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And COLOMAR O'BRIEN

April 1, 1981

Dear Morton:

Enclosed is the material you requested on Bushmell. The UPI cable as well as the article that appeared in HUMAN EVENTS gives you the full background on his statement about Guatemala last year and his support of the Carter policy.

Regards,

ano

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[202] 347-9829 - Cabla "WILOGAN"
Telex 440-224-NCPRUI

RM-QUATEMALA 2-11

THE QUATEMALA'S GOVERNMENT "IS INEVITABLE IN THE 1980'S." SIMILAR TO THE PATTERN IN NICARAGUA WHERE A LEFTIST REVOLUTION OVERTHREW PRESIDENT ANASTASIO SOMOZA.

DIPLOMATIC SOURCES TOUD UPI THAT THE JOHN BUSHNELL; DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTER-AMERICANA AFFAIRS MADE THE MARMING TO HIGH EXCUTIVES OF AMERICAN COMPANIES WORKING IN GUATEMALA: THE MEETING WAS HELD IN THE STATE DEPARMENT ON JAN. 15 AND 16.

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HOWEVER, THE SOURCES RECALLED THA MICARAGUA'S JUNTA HAS ACCEPTED 1,500 CUPAN TERCHERS AND ITECHNICIANS'. BOA-WAI

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AT CONFIDENTIAL STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING FOR BUSINESS EXECUTIVES HELD JANUARY 15/16, JOHN BUSHNELL, DEPUTY ASST. SECRETARY FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, SAID:

CARTER ADMINISTRATION FEELS THAT A CHANGE IN GOVT.IN GUATEMLA, SIMILAR TO THE PATTERN IN NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR, IS INEVITABLE IN THE L980'S REGARDLESS WHAT THE U.S. MIGHT TRY TO DO. ANY U.S. EFFORT TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO QOULD AT BEST ONLY 'BUY TIME' AND QOULD MAKE THE FINAL OUTCOME EVEN WORSE FOR THE U.S. ACCORDINGLY, THE U.S. HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO 'COOL' ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GUATEMALAN GOVT. AND HAS ESTABLISHED CONTACT WITH MODERATE OPPOSITION LEADERS.

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END OF STATEMENT SUMMARY

The Pink Sheet Left.

America's Authoritative Report on Left-Wing Activities

Dear Subscriber:

February 25, 1980 Washington, D.C. Issue #227

IS GUATEMALA THE NEXT DOMINO TO FALL?

CARTER's State Department seems determined to see Central America fall to the Communists. High on the target list is Guatemala. JOHN BUSHNELL, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, is telling U.S. businessmen the fall of Guatemala's government is "inevitable in the 1980s."

Business executives from Standard Oil, Exxon, Mobil, General Electric, Westinghouse, IBM and Caterpillar were told by BUSHNELL the "U.S. has already begun to 'cool' its relationship with the Guatemalan government and establish contact with moderate opposition leaders."

BUSHNELL and other State Department representatives are attempting to sell the political line that Guatemala is another Nicaragua. Rather than support the existing Guatemalan government, the CARTER Administration is cozying up to the Communist revolutionaries. BUSHNELL is quoted as stating the Nicaraguan Sandinistas are "pragmatic." But of course the facts tell quite a different story (see article below).

SANDINISTAS PURGE NON-MARXISTS

As THE PINK SHEET has predicted, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua have begun a purge of all potential challengers to their increasingly dictatorial rule. The first hint of the purge came in early December when the 5-member junta resigned in order to give the FSLN National Directorate more power to "reconstruct" the country.

The next major move came when non-Communist members of the Cabinet began to lose their posts and other governmental bodies were reorganized.

- •Minister of Defense Col. BERNARDINO LARIOS was replaced by Marxist HUMBERTO ORTEGA, who also remains the FSLN Commander-in-Chief of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) and a member of the FSLN National Directorate.
- •Minister of Planning ROBERTO NAYORGA, a "bourgeois technocrat," has been replaced by Marxist HENRY RUIZ, FSLN Commandante and National Board member.
- The Minister of Agriculture was removed in late December. The present Minister is Maoist JAIME WHEELOCK, who is also the head of the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform—modeled after Cuba's INRA.
- The Ministry of the Interior, still headed by Marxist TOMAS BORGE, has now formed a "Sandinista National Police." Borge is also a FSLN Commandante.

Continuing intimidation of non-Marxists is the rule. Recently Sandinista soldiers raided

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State Dept. Acts to Destabilize Guatemala

Just when you're beginning to think the Carter Administration is toughening its stand against the Left in foreign affairs, it commits some fresh outrage. The latest affront: a major effort to undermine the current pro-Western government in Guatemala, even though the Administration acknowledges that a Sandinista-type government may emerge in its place.

At the Executive, Diplomat Seminar held at the State Department on January 15 and 16, businessmen from around the country were briefed in offthe-record conversations by U.S. officials. According to one well-respected participant, who circulated a memo to the firm he works for, John Bushnell, the deputy assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs, virtually kissed off the Guatemalan government.

According to the memo, circulating widely around Capitol Hill last week, Bushnell informed the businessmen that the U.S. had decided to "cool" its relations with the government.

Bushnell contended that the Carter Administration feels that a change in the Guatemalan government, similar to the changes that have taken place in both Nicaragua and El Salvador, is inevitable in the 1980s, regardless of what the U.S. might try to do. Any U.S. effort to maintain the status quo could, at best, only "buy time" (reportedly Bushnell's precise words).

Moreover, support could make the final outcome even worse for the United

The memo continued: "Accordingly, the U.S. has already begun to 'cool' its relationship with the Guatemalan government and has established contact with moderate opposition leaders."

This "same approach," the memo goes on, "was taken by the U.S. in Nicaragua. In the State Department view, the result has been a much more moderate regime than would have been the case had the U.S. tried to bolster Somoza. Despite the fervent courtship by both Cuba and Russia, the Nicaragua junta has followed a deliberately independent course. On the U.S. vote for Soviet condemnation [for the invasion of Afghanistan], for example, Nicaragua chose to abstain even



though the Cubans offered every economic and political incentive to give a pro-Soviet vote.3

(Bushnell, apparently, didn't feel it necessary to tell the businessmen that the Nicaraguan abstention-it refused to condemn the Soviets, as did the overwhelming majority of U.N. members-may have been due less to ideological preferences than the fact that the Senate was considering a \$75million aid program to that country.)

The memo also explained: "Bushnell said the junta has learned very quickly to become 'pragmatic' and that even the one member who was trained in Cuba has opposed the acceptance of direct financial aid from Cuba. The junta has accepted 1,500 Cuban teachers and 'technicians' but has so far refused to accept financial aid.

Bushnell said that if the U.S. takes the same stance of non-intervention in Guatemala that it did in Nicaragua, trade relations should not suffer in the end even if a more centrist or more leftist regime emerges.

Though Bushnell refused to respond to several of our calls intending to get his version of what was said, his office finally referred us for a reply to the Guatemalan desk at the State Department, where we were told the memo contained "wrong information" and that the words had been "twisted" out of context.

But there was no tape, and no onetook notes. The woman who helps arrange these businessmen briefings, Mrs. Marie Bland, with the Bureau of Public Affairs, informed us on February 5 that we could get from her the next day the list of all those who attended the Bushnell sessions (since we wanted to get the reaction of many of the businessmen who were there, not just the memo-writer).

But Mrs. Bland told us on the 6thjust prior to our going to her office to pick up the names—that a Barbara Ennis, who, ironically, used to handle Freedom of Information items for the department in 1979 (and still has her finger in that pie)—had intruded to block our request.

Ms. Ennis, according to Mrs. Bland, said that we would first have to get permission to obtain the names from Frank Machak, who is in charge of coordinating the Freedom of Information Act at State. And Machak informed us that we would have to make a written, formal request for the list, with no assurance it would be forthcoming. In

(Continued on page 8)

Continued from page 1

short, we were thwarted at every turn by State in finding out who attended the Bushnell briefing.

Thus department "denials" hardly strike us as credible. Indeed, U.S. sources extremely knowledgeable about the Guatemalan government inform us that Viron P. Vaky, the former assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs, virtually told the Guatemalan government last year that the U.S. was withdrawing its backing.

What particularly distresses many about the Bushnell briefing is that, as one U.S. Latin American expert-informed us, he was "pulling the plug on the current government." Nothing, he added, could have been more deadly for the Guatemalans, for what Bushnell was doing, in effect, was scaring away American investment, deliberately turning off American capital—a vital part of the growing Guatemalan economy. Moreover, he added, the Bushnell briefing came more than two weeks before the Guatemalan assault on the Spanish Embassy, and thus that explosive incident cannot be used as the excuse for our "get tough" policy.

With the U.S. acting to cut off investment by sending out dampening signals to the business community, it is remarked, the State Department's assertion that the current Guatemalan government can't last becomes nothing less than a self-fulfilling prophecy.

While Bushnell's remarks are being denied, less than three weeks following his controversial briefing, the department's George F. Jones, director, Office of Regional Political Programs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, sent a letter to Scott Faulkner, a top aide to Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), revealing that his department has been sitting on 16 requests for "military" items made by the Guatemalan government, many of them made early last year.

Most of the requests are for spare parts to keep their aircraft in working order, but there are other, less "onerous" desires of the government as well. On September 24 of last year, for instance, the Guatemalans asked for permission just to participate in an aircraft engine improvement program to prevent crashes and grounding, but that hasn't been acted on either.

On October 2, the Guatemalan ambassador to Panama, also a lieutenant colonel in the Guatemalan Air Force, asked for permission to take the U.S. Air War College correspondence course, which is routinely made available to officers of friendly countries. But the department, as Jones informed Faulkner, is still "considering" these requests.

Department officials will not admit there is a campaign against Guatemala, but they do acknowledge that military sales to Guatemala are drastically down. The Fiscal Year 1981 budget, moreover, excludes funds for IMET, the International Military Education and Training Program used to provide professional level officer training and some helicopter pilot training.

In persuading the State Department to approve IMET funds for Guatemala last year—which the Congress turned down (providing the department an excuse why it isn't approving IMET funds for Fiscal '81)—the Pentagon told the department: "The U.S. security assistance program for Guatemala, the most populous and economically important Central American nation, is an impor-

tant element in our bilateral relations. The Guate-malan military, the dominant political force in the country, has traditionally looked to the United States for equipment, training and doctrine. Our security assistance program helps foster cooperation with that country."

But the State Department, in its efforts to "cool" our relationship with Guatemala, is with-drawing support for IMET this year.

Why is Guatemala taking a beating? A State Department official intimately familiar with policy tells HUMAN EVENTS that "human rights" is a major factor in determining whether to approve military sales, and that Guatemala suffers from "a human rights problem."

Ironically, we were told this at almost the precise moment the department had released its human rights report for 1979 on all United Nations members. Guatemala, for all its supposed faults, seems to rate high with the department's score-keepers. For instance, the report on Guatemala says that "Guatemalan politics have been dominated by the military within a constitutional framework providing for regular elections and civilian control below the top level. Opposition parties contest elections, hold rallies, have access to the media and hold seats in the national and municipal assemblies."

Newspapers and the electronic media "frequently criticize government officials and policies without censorship or retaliation," and "There are no political prisoners." Courts are "independent of executive or military control," and the "economy is healthy in macro-economic terms...."

What the Administration is doing to Guatemala, we fear, is precisely what happened in Nicaragua, where, despite Administration efforts to put a pleasant face on the situation, the Sandinistas are vigorously pursuing a Marxist course. When we withdrew support from Somoza, he collapsed, and the virulently left-wing Sandinista movement, which was hatched in Havana back in 1962, took over.

Guatemala is faced with a leftist guerrilla movement as well. As we reported last year (July 14 issue, page 1), the Cubans have been actively trying to get the three major guerrilla groups in Guatemala to cooperate closely to bring down the government. And now, through the State Department's destabilization efforts, they might well accomplish their aim.

If so, the key nations in Central America — Nicaragua, Guatemala and Panama — will be in the hands of the pro-Cuban Left. Things have come quite far from 1954 when John Foster Dulles furnished aid to anti-Communist Guatemalans who successfully staged a coup against that nation's leftist leader, Jacobo Arbenz.

Clarification

In our February 2 issue we incorrectly reported that the liberal Republican Ripon Society had—as an organization—endorsed the presidential candidacy of George Bush. As described in our February 9 issue (page 8), what actually happened was that four Ripon officials, including Vice President Richard Silvatierra, acting as individuals wrote a fundraising letter on Bush's behalf to other Ripon members, a mailing paid for by the Bush campaign. The Ripon Society itself has not endorsed any presidential candidate. We regret any confusion our earlier report may have caused.

Time to Fire Haig's Holdovers

By M. STANTON EVANS

Questions about the ultimate course of U.S. foreign policy under Alexander Haig, noted in this space some weeks ago, have recently intensified.

Although Haig in the past few years has spouted hard-line Cold War rhetoric and was backed by conservatives for his present post, his long association with Henry Kissinger and other aspects of his record prompted doubts about the policies he would follow as our chief diplomatist. Those doubts have been accentuated by several recent happenings, including last week's squabble over "crisis management" in the White House.

Again, the Haig performance in terms of rhetoric has been quite tough, in keeping with the policy initiatives coming from the President. The white paper documenting the flow of Communist arms to El Salvador is an excellent piece of work, and the announced intention of the State Department to defend this Central American nation from Marxist takeover is commendable.

One may be forgiven for wondering, however, if the State Department under Haig is well

*********** How's Your Political I.Q.?

(Answers on page 19.)

- 1. With the Reagan Administration's friendlier attitude toward South Africa, it's time to get to know a little more about the country. The present prime minister is Pieter Botha. How long has he been PM?
- 2. Who was the PM before Botha?
- 3. What is the name of the South African party that is in power now? Can you guess how long this party has been in power?
- 4. Who is the present Secretary of the U.S. Navy?
- 5. After the incidents in Bydgoszcz, Poland, Solidarity members are trying to keep their union under control. When did the Polish workers' movement first begin its strikes?
- 6. With 90 per cent of Poland's 36 million people being Catholics, the Roman Catholic primate of Poland has a certain amount of leverage with the population. Who is the primate of Poland? (Hint: He recently issued a pastoral letter which was read by Radio Warsaw.)
- 7. The three gunmen who hijacked a Pakistani airliner fled to a certain country. Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq wants these criminals extradited. What country did the hijackers flee to?
- 8. It looks like the United Mine Workers have reached an agreement with the coal industry—so the impending strike will only last a few weeks. Who is the president of the U.M.W.?

-Compiled by Tony Sanders







Evans notes that "on their previous track record, Pezzullo, Cheek and Bushnell are part and parcel of the Carter foreign policy against which Reagan campaigned."

equipped to carry out this mission. The principal reason for misgiving is the fact that, in critical positions in the Department, he has retained the very officials from the Carter Administration who presided over the Central American debacle in the first place. That they are willing or able to implement a reversal of their own handiwork seems doubtful.

Foremost among these holdovers are U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Lawrence Pezzullo, and James Cheek, deputy assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs. Rep. Bill Young of Florida accuses these two officials of downplaying intelligence data that showed the Nicaraguan Marxists were running guns into El Salvador. Such data would have interfered with President Carter's certification of U.S. aid to Nicaragua, and were thus ignored. In the light of the evidence now available, this episode can hardly be viewed as other than an incredible cover-up. That Carter officials implicated in it should be retained by Haig seems astonishing, to say the least.

Nor was that episode the only evidence of such sympathies on the part of these two officials. As previously reported in HUMAN EVENTS, Cheek has boasted of pushing for nationalization in El Salvador, while a high-ranking defector from Nicaragua, Nevardo Arguello, says Pezzullo is a "very close friend" of the Marxist Sandinista government.

Also held over by Haig is John Bushnell, Cheek's immediate superior as acting assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs. Bushnell these days is being quoted as saying toughminded things about the dangers of communism in Central America. Yet under Jimmy Carter, he too was singing a different tune. A year ago, in fact, hewas being quoted as saying complimentary things about the Sandinistas and the Carter policy that brought them into power, and suggesting a similar formula elsewhere in Central America.

In February 1980 Bushnell was reported as calling the Sandinistas "moderate" and attributing this supposed moderation to the U.S. Stat Department policy of refusing to back the anti-Communist Somoza agains them. He was further quoted as saying a similar policy would be pursued in Guatemala, where the Carter regime had already begun to "cool" its relationship with the sitting government.

More recently, Bushnell has been in the news because he told a group of reporters the sending of U.S. advisers to El Salvador has been vastly over

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played in the media—a statement for which, he publicly got his knuckles rapped. That utterance seems innocuous, however, compared to the very serious things he was quoted as saying about our allies in Guatemala.

On their previous track record, Bushnell, Cheek and Pezzullo are part and parcel of the Carter foreign policy against which Reagan campaigned, and which the Reagan State Department is now attempting to correct. Given that record, and the critical positions they occupy, these three officials should have been among the first to be replaced by the new Administration.

While the Carter holdovers are troubling to those who want a new direction at State, they are not alone in that respect. There is also the matter of former Kissingerites such as Lawrence Eagleburger, named by Haig as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, and Walter Stoessel, who as ambassador to the Soviet Union was a promoter of Kissinger-style detente. (See HUMAN EVENTS, Jan. 24, 1981.)

These appointments undergird concern that the State Department under Haig will resemble that agency under Kissinger, Haig's original diplomatic mentor. Moreover, it is known that Haig's decisions on these matters have been made over the strenuous opposition of White House personnel people, in defiance of guidelines intended to prevent appointments out of kilter with Reagan policies. All of which could help explain the recent tussle between Haig and the White House that has surfaced in the headlines.

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ning scared!'' contends Kennedy. "He's showing up in places where he's never been before."

For his part, Stark has upped the number of public forums he holds in the district and beefed up both his campaign and congressional staffs. Moreover, onetime Vietnam War protestor Stark (ACU rating: 3 per cent) has significantly cooled his ultra-liberal rhetoric, at one point claiming to have "voted for less spending than Barry Goldwater."

At this point, much of the speculation surrounding a Kennedy-Stark rematch centers on redistricting. The most talked-of plan before the state legislature would transfer Oakland from the 9th District to Rep. Ron Dellums' (D.) neighboring 8th District, while extending the 9th as far south as suburban Fremont. "If this happens, Stark is an easy target," said Kennedy. "And if the district stays intact, there are still enough Democrats who are unhappy with Stark."

Short Takes

A controversial congressional redistricting plan designed to strengthen traditional Democratic voting blocs appears headed for passage in the New Mexico legislature, despite lastminute lobbying efforts by U.S. Rep. Joe Skeen (R.-N.M.) According to the plan's author, State Rep. Dan Berry (D.), the new proposal would divide the state's Hispanic population between two districts. Congressional redistricting has mandated that New Mexico will gain a third House seat in 1982. "There is fair statewide representation in this plan," Berry said. "I think there is an equal division of organized labor, Spanish, Indians, and the oil people in each district." Berry predicted that his plan would pass the legislature on a partyline vote and New Mexico Gov. Bruce King (D.) has said he supports the Berry proposal.... Arkansas last week became the first state to pass a congressional redistricting plan. Approved by the legislature and now on the desk of Republican Gov. Frank White, the plan would take solidly Republican Garland County (Hot Springs) from Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt's (R.) district and place it in that of Rep. Beryl Anthony (D.). Anthony would lose safely

Democratic Sevier County. Should White sign the plan. it would enhance the prospects of former State GOP Chairman Lynn Lowe, who plans to challenge Anthony in 1982... Former U.S. Rep. Lamar Gudger (D.-N.C.) plans to make a 1982 attempt at his old 11th district seat. Gudger would take on the man who unseated him



HAMMERSCHMIDT

last year, Rep. Bill Hendon (R.-N.C.).... Former U.S. Rep. Phil Ruppe (R.-Mich.) tells friends he will definitely seek the GOP nomination to oppose Sen. Don Riegle (D.-Mich) next year. Ruppe gave up his 11th District seat in 1978 when incumbent Sen. Bob Griffin (R.) announced his retirement. When Griffin later changed his mind and opted to run, Ruppe pulled out of the Senate race but was too late to seek another House term. Ruppe's wife Loret is President Reagan's choice to head the Peace Corps.... Michigan's 12th District conservatives are urging State Rep. Kirby



Holmes (R.) to make another race against Rep. Dave Bonier (D.-Mich). In 1978, the longtime conservative activist rolled up 46 per cent of the vote against Bonier (ACU rating: 8 per cent). Holmes has since retaken his old legislative seat and has become 12th District Republican Chairman.... Considering a race in

Michigan's 8th District is Ellis Ivey Jr., general manager of the Saginaw Steering Co. Local Republicans are impressed with Ivey's contacts in the business community and say he could raise the funds necessary to unseat liberal Rep. J. Beb Traxler (D.-Mich.) Among Ivey's boosters is MCU State Chairman Norm Hughes, the GOP nominee against Trader in 1978 and 1980.

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ROBERT M. PITTENGER

219-A E Street NE Washington, D.C. 20002

August 18, 1982

sile Gralemala

The Honorable Edwin Meese III Counsellor to the President The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ed:

Suzanne and I have prayed for you, Ursula and your family many times and trust that God will guard your heart with His peace, encouragement and comfort. You all are endeared by so many throughout our country and we join others to express our love and appreciation for you.

Since I last saw you at the Middendorf's home six weeks ago with Jim Watt, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson concerning Guatemala, we have been developing a Christian relief strategy for that country. To provide broader understanding of Guatemala and President Efrain Rios Montt, we have planned a retreat at The Homestead on October 8 - 10. The following people and their spouses have been invited and most have confirmed their attendance: Billy Graham, Bill Bright, Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, Roger Jepsen, Jack Kemp, Bill Armstrong, James Watt, Bill Middendorf, Bunker Hunt, Bob Perry, Joe Coors, Marvin Leath and Mickey Edwards. Rios Montt is definitely willing to come and meet with these people and others who would be appropriate to invite. The present concern is a proper protocol which necessitates an invitation by President Reagan to visit the United States. Ambassador Chapin and Guatemala leadership feel this is important.

Ed, the importance of the retreat is to launch a national campaign to help Guatemala which will also counter misinformation about the government. I have recently visited Guatemala and went into the mountains and visited with the peasants. The peasants follow the army everywhere for protection from the guerrillas. Presently, there are 250,000 homeless peasants. During dinner at the Middendorf's, Pat Robertson

proposed a caravan involving churches to bring building materials, food, medicines, clothing, etc., for Guatemala. The plan includes this strategy and has the commitment of the Christian community to help. If we can help Guatemala and help Rios Montt help his country, we believe there will be greater basis for trust among our leaders and in the media.

If Rios Montt could be received at the White House on October 7 or 8 it would allow us to plan this retreat. Thank you for your consideration. God bless you.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Pittenger

RMP: bh

cc: The Honorable J. William Middendorf

The Honorable James Watt

Dr. Bill Bright Dr. Pat Robertson Mr. Joe Coors

bcc: Mr. Morton Blackwell