

Area Code	Number	Extension
TELEPHONED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PLEASE CALL
CALLED TO SEE YOU	<input type="checkbox"/>	WILL CALL AGAIN
WANTS TO SEE YOU	<input type="checkbox"/>	URGENT

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message Wants an appt.
to see you. Susan
Ray said to call
7:11:30 am. Monday - June 20
About the Latin Am.
Wid. Group
Wants to see how they can
help.



23-020

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
June 27, 1983

Bob Schadler called and wanted to ask you to set up a White House briefing/tour with:

Senor Oscar Alzaga and
Senor Javier Ruperez*

*Ruperez is described as "brilliant" in cable traffic.

These two gentlemen are leaders of the Spanish Popular Democratic Party (the Conservative Party of Spain) and cable traffic says "they will be influential for years to come in Spanish politics."

Schadler wants them to meet with Conservative leaders in the Administration and asked that you set up something similar as you did for the French. They will be here during the week of July 11 and their schedule is quite free as of this moment.

Schadler is setting them up with a luncheon at Heritage and wants them to meet with other conservative leaders whom you might suggest.

Finca 2/8/83
MCS

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547



July 18, 1983

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

Thank you for generously agreeing to participate in the International Visitor Program we had arranged for Srs. Oscar ALZAGA Villaamil and Javier RUPEREZ Rubio of Spain. Enclosed is a copy of the now-shelved program along with a biographical sketch of our distinguished visitors-to-be.

We are hopeful that Srs. Alzaga and Ruperez will be able to re-schedule their visit this fall and would like to count upon your involvement if your schedule permits at that time.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "John C. T. Alexander". The signature is written in a cursive style and is positioned above the typed name.

John C. T. Alexander
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of International Visitors

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
Public Liaison
The White house
Room 191
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547



July 18, 1983

Dear Ms. Thomann:

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We are hopeful that Srs. Alzaga and Ruperez will be able to re-schedule their visit this fall and would like to count upon your involvement if your schedule permits at that time.

Sincerely,

John C. T. Alexander
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of International Visitors

Ms. Joyce Thomann
Old Executive Office Building
Room 191
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20500



WASHINGTON PROGRAM

for

Oscar ALZAGA Villaamil
and
Javier RUPEREZ Rubio

SUNDAY, JULY 10

Arrive Washington National Airport; You will be
greeted at the plane and driven to your hotel by:

Mr. Theodore (Ted) Herrera
Escort/Interpreter
Department of State
Room 2212, 2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Telephone: (202)632-0508

NOTE: Arrangements yet to be made:

Accommodations:

MONDAY, JULY 11

9:00 a.m.

Program discussion with:

Mr. John C.T. Alexander
Special Assistant to Director
and
Ms. Michelle Horowitz
Assistant Program Officer
Office of International Visitors
U.S. Information Agency
400 C Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C.

Telephone: (202) 485-7217

9:30 a.m.

Mr. Robert A. Schadler, Director
Office of International Visitor Program
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
United States Information Agency
Room 266, 400 C Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547

Telephone: (202) 485-7217

10:00 a.m.

Mr. Jerry L. Prillaman
Country Officer for Spain
Office of European Affairs
United States Information Agency
400 C Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547

Telephone: (202) 485-8582

11:30 a.m.

Mr. Charles Manatt, Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1625 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: (202) 797-5900

12:00 noon

Luncheon with staff members of the Democratic National Committee.

Afternoon

Appointments still unconfirmed

TUESDAY, JULY 12

9:30 a.m.

Mr. John C.T. Alexander, Special Assistant
Office of International Visitors
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
United States Information Agency
400 C Street, S.W. - Room 266
Washington, D.C. 20547

Telephone: (202) 485-7217

NOTE:

Discussion with Mr. Alexander will cover "everything you every wanted to know about grass roots U.S. Politics but did not know whom to ask." You will be provided with a revised copy of your Washington Program.

Time To Be
Confirmed

Mr. Richard Erdman
Officer in Charge of Spanish Affairs
Department of State
Room 5226, 2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Telephone: (202) 632-2633

Mr. David S. DeCraig
Spanish Affairs Officer

Telephone: (202) 632-2633

11:00 a.m.

Mr. Edward Rollins
Director, Political Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Telephone: (202) 456-2650

12:00 noon

Luncheon as guests of Mr. Richard Beal, The White House.

Time To Be
Confirmed

Dinner as guests of:

Mr. Raymond L. Caldwell
Deputy director
Office of European Security and
Political Affairs
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Telephone: (202) 632-1627

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13

9:00 a.m.

Mr. Richard M. Scammon, Director
Elections Research Center
1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: (202) 387-0044

11:00 a.m.

Mr. Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Telephone: (202) 484-6700

12:00 noon

Luncheon as guests of:

The Heritage Foundation
513 C Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Telephone: (202) 546-4400

Your hosts will include:

Mr. W. Bruce Weinrod, Director
Foreign Policy and Defense Study

Mr. Robert Foelber, Defense Analyst

Mr. Manfred Hammon, Defense Analyst

Mr. Jeffrey Gayner, Counselor
International Affairs

Other guests will include senior staff members from
Capitol Hill

2:30-4:00 p.m.

You have been invited to attend the weekly meeting of:

The White House Outreach Working Group
on Central America
The White House
Room 450, Old Executive Office Building
17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Working Group Chairman:
Ambassador Faith Ryan Whittlesey

NOTE:

This appointment has been arranged through Ms. Joyce
Thomann, Room 191, Old Executive Office Building
Telephone: 456-2657.

4:15 p.m.

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
Public Liaison
The White House
Room 191, Old Executive Office Building

Telephone: (202) 456-2657

Alternatively scheduled is a room in the
Cabinet Meeting Room in The White House

THURSDAY, JULY 14

9:00 a.m.

Mr. M. John Vondracek
Director of Communications
Center for Strategic and International Studies
1800 K Street, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20006

Telephone: (202) 775-3263

10:30 a.m.

Mr. C.W. Maynes, Editor
Foreign Policy Magazine
11 Dupont Circle N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: (202) 797-6420

12:00 noon

Congressional Luncheon with:
The Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill
Speaker of the House of Representatives

Senator Charles McC. Mathias (R MD)

Representative Dante B. Fascell (D FL)

Arranged by Ms. Denise O'Leary of the Democratic
National Committee

Time To Be
Confirmed

Mr. Danny L. McDonald, Chairman
Federal Elections Commission
1325 K Street, N.W., 4th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20463

Telephone: (202) 523-4183

2:30 p.m.

Dr. Karl H. Cerny
Professor and Chairman
Department of Government
Georgetown University
Room 680, Intercultural Center
Washington, D.C.

Telephone: (202) 625-4941

FRIDAY, JULY 15

9:00 a.m.

Mr. Allen Weinstein
Washington Quarterly
1800 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Telephone: (202) 775-3263

12:00 noon

Luncheon as guests of the American Enterprise Institute
on the 12th Floor of the AEI Building with:

Dr. Howard J. Wiarda, Director
Center for Hemispheric Studies
American Enterprise Institute
1150 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: (202) 632-5811

Prepared By: Mr. John C.T. Alexander, Special Assistant
Office of International Visitors
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
United States Information Agency
Room 266, 400 C Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C. 20547

Telephone: (202) 485-7217

BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

for

Oscar ALZAGA Villaamil
and
Javier RUPEREZ Rubio

GENERAL INFORMATION:

Messrs. Alzaga and Ruperez, top leaders of the Opposition Popular Democratic Party (PDP), will be visiting Washington, D. C. and New York, July 10-15, to meet with U.S. Government officials, political leaders, and international affairs organizations. The purpose of their trip is to update and expand their knowledge of the U.S. political scene and U.S. policies, and to explain Spanish developments, with particular emphasis on the role and orientation of the PDP, to influential Americans. In addition to U.S./Spanish and Atlantic Affairs issues, the visitors have a strong interest in Latin American topics.

The Popular Democratic Party is the second largest element in the conservative Popular Alliance Coalition, Spain's principal opposition group. PDP candidates were allotted about a fifth of the Congressional seats won by the Coalition last October, or some 21 of the 350 seats in Congress. The PDP is a key element in the current opposition alliance, and will have a significant role in any future reorganization of the Spanish political center and right.

Mr. Alzaga, like his colleague, was active in the Christian Democratic opposition during the Franco Regime. He joined the UCD (Union of the Democratic Center) in 1977 and a year later took a vacant seat for the then ruling party in Congress. With the breakup of the UCD, he founded the PDP on a moderate, Christian Democratic platform and subsequently joined forces with the Popular Alliance for the 1982 national elections. Both Alzaga and Ruperez will be important figures on the Spanish political scene for the foreseeable future.

* * * * *

NAME: Oscar ALZAGA Villaamil

PRESENT POSITION(S): Founder-Leader of the Popular Democratic Party (PDP); PDP Deputy for Madrid; Tenured Full Professor of Law at the University of Oviedo.

PERSONAL DATA: Date of Birth: May 29, 1942
Place of Birth: Madrid, Spain
Sex: Male
Marital Status: Married; three daughters--
Citizenship: Spanish

ACADEMIC TRAINING: Law Degree from the University of Madrid.

MEMBERSHIPS: Member of the Madrid Bar Association and the Spanish Association of Political Scientists.

PUBLICATIONS: Mr. Alzaga was one of the main drafters of the Constitution. He has written "La Constitucion Espanola" (The Spanish Constitution), a well received, scholarly analysis of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, and "La Primera Democracia Cristiana en Espana", a study of Christian Democracy in Spain.

PREVIOUS TRAVEL: Visited the United States in 1972 on an educational travel grant, and in 1979 as an International Visitor Grantee. Has travelled throughout Europe, Mexico, and in South America.

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH: Poor; will be accompanied by an escort-interpreter.

PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS: See "General Information" above.

* * * * *

NAME: Francisco Javier RUPEREZ Rubio

PRESENT POSITION(S): One of the top leaders of the Popular Democratic Party (PDP). Mr. Ruperez will be taking one of the new Senate seats allotted to the Popular Alliance Coalition following the recent regional elections.

PERSONAL DATA: Date of Birth: April 24, 1941
Place of Birth: Madrid, Spain
Sex: Male
Marital Status: Married; one daughter
Citizenship: Spanish

ACADEMIC TRAINING: Holds degrees in Law and Journalism and is a graduate of the Spanish Diplomatic School.

PAST POSITIONS: Former Permanent Representative of Spain to **NATO**; Former Principal Foreign Policy Advisor to Ex-Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez; Ex-UCD Congressional Deputy for Cuenca; Foreign Service assignments in Addis Ababa (1967-69), Warsaw (1969-71), Helsinki (1971-73), and Geneva (1973-75).

MEMBERSHIPS: Member of the Spanish Bar Association.

PUBLICATIONS: In his university days, Mr. Ruperez joined the Opposition Christian Democratic Movement and wrote for the anti-regime "Cuadernos para el Dialogo."

PREVIOUS TRAVEL: Mr. Ruperez has travelled to the U.S. on several occasions. He is widely travelled in Europe, Africa, and the Americas.

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH: Excellent.

PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS: See "General Information" above.

Prepared By: John C. T. Alexander
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of International Visitor Programs
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
United States Information Agency
Room 266, 400 C Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C. 20547

Telephone: (202) 485-7217

**MEMORANDUM
OF CALL**

TO:

Joyce
John Alexander

YOU WERE CALLED BY

YOU WERE VISITED BY

OF (Organization)

Office of International Visitors

PLEASE CALL

PHONE NO.
CODE/EXT.

485-7217

FTS

WILL CALL AGAIN

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL

WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

*AL Zaga + Ruperz
cannot make a
meeting tomorrow*

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

63-109

☆ U.S. G.P.O. 1982-361-529/129

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-76)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

John C. T. Alexander
Special Assistant
to the Director
Office of International Visitors
400 C Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C. 20547
(202) 485-7217

*Re: Following
Abithesey's mtg.*

30 minutes

Joyce: with Morton



United States Information Agency

*and a fast tour of the oval
office world be great invest-
ment in these two
Spanish Conservative
Idos. Thanks.
John*



BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

for

Oscar ALZAGA Villaamil
and
Javier RUPEREZ Rubio

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KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH: Excellent.

PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS: See "General Information" above.

Prepared By: John C. T. Alexander
Special Assistant to the Director
Office of International Visitor Programs
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
United States Information Agency
Room 266, 400 C Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C. 20547

Telephone: (202) 485-7217

Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of Research



June 9, 1983

A PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY OF BETTER-EDUCATED PEOPLE IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA¹

Background

In February-March, 1983 an opinion poll commissioned by USIA was conducted in San Jose, Costa Rica by a reputable local firm. The principal objectives were to assess this public's views on actors and events in Central America, on the bilateral relationship with the U.S., and on U.S. military assistance to El Salvador.

The sample consisted of 500 "better-educated" adults--those who had completed at least one year of secondary school. Two-thirds of the original sample were men. The results have now been weighted to include women in proportion to their presence in the population. Roughly half the country's population lives in San Jose and surrounding communities, and around half of this group has completed at least one year of secondary education. When reference is made below to Costa Ricans, the results presented are those for the better-educated.

Analysis of results by age, sex, education and economic class shows few important differences in opinions. Where differences are significant, they will be reported. Costa Ricans tend to be more to the right than to the left in ideology, as measured by the left-right political scale on which persons place themselves. Those on the left--a minority of about 20 percent in Costa Rica--tend to be different in their appraisal of the United States, of the situation in El Salvador, and of Cuba, Nicaragua and the Soviet Union.

Major Problems are Domestic, With Situation Improving

Despite concerns about neighboring Nicaragua, the great majority of the better-educated Costa Ricans cite domestic issues--not international problems--as the most important ones the country faces.

The major problems cited are economic (mentioned by nine out of ten). About equal proportions name unemployment (29%) and the high cost of living (28%), specifically. Just over half

¹This paper summarizes a more detailed USIA Report R-8-83 of the same title, which may be requested from USIA, P/R, Washington, D.C., 20547.

think that internal causes are primarily responsible for Costa Rica's economic difficulties, but about the same number say that events outside the country also play an important role.

However, many Costa Ricans sense an economic upturning. Over half (55%) expect that economic conditions in the next two or three years are going to get better rather than worse. The proportion of those expecting their personal economic situation to improve (58%) is notably larger than for the group that is pessimistic (33%). This optimism is more prevalent in the upper class than in the lower class.

International Problems are Varied, Affect Images of Other Countries

Very large majorities have favorable views of four of twelve countries asked about--Panama, Venezuela, the United States, and Spain. The four countries viewed least favorably are Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and the USSR. About half express a very negative opinion of Cuba, and almost as many feel that way about Nicaragua.

As for international problems, two of every three better-educated Costa Ricans express concern about their country's security. They frequently point specifically to Nicaragua as a major source of insecurity (45%).

Problems in international trade and finance rank second. In particular, Costa Rica's foreign debt and its poor balance of trade are mentioned most.

Regionally, over half see the likelihood of war between countries in Central America in the next two or three years. But two-thirds think there is little or no likelihood that Costa Rica itself will be attacked in the near term.

Almost six in ten of the better-educated think that clerical support of revolutionary activities in Central America is a serious problem, but far fewer (32%) feel it is a serious problem in Costa Rica. Aside from traditional activities, most Costa Ricans favor church involvement in care of the poor, and community development. A third favor church involvement in social reform. But only a handful approve of clerical involvement in political matters or holding office.

Most Costa Ricans View Nicaragua with Dislike and Fear. . . .

Large proportions of Costa Ricans have both a negative view of the country (78%) and of its government junta (75%). Seven in ten Costa Ricans also see Nicaragua as a potential military threat, and over half (55%) say Nicaragua is trying to weaken the Costa Rican government. Further, Nicaragua (32%) ranks

third after Cuba (50%) and the USSR (41%) as responsible for conditions that could lead to war in the region (the U.S. is mentioned by 26%).

Real or potential problems with Nicaragua are high among respondents' concerns. Without prompting, over four in ten volunteer some problem connected with Nicaragua as "the major international problem" facing Costa Rica.

Asked for comment on the Nicaraguan governing junta, one person in every four blames the Nicaraguan government for introducing communism. About as many say the junta has deceived its supporters and betrayed the revolution. And a somewhat smaller group see Nicaraguan leaders as dictatorial and self-serving. The few with good words for the government say it takes time to introduce reforms, believe things are better than before, and say there is now more respect for the common man.

. . . And View Cuba with Disdain and Concern

Few Costa Ricans (14%) express a favorable opinion of Cuba, less than for any other country among the twelve asked about. Three-quarters describe Cuba as a threat to stability and peace in the region, as opposed to only a handful (6%) who claim it exerts a positive influence for change. Half say Cuba interferes too much in Central American affairs. A third see it as a military threat to Costa Rica, and working to weaken the Costa Rican government. Seven in ten describe recent relations between the two countries as unfriendly.

Comparing Cuba with other countries on eight different measures shows that it has the same general negative profile as Nicaragua and the USSR. And there are clear links among the three countries. Cuba is perceived as a tool of the Soviet Union by seven persons in ten (71%), as acting independently by only two in ten. Half name Cuba, four in ten cite the USSR and a third Nicaragua as creating the conditions that lead to war in Central America, and those who name Cuba are likely to name the other two.

Costa Ricans Show Little Support for Either Side in El Salvador

Two-thirds of the more-educated Costa Ricans hold a negative opinion of the country of El Salvador. Half also express an unfavorable view of the government of that country, and only one person in five looks upon the present government favorably.

Eight in ten are aware of the conflict there, and most recognize its international character. Among those aware:

- o Three-quarters name Cuba as a supplier of military aid to the left, four in ten the USSR, and an equal number name Nicaragua.
- o Conversely, eight in ten say that the U.S. supplies the Salvadoran government forces. Within this group, the U.S. aid is approved by a three-to-two margin (59% to 41%).
- o While a majority (58%) believe it better for El Salvador if the government forces win the war, somewhat fewer (44%) think they will.
- o A third say the leftist revolutionary forces have the support of the people, but most (62%) describe them as rebels. About half believe the revolutionary leaders are in the majority communists. A third disagree.
- o The major criticism of the government among those aware of the conflict is its inability to stop the killing and restore peace (16%). Others say it is a dictatorship that allows no liberty, does not have the interests of the people at heart, and is under control of the military.
- o Among the smaller number favoring the government, some say that despite adverse conditions it is democratic, is anti-communist, is working hard to solve problems, and in fact has reduced the level of violence.

Most Welcome U.S. Economic and Security Assistance

As noted previously, the U.S. is one of four countries viewed favorably by most Costa Ricans in general terms (88%).

In specific terms, most Costa Ricans are relying on the U.S. to help them out of their economic difficulties. Eight out of ten say the U.S. is helping solve Costa Rica's economic problems. Six in ten think U.S. economic policies and actions have been more helpful than harmful, and seven in ten believe

the U.S. facilitates sale of Costa Rican products in the U.S., rather than making this difficult. Three-quarters say U.S. investment is beneficial.

A slight majority (57%) believe that in most instances U.S. treatment of Costa Rica has been fair, although a third (32%) disagree.

On the topic of national security, a majority are convinced the U.S. can be counted upon to protect them. Two-thirds expect the U.S. to come to their aid immediately if Costa Rica were attacked. About half (46%) give the U.S. credit for helping improve the country's ability to defend itself. Seven in ten believe the U.S. is trying to keep the government stable.

Summary: Image Good, But U.S. Clearly Has Public Affairs Problems

Despite its generally good image and, even, majority support for its military assistance to El Salvador, the U.S. has some obvious public affairs problems to deal with in Costa Rica. Although they are minority views, there are four aspects of action and policy about which substantial numbers express negative opinions:

- o Four persons in ten (42%) say the U.S. interferes too much in Central American affairs
- o A quarter (26%) claim the U.S. (among others) has created conditions that may lead to war between countries in Latin America
- o A third (32%) believe the U.S. is generally unfair in its dealings with Costa Rica (57% say it is fair)
- o Among those aware of U.S. policy of military assistance to El Salvador, four in ten (41%) disapprove (and 59% approve)

While this study has identified areas of concern for the Mission, it does not provide specific prescriptions for action.

Nevertheless, now uncovered, these problem areas are being explored in greater detail in follow-up studies in other Central American countries.

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